

Customer-to-customer co-creation of value in the context of festivals

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
of Bournemouth University for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

September 2013

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Abstract

Ivana Rihova: Customer-to-customer co-creation of value in the context of festivals

The notion of customers co-creating value with the firm has recently gained considerable attention within the service marketing discipline. The Service-Dominant (S-D) and the Customer-Dominant (C-D) logic in marketing in particular emphasise the active role of customers in the co-creation of value. But further theoretical insights are needed into the process of value co-creation. Specifically, customer-to-customer (C2C) value co-creation that takes place as customers come together to socialise, interact with each other and to be co-present in socially dense service settings, requires further conceptualisation.

C2C value co-creation is explored in this thesis in the socially dense service setting of multi-day outdoor festivals, using the concept of value-forming social practices as a theoretical lens. The methodological design is guided by the social constructionist stance, which complements the practice-based value approach in co-creation research by emphasising the importance of social contexts. Methods adopted include ethnographic-style participant observation, document and visual materials analysis, and a total of 52 in-depth interviews at five different UK-based outdoor multi-day festivals.

Interpretive analysis identifies six distinctive C2C co-creation practices: Belonging, Bonding, Detaching, Communing, Connecting and Amiability. Each practice is described in terms of the actions in which it is embodied. The practices are positioned in a two-dimensional framework, with the Value orientation and the Value immersion dimensions reflecting the complexities and ambiguities that exist in social contexts. Aspects of subject- and situation-specific practice elements are examined with regard to their role in influencing the C2C co-creation process at festivals. Practice-based segmentation and social servicescape design strategies are proposed, which can be used to support and facilitate C2C co-creation.

A theoretical contribution is made to the body of knowledge in service marketing, and the S-D and C-D logics in particular, by advancing understanding of what specifically is involved in C2C value co-creation. The thesis also offers holistic insights relevant for service marketing practice. It provides tangible recommendations that could lead to more favourable social outcomes for customers and consequently, competitive advantage for the firm.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

B2C	Business-to-Customer (interactive B2C co-creation processes)
CAQDAS	Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software
C2C	Customer-to-Customer (C2C interactions, C2C co-creation)
C-D	Customer-Dominant (C-D logic in marketing)
Mintel	Mintel International Group Limited
QSR	QSR International Pty Ltd
SSA	Social Situation Analysis
S-D	Service-Dominant (S-D logic in marketing)
UK	United Kingdom
VW	Volkswagen (VW campervan)

Acknowledgements

This research project would not have been possible without Dr. Ioannis Kent and his generous support of the John Kent Institute in Tourism at Bournemouth University.

I would like to state my sincere thanks to my supervisors, whose collective knowledge, encouragement, critique and guidance have helped me to develop as a researcher and also as a person. Special thanks to Prof. Dimitrios Buhalis, my first supervisor, for his support and encouragement throughout my research journey. His pushing me to constantly think about the bigger picture has been most helpful. A big thank you is also owed to Dr. Miguel Moital, my second supervisor, whose constant challenging and questioning helped me to think critically about my assumptions. And of course, my sincere thanks to Dr. Mary Beth Gouthro, my third supervisor, without whose epistemological expertise this thesis would be quite different.

I am very grateful to the festival organisers who offered their help and assistance and very graciously let me loose on their festivals. I hope my findings will be useful to them. The ability to talk to some of those strangers who have lived and breathed festivals all their lives has helped me to see my research in a different light. I met some amazing people along the way; particularly Amy and Norm, whom I will always remember as my festival friends.

I would like to acknowledge and express my gratitude to all those at Bournemouth University who shared my PhD journey – especially Zory, Nicolas, Greg, Indra, Barbara, John, Julia, Andy, James, Walter, and many other students and colleagues. Without them the journey would have been very lonely. My sincere thanks to Ms Karen Ward, Mrs. Sheila Rogers and Mrs. Ina Grebliunaite, without whose continued administrative assistance I would be lost. Many thanks also to Dr. Vern Biaett from Arizona, whose own PhD journey inspired me and gave me the courage to press on with my ideas.

Most especially, I would like to thank to my family and friends in the Czech Republic for cheering me on since day one, and to Michael, for his support and patience.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Thesis rationale

Services are often consumed in socially dense and interaction-rich contexts, such as guided tours, cruise holidays, leisure or adventure tours, golf tournaments, or events and festivals. Customers come together in such settings to spend time with significant others, to feel part of a larger collective and to connect with strangers. In the course of their service experiences customers cement social relationships and enhance social skills (Arnould and Price 1993; Wilks 2009). They also gain exposure to other cultures and social groups (Levy 2010; Schulenkorf et al. 2011), and take opportunities to participate in social outlets that may otherwise not be available to them (Meshram and O'Cass 2013; Rosenbaum 2006).

Positive interactions among customers in socially dense service settings have been shown to contribute to competitive advantage for service organisations, particularly within retail settings (Grove and Fisk 1997; Parker and Ward 2000) and in contexts such as tourism and events (Baron and Harris 2010; Baron et al. 2007; Levy et al. 2011; Nicholls 2010). The social processes and interactions that involve other customers can impact on customers' service experience evaluations (e.g., Grove and Fisk 1997; Harris and Reynolds 2003; Tombs and McColl-Kennedy 2010; Wu 2007). Additionally, such interactions can have important social implications that go beyond the immediate consumption situation. For instance, community events and festivals can facilitate the development of social capital and social equity and community well-being, or promote social cohesion (Arcodia and Whitford 2007; Moscardo 2008). From a service organisations' perspective, learning more about customer-to-customer [C2C] interactions and shared consumption could therefore be advantageous. Nevertheless, these C2C processes are traditionally perceived as an element of service delivery that can only be controlled by the organisation with difficulty. Their study within service marketing research has therefore been somewhat neglected (Baron et al. 2007).

A theoretical area within service marketing which could meaningfully address this issue is *C2C value co-creation*. Customer value or value for the customer has been recognised as a central construct in marketing (Woodall 2003) and service marketing in particular (Grönroos 2011; Prahalad 2004; Vargo and Lusch 2004). Studying customers' perceptions of value allows marketers to determine whether or not the needs of customers have been fulfilled, and the specific ways through which the product or

service offering fulfils these needs. In this thesis, the concept of value is addressed at length in Chapter 2, although its determination and definition is not the main focus of enquiry. Value is seen as some intrinsic sense of worth, or betterment (Grönroos 2008), experienced by each individual as a result of their co-creation. But rather than trying to determine the specific value outcomes for customers in socially dense contexts (i.e. what customer value is), the focus in this thesis is on the contents of the *process of value co-creation that takes place in the context of C2C interactions and relationships*.

Since its introduction in mainstream marketing literature (Prahalad and Ramaswamy 2004; Vargo and Lusch 2004) the concept of ‘co-creation’ has quickly gained prominence. Prahalad and Ramaswamy (2004) define co-creation as an interactive process involving both the firm and its customers, through which value emerges. Similarly, Vargo and Lusch (2004) point to the role of customers as value co-creators, while the firm creates ‘value propositions’ (potential for value). The value co-creation focus is increasingly being adopted in a variety of service contexts, although co-creation is typically explored in terms of interactive processes between the customer and the service provider. A number of authors within tourism and leisure marketing studies (Binkhorst and Den Dekker 2009; Cabiddu et al. 2013; Griessmann and Stokburger-Sauer 2012; Park and Vargo 2012; Prebensen et al. 2013; Shaw et al. 2011) emphasise the tourist as an active value co-creator who realises value from using or interacting with a tourism product or service.

Further elaboration on the concept of co-creation and the customers’ role in co-creation processes represents an important aspect of the customer value-oriented research agenda in service marketing (Grönroos 2011; Gummerus 2013; Ng and Smith 2012). For instance, Chandler and Vargo (2011) call for a better understanding of the process of co-creation in a variety of different contexts, and Frochot and Batat (2013, p. 63) claim that “we need to identify the processes and concretely illustrate how co-creation takes place.” Additionally, despite its importance within service marketing, only a handful of researchers turn their attention specifically to customers’ co-creation processes which involve other customers, rather than the service organisation (e.g., Baron and Harris 2008; Baron and Warnaby 2011; Finsterwalder and Kuppelwieser 2011; Gruen et al. 2007; McColl-Kennedy et al. 2012; Prebensen and Foss 2011). C2C value co-creation frameworks grounded in empirical data could therefore represent a considerable advancement within the service marketing body of literature.

1.1.1. *Developments within the marketing discipline*

The research presented in this thesis is located within the most recent perspectives in marketing and service marketing in particular, and focuses on the concept of C2C value co-creation in socially dense service settings. In order to highlight the relevance of the research and to explain how it fits within the wider context of marketing, this section outlines the theoretical developments of this discipline, and briefly elaborates on the key concepts and perspectives of relevance: service marketing; value co-creation; Service-Dominant and Customer-Dominant logic; resource integration; and, social practices.

Table 1 summarises in a simplified manner the main stages in marketing orientation development through the 20th century, the focus and characteristics of each stage, and the subsets of marketing which dominated in those periods. Additionally, examples are provided of concepts and marketing theories within the later eras.

Table 1 Marketing orientation development

Time-frame	Marketing orientation era	Underpinning mindset and focus	Examples of marketing subsets	Examples of relevant concepts
1800s – 1920s	<i>Production era and product era</i>	Goods manufacturing and supply, improved efficiency and product quality	-	-
1940s - 1950	<i>Sales era</i>	Selling and promotion, exchange for profit	-	Product quality Advertising and promotion
1960 – 2000	<i>Marketing era</i>	Satisfying needs and wants of consumers, exchange for mutual benefit, competitiveness (the Marketing concept)	Product marketing Services marketing	Marketing mix management Value chain and perceived consumer value Perceived service quality
1980s - today	<i>Service marketing era</i>	Relationships and communication, systems and networks, interactivity	Relationship marketing Societal marketing Social/ mobile marketing	Customer loyalty Customer experience Prosumption Co-production Co-creation

Source: Adapted from Adcock et al. (2001), Baker (2010) and Kotler et al. (2009)

Marketing in Western societies, and in Europe and North America in particular, has evolved from a strongly production-focussed orientation in the early 20th century, in which profits were driven by the manufacturing of large quantities of goods in order to minimise production costs (i.e. *the production era*). Products rather than the needs and

wants of consumers were still the main focus of marketers throughout the early half of the 20th century (*the product era*). Product failures were common in this period as many firms developed their products irrespective of consumer demand (Adcock et al. 2001). Marketing in the post-war period consequently started to focus on effective selling and promotion to increase competitiveness (*the sales era*). However, sales orientation represented only a short-term major profit driver. Since the 1950s, marketers therefore started paying attention to their competitors and more importantly, to their customers (ibid). A company-wide customer orientation with the objective of achieving long-term business success was evident throughout *the marketing era*.

Also referred to as the marketing concept, the marketing era prevailed in the theory and practice of marketing for 30 years or more (Baker 2010). Dominated by the American marketing management perspective, the marketing era prioritised customers' needs and how to best serve them. The focus was on providing products that would deliver some benefits to customers through value exchange processes (Kotler et al. 2009). The customer was considered as one party in an exchange transaction, in which each party gives up something in order to get something else of greater economic value in return (Vargo and Lusch 2004). In order to 'sell value' (i.e. products or services that are embedded with value) with profit, marketing managers sought to "manipulate, manage, and lock in the customer" (Gummesson 2004, p. 21) through the correct mix of the four 'Ps' – product, price, place and promotion (Borden 1964).

While the American school of marketing management thought still prevails in marketing practice, this perspective has been receiving criticism, particularly in the European service marketing circles. A number of authors point out that in positing that value is created by the firm - the 'producer', in order to be consumed (i.e. used or destroyed) by the 'consumer', the traditional marketing concept separates the roles of consumer and producer in too sharp a dichotomy (Edvardsson et al. 2011; Lovelock and Wirtz 2007; Vargo and Lusch 2004; 2008b). As Gummesson (2004, p. 21) points out,

"Consumers have moved from self-supporting individuals in local and familiar environments to become dependent on experts, strangers, and external products. Providers stand between consumers and need-satisfaction. Traditional literature offers clear-cut roles and parties: seller/buyer, active producer/passive consumer, and subject/object."

Baker (2010, p. 15) notes that the application of the marketing mix "appears best suited to mass markets for consumer packaged goods, underpinned by sophisticated distribution channels and commercial mass media." By adopting this goods-centred,

transaction- and outcome-oriented focus, many firms may therefore be seen as treating the customer as a passive, reactive element, to whom something is done in the marketing process (Grönroos 1990; Vargo and Lusch 2004).

The sharp distinction between producers and consumers that is evident in the traditional marketing concept has started to blur with the rise of service economies and the influence of information technologies in the marketplace (Baker 2010; Ritzer and Jurgenson 2010; Vargo and Lusch 2004). Societal and economic changes from post-war industrialised production-dominated economies toward service-based economies in many developed countries meant that the market orientation period saw the emergence of 'services marketing' as a distinct subset of marketing that differs from the previous sole focus of marketing of goods and products (Lovelock and Wirtz 2007). Concepts such as perceived service quality (Parasuraman et al. 1985) emerged in marketing research, which started to distinguish between marketing goods, as tangible and durable products that customers can purchase and own, and services, as intangible, variable and heterogeneous, perishable and inseparable/ simultaneous (Kotler et al. 2009; Lovelock and Wirtz 2007).

The simultaneous nature of services in particular meant that services are produced and consumed at the same time, while in some cases customers are required to participate actively in co-producing the service (Ritzer and Jurgenson 2010; Toffler 1980). This is true of technology-driven services, such as personal banking and finance, or time-limited and collective services, such as live events (Bowdin et al. 2011; Lovelock and Gummesson 2004). Proponents of the Nordic school of thought in services marketing, and specifically scholars such as Christian Grönroos and Evert Gummesson, argued that the traditional marketing concept did not take into account services and value as co-produced and co-created via the contributions of both the service providers and the customers (Gummesson 2004; Vargo and Lusch 2004). From the 1980s onwards, the concepts of interactions, loyalty, and relationship building with customers therefore gained importance in service research (Sheth and Parvatiyar 1995).

Technological advances and the influence of broadband Internet in the marketplace increasingly provided customers with access to information, thus speeding up the evolution of marketing toward more relationship-based perspectives. Customers' thinking and behaviours changed from unaware to informed, from isolated to networked on a global scale, and from passive to active and willing to experiment with new products and services (Binkhorst and Den Dekker 2009; Prahalad and Ramaswamy

2004). Consequently, relationship marketing emerged in the late 1980s as an important area of services marketing that reflected this interaction- and network-based view (see Berry 2002). Relationship marketing focused on the value of enhancing and customising collaborative relationships, interactions and networks with existing customers as a way of fostering long-term customer retention and satisfaction (e.g., Gummesson 2002; Sheth and Parvatiyar 2000).

Other interaction- and relationship-based approaches that appeared in the marketing literature since the 1980s also reflected the idea of marketers increasingly asking customers to play simultaneously the roles of producer and consumer. As consumers were starting to make the choice of purchasing certain kinds of goods (*consumption*) in order to add value through the use of their own skills and knowledge (*production*), the concept of ‘prosumption’ emerged (Kotler 1986; Ritzer and Jurgenson 2010; Toffler 1980; Troye and Xie 2007). An example of prosumption could be customers purchasing a coffee machine and rendering themselves services that were traditionally provided by coffee houses. Recognising that the customer can be a valuable resource to the firm meant that the customers’ co-producing role needed to be acknowledged (Gouthier and Schmid 2003). ‘Consumer co-production’ was studied as a dynamic process which precedes the usage/ consumption stage and through which customers participate in customisation of marketing offers by assisting in the design and production of goods or services (e.g., Bendapudi and Leone 2003; Etgar 2008).

The concept of ‘customer co-creation’ was introduced by Prahalad and Ramaswamy (2004) as part of the experience marketing subset, and developed by Vargo and Lusch (2004) in the Service-Dominant logic paradigm (both of these areas will be addressed in more detail). Customers were seen as playing a crucial role in co-creating value that is unique to them, with competition centred on the provision of personalised co-creation experiences (Prahalad and Ramaswamy 2004). A growing line of research has focused on online customer co-creation activities. Authors have explored how social networking sites, blogs, wikis, and media-sharing sites can be used by marketers as a source of customer-generated knowledge distribution, innovation and value co-creation (e.g., Chua et al. 2010; Dutton 2008; Libai et al. 2010; van Limburg 2009). Fostering a sense of community among consumers, facilitating communication and interaction between consumers within these communities, and continuously developing and maintaining the community relationship, have been seen as effective strategies within relationship marketing (Gummesson 2006; Rowley et al. 2007).

Importantly, the emergence of the above concepts suggested that marketers begun to reassess if providing and marketing services in the same way that products and goods are provided would lead to long-term competitive advantage and relationship building with customers. As Gummesson (2010, p. 399) suggests,

“goods and services and other products such as software, information and knowledge [...] always appear together. It has now come to a point where goods and services merge and the recognition of the interdependency between the two is a more productive vantage point.”

Vargo and Lusch (2008a) and also other authors (Brown 2007; O'Shaughnessy and O'Shaughnessy 2009) argue that the marketing discipline should start to distinguish between ‘services’ and ‘service’, as opposed to ‘goods’ and ‘services’. Vargo and Lusch (2008b, p. 4) define ‘service’ (singular) as “the application of competences for the benefit of another party”. The authors see the provision of service from the provider’s perspective, as doing something for someone (be it other businesses, customers or the society). The exchange of goods or products can also be viewed as a service exchange, as it requires application of competences (i.e. knowledge and skills) for the benefit of others (i.e. customers, but also other actors in the marketplace). For that reason, Vargo and Lusch (2004) posit that all providers should be seen as service providers, and service exchange viewed as the foundation of all economic exchange. According to Gummesson (2010) and other authors (Grönroos 2006; Schembri 2006; Vargo and Lusch 2004), from the 1990s onwards mainstream goods-based marketing discipline has therefore started to enter a new *service marketing era* as a result of these reconceptualisations within marketing. In this era, the boundary between goods and services, and between service providers and their customers, is starting to blur or disappear altogether.

The term ‘service marketing’ is increasingly used as an umbrella term for both product and services subsets of marketing. The new service marketing era is characterised by a new focus on developing relationships and adopting more holistic systems and networks perspective. All stakeholders in the marketplace (including suppliers, customers, but also employees, distributors, retailers, local communities and society as a whole), are integrated in networks (Gummesson 2004; Gummesson 2002; Vargo et al. 2008). Organisations are increasingly focusing on building relationships within these networks, in order to achieve sustainable growth and customer loyalty. The notion of *value (co)-creation* in particular, as one of the main underlying concepts

within the new service marketing, continues to be a priority of service researchers. This concept is outlined next.

1.1.2. Service marketing and the focus on value co-creation

As shown above, the marketing discipline has evolved in the recent four decades from more traditional mainstream marketing, focussed on providing value for customers and marketing to customers, to the new service orientation in marketing, in which both goods and services form a basis for gaining competitive advantage via interactive, collaborative relationships with customers:

Traditional marketing orientation => *New service marketing orientation*

It is within the new service marketing where this thesis is oriented. Vargo and Lusch's 2004 article in the *Journal of Marketing* entitled "Evolving to a New Dominant Logic for Marketing" captures well this evolution of the marketing discipline toward the service orientation as a new dominant perspective, or even a new substantive theory in marketing (Baker 2010; Gummesson 2004; Vargo 2011). In the opening part of their paper, Vargo and Lusch state:

"The purpose of this article is to illuminate the evolution of marketing thought toward a new dominant logic [...] marketing has moved from a goods-dominant view, in which tangible output and discrete transactions were central, to a service-dominant view, in which interchangeability, exchange processes, and relationships are central."
(Vargo and Lusch 2004, p. 2)

The ***Service-Dominant [S-D] logic in marketing*** has since its conception in 2004 attracted much academic attention, albeit not always favourable. A few commentators pointed out that Vargo and Lusch do not offer a new perspective. Brown (2007), for instance, questions if the S-D logic represents merely "a new twist on an old plot" in that it does not offer completely new insights into customers' collaborative co-creation role. Nevertheless, Vargo and Lusch do not try to re-invent the wheel in any way, or ignore the established theories and concepts. In their updated S-D logic proposal (Vargo and Lusch 2006), they present a table that illustrates the evolution of marketing thought, including those streams of marketing literature outlined in section 1.1.1. Brown (2007, p. 293) does admit that what Vargo and Lusch do well is taking existing ideas and "cogently repackage (-ing these ideas) for a new generation". S-D logic is treated by the authors as 'open-source theory' in marketing - still evolving and very much in need of further conceptualisation (Vargo and Lusch 2008b; Vargo 2011).

S-D logic has helped to re-orient academic debate from its focus on valuable goods or services as the output of marketing to value co-creation between the business and customers (B2C value co-creation) (Payne et al. 2008; Vargo and Lusch 2004; Vargo and Lusch 2008a). A service provider offers a ‘value proposition’, but *value realisation* (or subjective perceptions of customer value) occurs in the usage and consumption process. Thus, value emerges in the process of co-creation between the provider and customers. In the service-oriented mindset, firms should focus on realising subjectivity of value through interactions with customers and treating cash-flow as an indication of a healthy relationship with their customers (Prahalad and Ramaswamy 2004; Vargo and Lusch 2004). This represents a fundamental shift in marketers’ mindset away from the primacy of material value, toward a relationship-based, collaborative view that is the basis of competitive advantage.

S-D logic addresses customers’ active, goal-oriented role in value co-creation through the resource-based view, in which customers are seen to integrate their resources to co-create value (Edvardsson et al. 2011; Gummesson 2006; Vargo 2008; Vargo and Lusch 2008b). (Customers’ resource integration will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2). What this means is that customers possess some skills, knowledge and capabilities (‘operant resources’) and use these to dispose of some tangible, material things (‘operand resources’). Viewed through the S-D logic lens, customers integrate their own operant and operand resources with the resources represented by the service organisation’s offering, but also with the resources of other customers in the service setting (Arnould et al. 2006; Vargo and Lusch 2008b). Nevertheless, as a number of scholars point out, customers do not always actively seek to co-create value with a service organisation, but sometimes also create value in their own mundane, everyday experiences and practices (Carù and Cova 2003; Grönroos and Voima 2013; Heinonen et al. 2013; Wikström 2008). Additionally, the resource-integrating perspective does not address value co-creation in those instances where the mere co-presence of other customers in the setting creates some value (e.g., Belk 1975; Ehrenreich 2006; Richards and de Brito 2013; Tombs and McColl-Kennedy 2010).

The recently emerged *Customer-Dominant [C-D] logic* (Heinonen et al. 2013; Heinonen et al. 2010; Voima et al. 2010) questions S-D logic’s assertion that customers co-create value with the firm. C-D logic in marketing builds on the basic principles of S-D logic in that service organisations are viewed as providing value propositions. But the customers’ active role in value co-creation is emphasised and their agency in

creating value is extended further into the customers' sphere. C-D logic is labelled by some authors (Gummerus 2013) as having a somewhat extremist view on customers' agency. Nonetheless, the proponents of C-D logic (Grönroos and Voima 2013; Heinonen et al. 2013) rightly argue that focusing only on value co-creation between service organisations and customer [B2C co-creation] may be too narrow a perspective, as not all value is co-created with the service provider. In other words, customers create value beyond their role as B2C co-creation participators. Heinonen et al. (2010) believe that marketers benefit from a more "holistic understanding of customers' lives, practices and experiences, in which service is naturally and inevitably embedded" (Heinonen et al. 2010, p. 533). C-D logic therefore places customers' value creation in their own practices and experiences, rather than some goal-oriented, collaborative co-creation acts between the customers and the service organisation. Customers become the sole *creators* or *producers* of value for themselves as well as others.

The C-D logic perspective further argues that firms need to focus on what customers are doing with services to accomplish their own goals, to understand better the role of services in customers' lives (Heinonen et al. 2010). Service-oriented marketing aims to provide services that customers would want by creating value propositions and then focussing on interactions through which this value is co-created. But as C-D logic posits, as it is the customer who is in control of value creation, the ultimate goal of organisations should be to *find ways through which they can be involved in, i.e., facilitate or support, customers' own co-creation* (Grönroos and Voima 2013; Heinonen et al. 2013). This means that service organisations benefit from going beyond B2C value co-creation focus, and instead exploring co-creation in the customers' own social sphere. This includes the value co-creation processes in which customers are involved in with other individuals; i.e. C2C value co-creation.

In order to understand how customers' C2C value co-creation can bring competitive advantage to service organisations, value research has increasingly started to focus not only on customers' value outcomes and subjective perceptions, but rather, on the actual processes of value creation or formation (Grönroos 2011; Grönroos and Voima 2013; Heinonen et al. 2013; Korkman 2006; Rai 2012). As customers are involved in creating value during the process of service delivery, they can be influenced by the progress of this process; even more so if other customers are present in the service setting (McColl-Kennedy and Tombs 2011; Tombs and McColl-Kennedy 2010). Customers' resource integration activities represent one way of conceptualising C2C

co-creation processes (e.g., Baron and Harris 2008; Hamilton and Alexander 2013; Pongsakornrungrungsilp and Schroeder 2011). But as section 2.3.1 in Chapter 2 will show, in the context of this research the resource-based approach has a number of limitations. This thesis therefore explores C2C co-creation through the notion of customers' *social practices*, in line with most recent research streams within the C-D logic and service consumption literature (Cassop Thompson 2012; Echeverri and Skålén 2011; Holttinen 2010; Korkman 2006; McColl-Kennedy et al. 2012; Schau et al. 2009; Warde 2005).

1.1.3. The practice orientation in service marketing

The turn toward the practice-based perspective in service marketing goes hand in hand with calls for 'bottom-up', interpretive perspectives in marketing research, which are to examine the role of 'marketing-as-practice' (Skålén and Hackley 2011). Focussing on issues of professionalism in services and public administration contexts, for instance, Kemnis (2010) laments that public administration has been dominated by the evidence-based 'technicist view', which focuses on measurable outcomes or outputs at the expense of less tangible socio-cultural, historical and material-economic significance of practices. He advocates an alternative view that emphasises the *reading of practices*, i.e., an elucidation of the ways and contexts in which practices are performed (Kemnis 2010). As such, the practice-based perspective is in line with latest interpretivist thinking in the new service marketing, which increasingly emphasises the socially and culturally grounded meanings of consumption (Carù and Cova 2003; Hanson and Grimmer 2007; Hudson and Ozanne 1988; Levy 2005; Mariampolski 2006; Pachauri 2001; Solomon et al. 2006; Tadajewski 2004).

Practice orientation has started to appear within areas such as organisational behaviour and strategic management studies (e.g. Orlikowski 2010) or research on market theories (Kjellberg and Helgesson 2007). An increasing interest in the practice-based approach is also evident in the study of consumption (Belk 1995; Holt 1995; Warde 2005). Academic conferences focussing on value and co-creation in service research, such as the 2011 and 2013 *Naples Forum on Service*, have started to dedicate paper tracks to practice-based approaches. A practice lens is also increasingly adopted in empirical studies of value (co)-creation in a variety of service contexts (Echeverri and Skålén 2011; Holttinen 2010; Korkman 2006; McColl-Kennedy et al. 2012; Rai 2012; Russo-Spena and Mele 2012; Schau et al. 2009). A focus on social practices in the

context of C2C co-creation is therefore very much in line with this latest orientation in value co-creation research.

The practice-based approach will be reviewed and explained in detail in section 2.3.2, Chapter 2. What is important at this point is that social practice refers to ‘ways of doing’ that are embedded in a specific social context and carried or performed by some social unit (Reckwitz 2002). Customers are the carriers of practices, decentred in a complex, holistic system of practice elements that comprise spaces, tools, socially constructed images and rule structures, and other people (Schatzki 2001; Warde 2005). But this inherent complexity, and the relative lack of agency of the individual customer in practices, does not mean that customers’ consumption practices cannot be altered or influenced in some way. As Echeverri and Skålén (2011) and Korkman (2006) point out, by examining how the various practice elements interact within practices, it may be possible to find ways of improving customers’ value co-creation.

The practice-based approach also has epistemological and methodological implications for the study of value co-creation, starting with considerations of units of analysis. Customers in the practice-based perspective are viewed as seeking practices that have value for them. Therefore, the fact customers voluntarily take part in practices is seen as an indication that value is being formed within these practices (Korkman 2006; Warde 2005). But the individual customer is no longer the centre of value-related enquiry; rather it is the practice (Korkman 2006; Warde 2005). As such, the practice-based perspective differs from those which view value in terms of self-reported, subjective evaluations of the outcomes (or benefits), realised to customers through social experiences shared with other customers.

Another feature of the practice-based approach in value co-creation research is that it actively acknowledges the importance of the social context, both physical and symbolic, in which practices are carried out. As Holttinen (2010, p. 98) notes, practice “ties value creation to a specific social, cultural and spatial setting at a certain time in history and in the consumer’s life.” This has been highlighted within tourism and leisure research, for instance. Richards (2010) notes that social practices represent a promising starting point for leisure studies, in that they move away from the previous focus on individual choices and rather, emphasise contextuality, value and the links between memberships in different practices. Talking of tourism as a practice, Crouch (2004) points to the complex and contextually embedded nature of value forming practices. The author states:

“From a perspective of practice tourism is an encounter. An encounter between people, people and space, amongst people, bodily, and in a way that engages expectations, desire, contexts and representations, imagination, and feeling. Such an encounter occurs in particular spaces, events, and activities. Thus meaning and value in tourism are constructed and constituted in a complex way.” (Crouch 2004, p. 93)

Consequently, reflexive and context-sensitive enquiry is needed, which acknowledges specific consumption contexts and their characteristics, as well as the content of the social processes that take place in these contexts (i.e. the elements of practices) (Orlikowski 2010; Russo-Spena and Mele 2012).

In line with this context-based view of the practice-based perspective, empirical exploration of C2C co-creation in this thesis is conducted within the *specific socially dense service context of festivals*. Section 1.2 that follows introduces festivals as a type of a special events service system and provides a justification as to why festivals have been selected as a suitable context for the study of C2C value co-creation. Existing research perspectives adopted in the study of value creation in this area are briefly discussed. Literature on festival consumption and visitation is acknowledged, focussing in particular on existing value perspectives in festival studies. Research conducted to date on socially constructed festival communities is also outlined, to emphasise the importance of social interactions and relationships among festival customers.

1.2. Introducing socially dense festival contexts

The service settings that could be chosen as suitable research contexts for empirical study of C2C value co-creation are those in which C2C interactions and relationships would likely impact on service experiences. As Martin and Pranter (1989) suggest, C2C interactions ‘matter’ in service settings with the following attributes: customers are in close physical proximity; verbal interaction among customers is likely; customers are engaged in numerous and varied activities; the service environment attracts a heterogeneous customer mix; the core service is compatibility; customers must occasionally wait for the service; and, customers are expected to share time, space or service utensils with each other. A number of service settings could be described in those terms: shopping mall and retail contexts; sports and leisure events; guided tours and hotel resorts; night clubs, theatres, and arts performances; restaurants and cafes; speed-dating services; and many other similar contexts.

Special events represent another service setting that fulfils well Martin and Pranter's (1989) criteria. Special events often become a place where people with similar interests, motivations and goals meet together and interact (Levy 2010; Getz 1989; 2005). Compatibility in terms of the event focus is therefore often a given, although the demographic attributes of audience members may differ. Marketing research typically views special events as part of the services industry, with an event studied as service delivery occurrence. Like other types of services, events have tangible elements and static components (e.g. physical stage, equipment). But they are also intangible, variable and heterogeneous (although some event formats can be standardised), inseparable/simultaneous, and perishable (Bowdin et al. 2011; Jackson 2006). Many events can only be sensibly produced in large batches. Music concerts for instance are in most cases delivered for larger audiences that gather in one place with great physical proximity, as opposed to individual customers. These features create a *socially dense service context*, making special events a relevant setting for the study of C2C value co-creation.

Goldblatt (2007) and Getz (2005) describe special events as unique moments in time, often with hidden meanings and beyond everyday experiences, with varied programming elements which offer an opportunity for leisure, special or cultural experiences. Various typologies of special events exist. When attempting to understand what constitutes special events, scholars have looked at various aspects of these, such the context and nature of events, the space/environment in which events take place, event size, and the prevailing purpose (see Table 2).

Table 2 Examples of events typologies

Typologies based on	Examples of special events types			
Form	Festivals	Conferences	Exhibitions	
Size	Local events	Hallmark events	Major events	Mega events
Programming/ focus	Entertainment/ Music/ Performing Arts/ Cultural	Education/ Learning	Recreational/ Competitive/ Sports events	Business/ Marketing and PR/ Trade/ Commercial
Location/ Reach	Rural	Urban	National	International
Function	Private / Rites and rituals/ Life- cycle events	Marketing and PR/ Commercial/ Business/ Corporate/ Trade	Not-for-profit/ Charity/ Cause- specific	Civic/ Political/ Religious

Sources: Adapted from Bowdin et al. (2011); Getz (2005); Goldblatt (2007)

Among the different types of events *festivals* play an important role. According to Getz (2005), festivals are public themed celebrations that are organised for different purposes

and within the scope of different genres or themes, such as folk music, performing arts, literature and storytelling or visual arts. They are mostly organised for entertainment/pleasure and for a variety of audiences, but also often act to display the cultural elements of a specific community (ibid). Festival visitors come together to socialise with each other (Gibson and Connell 2012; Jankowiak and White 1999; Packer and Ballantyne 2011; Wilks 2011), to share their enthusiasm for a specific genre or specialisation (Kyle and Chick 2002; Matheson 2005), but also to be simply physically co-present (Ehrenreich 2006; Richards 2010), while immersing themselves in the festival servicescape often for a number of days. In terms of the variety of social practices, interactions and relationships among customers that may occur at festivals, this service setting therefore also represents a potentially rich and unique research context in which C2C value co-creation processes could be meaningfully explored.

In recent years, the numbers of cultural and music festivals in the UK have increased, suggesting a growing importance of the festival sector in the economy (Sussex Arts Marketing 2008). According to Mintel (2010), the UK music festival sector in particular has grown strongly, with sales 69% higher and admissions up by 29% in 2010 compared with 2005. With numbers of new festivals rising, it is crucial that festival managers not only identify the factors that attract and satisfy visitors, but also gain a better understanding of the processes that take place as festival visitors come together in the socially dense service setting. Customers who attend festivals want to enjoy themselves; the success of these service organisations is therefore by their very nature dependent on the satisfaction and positive experiences of their audiences (Cole and Chancellor 2009).

Service marketing research in the area of special events and festivals typically aims to identify specific elements of service design and delivery that impact on self-reported visitor outcomes (Andrews and Leopold 2013). This means that researchers try to measure how various features of the festival servicescape (Bitner 1992) or 'festivalscape' (Lee et al. 2008) fare in terms of benefits to visitors, and how this is reflected in managerially-relevant customer outcomes. For instance, studies measure the implications of service quality, facilities and programming for visitors' satisfaction, revisit intentions, and word of mouth communication (Baker and Crompton 2000; Drummond and Anderson 2004; Fredline et al. 2005; Lee and Beeler 2009; Thrane 2002; Tkaczynski and Stokes 2010).

The influence of other customers is also increasingly acknowledged in studies addressing events satisfaction and experience. Pegg and Patterson (2010) identify socialising with family and friends and meeting new people as crucial aspects of the festival experience. Similarly, Moital et al. (2009) note that positive emotions, which stem from socialising with other festival goers, greatly contribute to the satisfaction of music festival-goers. Bowen and Daniels (2005) claim that in terms of the motivation and expectations of music festival visitors, creating a fun and festive atmosphere that offers opportunities to socialise is as important as the line-up. In these studies, value in terms of benefits or impacts realised through delivering quality service and programming, but also facilitating positive social experience, serves as an important variable to determine the success of festival organisation (Baker and Crompton 2000).

Nonetheless, the pressures of diminishing public funding and changing governmental social, cultural and health policy agendas have meant that many events and festivals now seek to achieve less tangible social and cultural impacts. These include the building of social capital and social equity, promoting social cohesion, or developing community wellbeing (Arcodia and Whitford 2007; Getz 2000; 2009; Moscardo 2008; Oliver and Walmsley 2011; O'Sullivan 2012; Schulenkorf et al. 2011). The notion of bridging and bonding 'social capital' from sociology (Bourdieu 1986; Coleman 1988; Putnam 2000) is therefore increasingly adopted by researchers particularly in the context of community festivals, to study how socialisation among festival visitors may contribute to these softer outcomes (Moscardo 2008; Stone and Sharpley 2012; Wilks 2011). Social capital emphasises connections within and between groups, which through collaboration and co-operation in achieving shared objectives lead to a range of socio-cultural outcomes (Adler and Kwon 2002). Getz (2007) and Foley et al. (2012), for instance, note that smaller events and festivals can serve as a catalyst for community development through sharing with outsiders or integration of diverse social groups.

The outcome-oriented focus on festival benefits may not adequately capture the value and importance of these less tangible impacts and outcomes. Referring to the benefits-oriented value models in the arts events sector research, Oliver and Walmsley (2011, p. 95 emphasis added) state that

“by focussing on benefits and impacts, rather than on the less tangible concept of value, all these models are guilty of reducing *the arts experience from an inter-subjective, situational, relational and ever-*

emerging process to a two-dimensional series of outputs, whose values are predetermined and externally imposed.”

The authors refer to the ‘inter-subjective, situational, relational and ever-emerging process’ of an arts experience, highlighting its complex and dynamic nature. Similarly, for Getz (2007), the meanings attached to the event experience, rather than some measurable outcomes, should be treated as the core phenomenon of events and festival studies. While Getz (2012) still prompts researchers and practitioners to gain more understanding of how such experiences should be designed or facilitated (marketing-focussed research), he also stresses the importance of shedding light on customers’ role in co-creation of the experience. As Arnould and Price (1993, p. 27) note, the delivery of a customer experience “must transcend the purposive, task-oriented, and commercial nature of the ordinary service interaction”. In order to ‘pull’ their audiences, encourage repeat visitation, and thus offer better quality products, festival design benefits from addressing the need for unique and memorable (social) experiences in a hedonic environment that removes audiences from their everyday routines (Berridge 2007; Cole and Chancellor 2009; Morgan 2006; 2009; Lee and Kyle 2009).

In line with the increasing emphasis on the relational, collaborative perspectives in service marketing research (as outlined in section 1.1.1), the shared social experiences and practices of customers at festivals could therefore be explored as an important facet of C2C value co-creation. But the study of the social processes at festivals has been approached using a somewhat disjointed variety of social science concepts and disciplines, such as sociology, social psychology, anthropology, or cultural studies. The notions of ‘serious leisure’ (Stebbins 1992), and ‘consumer neotribes’ (Maffesoli 1996 [1988]) are drawn upon to explain the social value inherent in leisure activities. A number of authors (Begg 2011; Kyle and Chick 2002; Matheson 2005) adopt these concepts to find that festivals organised around a specialist theme or genre (for example folk music) foster a sense of fellowship and social authenticity among visitors. Festival research grounded in anthropological and cultural perspectives explores the presence of ‘communitas’ (Turner 1979; 1995) as a shared spontaneous sense of togetherness and lack of social boundaries that emerges from the celebratory, liminoid nature of festivals (e.g., Anderton 2009; Begg 2011; Gardner 2004; Getz 2007; Kim and Jamal 2007; Morgan 2009). The notions of ‘carnavalesque’ (Bakhtin 1968) and ‘collective effervescence’ (Ehrenreich 2006) are also adopted to explain counter-cultural sociality and the experience of ecstatic togetherness at festivals (Anderton

2011; Marling and Kibb 2012). (The above concepts will be addressed in further detail in the thesis.)

Such research grounded in the social sciences serves to provide insights into the social aspects and meanings associated with festival consumption and plays an important role in developing more sophisticated, holistic events and festivals marketing approaches (Andrews and Leopold 2013; Getz 2008; 2012). Consequently, through more meaningful facilitation of *communitas* and enhanced socialisation in festivals, the less tangible social outcomes could be achieved (Andrews and Leopold 2013; Arcodia and Whitford 2007; Gibson and Connell 2005; Richards et al. 2013). These studies draw attention to the importance of festivals as a socially dense service setting in which C2C co-creation almost certainly takes place. But there is a gap in the literature with respect to a systematic examination of the specific contents of C2C value co-creation processes; i.e. the social practices in which value is formed at festivals.

By illuminating the practices that constitute C2C co-creation of value, research within the context of festivals could go beyond the limited focus on proving some 'predetermined and externally imposed' impacts (Oliver and Walmsley 2011). Rather, such research would highlight issues related to, for instance, how exactly people engage with each other in the course of consumption practices at festivals. This could be of relevance not only to festivals marketers and managers, but also to the service marketing discipline more generally.

1.3. Thesis aim and objectives

To recapitulate the preliminary insights provided in the above rationale for the thesis, the following developments have been evidenced within service marketing research:

From Goods-Dominant logic and value provision =>

Via Service-Dominant logic and B2C value co-creation =>

To *Customer-Dominant logic and C2C value (co-)creation*

It is the Customer-Dominant logic perspective in marketing and the concept of C2C value co-creation specifically that this research seeks to make a contribution within. The focus on C2C co-creation provides a novel perspective on the traditionally B2C focussed co-creation research within the new service marketing. Deeper, more holistic understanding of how value is co-created/ formed in customers' social practices could

inform and enhance existing value co-creation models by further re-conceptualising co-creation and highlighting its importance within service contexts where C2C interactions are of relevance.

Furthermore, exploration of C2C co-creation in specific socially dense service contexts allows service marketers to select those practices they wish to facilitate and support. Service organisations are in a better position to formulate more effective value propositions, realise more favourable social outcomes for their customers, and thus, achieve competitive advantage. An empirical examination of C2C co-creation practices in the specific socially dense context of festivals could therefore go toward the building of managerially relevant knowledge within service marketing. By studying how value ‘comes about’ (how it is co-created) in festival practices, insights could be provided into how C2C co-creation could be conceptualised and potentially, operationalised by service organisations.

In order to address the theoretical and empirical gaps within the emerging C-D logic in service marketing, the **research aim** for this thesis is therefore

to explore customer-to-customer value co-creation in socially dense service contexts, by investigating value-forming social practices of customers at festivals.

The following **research objectives** help to further this enquiry:

- 1) To identify value-forming social practices of customers at festivals
- 2) To examine practice elements that influence how practices at festivals are performed
- 3) To develop a customer-to-customer co-creation framework that is of theoretical and practical relevance within service marketing

1.4. Research approach

The view of customers in marketing research has shifted over the last few decades. As shown earlier in this chapter, customers are no longer seen as passive bystanders or reactors to the efforts of advertisers or marketers (Arnould 2007a). Rather, they are actively engaged in co-creating their own value and experiences (Carù and Cova 2007; Prahalad and Ramaswamy 2004; Vargo and Lusch 2008b). Vargo and Lusch’s (2004) service-dominant logic in marketing introduces the idea that value is realised in customers’ idiosyncratic contextualised consumption experiences, as opposed to

marketplace value being embedded in products or services. More recently, value agency has shifted even further into the customers' life worlds in the Customer-Dominant logic (Gummesson 2006; Heinonen et al. 2013). It is the customers who actually create value through the process of co-creation, while the service organisations' role is to find out how they can support and facilitate customers' co-creation practices (Echeverri and Skålén 2011; Korkman 2006).

Influenced by this evolving view of customers and value in marketing, a growing number of academics have adopted non-positivist epistemological lenses in the study of consumption and related marketing concepts. In the context of this thesis, non-positivism refers to paradigms grounded in the relativist ontology [i.e. reality is relative, constructed in the mind of each individual (Guba and Lincoln 2005)], such as social constructionism, interpretivism, or post-modernism. Within the S-D and C-D logic literature in particular, a number of scholars propose that markets and market exchange (including value and value co-creation) should be understood as *social constructions* (Deighton and Grayson 1995; Edvardsson et al. 2011; Grönroos 2011; Holt 1995; Hackley 1998; Korkman 2006; Peñaloza and Venkatesh 2006; Voima et al. 2010). Edvardsson et al. (2011) posit that co-creation takes place within wider social systems, and propose that S-D logic should move toward a *social-dominant* logic of marketing.

For Deighton and Grayson (1995), social construction theories (e.g., Berger and Luckmann 1967; Gergen 2001; Goffman 1963) are increasingly relevant to marketing and consumer research. They help to explain how a shared social consensus between consumers and marketers (and by extension, between individual customers) “make(s) up the prescriptive and proscriptive rules for social conduct and meaning ascription” (Deighton and Grayson 1995, p. 661). Based on the rationale for the research offered in this chapter, it is evident that the social constructionist stance is important if the researcher is to meaningfully acknowledge the complex socio-cultural environment in which C2C co-creation practices are performed (Holttinen 2010; Korkman 2006; Orlikowski 2010).

Following an in-depth consideration of the philosophical and epistemological underpinnings of the S-D and C-D logics in Chapter 3 of the thesis, *social constructionism is therefore adopted as the epistemological lens* for the study of C2C value co-creation at festivals. The social constructionist perspective favours qualitative approaches and methodologies that are grounded in the interpretive, rather than positivist paradigm. This means that the whys and hows in human behaviour are of

primary concern to the researcher, rather than the verification of ‘facts’ derived from some objective reality, as is the case with positivism (Patton 2002). Qualitative methodologies are seen to offer a more holistic alternative to traditional market research and study of customer-perceived value (Hackley 1998; Mariampolski 2006).

In line with the theoretical frame of social practices and the social constructionist epistemology in C-D logic, this research utilises *ethnographic-style observation and interview-based methods*. Following purposive sampling decisions (as detailed in Chapter 3 section 3.4.1), data were collected in situ at five different UK-based multi-day outdoor festivals. The researcher attended the festivals in the role of ‘observer as participant’ (Gold 1958), with observations, documents, and a total of 52 semi-structured interviews with a variety of informants (both individuals and naturally occurring groups) constituting data. An interpretive thematic data analysis utilised QSR NVivo 9 as a tool to aid data coding and to help make the analytical process transparent (Bazeley 2007).

Issues of transferability, trustworthiness (Guba and Lincoln 2005) and internal validity (Taylor and Bogdan 1984) of the research were considered. Researchers utilising quantitative methods strive for an objective stance, independency of the data and replicable procedures. In contrast, the relativist ontology adopted in this thesis means that the researcher is concerned with acknowledging her personal values and beliefs as they interact with the social world under study (Guba and Lincoln 2005; Saunders et al. 2009). Internal validity (Taylor and Bogdan 1984) was sought in this research through methods triangulation. This means that the combination of interviews, observation and document analysis (Holloway et al. 2010) ensured that what people actually say and do were constantly in close contact within the data.

The research findings in this thesis are not seen as generalisable to all service settings, or to all festival contexts. Rather, transferability is sought within similar social milieus (Guba and Lincoln 2005; Holloway et al. 2010), such as socially dense community events, sport events, conferences and other types of special events, as outlined in Table 2 on p.14. The findings may also be transferable to other socially dense settings, such as organised leisure tours or group holidays. Thick descriptions and participants’ voices should allow for other researchers to decide whether or not the findings may be transferable. Thanks to its exploratory nature, qualitative research can also be generalised to theory (Bryman 2008). By empirically exploring C2C value co-

creation at festivals this thesis can make a theoretical contribution to knowledge regarding the concept of co-creation within service marketing.

1.5. Structure of the thesis

Following this introductory chapter, the thesis is divided into the subsequent seven chapters:

Chapter 2

This chapter expands on the theoretical background to the thesis. An overview of the concepts of value and co-creation is offered, and existing gaps in the literature with respect to conceptualising the process of C2C co-creation are identified. The chapter reflects on how conceptualisations of value in the service literature evolved from outcome-oriented ‘features-and-benefits’ discourses, through the co-creation ‘value-in-’ phenomenological discourses that build of the S-D logic perspective, and most recently to the notion of ‘inter-subjectivity’ of value. This discourse stems from C-D logics’ perspective on customers’ valuing processes that are embedded in their social contexts. Customers’ roles in value co-creation as resource-integrators and social practitioners are then discussed in depth, offering a rationale as to why the practice-based perspective to the study of C2C co-creation has been adopted in this thesis.

Chapter 3

Chapter 3 outlines the ontological and epistemological positioning of the thesis and explains in detail the methodological approach adopted. The research approach and design is introduced and the researcher considers what was learned through the pilot study conducted early on in the research. Qualitative sampling, data collection and analysis are then discussed. An overview of the emergent themes is presented to demonstrate how the organisation of findings linked in with the process of thematic analysis. The chapter concludes with a consideration of limitations of the research, and potential ethical issues involved in qualitative festival fieldwork.

Chapter 4

As the first of three findings and discussion chapters, this chapter identifies and analyses six C2C value co-creation practices that have been identified in festival contexts; namely: Belonging, Bonding, Detaching, Communing, Connecting and Amiability. Each of the practices comprises several actions as a crucial element of practices, and these are discussed in detail. C2C co-creation at festivals is then conceptualised in a two-dimensional framework, with practices viewed on a continuum within the Private ⇔ Public ‘Value orientation dimension’ on the one hand, and a Sociality ⇔ Sociability ‘Value immersion dimension’ on the other.

Chapters 5 and 6

The practice-based perspective suggests that the actions in which practices are embodied are orchestrated by other practice elements including a number of situational and subject-specific elements (Reckwitz 2002; Schatzki 2001; Schau et al. 2009). These practice elements are examined in detail in Chapters 5 and 6, which show how specific aspects of each of these practice elements influence C2C co-creation in festival contexts.

The subject-specific elements of practices are discussed in Chapter 5, including the social unit size and make-up; social class identity; level of immersion; level of skills; and, genre specialisation. These are colluded in two categories: practicing subject and skills & know-how. Chapter 6 then addresses situation-specific elements of practices, including intrinsic rule structures; extrinsic rule structures; social density in the physical setting; and, space designation and layout within the setting. The situation-specific practice elements are, again, colluded in two categories: situational images and physical environment.

Chapter 7

This discussion chapter draws the thesis findings together and considers their theoretical, practical and to some extent also social policy significance. The main concepts relating to C2C co-creation are revisited and two additional conceptual frameworks are introduced. Contributions and implications of the findings are discussed within the context of service marketing and co-creation research, and also research pertaining to events and festivals.

Specifically, the significance of C2C value co-creation as a two-dimensional construct is reflected on and C2C co-creation practices are considered as a systemic whole made up of actions, subject- and situation-specific elements. The more tangible, practical implications of the research are then presented in the second framework. Implications of C2C value co-creation for organisations operating in socially dense service settings are considered, looking in particular at the importance of facilitating and supporting C2C co-creation for long-term B2C relationship building and also for social policy agendas. The chapter concludes by outlining how findings pertaining to the subject- and situation- specific practice elements can be used in building better practice-based value propositions.

Chapter 8

In this concluding chapter the main research findings are briefly summarised. A formal evaluation of the research is then carried out based on the following criteria: theoretical and social significance; pragmatic adequacy; operational and empirical adequacy; and, internal consistency and parsimony. Using these criteria, the researcher synthesises the major contributions of the research to theory and practice within service marketing, and the marketing discipline more generally. The thesis concludes with a consideration of opportunities for further research and finally, a reflexive section concerning the researchers' personal journey through the research process.

2. VALUE AND CO-CREATION IN SERVICE MARKETING

2.1. Introduction

This chapter considers in depth the literature relevant for the exploration of the concepts that were introduced in the previous chapter – value and co-creation. As was mentioned in section 1.1 of the previous chapter, value represents a crucial yet somewhat ambiguous construct in marketing (Woodall 2003) and as such it has been represented in a variety of different discourses and approaches. Three of the main discourses that are evident in the marketing literature are addressed in the first part of this chapter: the ‘features-and-benefits’ discourse, the ‘value-in-’ discourse, and the ‘inter-subjectivity’ value discourse. Examples are provided of value research in festival and tourism marketing contexts, to illustrate how the different discourses could apply in socially dense service contexts in which C2C interactions may take place. A summary table of the three discourses is then offered in section 2.4.

A number of service marketing scholars call for the need to further reconceptualise co-creation (Grönroos 2011; Gummerus 2013; Ng and Smith 2012), and in particular, the contents of the processes that comprise the co-creation of value (Chandler and Vargo 2011; Frochot and Batat 2013). The next part of this chapter therefore offers a consideration of customers’ resource integration and social practices as two alternative approaches to the study of C2C co-creation that have appeared in service marketing literature. The review of the relevant literature in this chapter concludes with consideration of the practice-based approach as suitable for the study of C2C co-creation of value. A summary is offered of the value discourses, co-creation approaches, and existing gaps and opportunities within the service marketing literature with respect to the concept of C2C value co-creation, to reiterate the value and potential contribution of this research.

2.2. Value discourses in service marketing research

Value as a particularly important customer-related concept has been of interest to marketers for some time. Yet, as a number of scholars have pointed out (Gummerus 2013; Ng and Smith 2012; Woodall 2003), within different academic fields and streams in service marketing and consumer research, the value construct has been approached from different philosophical and epistemological standpoints. As a result a number of

different and not always unified discourses exist about what value actually refers to, where it is located and how it comes about.

In her very recent conceptual paper, Gummerus (2013) argues that value theory in service research could be broadly divided into three major categories: those that focus on value as an outcome ('value determination/ capture' category), those that conceptualise the value creation processes (the 'value creation' or 'valuing' category), and those that do not discriminate between the terms and rather conceptualise these as a holistic whole (the 'value co-creation' category). The following overview of value discourses in service marketing research in subsections 2.1.1 – 2.1.3 resembles Gummerus's (2013) distinction to some extent in discussing how value has been approached in the literature.

The first discourse, discussed in section 2.2.1, is termed by this author the 'features-and-benefits' value discourse. This discourse appears within the traditional, mainstream marketing management perspective. It focuses on how the service organisation can design and deliver value or valuable experience as outcomes through service attributes, so that it is perceived by customers as benefits. The features-and-benefits category corresponds with Gummerus's (2013) value determination category, which considers the type of value outcomes customers (or other parties) perceive. But in this thesis, the service organisation's 'features' are also seen as forming an important part of value capture study within service marketing research.

The second 'value-in-' discourse corresponds with the evolution in marketing toward the more relationship-based service marketing perspectives and considers, similar to Gummerus's (2013) co-creation distinction, the value co-creation perspectives that stem from literature around the S-D logic in marketing (Vargo and Lusch 2004; 2008). As the discussion in section 2.2.2 below shows, S-D logic is often presented as a new paradigm in marketing that offers opportunities for service marketing research and the study of value co-creation in particular. Nevertheless, it is argued that S-D logic has its limitations in the extent to which it can address C2C co-creation processes that are located in the customers' sphere (Grönroos 2008; Voima et al. 2010). These limitations, as well as the tenets of the recently emerged Customer-Dominant logic (Heinonen et al. 2010; 2013; Voima et al. 2010) are presented in the third, 'inter-subjectivity' value discourse in section 2.2.3 of this chapter.

The inter-subjectivity value discourse focuses on the particulars of customers' processes that lead to value creation or formation (Echeverri and Skålén 2011; Korkman

2006), i.e. the parties, activities and resources involved, rather than value as the outcome of these processes. In this sense, the inter-subjectivity value discourse resembles Gummerus's (2013) 'value creation' category in value theory. Although while Gummerus (2013) considers mainly the service-provider-centric view of the processes involved in value creation, the focus in this chapter is primarily on customers' C2C co-creation processes.

2.2.1. *The 'features-and-benefits' discourse: creating value for customers*

The 'features-and-benefits' discourse in service marketing is grounded in the 'goods-centred' (Vargo and Lusch 2004) focus of the original marketing concept, which builds on the idea that organisations should only produce products and services that command greater customer demand. Consequently, greater understanding of the needs and wants of customers is called for (Kotler et al. 2009; Schiffman and Kanuk 2007), with the value construct gaining academic attention. Value is studied from two angles: from the provider's perspective and from the customers' perspective. From the former angle, value is determined by the seller in the transaction process in terms of economic 'selling value', or what Vargo and Lusch (2004) term 'value-in-exchange', which could be returned in the shape of revenue, profits or referrals for the producer (Payne et al. 2008). From the customer's perspective, 'customer-perceived value' (Kotler et al. 2009) or 'value for the customer' (Woodall 2003) then represents a personal evaluation of the trade-offs between benefits and sacrifices (Zeithaml et al. 1988), or a judgement perception of the potential economic, functional and psychological *benefits* customers attribute to, or expect to receive from various *features* of the marketer's offering (Kotler et al. 2009; Woodall 2003).

Korkman (2006) notes that value discourses in this stream of scholarly writings typically relate to *cognitive evaluations*, inasmuch as customers (sub)consciously evaluate, assess, reason about, judge, and balance against the value of something. But with the increasingly important role of emotions and hedonism in consumer behaviour and decision making that was first acknowledged in the 1980s (Mehrabian and Russell 1974; Plutchik 1980; Richins 1983; Zajonc 1980; Zajonc and Markus 1982), researchers also start to focus on experiential consumption (Havlena and Holbrook 1986; Holbrook 1986; Holbrook and Hirschman 1982; Lofman 1991). Holbrook and Hirschman's (1982) emphasis on the hedonistic, symbolic and emotional aspects of consuming offers a basis for increasingly *experiential discourses* relating to customer value. For Holbrook

(1999, p. 9 emphasis in original), value resides “*not* in the product purchased, *not* in the brand chosen, *not* in the object possessed, but *rather* in the *consumption experience(s)* derived therefrom.”

To explore customers’ experiential value, Holbrook’s (1999) definition of value as an ‘interactive relativistic preference experience’ is often adopted by researchers (e.g., Gallarza and Gil 2008; Turnbull 2009). Holbrook’s (1999) interactive nature of consumer value refers to value involving an interaction between the customer (subject) and an object of consumption, with value emerging through interaction between the two. The relativistic feature refers to the fact that value is comparable, relative to something else that is more or less valuable. Consumer value embodies customer’s preferences goals or objectives that are based on the individuals’ situation-specific comparisons, hence Holbrook’s reference to the ‘preference’ feature of value. Based on this conceptualisation, Holbrook (1999) distinguishes between eight types of value that consumers derive from their consumption experiences: efficiency, excellence, status, esteem, play, aesthetics, ethics, and spirituality (Figure 1). These, according to Holbrook, depend on where they are placed on a three-dimensional axis of self- or other-oriented, intrinsic or extrinsic and active or reactive value creating activities.

Figure 1 A typology of customer value

		<i>Extrinsic</i>	<i>Intrinsic</i>
<i>Self-Oriented</i>	Active	Efficiency	Play
	Reactive	Excellence	Aesthetics
<i>Other-Oriented</i>	Active	Status	Ethics
	Reactive	Esteem	Spirituality

Source: Adopted from Holbrook (1999, p. 12)

While Holbrook calls for a phenomenological approach to value, however, the majority of experiential approaches view value as an outcome of service or customers’ service experiences. For instance, Pine and Gilmore’s (1998) experience economy posits that ‘pleasurable’ customer experiences, which stem from interactions with a product/service, would make the offering more valuable in the customer’s eyes. Experiences, according to Pine and Gilmore (1998), have the following attributes: they are staged, highly individual, memorable events that involve sensations and emotions, the value of which is revealed to the consumer over the duration of the experience. The authors speculate that the best way of introducing such values is through the theatre parallel, in which companies try to create a theatre and a stage for consumers to ‘perform in’ and

live out their experiences. In this environment experiences can be consumed without the intrusion of other brands and influences, thus creating an ‘experience bubble’ (ibid). Experience economists view customer experiences as subjective value outcomes that are realised as a result of carefully staged and designed elements of the offering on customers’ senses, feelings, actions, thinking, and relationships (O’Sullivan and Spangler 1998; Schmitt 1999; Pine and Gilmore 1998).

For the service provider guided by the features-and-benefits value discourse, it is crucial to create and apply the marketing mix so that the features, attributes and characteristics of the offering benefit the customer in some way. Thus, researchers seek to determine the specific types of value that customers derive from their consumption experiences. Typologies of social, epistemic and conditional consumption value (Sheth et al. 1991) or other-oriented ‘status’ and ‘esteem’ consumer value (Holbrook 1999) are utilised to determine perceived utility of consumption choices on the purchase decision-making level (Sweeney and Soutar 2001). Simple (e.g. utilitarian vs. hedonistic value) as well as more complex typologies of experiential value (Holbrook 1999; Pine and Gilmore 1999; Schmitt 1999) are adopted to aid marketing strategies by providing a basis for market segmentation and product positioning (Gallarza and Gil 2008), or the design of customer experiences in their various stages (Turnbull 2009).

Application of the features-and-benefits approach also seems to dominate in the context of tourism and festival marketing research (Andrews and Leopold 2013; Getz 2012). Researchers pinpoint the impact of specific service features on customers’ value perceptions, or the effect that different design elements (i.e., the technical aspects of themeing and staging of events and festivals) have on visitors’ experiences. Conventional service quality survey designs, such as Parasuram, Zeithaml and Berry’s (1985) SERVQUAL tool, are adopted to set checklists of visitor expectations of service quality against measurable outcomes, such as customer satisfaction and loyalty (e.g., Baker and Crompton 2000; Drummond and Anderson 2004; Getz et al. 2001; Thrane 2002). A number of tourism and events studies adopt the experiential perspective in exploring how value-realising experiences could be designed and managed through service, entertainment and amenities (e.g., Berridge 2007; Cole and Chancellor 2009; Ellis and Rossman 2008; Hayes and MacLeod 2007; Nelson 2009).

Cole and Chancellor (2009), for instance, determine through survey design that overall positive experience of festival visitors (and consequently overall visitor satisfaction and re-visit intentions) is directly influenced by the quality of festival

attributes. These include fixed programming elements, amenities and facilities, and entertainment at the festival. The authors find that entertainment has a slightly greater influence on overall experience than the other elements, and conclude that the value of an experience is greater than the value of a service. But the term ‘positive experience’ of a festival attendee is used almost as a synonym for customer satisfaction and service quality, or a necessary cause of it. While Cole and Chancellor’s (2009) work is beneficial in introducing the importance of the experiential perspective into events and festival research, more holistic theoretical frameworks could go beyond considering the impacts of staged event offerings. Inclusion of other variables that might be partially or completely outside the marketer’s control, such as visitors’ own co-creation processes and C2C relationships within servicescapes, could offer more illuminating perspectives in value research.

Some of these ‘uncontrollable variables’ are explored in the C2C interaction literature, which attempts to measure the influence of other customers in the servicescape on overall experience and thus value perceptions of customers. For instance, using Flanagan’s (1954) critical incident technique, Grove and Fisk (1997) and a number of other authors (Martin 1996; Wu 2007; Zhang et al. 2010) identify specific categories of behavioural incidents that occur during interactions with other customers in a variety of service settings. Disruptive behaviours of other customers, such as breaking the implicit rules of waiting in a queue (Grove and Fisk 1997), or gregarious behaviour of customers at a neighbouring table in a restaurant setting (Martin 1996), are found to have a negative impact on customer’s satisfaction with the service. Similar findings are presented in Harris and Reynolds’s (2003) exploratory study of dysfunctional behaviours of ‘jaycustomers’ in a hospitality setting. Apart from long-term negative effects on hospitality employees, antisocial and aggressive behaviours of these customers result in a negative consumption experience for other customers in the setting. Consequently, these can have both direct and indirect economic consequences for the firm (Harris and Reynolds 2003).

According to Baron et al. (2007), it is due to the perceived relative lack of control of customer-to-customer interactions by service providers that service research has failed to explore this phenomenon in much more depth. Yet, customer compatibility management was suggested as a strategy to induce customer satisfaction by service providers as early as 1989. Martin and Pranter (1989) suggested that in order to promote customer homogeneity (and thus, facilitate positive C2C interactions), the service firm

should use customer compatibility techniques such as positioning itself clearly in the marketplace, utilising the physical environment to foster positive C2C encounters, or rewarding customers for exhibiting compatible behaviours. More recently, Levy (2010) and Levy et al. (2011) demonstrate through experimental methods that managerially facilitated (and controlled) interactions among a group of unfamiliar culture tour customers can lead to increased satisfaction and enjoyment. This is mainly due to higher perceived levels of friendliness of other tourists, group cohesion, ability to meet new people, and opportunity to talk with others thanks to tour guides acting as social event facilitators (Levy 2010). Other authors make suggestions as to the successful management of C2C interactions (e.g., Grove and Fisk 1997; Parker and Ward 2000; Wu 2007; Zhang et al. 2010). For instance, Harris and Reynolds (2003) believe that service firms should carefully stage, consider, manage and supervise every aspect and moment of service encounters, and differentiate between the management of functional and dysfunctional customers. In a similar vein, Wu (2007) recommends that marketers should target a homogenous and compatible customer mix, and communicate clearly to customers the rules and norms of acceptable behaviours specific to the given context.

It is apparent that the outcome-oriented, features-and-benefits-based value discourses in service marketing studies can lead directly to operationisable solutions for marketing managers. By determining the different value-as-benefits variables (i.e. product or service attributes, but also value-enhancing positive C2C interactions), managers try to effectively segment their products so that they are in line with customers' desirable experiences or perceived value. In the context of this thesis, however, focus on value as 'benefits' may represent a somewhat prescriptive, reductionist approach in that it may not actively take into account the importance of exploring the process of C2C value co-creation.

Modern society is one where customers and consumer communities are increasingly powerful in voicing their opinions (Libai et al. 2010; Neuhofer et al. 2012; Niininen et al. 2007; Pongsakornrunsilp and Schroeder 2011; Seraj 2012; van Limburg 2009). Customers increasingly look for more autonomous ways in which to construct and manifest their consumption. As Binkhorst and Den Dekker (2009, p. 312) explain,

“modern consumers want context related, authentic experience concepts and seek a balance between control by the experience stager and self determined activity with its spontaneity, freedom and self expression.”

The view of the customer as a benefits-receptor of firms' value creating efforts is therefore gradually being enhanced in service marketing research through value discourses, in which customers adopt a much more active role in a participatory, collaborative, co-creative partnership/ relationship with the firm (Bendapudi and Leone 2003; Gummesson 2004; Humphreys and Grayson 2008; Payne et al. 2008; Prahalad and Ramaswamy 2004; Vargo and Lusch 2004).

Tendencies toward more collaborative, co-creative value discourses can also be seen in the area of tourism and festival marketing research. For instance, Kim and Jamal (2007) note that committed medieval festival tourists ignored the inauthentic experience economy-style Disney-like experience staged by festival organisers and expressed their own authenticity through spontaneous *communitas*. Rather than participating in the programming elements of the festival, it was the practices involving other fellow medieval enthusiasts (e.g., dressing up as characters from fantasy literature and enacting battles), that seemed to create value for these customers. Similarly, Morgan (2007) reports how British sport event tourists in New Zealand strove to construct their own social experiences, rather than passively consume the social events and spaces engineered by local destination marketers. The sports tourists sought to plan their own holidays and interact with local culture within local communities, instead of participating in organised tours. The author argues that rather than providing staged experiences in the spirit of Pine and Gilmore's (1998) experience economy, marketers need to create 'experience spaces', "where dialogue, transparency and access to information allow customers to develop experiences that suit their own needs and levels of involvement" (Morgan 2007, p. 366).

The previously applied features-and-benefits value discourses and research approaches may be limited in scope within service marketing research, which increasingly recognises the complex and dynamic nature of social experiences and the autonomous role of tourists and event attendees as value co-creators (Li and Petrick 2008; Prebensen and Foss 2011; Richards 2010). Alternative discourses, such as the co-creation 'value-in-' stream discussed below, are increasingly employed in studies that aim to better illuminate customers' co-creation capability, thus moving on the value debate within service marketing research.

2.2.2. The ‘value-in-’ discourse: co-creating value with customers

Recent conceptualisation of co-creation and the value-in- perspective is introduced in service marketing perspectives as part of the *Service-Dominant logic in marketing* (Vargo and Lusch 2004; 2008b). S-D logic synthesises a number of ideas from previous relationship-based concepts in service marketing (as outlined in section 1.1.1). It introduces a holistic theoretical system that shifts attention away from products and services as the main units of economic output and highlights the value co-creation processes that take place during consumption (Vargo 2011). Vargo and Lusch support their thesis with ten foundational premises (FPs) (Figure 2).

Figure 2 Foundational premises of S-D logic

No.	Foundational Premise (FP)	Comment/ Explanation
FP1	Service is the fundamental basis of exchange	The application of operant resources (knowledge and skills), “service,” as defined in S-D logic, is the basis for all exchange. Service is exchanged for service
FP2	Indirect exchange masks the fundamental basis of exchange	Because service is provided through complex combinations of goods, money, and institutions, the service basis of exchange is not always apparent
FP3	Goods are distribution mechanisms for service provision	Goods (both durable and non-durable) derive their value through use – the service they provide
FP4	Operant resources are the fundamental source of competitive advantage	The comparative ability to cause desired change drives competition
FP5	All economies are service economies	Service (singular) is only now becoming more apparent with increased specialization and outsourcing
FP6	The customer is always a co-creator of value	Implies value creation is interactional
FP7	The enterprise cannot deliver value, but only offer value propositions	Enterprises can offer their applied resources for value creation and collaboratively (interactively) create value following acceptance of value propositions, but cannot create and/or deliver value independently
FP8	A service-centred view is inherently customer oriented and relational	Because service is defined in terms of customer-determined benefit and co-created it is inherently customer oriented and relational
FP9	All social and economic actors are resource integrators	Implies the context of value creation is networks of networks (resource integrators)
FP10	Value is always co-created and is uniquely and phenomenologically determined by the beneficiary	Value is idiosyncratic, experiential, contextual, and meaning laden

Source: Adapted from Vargo and Lusch (2008b, p. 7)

The FPs focus on value co-creation, rather than value embedded in products/services, on interactions and relationships rather than transactions, and on operant (intangible) rather than operand (physical, tangible) resources. Vargo and Lusch (2004) refer to the tangible, physical resources as *operand resources* (i.e. resources that produce an effect through an act or an operation), while the role of the mostly intangible *operant resources* (knowledge, skills) is to support the final offering by acting on both operand and other operant resources. FP 6 indicates that value in S-D logic is viewed as something that is co-created with customers (Vargo and Lusch 2004; 2008b). Customers know best what they value, but at the same time, are active participants in value co-creation (Prahalad 2004; Prahalad and Ramaswamy 2004). Rather than acting as the sole ‘producer’ of value (e.g., through service experience attributes), the organisation invites customers to co-create value through their own processes (Payne et al. 2008). S-D logic therefore represents a fundamental shift in marketers’ mindset away from the primacy of value embedded in some attributes of service offerings towards involving the customer as an active participant in the service system (Deighton and Narayandas 2004; Schembri 2006).

Value in S-D logic still corresponds to a ‘bundle of benefits’ but is specific to the customer’s manifestation of his or her own experiences (Woodall 2011). It only emerges when customers use, customise or adapt the offering for their own purposes, to suit their goals (Firat et al. 1995; Humphreys and Grayson 2008; Payne et al. 2008; Pongsakornrungrasit and Schroeder 2011). Value is always actively co-created –*in-use* (in the course of using a product or service) by customers who integrate their resources with those of the firm. Therefore, firms deliver value propositions (FP 7), which form a prerequisite or a basis for customers’ resource integration processes through which value is then realised (Vargo and Lusch 2004; 2008b) (as outlined in section 2.3.1).

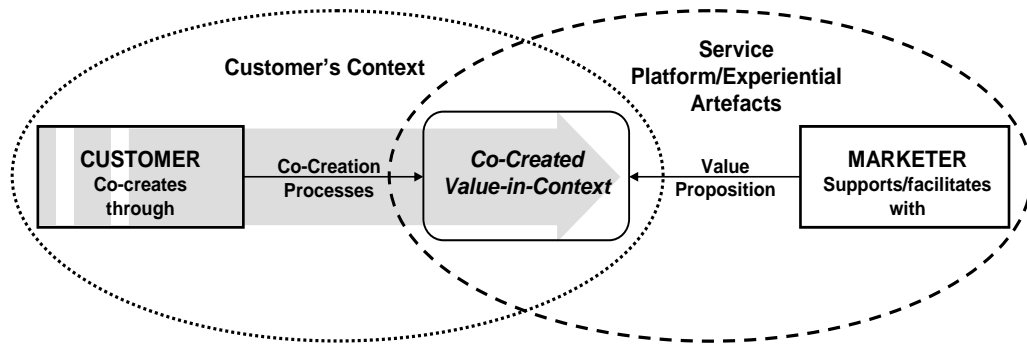
The term *value-in-use* is introduced to demonstrate the sharp contrast with the traditional notion of value-in-exchange in goods-dominant logic (Vargo and Lusch 2004). This built on Adam Smith’s economical perspective that saw value as some sort of utility that can be measured or represented in economic terms. However, some commentators (Brown 2007; Woodall 2011) are wary of this clear differentiation between the two types of value, as well as Vargo and Lusch’s ‘preferential treatment’ of value-in-use as the only ‘right’ perspective on value. Woodall (2011) notes that Vargo and Lusch had not taken into account work done on value that has roots in the work of Aristotle, Nietzsche and Baudrillard, thus offering a somewhat partial or even selective

conceptualisation of value. Additionally, Brown (2007) suggests that the scholarly antecedents of both exchange and use value are not new and there is no reason why exchange value should suddenly be dropped in favour of use value, which seems to refer mostly to post-purchase use.

Various S-D logic commentaries (Chen 2011; Grönroos and Voima 2011; Ng and Smith 2012; Schembri 2006), as well as more recent texts by Vargo and Lusch (2008b; Vargo 2008; Vargo et al. 2008), address these shortcomings to some extent. Because value is determined by the customers as value-in-use, S-D logic draws attention to the multidimensionality of consumer value. Vargo and Lusch (Vargo 2008; Vargo et al. 2008) build on a number of concepts from consumer behaviour theory, such as symbolic consumption (Mick 1986), ritual action (see e.g. Belk 1995 for review), and the notion of consumer value as subjective, phenomenological experience (Holbrook and Hirschman 1982). FP 10 added in 2008 states that value in S-D logic is ‘situational, contextual, meaning-laden and phenomenologically determined by the beneficiary’ (i.e. the customer). By engaging in a variety of both autotelic (intrinsically-oriented) and instrumental (extrinsically-oriented) activities, customers co-create value that fits into the context of their lives, their life project and goals (Vargo 2008; Vargo and Lusch 2008b). The term value-in-use is therefore substituted with a broader *value-in-context* that can go well beyond the value proposition that is intended by the marketer (Chandler and Vargo 2011).

As illustrated in Figure 3, value-in-context is not something that can be measured or determined by the customer in simple, binary ways as an end-result of the engagements of the firm with the customer (e.g. positive/ negative value outcomes). Rather, it needs to be assessed as a dynamic and contextual construct that is experienced in and throughout customers’ lived use experience with the product/ service (Chandler and Vargo 2011; Vargo and Lusch 2008b). As Grönroos (2008) suggests, the relational nature of the value co-creation process means that not only the service provider can influence the flow and outcomes of the consumption process, but also customers have the opportunity to influence the provider’s activities. This has important implications for marketing, as this reciprocity within the consumption process shifts our understanding of the once clear-cut roles of the service provider as a producer and the customer as a consumer of value.

Figure 3 Co-creation of value-in-context



Source: Adapted from Chandler and Vargo (2011); Vargo and Lusch (2008b)

Vargo and Lusch (2008b) posit that co-creation of value involves both a combination of resources (i.e. customers' co-creation processes) and an idiosyncratic (phenomenological) determination of value. According to Gummerus (2013), this simultaneity of co-creation processes and idiosyncratic value determination means that in terms of value discourses and streams, S-D logic could be viewed as presenting value creation and value determination/ realisation as parallel processes. Nevertheless, value as such is in S-D logic still located in highly subjective, individualised, or even unique perceptions of the individual customer and his or her experiences. Value-in-context is therefore described by some commentators as *value-in-experience*, to better reflect its grounding in Husserl's ([1936] 1970) phenomenology and the concept of lived experiences (Helkkula et al. 2012a). Based on the teachings of Edmund Husserl [1859-1938], phenomenologists try to understand the meaning of human behaviour by gaining an understanding of customers' lived experiences. The customer is viewed as experiencing and giving meaning to his or her lived world. Subjective value judgements and decisions are constantly made about consumption in this lived world (Helkkula et al. 2012a).

An experientially grounded perspective on value co-creation is evidenced in consumer experience studies in the concept of 'flow'. Based on the psychological study of individuals' autotelic activities such as art making, rock climbing, or dancing, Csikszentmihalyi (1997) conceptualises flow as an optimal (positive) state of 'wholeness', complete involvement and total immersion/ absorption in an activity. A person experiencing flow during such optimal experience is so completely involved in and focused on an activity that he/she loses any sense of time. Csikszentmihalyi argues that flow can only occur when a person's skills are fully utilised in overcoming a manageable challenge, without any ingredient of anxiety, boredom or worry.

Csikszentmihalyi's conceptualisation has led to the development of the 'experience sampling method' (EMS) (Larson and Csikszentmihalyi 1983), which was subsequently used in a number of leisure satisfaction studies to explain how individuals evaluate their experiences based on the flow construct (Jones et al. 2000; Wu and Liang 2011). In a similar vein, authors have explored customers' 'peak' or extraordinary experiences, i.e. those experiences that are in sharp contrast with everyday routine experiences and that comprise four elements; personal, environmental, service-related and social (Abrahams 1986; Arnould and Price 1993; Privette 1983; Quan and Wang 2004). Combining the concepts of extraordinary and flow experiences, Arnould et al. (2004, p. 341) view consumer experiences as physical, cognitive, and emotional interactions with an environment, while the success of the experience is determined by the level of effort and skills individuals bring into the interaction.

The notions of flow and extraordinary experience in service and tourism research in particular represent a positive turn toward the co-creation of more authentic, individual experiences and phenomenological value that emerges in their course. The social aspects of these experiences (other customers in the service setting) are also more readily acknowledged, although still mostly as an influence on overall subjective experience perceptions; i.e. the 'challenge' aspect of the experience (Triantafillidou and Siomkos In press). This is no doubt useful for service marketing practice. Such an approach does not, however, help to explain exactly how value in such experience actually 'comes about'. The focus in experience-based, phenomenological studies is often on positive emotional flow-like states of customers. Customers-tourists who possess appropriate skills and overcome some challenges realise (co-create) value-in-experience in the form of some flow (Arnould and Price 1993). Such focus leads to emphasis on maximising the inputs (skills) in overcoming challenges, so that positive outcomes (positive emotions/ positive value) ensue. This could, again, result in somewhat simplified, dichotomous representations of the value construct akin to the experiential discourses of the features-and-benefits value perspective.

Furthermore, the phenomenological value discourse appears to have oriented research interests toward peak or extraordinary/ flow experiences, rather than the more mundane and routine actions. As Caru and Cova (2003, p. 275) point out, not all experiences are extraordinary, but marketing and consumer behaviour research has focused on these to too great an extent:

"As a consequence, some effort has been made to underline clearly the difference between the simple pleasure of an ordinary or mundane experience and the enjoyment of an extraordinary or flow experience, indicating the latter as the target to realize."

Understanding how customers experience value or different types of value-in-experience remains an important subject in marketing. Nevertheless, the phenomenological value discourse in S-D logic has important epistemological implications in the context of this thesis. For Korkman (2006, p. 39), phenomenological perspectives on value represent a "rather extreme form of subjectivistic thinking". Only customers' mental processes and highly personal interpretations of value that emerge from their experiences are viewed as data (Helkkula et al. 2012a; 2012b). But the social activities and processes through which value is created (i.e. the process of valuing) are equally as important as a research subject (Gummerus 2013), warranted particularly in consumption contexts where customers co-create value with each other as opposed to with the service provider. These implications serve as a basis for recent critiques of S-D logic and a new re-conceptualisation of value co-creation within the Customer-Dominant logic, as outlined next.

2.2.3. The 'inter-subjectivity' discourse: customers' valuing processes

In the Service-Dominant logic customers are considered as resources of the firm who co-create value for themselves, but also for other customers as well as for the firm (Arnould 2008; Vargo 2008). Customers are invited to join in and to co-create value with the service provider (Payne et al. 2008). However, according to a number of researchers within the Nordic school of services (Grönroos and Voima 2011; Heinonen et al. 2010; Schembri 2006; Voima et al. 2010), this view of the customers as the firm's resource suggests that value creation is still located primarily with the provider who is in charge and orchestrates the co-creation process. In order to be truly customer-oriented (i.e. to fully acknowledge customer's perspective and role in value creation), marketing benefits from adopting an alternative mindset, in which the customer is the sole creator of value while the firm joins in as a supporter/ facilitator of value creation (Grönroos 2008; 2011; Heinonen et al. 2010; Voima et al. 2010).

The term ***Customer-Dominant logic in marketing*** is introduced by Heinonen et al. (2010) to reflect a truly customer-centric focus and to distinguish their theorising from the 'provider-dominant' perspective of the S-D logic in marketing (see Figure 4). Where customers are not interested or directly involved in the company's offering, co-

creation does not necessarily result in the emergence of *service-related value* (Grönroos 2008). This is not a new insight; as Caru and Cova (2003) and Wikström (2008) point out, many consumption activities take place in mundane, everyday experiences beyond the marketing sphere. The concept of the prosumer from consumer research (Ritzer and Jurgenson 2010; Toffler 1980; Xie et al. 2008) similarly suggests that customers initiate the customisation and design of new products or completely new uses for existing products, taking these away from the marketers' sphere.

Figure 4 The provider-dominant vs the C-D logic

	Provider-dominant logic	CD logic
<i>Co-creation</i>		
Involvement	Customer involved in co-creation	Company involved in customer activities
Control	Company controls co-creation	Customer controls value creation
<i>Value-in-use</i>		
Visibility	Focus on visible interactions	Also considers invisible and mental actions
<i>Customer experience</i>		
Scope	Formed within the service	Emerges in customers' life
Character	Extraordinary and special	Also mundane and everyday

Source: Adopted from Heinonen et al. (2010, p. 542)

C-D logic is outlined as a distinctive perspective in marketing that locates value firmly in the customers' domain. For that reason, it has been termed a somewhat 'extremist perspective' within the new service marketing (Gummerus 2013). C-D logic presents customers' value creating processes as embedded in their wider life context, which they may or may not allow the firm to enter, and where they engage in meaning-making (i.e. value creation) on their own terms (Grönroos and Voima 2013; Heinonen et al. 2010). While this focus may not necessarily be helpful or practical for the service marketer who wishes to know how to create better offerings, Heinonen et al. (2010) argue that service organisations benefit from finding out of what customers actually do with the service to accomplish their own goals.

The authors suggest that service organisations should pose different questions: from asking 'How does the customer consume the service?' to 'How does the customer live her life?' and from 'How should the service be designed?' to 'What routines does the customer have?' Such contextual enquiry into customers' co-creation sphere could be converted into specific ways for service organisations to support and facilitate customers' own value creation and to understand the role service plays in their lives (Heinonen et al. 2013; Grönroos and Voima 2011; Korkman 2006).

C-D logic in marketing represents a useful theoretical perspective in the study of C2C value co-creation in socially dense service settings. There are two reasons for this: first, in its discourse and research orientation the C-D logic gives primacy to *the processes through which value is (co-)created*, as opposed to focussing on value determination (i.e. value outcomes) (Gummerus 2013). The need to study co-creation as a process has been identified as an important research agenda within service marketing (Chandler and Vargo 2011; Frochot and Batat 2013; Grönroos 2012), and is also the focus of this research. Within C-D logic, value creation or formation is conceptualised as customers' resource-integrating processes and practices. Both perspectives will be discussed in detail in section 2.3. The distinction between the terms value 'co-creation', 'creation' and 'formation' is an important one in the context of C-D logic, and will also be discussed further.

The second reason why C-D logic represents a suitable theoretical perspective in the context of this thesis is the notion of 'inter-subjectivity' of value creation processes. Value in C-D logic is still presumed to be determined by customers in experiences (Helkkula et al. 2012b). But rather than only exploring value as subjectively perceived in customers' service experiences, emphasis is on the *inter-subjective process of valuing*. This implies that value is formed within customers' social processes that may involve a number of social actors and subjectivities, hence the term inter-subjective value is introduced (Heinonen et al. 2013). These social processes take place in the context of customers' shared consumption in networks and communities, as well as dyadic interactions.

This notion of inter-subjectivity of customers' value creating processes has its origins in the epistemological grounding of the value construct, and thus, influences how the term value is treated within the C-D logic in marketing. Customers' value creation is regarded as a phenomenon embedded in a social world, and as such is influenced by the socially constructed rule and meaning structures of that world. As Edvardsson et al. (2011, p. 329) note,

“all activities, including value co-creation, take place within social systems; as such, value co-creation extends beyond the individual and subjective setting. Indeed, value itself must be understood as part of the collective social context.”

Edvardsson et al. (2011) highlight the fact that both customers and the firm co-create value within a wider social system of networks and communities. Because different interacting actors adopt certain social positions and roles that are part of such social

system, value is perceived differently by different actors, and influenced by them. As Edvardsson et al. (2011, p. 334) note, “customers always compare themselves with others, and value perceptions are therefore always relative.”

Value co-creation can be understood by interpreting the interaction and continuous reproduction of social structures that exist in wider service systems, but also in more localised social situations (Edvardsson et al. 2011). For example, conceptualising value in the context of arts marketing, Oliver and Walmsley (2011) contend that what is value (for instance ‘good’ theatre performances) is best understood if societal structures, and their inherent rules and norms, are considered as important frames of reference. Value could therefore also be conceived of as a social construction, only given meaning as customers interact in the social context (Edvardsson et al. 2011; Peñaloza and Venkatesh 2006). As Battarbee and Koskinen (2005) note, experiences (i.e. experiences of value in consumption situations) are individual, but often only gain meaning in interaction with other people. The social constructionist epistemology in value research within C-D logic is discussed in more detail in the methodology chapter of this thesis.

Interactions with other customers, not only in the course of service use/consumption but also in a broader context of a collective socially constructed reality, are considered very important in this line of research (Heinonen et al. 2010; Voima et al. 2010). Nevertheless, only a small number of studies within co-creation literature have looked beyond customer co-creation activities on individual consumption level (i.e. the B2C interaction between the firm and the individual), and extended their attention to the social level on which customer groups, networks and other social units co-create (C2C co-creation). Section 2.3 that follows expands on the inter-subjectivity discourse in service marketing research by discussing two theoretical approaches through which researchers explore and analyse co-creation processes in customers’ social contexts: the resource-based and the practice-based approaches to the study of customers’ co-creation activities and processes. These are in line with Gummerus’s (2013) distinction of the approaches within the valuing (value creation) stream in value theory, although the discussion that follows focuses more specifically on C2C-related aspects of co-creation (i.e. co-creation processes that involve other customers).

2.3. Study of customers' C2C value co-creation processes

Service providers benefit from expanding their perspective in order to get to know their customers on a deeper level, i.e. going beyond co-creation activities with the firm (i.e. B2C co-creation), to identify activities that customers are involved in *with other individuals*, companies or service systems (Grönroos 2011; Heinonen et al. 2010). According to Humphreys and Grayson (2008), in those cases where customers engage in value creation oriented towards others, they can be used by the service provider as a source of innovation, creativity and 'added value'. The boundary between the customer as a 'consumer' and the service organisation as the 'producer' becomes blurred, as customers adopt the roles of 'partial employees' (Ritzer and Jurgenson 2010), 'working consumers' (Cova and Dalli 2009), but also autonomous value creators (Grönroos and Voima 2011; Heinonen et al. 2013), as outlined below.

This has far-reaching implications for the provider whose goal it is to facilitate customers' value creation (Grönroos 2011). By understanding in depth the forms and dimensions of customers' value-creating processes and activities, and by learning how to support and facilitate these, companies could achieve competitive advantage (Grönroos 2011; Helkkula et al. 2012b; Korkman 2006; Payne et al. 2008; Sherry et al. 2007). Two perspectives are evidenced in service research that study specific value-creation processes of customers as they interact and co-create with each other, as opposed with the service provider (i.e. C2C co-creation of value). The first perspective views customers as resource integrators who co-create value with each other by drawing on their operant and operand resources and by integrating these with the resources of other customers (Arnould et al. 2006; Baron and Harris 2008; Vargo and Lusch 2008b). In the second perspective, value formation is studied by examining customers' social practices (Echeverri and Skålén 2011; Korkman 2006) that involve other co-consuming customers. Both of these perspectives are discussed in the following two sections.

2.3.1. Customers as resource integrators

The goods-dominant perspective considered customer value as value-in-exchange – part of a transaction between two parties, in which each party gives up something in order to get something else of greater value in return (Vargo and Lusch 2004). For the firm, embedding products or services with value was dependent on how well the firm could integrate its resources (Kotler et al. 2009). Commodities or materials (largely physical, tangible resources) were brought into the firm's operations. Through the application of

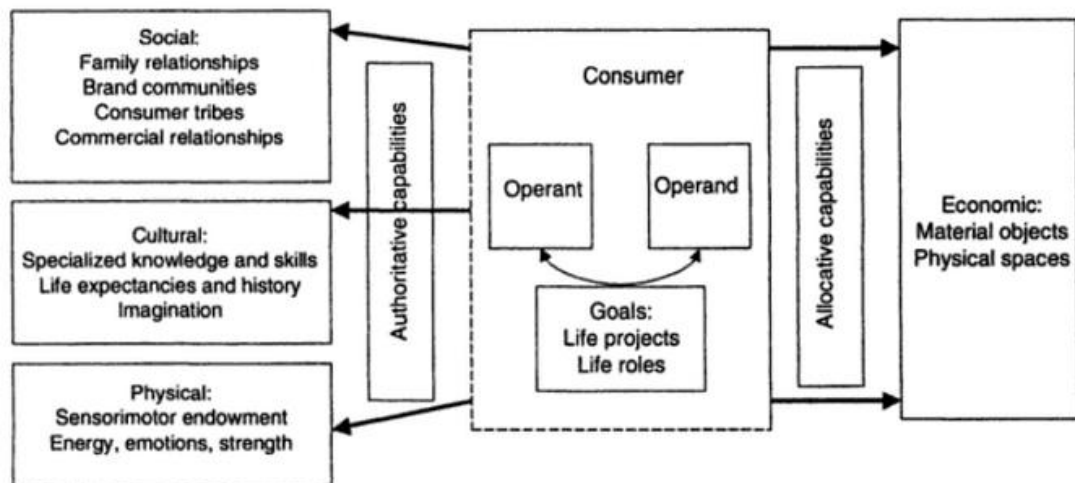
technology, human resources, skills and knowledge (intangible resources), the firm then designed, produced, marketed, delivered and supported the final offering (ibid). Vargo and Lusch (2004) refer to the tangible resources as *operand resources* (i.e. resources that produce an effect through an act or an operation), while the role of the mostly intangible *operant resources* (e.g. knowledge or skills) is to support the final offering by acting on its operand resources.

Much of the co-creation research to-date draws on this *resource-based perspective* to explain how value is actually co-created in the interactive process between the service organisation and its customer(s) (Vargo 2008; Vargo and Lusch 2008b; Vargo et al. 2008), but also within customer dyads (Arnould et al. 2006; Baron and Warnaby 2011; Gruen et al. 2007), and consumer networks or communities (Baron and Harris 2008; Hamilton and Alexander 2013; Pongsakornrunsilp and Schroeder 2011). As was mentioned in section 2.2.2, Vargo and Lusch advocate this perspective in their FP 9, which states that value is created in a networked context in which *all social and economic actors are resource integrators* (Vargo and Lusch 2008b). Thus, customers in co-creation research are also viewed as resource integrators (Baron and Harris 2008; Vargo and Lusch 2008b), who build on the resources that are represented by the firm's offering to co-create value with the firm (Chandler and Vargo 2011; Ng and Smith 2012). But customers also deploy and integrate their operand and operant resources in order to pursue and enact their own life roles/ projects (Grönroos and Voima 2013; Gummerus 2013; Heinonen et al. 2013). Furthermore, in integrating their operant and operand resources, customers may co-create value with and for others (Arnould et al. 2006; Baron and Harris 2008; Baron and Warnaby 2011; McColl-Kennedy et al. 2009).

Arnould et al. (2006) were the first to conceptualise comprehensively the extent of the operand and operant resources that customers integrate, and their typology is widely drawn on by other researchers who study customers' co-creation processes (e.g., Baron and Harris 2008; Baron and Warnaby 2011; Ng and Smith 2012; Pongsakornrunsilp and Schroeder 2011). Operand resources that customers draw on include mostly material objects, tangible economic resources, and other goods/ materials over which they have allocative capabilities. Customers' operant resources on the other hand include those resources over which the customer has 'authoritative' capability, comprising what Arnould et al. (2006) term physical, cultural and social resources (Figure 5). Physical resources represent energy, emotion, and strength (e.g. level of

determination and involvement in co-creation); cultural resources are classified in terms of a person’s specialised knowledge and skills, history and imagination; and social operant resources include family relationships, brand communities, consumer tribes or commercial relationships (Arnould et al. 2006). It is the operant resources that appear crucial in C2C co-creation processes (Baron and Harris 2008; Baron and Warnaby 2011).

Figure 5 Customers' operant and operand resources



Source: Adopted from Arnould et al. (2006, p. 92)

Social resources are of particular relevance, as they reflect the notion of consumption often taking place within socially dense and interaction-rich service contexts. Arnould et al. (2006) divide social resources further, based on demographic grouping, consumer communities and commercial relationships. Demographic factors include more ‘traditional’ social units such as families, ethnic groups and social class. Consumer communities allow for the use of resources that typically stem from consumers’ psychographic and lifestyle attributes. Such ‘emergent’ social units include brand communities, consumer tribes and subcultures (e.g., ethically conscious consumers, skateboarders, surfers, or music genre followers). Finally, according to Arnould et al. (2006), operant resources that consumers derive from their commercial relationships are typical for groups of individuals who interact with commercial entities. An example of such relationships could be online customer communities that emerge around products, brands or citizen initiatives (Baron and Warnaby 2011).

Concepts from consumer culture theory, sociology and social psychology are used by Arnould and colleagues (Arnould 2008; Arnould 2007b; Arnould et al. 2006) to

theoretically underpin the notion of social operant resources and co-creation roles. For instance, Schouten and McAlexander's (1995, p. 43) conceptualisation of a *consumption sub-culture* as "a distinctive sub-group of society that self-selects on the basis of a shared commitment to a particular product class, brand, or consumption activity" is drawn on in Arnould et al.'s (2006) social operant resource categories. The notion of consumer *neo-tribes* as emotional communities that form around specific interests (Maffesoli 1996 [1988]) also provides a relevant basis for analysing customers' operant resources. As noted by Rob Shields in the introduction to 'The Time of the Tribes' (Maffesoli 1996 [1988], p. xi),

"the members of the *tribus* are marked by it, wearing particular types of dress, exhibiting group-specific styles of adornment and espousing the shared values and ideals of the collectivity."

Viewed through the lens of resource-integration, customers may utilise their membership in a *tribus* or particular sub-cultures as a social operant resource to co-create value expressed by their collectivity as inter-subjective value.

Social identity theory (Tajfel 1982) also aids conceptualisation of customers' co-creation roles, and helps explain the reasons of why customers engage in integrating their resources in the first place. Tajfel's notion of in-groups as groups that one identifies with and acts according to their accepted norms of behaviour is traditionally drawn upon in literature on reference groups. Reference groups have been shown to play a crucial role in consumer behaviour and decision-making (Abrantes et al. 2013; Bearden and Etzel 1982). The idea of group-based social identity is embedded in the principle of an individual comparing him-/ herself with others that he or she perceives as similar in some way. Membership and affiliation with specific groups then has a direct influence on individual's self-concept and identity, whereby individuals are more likely to trust other members of in-groups (Johnson et al. 2013) and by extension, are perhaps more likely to co-create with them.

Arnould et al.'s (2006) typology of customers' resources is applied in a number of studies that explore C2C co-creation. For instance, in their qualitative study of a residential campaign to save a local cinema, Baron and Harris (2008) explore the nature of cultural, physical and social resources integrated within a customer community. The authors find that customers' operant resources are integrated in a goal-oriented social interaction. Baron and Harris find that two types of value emerge in such contexts. First 'personal value' is realised through achieving personal benefits such as an expanded

social network, increased skills and knowledge. Secondly, 'collective value' stems from a sense of belongingness and achieving a better quality of life for the community. A similar study of consumers' resource integration activities was conducted by Baron and Warnaby (2011). The authors scrutinised how British Library users integrated their social resources in order to shape and coordinate a campaign against possible financial cuts to library services. Professional/ cultural associations and work-related networks, as well as social and family networks, were identified as crucial to customers' efforts to co-create value with the provider in the shape of better service delivery (Baron and Warnaby 2011).

Resource integration within dyadic interactions is also explored in Parker and Ward's (2000) study of interacting customers in a retail environment (a garden centre). The researchers find that some customers draw on their product-specific knowledge and experience as an operant (cultural) resource to provide help and assistance to less knowledgeable customers, thus co-creating value for these customers, as well as for themselves. Customers are found to draw on their social skills as a physical resource in conversations with other customers using a speed-dating service (Baron et al. 2007). What these studies also show is that as customers engage in co-creating value through interactions with other customers they often adopt different 'co-creation styles' and roles. For instance, research undertaken in retail contexts reveals that customers with abundant operant cultural resources often assume a 'help-giving' role, while 'help-seekers' interact with other customers in search of information or help (McGrath and Otnes 1995; Parker and Ward 2000). In their study of customers' co-creation undertaken in a healthcare context McColl-Kennedy et al. (2009) find that, while engaging in different resource integration activities, patients adopt different co-creation styles (e.g., 'Spiritualist', 'Adaptive Realist'). Some of these are found to be beneficial not only to the patients, but also to others in their social network.

From the service marketer's perspective, the engaging, pro-active, help-giving and sharing co-creation roles of resource-integrating customers can be particularly useful. This is because while contributing to a better service experience for other customers, these 'consumers-producers' are found to be more likely to be satisfied with their own experiences and consequently, can become more loyal to the firm (Bendapudi and Leone 2003; Prahalad and Ramaswamy 2004). But service organisations that are able to facilitate and support resource-integrating processes of their customers-producers can also use these as a source of service development. According to Edvardsson et al.

(2011), with respect to taking advantage of the resource-integrating activities of its customers, the firm can improve its competitiveness in various ways. First, it can develop its capacity to add to the customer's total pool of operand resources in terms of competencies and capabilities (relevant to the customer's objectives). Secondly, the firm can influence the customer's resource integration process in such a way that the customer is able to utilise available resources more efficiently and effectively (ibid). These strategies were particularly relevant in the case of the speed-dating customers. Baron et al. (2007) recommended that identifying and improving the interpersonal skills of dating customers (e.g. through 'how to' guides) could improve the service experience considerably.

The notion of *working customers* (Cova and Dalli 2009) is also of relevance in this context. The capability of customers to integrate a range of operand and operant resources through their online and on-site interactions represents a valuable source of information and innovation to the organisation (Baron and Harris 2008; Baron and Warnaby 2011; Morgan 2006; 2009; van Limburg 2009). Customers can therefore be seen as immaterial labour. Nevertheless, they rarely receive any 'economic' reward for their efforts (Cova and Dalli 2009; Ritzer and Jurgenson 2010). But as Baron and Warnaby (2011) point out, in some cases customers' resource integrating ability can also be used against an organisation. For instance, guest ratings websites such as www.tripadvisor.com can not only potentially add value if used by tourism and hospitality organisations to improve their services, but also ruin the organisation's reputation through negative word-of-mouth (Niininen et al. 2007). Service marketing should therefore gain a deeper understanding of customers' C2C resource integrating processes and find out who actually benefits from these (Peñaloza and Venkatesh 2006).

Within the context of festival and leisure studies, the conceptualisation of social experiences of serious fans and committed attendees, that often draw on Stebbins' (1992) theory of serious leisure, could be viewed from the resource-integrating perspective. As Stebbins (1992, p. 3) suggests, participants of a specialised or hobbyist activity "launch themselves on a career centred on acquiring and expressing its special skills, knowledge and experience". In a similar vein, members of subcultures and neo-tribes have a unique ethos, or set of shared beliefs and values, unique jargons, rituals, and modes of symbolic expression (Oliver 1999; Schouten and McAlexander 1995). Many festivals and other leisure activities that encourage the gathering of people are organised and structured around a specific musical genre, local cultural element, or a

specific brand (e.g., Begg 2011; Goulding et al. 2010; Johnson et al. 2013; Matheson 2005). For the co-creating customers, the membership in such communities represents a social operant resource. Inter-subjective value co-creation in such festival contexts could therefore be explored by studying the feelings of a sense of kinship and belonging through sharing the same consumption values.

Within the festivals and leisure marketing literature, however, only a small number of studies draw explicitly on the notion of reference groups and consumer subcultures as social resources to explore C2C value co-creation. Looking at co-creation of online brand communities (football fans forums), Pongsakornrunsilp and Schroeder (2011) find that customers adopt the roles of providers and beneficiaries of value in chatting, debating, posting, and sharing knowledge about their interests. Their membership in the brand community represents a social resource, and they integrate this with other operant resources they and other members possess, in order to co-create value. Exploring C2C co-creation of football fans in a physical context of the sport event experience, Woratschek and Durchholtz (2012) find that reference group membership (i.e. fans of the same football team) effectively acts as a co-creation facilitator, while the presence of conflicting reference groups can lead to value co-destruction. The authors suggest that the service provider should offer opportunities for customers to co-create together with their membership groups. The notion of C2C value co-creation in festival contexts is only explicitly addressed by van Limburg (2009), who conceptualises online resource-integrating activities of festival goers as a source of innovation for the festival organiser.

The resource integration perspective appears very relevant in the study of C2C co-creation. But as already indicated in section 2.2.3, the view of the customer as a 'producer' of value for others as well as for the service organisation may be viewed as a rather mechanistic way of looking at how inter-subjective value emerges from action-oriented activities of customers (Payne and Holt 2001; Pongsakornrunsilp and Schroeder 2011). The resource integration perspective tends to view customers' work-like activities as valuable per se. It assumes that through their goal-oriented actions customers enact some value-pursuing plans and strategies that the marketer 'aims to reveal' (Korkman 2006) and at times takes advantage of (Cova and Dalli 2009; Ritzer and Jurgenson 2010). But this view may not be sufficient in the C-D logic perspective which views customers' mundane everyday consumption activities as value creating (Carù and Cova 2003; Wikström 2008), or indeed in leisure-oriented socially dense

contexts where the mere co-presence of others may realise value (e.g., Belk 1975; Ehrenreich 2006; Richards and de Brito 2013; Tombs and McColl-Kennedy 2010).

Furthermore, the actual physical and symbolic social context in which value co-creation is enacted, customers' actions, and their operant resources, need to be viewed as a system in which the subject (i.e. the customer) and the context interact (Holttinen 2010). It is through this embedded, contextual interaction that value is formed, rather than through customers' goal-oriented actions per se (Korkman 2006). The practice-based perspective, reviewed in the following section, views consumption as *practice*, constituted of both customers and their context embedded with meanings (Holt 1995).

2.3.2. *Customers as 'practitioners'*

There are variations and different interpretations of the concepts included in what has been called 'theory on practices', as opposed to a 'practice-based approach' to research (Holttinen 2010; Orlikowski 2010). The theory on practices is guided by discursive perspectives that originate in the work of social theorists, such as Goffman (1959), Schatzki (1996), Bourdieu (1986) and Giddens (1984). The traditional discourses emphasised how agents' actions and interactions produce or reproduce social structures, while also acknowledging the influence of structure on the human body and human activity [e.g. the notions of power, habitus (Bourdieu 1986)]. The practice-theoretical approach requires researchers to adopt a practice philosophy, which views all reality as constituted in and through practices. But as such, practice theory tends to be "insufficiently attentive to the social processes involved in the creation and reproduction of practices" (Warde 2005, p. 135).

Building on the writings of practice theorists such as Schatzki (1996) and Reckwitz (2002), a more 'materialistic' underpinning is sought by scholars who seek to explore practice in empirical contexts (Cassop Thompson 2012; Korkman 2006; Orlikowski 2010). This section therefore outlines the main principles of the ***practice-based approach*** (as distinct from the strictly practice-theoretical approach) and its role in value co-creation research. This distinction is in line with what Orlikowski (2010) calls the 'practice as phenomenon' mode of practice research and has important implications for the epistemological underpinnings of this thesis (discussed in Chapter 3). As Orlikowski (2010) suggests, the practice as phenomenon mode of research seeks to understand what people actually 'do in practice'. As such, it is in line with the inter-

subjective value perspective in C-D logic that gives primacy to the value creating processes of customers in socially dense settings.

Holt's (1995) study of consumption practices in the context of baseball spectatorship is one of the first that explicitly utilised the practice-based approach. It represents a useful introduction to the practice-based approach in the context of this thesis. Observing social actions and behaviours among customers involved in co-consuming at baseball events, the author points out that customers use the consumption object (the actual service offering) as a platform or a setting in which value is realised through consumption experiences and practices. Holt (1995) conceptualises consuming in four categories or 'metaphors', including: Experiencing through accounting, evaluating and appreciating the object of consumption; Integration of the object into own consumption practices through assimilating, producing and personalising; Play through communing and socialising; and Classification of themselves or other customers through objects and actions (Figure 6). Importantly in the context of this research, the interpersonal (other-oriented) section in Holt's (1995) matrix draws attention to the fact that consumption practices in service settings often involve actions of other customers in the setting. Consumption objects may serve as focal resources, but also act as a platform on which value may be derived from interacting with others, rather than with the object of consumption.

Figure 6 Metaphors for consuming

		<i>Purpose of Action</i>	
		<i>Autotelic Actions</i>	<i>Instrumental Actions</i>
<i>Structure of Action</i>	<i>Object Actions</i>	Consuming as Experience - Accounting - Evaluating - Appreciating	Consuming as Integration - Assimilating - Producing - Personalising
	<i>Intepersonal Actions</i>	Consuming as Play - Communing - Socialising	Consuming as Classification - Classifying through Objects - Classifying through Actions

Source: Adapted from Holt (1995, p. 3)

Holt's conceptualisation of consuming is derived from the more mundane social consumption practices that are embedded in the customer's socio-cultural context, thus emphasising the contextual nature of practices. It reveals that customers have different 'ways of interacting' (i.e. practicing), which are based on their mental model of the world (McColl-Kennedy and Tombs 2011). Their linking of "doings and sayings" is exhibited in their engagements, procedures and understandings of rules, principles,

precepts and instructions (Schatzki 1996, p. 89). The baseball spectator as subject, the game as the object of consumption and the social context in which the game is consumed are seen as entities which, while ontologically separate, interact together in a systemic manner.

Three aspects of practices are of importance in the context of value co-creation research: their inherent contextuality, complexity, and dynamic nature. First, practice theory views the social world as contained and reproduced within the practice, and practices as shaping the social realm (Reckwitz 2002). For Kemnis (2010), this means that the practice envelops like a ‘glove’ what people do, say and think. Practices could be seen as ‘ways of doing’, or a context-laden arena in which some routinised actions and behaviours are carried out and value is created (Holttinen 2010; Schatzki 2001). According to Korkman (2006, p. 49), a practice is therefore

“not a process of creation, but a systemic context of doing something in which value is formed in the interaction between subject and object [...] The customer can thus not determine value, as he is only part of the unit of analysis and seldom has the competence of the whole system of practice.”

This *contextuality* of practices has implications for the terminology that researchers use to describe the process of valuing in practice; from value being ‘formed’ (Korkman 2006) or ‘determined’, to value being ‘provided’ (Warde 2005), ‘realised’ (Cassop Thompson 2012) and ‘created’ (Holttinen 2010) in practices. To keep consistency of terms with respect to the focus of this research on practices that involve other customers in socially dense service settings, social practices are viewed in this thesis as *C2C co-creation practices*. Inter-subjective value is then referred to in this thesis as ‘co- created’ or ‘formed’ (both terms are used interchangeably) in practice.

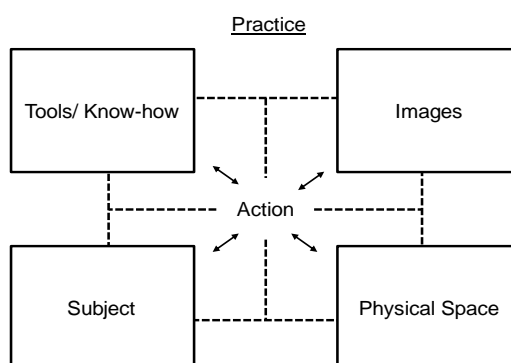
Specific ways in which social practices are performed on an individual level then depend on a number of factors, such as the level of commitment, available resources, previous experience, or stock of knowledge (Warde 2005). This gives rise to *complexity*, which in the literature is dealt with by focussing on the factors, or elements that make up practices. A number of different views exist in the literature on what practices consist of, which makes the practice-based approach somewhat less conducive to clear application and operationalisation for service marketing (see Table 3).

Table 3 Overview of practice elements in the literature

<i>Author(s)</i>	<i>Conceptual/ empirical study</i>	<i>Elements of practices</i>
Cassop Thompson (2012)	Empirical – study of value-realising practices of customers in fitness centres	As per Korkman (2006)
Echeverri and Skálén (2011)	Empirical – study of practices as interactive value formation between customers and public transport service provider	As per Schau et al. (2009)
Holt (1995)	Empirical – observations how customers consume baseball as spectators at sport events	Actors (customer and other customers, their self-concepts and reactions) apply interpretive frameworks (rule and norm structures in consumption situations and also embedded in existing social worlds) to objects (incl. physical service context) through various actions
Holttinen (2010)	Conceptual	Practices integrate specific operand and operant resources and their use, mental states and bodily activities, within the context of meaning structures and within socio-cultural, spatial and temporal contexts
Kemnis (2010)	Conceptual	Subjects – practitioners - express meaning (values, virtues and social norms) and intention (goals and purposive action), draw on know-how and skills (learned in structured systems of social relationships) and access/use/ transfer of material resources
Korkman (2006)	Empirical – ethnographic study of practice in the context of cruise ship leisure	Practicing subjects use tools and know-how and are guided by images and physical space, when engaging in actions
Rekwitz (2002)	Conceptual	Actors as ‘carriers’ of practice integrate background knowledge (know-how, understanding, states of emotion and motivational knowledge) and ‘things’ and their use, in performing bodily and mental activities
Schatzki (1996)	Conceptual	‘Doings and sayings’ in practices (activities and its representations) co-ordinated by a nexus of understandings, procedures and engagements. Understandings include practical and general understandings, rules (explicit formulations) and teleoaffective structures (i.e. meaning, what ‘makes sense’ to do and goal-oriented reasons for doing)
Schau et al. (2009)	Empirical – value creation practices of customers in online brand communities	Anatomy of practices consisting of procedures (explicit rules, principles and instructions), engagements (ends and purposes to which actors are committed) and understandings (skills, projects and knowledge of what to say and do)
Warde (2005)	Conceptual	Individuals – practitioners possess and command the capability to manipulate tools and have a level of understanding & know-how of institutional arrangements characteristic of time, space and social context, and commitment in their use of consumption objects

Korkman's (2006) conceptualisation of practice elements is particularly useful in the context of this research, as it highlights the dynamic nature of practices and offers a relatively straightforward categorisation. In his study of family practices at cruise ships Korkman (2006) suggests that the ways in which individual customers and families of customers act out various social practices depend on a number of factors. These include the actors and their actions in the physical space; different tools and know-how; and, images (Figure 7).

Figure 7 Elements of practices



Source: Adopted from Korkman (2006, p. 27)

The idea of customers possessing some resources, as discussed in the previous section, is therefore inherent in practices. But at the same time, contextual elements form an equally important feature of practices in a complex interlinking of the co-creating customer - subject and the context, represented in some symbolic images and the physical space in which practices are enacted. This also means that practices are not static but rather, *dynamic* in that they can change or be changed by re-adjusting and re-configuring some of the elements that underpin practices (Kemnis 2010).

This dynamism represents interesting opportunities for service providers. By changing or improving some of the practice elements through positive interventions, it may be possible to make practices more valuable (Echeverri and Skålén 2011; Korkman 2006). As Skålén and Hackley (2011, pp. 190-191) note,

“practitioners (are) dependent on practices...but (this) does not reduce them to structural dopes since every individual can enact different practices and can make somewhat different enactments of the same practices”.

For instance, re-defining the roles of actors in certain situations could change how practices are performed. Practices related to court proceedings would alter significantly

if the roles of the accused and the judge suddenly switched. At festivals, catering areas lend themselves to eating practices. But by introducing street theatre elements into these physical spaces, and thus altering the images that are associated with them, eating practices are transformed into spectatorship practices. Service research benefits from recognising ‘both practical activity and its representations’ (Warde 2005). Researchers should not simply observe actions, but should also give attention to the wider conditions that form and inform these actions (Kemnis 2010). In so doing, it may be possible to better understand practices and to find ways of improving them (i.e. to better facilitate value forming practices). But this is only possible if the practice is studied and analysed as a dynamic, systemic whole.

Schau et al.’s (2009) examination of practices within online brand communities was among the first to address explicitly the notion of ‘collective value creation’ in practices, which may go beyond those anticipated by the service provider. The authors identify 12 value creating practices among the members of different brand communities and group these into four main categories: social networking practices (incl. welcoming, empathising, governing); impression management practices (evangelising, justifying); community engagement practices (staking, milestoneing, badging, documenting); and, brand use practices (grooming, customising and commoditising). Schau et al. (2009) note that collective brand community practices generate value in the shape of cultural capital, new consumption opportunities, and reinforcement of community ties and brand experiences. The authors come to similar conclusion as Holt (1995), in that value creation needs to be viewed as a collective and integrative process. The four practice categories they identified have a dynamic ‘physiology’ in that they work together and drive one another as a set of ‘gears’ in a system to result in value.

Russo-Spena and Mele (2012) conceptualise ‘innovation practices’ performed within company web contexts. They develop the five ‘Co’s’ model, which includes the practice categories of co-ideation, co-valuation, co-design, co-test and co-launch. Each of these categories comprises actions and other practice elements, and while the practices result from on-going interactions among actors, actions and the consumption community, they are seen as interrelated in a networked context (Russo-Spena and Mele 2012). In other studies that explicitly aim to conceptualise co-creation practices in a variety of service contexts, Echeverri and Skålén (2011) identify five ‘interaction value practices’ within the empirical context of public transport and McColl-Kennedy et al. (2012) link distinct ‘styles’ of value co-creation practice within the health care context

to patients' quality of life. Pongsakornrungrungsilp's (2010) research on co-creation behaviours and practices within online football communities also provide useful insights into value co-creation through social practices. Korkman's (2006) ethnographic research of family practices in the context of leisure cruises and Cassop Thompson's (2012) study of value-seeking practices of customers in the context of fitness clubs are then among the first doctoral level explorations of co-creation practices.

Practice-based studies specifically within the socially dense tourism and leisure settings emphasise the importance of the practice context, both physical and symbolic, in understanding how practices are enacted. For instance, Crouch (2004) highlights the need to study bodily engagements of tourists within specific contexts. He states,

“the individual not only thinks but also does, moves and engages the body practically and thereby imaginatively, and in relation to material objects, spaces, and other people.” (Crouch 2004, p. 87)

Within the domain of events and festivals the notion of value-forming practices is newly developing, although as Richards (2010) and Richards and de Brito (2013) note, co-creation practices represent a promising research area within leisure and events consumption. To understand events and festivals consumption it is particularly important to establish the nature of socio-cultural structures in which practices are performed. Andrews and Leopold (2013, p. 131) argue that events and festival research needs to address more effectively “the wider social and cultural contexts in which events are practiced”.

As well as the wider socio-cultural context of consumption, social structures and meanings of particular consumption settings, spaces and situations are therefore of relevance (Argyle et al. 1981). As indicated in section 1.2 in the introductory chapter, within the leisure, tourism and festivals research domain authors often emphasise the *liminoid nature* of such spaces (Turner 1982; 1995). Van Gennep's (1960) theory of rites of passage introduces the concept of 'liminality' which refers to a threshold, symbolic or real, the crossing of which transports people into a sort of 'in-between' world. Individuals enter the liminal zone with pre-formed expectations, needs, motivations and a sense of anticipation, whereby the process of 'separation from normality' through rituals may take place (van Gennep 1960). Turner (1982) builds on van Gennep's conceptualisation of festivals in traditional cultures in describing 'liminal-like' spaces in modern societies as 'liminoid'. For Turner, liminal/ liminoid spaces exist outside 'normal' social structures. This has implications for the present

research of C2C co-creation at festivals, as practices in such spaces need to be studied in the context of these alternative social structures, in which the meanings of symbols, norms and rules are re-written and re-conceptualised.

A number of festival studies note the presence of liminoid structures. For instance, one of Larsen and O'Reilly's (2005) music festival interviewees remarked that "people act differently when at a festival." Similarly, Marling and Kibb (2012) refer to 'the Orange Feeling' of the socially constructed cultural and social norms within Roskilde music festival's 'instant city' (i.e. the large-scale, socially dense festival community that gathers for the festival and then is disassembled again). The authors observe that rules and norms of behaviour at the festival are significantly different to any other big city in that they are marked by laughter, responsibility, respectfulness and helpfulness. Ritual practices also often occur among visitors sharing their experiences within liminoid festival environments (Gainer 1995; Kozinets 2002; Sobol 1999; Stengs 2007), providing interesting opportunities for the study of C2C value co-creation.

In conclusion, the practice-based perspective and the C-D logic mindset adopted in this research has a number of implications for how C2C value co-creation is studied. The focus is neither on value created by the provider and embedded in the offering, nor is it on value that is co-created (only) in interactions between provider and customer and perceived by individual customers as benefits or experiences. Rather, this thesis views value as being formed in an inter-subjective manner in customers' social practices that involve other customers who share and co-habit the consumption setting. As a result, value formation, or 'C2C co-creation', needs to be considered within the context of customers' life and socially constructed realities. Only then valuable social practices can be fully understood and potentially, successfully facilitated (Helkkula et al. 2012b; Holttinen 2010; Kemnis 2010; Korkman 2006; Rai 2012).

2.4. Towards practice-based study of C2C value co-creation

The literature review identified key gaps in knowledge within service marketing literature and specifically, the study of value co-creation. The ambiguous nature of the value construct in service marketing research (Woodall 2003) was highlighted, with the first half of the chapter outlining the cognitive, experiential, phenomenological and inter-subjective value discourses in the literature. A progression was shown in value research from the more traditional, managerially-oriented features-and-benefits

approach that has dominated much of service marketing, to the more collaborative value perspectives that view the customer as a (co-) creator, and reflect the developments within the wider marketing discipline toward the new service marketing era. It was established that within this emerging co-creation perspective there is *paucity of research that focuses on C2C, as opposed to B2C, co-creation processes*.

Table 4 summarises the three value discourses in service marketing research discussed in this chapter, including examples of potential managerial applications in service contexts. While both the features-and-benefits approach and the value-in-discourses offer useful insights into co-created customer value, they have limitations in terms of how value is represented in its applications. The former perspective seeks to objectively determine specific types of value for customers as a judgement, evaluation, and an end-result of the customer's engagements with the firm or with other customers. The latter discourse then tends to focus on highly subjective emotional outcomes and perceptions for individuals. This may lead to simplified, bipolar, and dichotomous representation of the value construct (e.g., positive/ negative emotions in flow experiences). In the context of this thesis it is the third, inter-subjectivity-based value discourse, which is adopted to help frame value and C2C value co-creation. This perspective emphasises socially constructed, co-created value and as such, could prove illuminating when exploring C2C value co-creation in socially dense service contexts.

The recently emerged Customer-Dominant logic in marketing represents a useful lens to help investigate C2C co-creation more effectively, as it emphasises value creation in the customers' sphere. It was established that value in C-D logic is inter-subjectively co-created in customers' processes of valuing, rather than as realised in subjective value perceptions. Hence, in order to advance knowledge within the domain of service marketing, the contents of *customers' process of value creation (C2C co-creation)*, rather than their value outcomes or 'evaluation', become the focus of enquiry.

Table 4 Value discourses in service marketing

Value discourses in service marketing	<i>Features-and-benefits discourse</i>	<i>Value-in-discourse</i>	<i>Inter-subjectivity discourse</i>
Main theoretical assumptions	Value outcomes can be determined, and managed through design of service attributes or experiential features	Value cannot be designed and delivered, but rather is co-created	Value is socially constructed in customers' social practices, outside the organisations' reach
Conceptualisations in literature	Value for customer or customer-perceived value as evaluation of benefits/ sacrifices ratio (Zeithaml et al. 1988) Experiential marketing and value outcomes as memorable experiences (Pine and Gilmore 1999)	S-D logic and value -in-use, -context (Vargo and Lusch 2004; 2008) or –in-experience (Helkkula et al. 2012a) as an idiosyncratic, subjective construct	C-D logic and inter-subjective value (Heinonen et al. 2013); socially-constructed in practices (Helkkula et al. 2012b, Korkman 2006)
Role of service organisation/ customers	Organisation designs valuable offerings and provides value outcomes Customers passively receive value and valuable outcomes	Organisation offers 'value propositions' and integrates operant/ operand resources Customers co-create value together with organisation (B2C) or with each other (C2C)	Organisation provides a platform to support value forming social practices Customers as practitioners and value creators
Epistemological assumptions	Value for customer can be predicted and measured, customers' purchase and consumption choices can be managed	Customers' value co-creation experiences can be accessed and subjective value elicited	Value formation process can be illuminated using societal structures as frames of reference Customers' value-forming practices can be supported and facilitated
Examples of application in service contexts	Designing service experiences through programming/ service features (e.g. social/ entertainment value delivered) Managing positive/ negative value outcomes of customers' social interactions	Facilitating customers' co-creation experiences by providing value propositions and integrating resources with customers Co-creating value (positive emotions) through facilitating antecedents of flow experiences	Segmenting audiences by social practices Fostering more 'valuable' practices through positive interventions Providing more effective platforms for customers' valuable practices

The literature review further considered how authors conceptualise the locus of value creation, with value located in customers' resource-integrating activities and social practices. It was established that an exploration of the resource-integrating capability of customers could indeed help to illuminate to some extent how customers utilise aspects of the social environment to co-create value in a goal-oriented manner. The role of co-creating customers as resource integrators was found to be useful in establishing how and why customers may want to co-create value by integrating their operant resources. This perspective was however deemed to be lacking in its acknowledging actively the socio-cultural context in which customers co-create, as well as value that is formed in more routine, everyday social practices. As the proponents of the practice-based perspective (Helkkula et al. 2012b; Holttinen 2010; Korkman 2006; Rai 2012) argue, it is by *identifying and understanding in depth customers' value-forming practices and their content (i.e. the elements that make up practices) that organisations can enhance customers' value.*

The practice-based perspective has crucial implications for the study and analysis of C2C value co-creation. The view of value as formed in practice implies that customers are not seen as the primary agents in value creation, while the underpinning assumption is that customers take part in practices that are valuable to them (Warde 2005). Thus, social practice, rather than the customer, becomes the primary unit of analysis, with the focus of enquiry firmly fixed on how value is formed in a certain practice. As Cassop Thompson (2012, p. 69) notes,

“it is of limited value to ask customers what is value? and how did they determine it? In determining value, consumption should be viewed as a practice: That is, customers seek and utilise practices that have value for them, and this can only be established by studying their practice.”

Rai (2012) and Korkman (2006) further reiterate that customers are not solely active in value creation. Rather, value is formed in the interaction of customers, tools and know-how, context and meanings embedded in the context, which all together make up the context of doing that is practice. Consequently, the practice perspective moves beyond the 'brain' of the customers as a value determiner and creator to view practices that customers are involved in within the context of their lives (Ng and Smith 2012). This has implications for the epistemological and methodological design adopted in this thesis, as outlined in Chapter 3 that follows. Importantly, customers' practices are not necessarily within reach of the service organisation. Value can be formed in customers'

social practices, without customers actually using any service offerings (Holttinen 2010), in line with the C-D logic perspective and the inter-subjectivity value discourse outlined above.

2.5. Summary

By building on the theoretical tenets of the emerging C-D logic in marketing, and specifically the practice-based approach in co-creation research, this research attempts to redress the gaps in the service marketing literature. These have been identified as being a lack of understanding of how specifically C2C value co-creation practices happen (i.e. what is their ‘anatomy’ or content in terms of how they are performed), and what their implications might be for value facilitation opportunities. This means that the unit of analysis in this research is not customers’ subjective value outcomes but rather, the content of value co-creation processes; i.e. the value-forming practices that involve other customers in the same socially dense service setting.

As was indicated in the introductory chapter of this thesis, C2C co-creation is studied empirically in the context of festivals. The following chapter – the research methodology - addresses the epistemological and ontological grounding of the research and details the methodological approach utilised in the study of C2C co-creation at festivals.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter sets out the methodological approach adopted in order to address the aim and objectives of this study, which are as follows:

The aim of the research is to explore customer-to-customer value co-creation in socially dense service contexts, by investigating value-forming social practices of customers at festivals.

- 1) To identify value-forming social practices of customers at festivals
- 2) To examine practice elements that influence how practices at festivals are performed
- 3) To develop a customer-to-customer co-creation framework that is of theoretical and practical relevance within service marketing

A discussion is needed of how the epistemological stance adopted here fits with the development of research paradigms and the ‘-isms’ that have emerged in consumer research and marketing theory (section 3.2.1). The traditional, mainstream marketing management approaches favoured the positivist paradigm, so that relationships between variables could be tested and measured and trends could be predicted to foster management agendas (Guba and Lincoln 2005; Tadajewski 2004). In contrast, the value-in discourse could be better aligned with interpretive and phenomenological thinking in the new service marketing, which increasingly emphasises the socially and culturally grounded meanings of consumption experiences (Carù and Cova 2003; Helkkula et al. 2012a; Hudson and Ozanne 1988; Levy 2005; Pachauri 2001). Lastly, the customer-focussed, practice-oriented assumptions of the emerging C-D logic and C2C value co-creation point clearly in the direction of the social constructionist stance (Edvardsson et al. 2011; Holttinen 2010; Löbler 2011; Schembri 2006), which is also adopted in this research (as discussed in section 3.2.2 below).

Chapter 2 introduced the notions of value and the process of ‘valuing’ (resource-integration and social practices) as theoretical areas relevant for C2C co-creation study. The methods that scholars have used when conducting empirical research in these areas are therefore critically reviewed in section 3.3, with the discussion making a strong case for the use of qualitative methods as a way of meaningfully examining C2C co-creation practices at festivals. Application of the observation- and interview-based research

methods utilised in this study is then detailed, considering issues such as festival case sampling and the selection of informants. A pilot study was undertaken in order to gain some preliminary insights from a small number of in-depth interviews. Information is provided about the role played by the pilot study, followed by a detailed discussion of main fieldwork data analysis and the identification of main themes. The chapter concludes with a consideration of the judging criteria for the research and ethical considerations.

3.2. Epistemology and ontology

3.2.1. Philosophical underpinnings of marketing and consumer research

In service marketing and consumer research the positivist paradigm has traditionally played a prominent part (Hanson and Grimmer 2007; Hunt 1991; Johnson and Duberley 2000; Tadajewski 2004). Originating in the natural sciences, positivism is often associated with a realist ontology, which assumes that there exists an ‘external reality’ independent of our descriptions of it (Flick 2009). The positivist perspective is mainly concerned with the verification of hypotheses derived from this ‘reality’, whereby such verification often leads to established laws or facts. Anything that is real can be objectively perceived and counted (Mariampolski 2006). For that reason mainly quantitative methods have been used by the positivist marketing researcher who measures and predicts trends, and acts as informer of decision makers and change agents (Guba and Lincoln 2005; Tadajewski 2004).

Positivist perspectives have a place in value research within marketing in that they are useful in helping to test empirically the relationships between the role of customers as value co-creators and the service organisation as a facilitator and provider of the value co-creation platform. For instance, researchers seek to specify the types of value that customers expect to receive, or derive, from their experiences (Gallarza and Gil 2008; Turnbull 2009), or study empirically how customers’ co-creation impacts on their service experience perceptions and evaluations (Bendapudi and Leone 2003; Yi and Gong 2013). However, while trying to identify causal relationships and test specific propositions to generalise across a large variety of contexts, positivist perspectives in marketing research often fail to reflect the complex socio-cultural environment in which consumption processes take place (Belk 2007; Gummesson 2005; Levy 2005; Lutz 1991; Moisander and Valtonen 2012; Pachauri 2001). This is an important criticism in

light of the practice-based perspective advocated in this research, and the increasingly interpretivist developments in consumer and marketing research, as is outlined next.

Holbrook (1985; 1987; Holbrook and O'Shaughnessy 1988) has since the mid 1980s repeatedly called for the study of consumption for its own sake. He posits that marketing and consumer research ought to be “ground(ed) in a central preoccupation with consumption, independent of any relevance that subject might carry for marketing managers” (Holbrook 1987, p. 130). At the time of Holbrook’s writings marketing and consumer research had started to adopt a variety of ‘softer’ qualitative techniques (e.g., case studies, focus groups and interviews) to tackle practical, commercially-relevant problems (Mariampolski 2006). Holbrook’s work, as well as some of these new softer methods, stood in contrast to the predominantly positivist perspective and marked the move towards more non-positivist (i.e. in contrast to positivist) approaches (Hudson and Ozanne 1988; Pachauri 2001) in marketing. As a consequence of the ensuing paradigm debates (Tadajewski 2004), the line of enquiry had slowly started to shift from predominantly positivist and naturalist, towards more subjective, interpretive approaches in marketing and consumer research. These were grounded in critical relativism, phenomenology, social constructionism and postmodernism (Carù and Cova 2003; Hanson and Grimmer 2007; Hudson and Ozanne 1988; Levy 2005; Mariampolski 2006; Pachauri 2001; Solomon et al. 2006; Tadajewski 2004).

Interpretive perspectives in marketing and consumer research, such as phenomenology, social constructionism and postmodernism, aim to gain strategic insights by exploring the complex socio-cultural environment in which consumption processes take place (Belk 2007; Gummesson 2005; Levy 2005; Lutz 1991; Moisander and Valtonen 2012; Pachauri 2001). Interpretivist consumer researchers focus on the consumer as an individual, a human being in all its complexity, and his/ her lived experience (Tadajewski 2004). Consumer behaviour is seen as a subset of human behaviour and its often irrational and unpredictable nature is acknowledged (Firat et al. 1995; Schiffman and Kanuk 2007). Various concepts and theories in marketing have been associated with interpretivist and other non-positivist philosophical underpinnings. For instance, research on symbolic consumption has been guided by symbolic interactionist principles (Dimanche and Samdahl 1994; Flint 2006; Leigh and Gabel 1993). The study of contemporary consumer behaviour has been increasingly underpinned by postmodernism (Brown 2001; Firat et al. 1995). Interpretivism and hermeneutics were adopted in marketing and consumer research by Thompson (1997),

who used consumers' narratives to understand the socially and culturally grounded meanings of products.

Much of S-D and C-D research is also associated with the interpretivist paradigms and the relativist (as opposed to positivist) ontology (Edvardsson et al. 2011; Heinonen et al. 2010; Helkkula et al. 2012b; Löbler 2011; Schembri 2006). While empirical, positivist research is increasingly used to help firm up the theoretical tenets of S-D logic (e.g. Griessmann and Stokburger-Sauer 2012; Löbler and Hahn 2013; Yi and Gong 2013), there is still a need to explore value co-creation and related concepts within the interpretivist paradigms (Heinonen et al. 2013; Löbler 2011; Tronvoll et al. 2011). Phenomenology and social constructionism in particular are drawn on to underpin S-D and C-D logic enquiry, as outlined in the following section.

3.2.2. *The social constructionist stance in S-D and C-D logics*

In her commentary on Vargo and Lusch's (2004) original article, Schembri (2006) maintained that S-D logic then was still embedded within an objectivistic, rationalist epistemology. As S-D logic evolved over the next six years toward a more customer-dominant focus, emphasis was placed on the contextual and phenomenological nature of customers' co-creation experiences and value (discussed in section 2.2.2). Vargo and Lusch's (2008b) conceptualisation of customer value, as something that is 'uniquely and phenomenologically determined by the beneficiary', points toward the *phenomenological epistemology* (Löbler 2011). Phenomenology revolves around a deeper understanding of a range of immediate experiences, often at the level of mundane everyday experiences (Goulding 2005). Based on the teachings of Edmund Husserl [1859-1938], phenomenologists try to understand the meaning of human behaviour by examining the essential structure of the actively constituted lived-world-experience. This is done by reflexively contemplating the origins of the conscious experience (Holstein and Gubrium 2005).

In epistemological terms, the phenomenological perspective on the customer and customer value would appear to offer a suitable starting point for the analysis of the actively co-created value, as it gives primacy to the unique nature of the individual's experience (Helkkula et al. 2012b; Löbler 2011). The customer is viewed as experiencing and giving meaning to his or her lived world, and in so doing creates a plan for action. For instance, the customer assigns meanings to his or her lived experience of a specific consumption object, consequently making subjective value

judgements and decisions about their consumption. Nevertheless, as Helkkula and Kelleher (2011, p. 14) note;

“it is not just the individual experience of value or value creation practices that should be of concern for the researcher. [...] The intersubjectivity of social relations should also be acknowledged and given primacy in value research.”

As was determined in Chapter 2, the focus of this thesis is on inter-subjectivity of value, which is formed in customers’ interactions and social practices at festivals (C2C value co-creation). Inter-subjectivity presupposes that value is formed in relation to the socially constructed meaning structures present in the festival setting; i.e. the generally accepted (liminoid) norm and rule structures that guide social practices of customers at festivals (Andrews and Leopold 2013; Crouch 2004). The inter-subjective nature of value therefore emphasises social practices as grounded and interconnected with the social contexts in which they are performed. Epistemologically, this perspective on co-creation is different from phenomenology, which emphasises the subjective nature of value that customers perceive in their festival experiences in a phenomenological sense. In the context of this research, phenomenology represents an overly individualistic and subjectivist approach and is not deemed the best fit for an epistemological lens.

The study of inter-subjective value co-creation in socially dense festival contexts benefits from an approach that better captures the complexities within festival social contexts and the social practices performed. Thus, this research follows Schembri (2006), Edvardsson et al. (2011) and Korkman (2006) in asserting that epistemologically, the notion of value and co-creation should be inherently grounded in the *social constructionist perspective*.

According to Crotty (1998, p. 42 italics in original), social constructionism is

“the view that *all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context.*”

Social constructionists recognise multiple realities (such as inter-subjective value) as “constructed through social action” (Schembri 2006, p. 387). While interpretations of constructionism may suggest that ‘all meaningful reality’ is socially constructed, Pernecky (2012) notes that most constructionists in service research will distance themselves from solipsism. Solipsism is social constructionism based on very strong/ radical relativism as its ontology and the belief that only the self can be known. This

strain in constructionism asserts that all reality is socially constructed and that there is no independent reality at all, as only the self can be known. In contrast, this thesis is aligned with a *weaker form of constructionism*. ‘Weak’ constructionism accepts that knowledge about physical facts (such as science or physical objects) can be objectively formed, while knowledge about phenomena that are embedded in systems consisting of social actors and meaning structures cannot be objectively constructed (Crotty 1998). This means that a table for instance exists independently of how social actors make sense of it. In contrast, institutions such as money, culture or indeed value, are rather the product of social convention, socially constructed through actions and speech.

Having established social constructionism as the epistemological grounding of this research, section 3.3 considers specific methodological approaches that are relevant for and complement the study of C2C value co-creation in practice.

3.3. Methodological approach

3.3.1. *Quantitative vs. qualitative research*

As indicated in section 3.2.1, the advantage of positivist empirical methodologies is in their usefulness and ability to contribute to marketing and management practice. *Quantitative research approaches* are adopted within positivist marketing research to provide managers with transferable, generalisable and operationalisable evidence of the relationships between various aspects of the service or consumption experience and firm-related customer outcomes. Research focussing on consumer value within the features-and-benefits discourse in value research (section 2.2.1) has mainly utilised quantitative methods to help managers improve various product/ service attributes so that customers’ value perceptions are met, and competitive advantage for the firm is ensured.

The quantitative positivist tradition is well-established in the tourism and events context (Getz 2005). Authors studying event and festival experiences for instance employ quantitative methods to determine the relationships between various (mainly provider-facilitated) variables, customer’s experiential outcomes (affective and cognitive), or satisfaction/ re-patronage behaviours (e.g., Cole and Chancellor 2009; Moital et al. 2009; Oh et al. 2007; Otto and Ritchie 1996; Pegg and Patterson 2010). Much of the research on customer-to-customer interactions in services and leisure

contexts is also undertaken with a managerial agenda, focussing on value in terms of positive/ negative outcomes of C2C interactions. Predominantly quantitative studies measure the relationships between customers' social interactions and experience quality and satisfaction (Grove and Fisk 1997; Huang and Hsu 2010; Martin 1996; Moore et al. 2005; Wu 2007; Zhang et al. 2010). Experimental design is utilised in the leisure and tourism context to measure the impact of managerially-facilitated positive customer interactions on tourists' satisfaction (Levy 2010; Levy et al. 2011). Flanagan's (1954) 'Critical Incident Technique' is adopted by a number of authors in the exploratory stage of their predominantly quantitative studies, in order to identify negative incidents that impact on customers' overall satisfaction or re-purchase behaviours (Grove and Fisk 1997; Martin 1996; Zhang et al. 2010).

But quantitative methodologies do not allow for more in-depth insights that would help achieve the aim and objectives of this thesis; that is, the study of the sometimes routine social practices that represent C2C value co-creation, rather than some subjectively perceived value outcomes that could be captured through self-reported survey design. As Table 5 shows, research within the service marketing and tourism domains that focuses on themes relevant in the context of this thesis (i.e., C2C co-creation, social practices and social interactions) mainly adopts *qualitative methodological approaches*. Specifically, ethnography-, observation- and interview-based approaches are adopted in studies that emphasises a customer-centric, process-oriented (as opposed to outcome-oriented) view of C2C interactions (e.g., Baron and Harris 2010; Baron et al. 2007; McColl-Kennedy and Tombs 2011); identifies the nature and types of value-forming social practices in specific consumption contexts (e.g., Cassop Thompson 2012; Helkulla and Kelleher 2011; Holt 1996; Korkman 2006; Rai 2012); or explores the resource-integrating processes in customers' co-creation (e.g., Baron and Harris 2008; McColl-Kennedy et al. 2009; 2012; Pongsakornrunsilp and Schroeder 2011).

Table 5 Methodological approaches in relevant customer C2C co-creation studies

Relevant research themes	Focus and objectives of relevant studies	Methods previously recommended or used in relevant studies	Authors
<i>Value-creating customer-to-customer interactions in services</i>	Exploring of the nature of interactions among customers, identifying 'critical incidents' and value-enabling interactions and co-creation roles; exploring personal/ situational influences in co-creation processes	Observations of behaviours and interactions; in-depth interviews and focus groups to identify the nature/ scope of roles adopted in interactions; grounded theory; ethnography to explore personal/ situational factors in co-creation	Baron and Harris 2010; Baron et al. 2007; McColl-Kennedy and Tombs 2011; McGrath and Otnes 1995; Parker and Ward 2000
<i>Customer practices in service contexts</i>	Identifying social practices and exploring the nature of value that is formed; exploring customers' resources and the context in which they are deployed	Grounded theory, ethnography and ethnographic style (observation of social practices and interactions); phenomenological interviews (narratives of lived experiences)	Cassop Thompson 2012; Echeverri and Skálén 2011; Hamilton and Alexander 2013; Heinonen et al. 2013; Helkulla and Kelleher 2011; Holt 1996; Korkman 2006; Rai 2012
<i>Customer co-creation and resource integration</i>	Exploring resource integration in physical or virtual communities and social networks; analysing specific co-creation styles	Ethnography of consumer networks and groups (interviews and participant observation); netnography in online consumer communities	Baron and Harris 2008; Baron and Warnaby 2011; McColl-Kennedy et al. 2009; 2012; Pongsakornrungsilp and Schroeder 2011

Qualitative methodologies are also advocated by authors exploring events and festivals as experiences embedded in complex social contexts (Getz 2007; Holloway et al. 2010; Jackson 2006; Larsen and O'Reilly 2005; Morgan 2009; Ryan 2012). Ethnography, interviews, and observational methods are adopted by researchers in order to uncover elements of music festival experiences (Larsen and O'Reilly 2005); assess the potential of music festivals to contribute to social and cultural capital of attendees (Wilks 2012); determine how a festival community is constructed (Gardner 2004); study the social and cultural dimensions of leisure involvement (Kyle and Chick 2002); examine the development of authentic inter-subjective relationships in a medieval festival (Kim and Jamal 2007); or, to identify various antecedents of hedonistic musical event experiences (Santoro and Troilo 2007). Seaton's (1997) and Mackellar's (2013) argument that 'unobtrusive' observational and other humanistic methods present a valuable strategy to augment, or even replace, festival and event satisfaction surveys, is particularly relevant

in light of the reflexive practice-based perspective on value co-creation at festivals adopted in this research.

The social constructionist epistemological stance that is linked in this study with the practice-based approach to C2C co-creation clearly has implications for the methodological strategy and the specific methods utilised. The social constructionist epistemology requires that researchers “stress the socially constructed nature of reality, [...] and the situational constraints that shape enquiry” (Denzin and Lincoln 2005, p. 10). As Hackley (1998, p. 130) explains,

“[t]he social constructionist perspective [...] does not objectify research subjects: it does not seek to quantify data and it does not apply preconceived categories within which to group data. Neither does it seek to reveal causal relationships nor inductively infer the properties of a quasi physical entity. What it does do is to seek to reveal the structure of meanings as constructed by individuals engaged in a social process.”

Social constructionist epistemologies traditionally lead researchers to engage in exploratory approaches and qualitative methodological approaches. Indeed, as was shown in Table 5, a number of scholars particularly within the C-D logic domain stress that reflexive, contextual and situated qualitative methods are necessary to help researchers understand in depth value co-creation and value forming practices (Heinonen et al. 2013; Helkkula et al. 2012b; Holt 1995; Korkman 2006; Orlikowski 2010; Rai 2012; Schatzki 2001). Thus, this thesis adopts a *qualitative ethnographic-style, observation- and interview-based methodology* to help address the research aim and objectives. Ethnographic-style methods are found to be helpful in instances where the researcher seeks a detailed understanding of individuals’ ‘happenings’ and ‘doings’ in a particular setting (Cole 2005; Mariampolski 2006; Walsh 2004). This is very much in line with the social constructionist epistemological underpinning of the study that emphasises the inter-subjectivity of value.

Interviews are used in the context of this research because they allow for the study of socially constructed meaning structures inherent in specific cultural settings from an emic (insider) perspective, which emphasises informants’ own views and meanings (Atkinson and Hammersley 1998; Elliott and Jankel-Elliott 2003). They could help elicit, for instance, the inherent rule and norm structures at festivals, but also intangible images and generally accepted understandings of what festivals are ‘about’. Interviews can also help to reveal the personal backgrounds, skills and knowledge of co-creating customers, i.e. the operant resources they possess (Baron and Harris 2008; McColl-

Kennedy et al. 2009). They can therefore be useful in examining some of the factors that influence value co-creation, as per Objective 2 of the research.

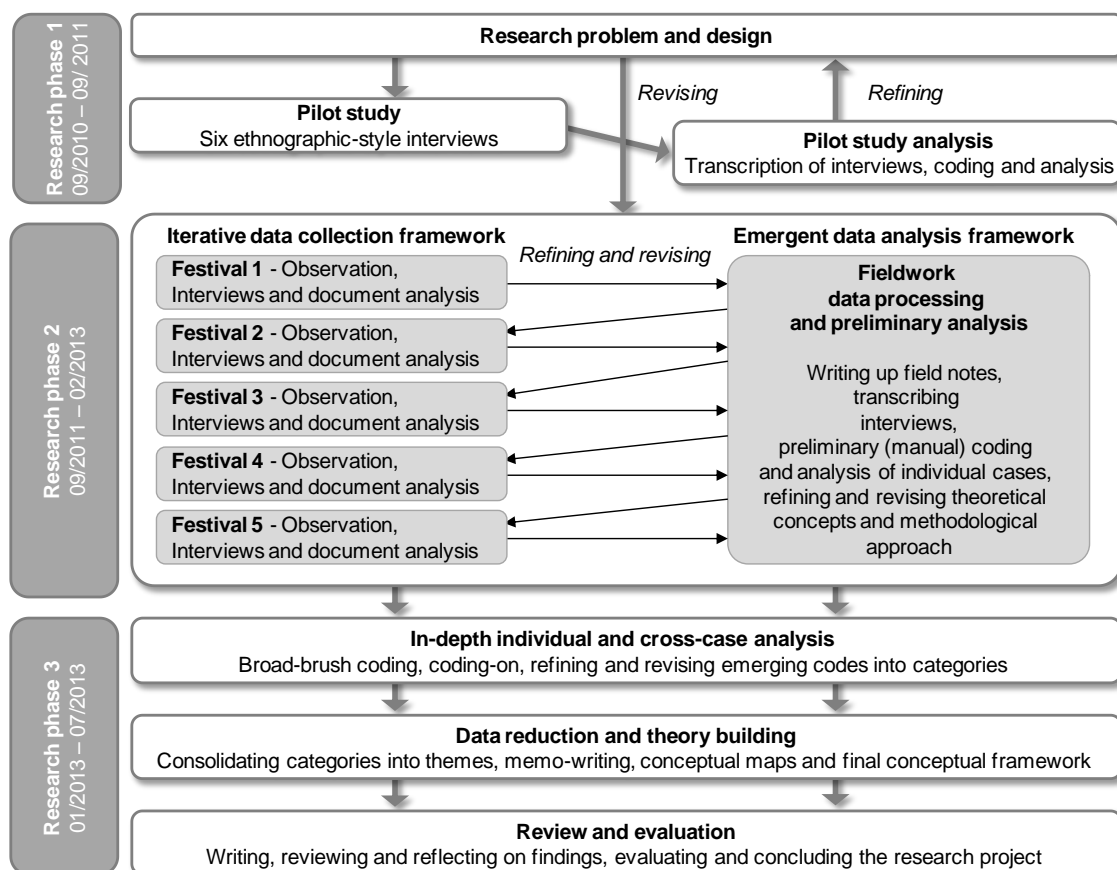
Participant observation then builds on etic (outsider) evidence of customers' participation in certain activities, as observed, categorised and interpreted by the researcher (Atkinson and Hammersley 1998). Through observation the researcher can uncover actions in which co-creation practices are embodied (Holttinen 2010). Through observation the sometimes mundane, taken-for-granted or routine practices can be explored (Helkkula et al. 2012b; Holt 1995; Korkman 2006; Schatzki 2001). Practice elements that orchestrate actions in C2C co-creation, such as the physical environment, can also be observed.

3.3.2. Research plan

A detailed research plan is presented in Figure 8 that outlines the procedures adopted in designing and conducting the research. In Research phase 1 (September 2010 – September 2011) the research problem and initial design plan were formulated. A small-scale *pilot study* that consisted of six ethnographic-style interviews (Spradley 1979) with festival goers was undertaken in September 2011 to allow for the refinement of both theoretical and methodological notions underpinning the study. The pilot study and its findings and implications are elaborated on in section 3.4.3.

The main study took place during Research phase 2 and involved iterative data collection *in five different festival settings*. Sampling criteria for festival selection are outlined in section 3.4.1. Section 3.4.2 then describes details of the use of *observation- and interview-based methods* in this research and their application in the five research sites. Data collection commenced in April 2012 and concluded in August 2012, and was initially shaped and refined by preliminary manual analysis (section 3.5). In this sense, application of methods in Research phase 2 represented a flexible 'emergent study design' (Patton 2002), in that preliminary analysis of data from each festival helped to focus the fieldwork and interview procedures in the festival settings visited subsequently. From January 2013 onwards (Research phase 3), an in-depth *qualitative thematic analysis* was undertaken, which culminated in the writing of a comprehensive findings report that forms the basis of this thesis.

Figure 8 Research plan



The following section explains in detail how the observation- and interview-based methods were utilised in this research, and also reports on the role of the pilot study in this research and insights gained from it.

3.4. Ethnographic-style participant observation and interviewing

Originating in ethnography, observational and interview-based methods are relevant in a perspective which

“sees interactions, actions and behaviours and the way people interpret these, act on them, and so on, as central.” (Mason 2002, p. 85)

Observation does not rely on people’s retrospective accounts as self-reported surveys or interview-only approaches do, but rather allows for multi-dimensional data to be collected on contextualised social processes as they occur. In the context of this thesis, this means that observation and interviewing of customers (i.e., festival participants) was undertaken in situ of each festival, as customers immersed themselves in the particular festival setting.

The *ethnographic-style approach* adopted in this thesis differs somewhat from traditional ethnography, which was originally used by anthropologists such as Malinowski (1922) to gain an understanding of the traditional societies and cultures of the non-Western ‘Other’. The ethnographic-style approach was utilised to gain access to rich descriptions of social and cultural phenomena (Mariampolski 2006). But rather than attempting a holistic view of a specific ‘other’ culture [for example the rave music club subculture studied through traditional ethnography by Goulding et al. (2010)], the focus was on specific aspects of that culture (Wolcott 1999). That is, the ethnographic-style methods aimed to explore the nature and dynamics of customers’ co-creation at festivals. This modification of the traditional ethnographic approach did not require for this researcher to be completely immersed in the studied culture for years (Mariampolski 2006). Instead, social practices, behaviours and interactions were studied in-depth over multiple periods of much shorter but more intense exposure; i.e., in five festivals each lasting for 3-4 days.

The reason for conducting field research within multiple settings and with a variety of informants was to strengthen the credibility and transferability of the findings (Yin 2003), and to allow for a sufficient amount of data to emerge. Participant observation (including collection of photographic evidence and document analysis) and a total of 52 interviews with a variety of informants (both groups and individuals) were conducted in the five settings. Sampling criteria applied in observation and interviewing are detailed in section 3.4.1. The process of data collection is described in detail in section 3.4.2.

In seeking to collect data from a variety of sources in multiple research settings, it could be argued that the research design resembled a multi-case study methodology. Case studies can use both qualitative and quantitative data to provide insights about a contemporary phenomenon in real-life contexts (Yin 2003). Case studies typically rely on interviews and document analysis, but often utilise naturalistic observations to gain insights about situated and contextual issues (Patton 2002). But there are two points of departure that are relevant in the context of this thesis. First, this research does not seek to produce explanatory or descriptive case studies of the five festivals that serve as research contexts. Rather, the five festivals provide a varied but still a relatively uniform ethnographic field in which the researcher can immerse herself for periods of time. Secondly, participant observation represents the main method of data collection in this

research, while case studies often prioritise interviews to gain deep insights about a case from a variety of perspectives.

3.4.1. Sampling strategy

Qualitative research involves different sampling strategies. Nevertheless, most authors agree that samples are selected purposefully (Bryman 2008; Flick 2009; Patton 2002; Taylor and Bogdan 1984; Walliman 2011). This means that cases need to be selected based on their relevance to understanding the overall purpose of enquiry (i.e., the aim and objectives), rather than with concerns for statistical representativeness (Bryman 2008; Mason 2002). In the context of this research sampling decisions pertained to the selection of festivals to be studied, and to the things to be observed and people to be interviewed within the festivals.

When *sampling for specific festivals*, a purposeful intensity sampling approach was adopted. According to Patton (2002), this type of sampling seeks information-rich but not highly unusual (extreme or deviant) cases, which manifest the phenomenon of interest (i.e., the value co-creation) intensely. Festival cases sampling was based on a number of main criteria:

First, in terms of the types of festivals included in the research, it was important to select such festivals that would reflect value co-creation in a wide range of social practices. Customers with different operant resources (i.e. cultural and social networks, skills and know-how) may co-create value in different ways (Baron and Harris 2008; Baron and Warnaby 2011), or engage in social practices in different ways (Korkman 2006; McColl-Kennedy and Tombs 2011; Rai 2012). A range of festival cases was sought in terms of the types of festival participants they target. Family-friendly festivals were considered (i.e. accessible to audiences with a range of demographic attributes), as well as festivals that attract both general- and special-interest audiences (Stebbins 1992).

Secondly, to allow for a range of social actions and practices, it was also important to include those festivals in the sample that offer ample opportunities for socialising, rather than measured and passive spectatorship. This is in line with the notions of the liminoid, 'special' nature of festival settings (Turner 1995), where spontaneous communities may emerge through sociable merry-making (Anderton 2009; Kim and Jamal 2007). A variety of festivals was therefore sought in terms of the themes

and programming elements they offer (e.g., music, storytelling, and comedy, but also crafts-making or food).

Thirdly, as the amount of time the researcher spends in the field needs to be sufficient to allow for a wide range of behaviours and activities to be observed (Brewer 2000; DeWalt and DeWalt 2002), festival cases were chosen that lasted for a period of at least three days, attracted visitors from outside of the festival location, and offered on-site overnight stay for these. These criteria helped to maximise opportunities for data collection and richness of empirical material, as access was gained to festival participants who were fully immersed in the setting and the festival experience, as well as those who engaged in more transient experiences (e.g. day visitors).

Lastly, to make data collection manageable, spatially-bound festivals were selected to allow for concentration of participants in one place, rather than scattered around a number of different venues and locations in a larger geographical area. Both 'green field' (outdoor festivals with temporary facilities on site) and urban-type festival locations were considered, as long as they gave attendees a feeling of an immersive and coherent festival. In order to ensure ease of access by the researcher and the participants (Brewer 2000), data collection was chosen to take place at festivals staged in England and South Wales. From a research scheduling point, those festivals were selected that took place between the beginning of April and end of August 2012, and were reasonably spaced in time to allow for data processing and preliminary analysis after each fieldwork period.

A number of festival-specific internet sources were screened (e.g., artsfestivals.co.uk; efestivals.co.uk; virtualfestivals.com). Information to identify whether or not festivals corresponded with the criteria was collected by reading promotional and marketing material. Once fieldwork sites were selected, permission to access was sought from each respective festival organiser. The five festivals eventually selected were all family-friendly, small- to medium-sized multi-day outdoor events but represented different research contexts in that they that attracted a variety of audiences with respect to the genre they focussed on (Table 6 - please refer to Appendix 1 for a more detailed overview of the festivals). The following pseudonyms were used for each festival to protect anonymity, while reflecting the main genre focus of the event: VanFest, StoryFest, WorldMusicFest, Music&ArtsFest and FolkFest.

Table 6 Overview of selected festivals

Festival/Features	VanFest	WorldMusic-Fest	StoryFest	Music&Arts-Fest	FolkFest
<i>Festival scale and duration</i>	Small/medium - scale (approx. 500 campsite residents, 5000 day visitors); 1 venue for campers + 120 food event exhibitors; 4 days duration	Small-scale/boutique, up to 1500 visitors overall; 2 venues and cca 40 artists; 3 days duration	Small-scale, up to 2500 visitors; 5 venues and cca 40 artists; 3 days duration	Medium-scale (up to 4000 visitors/day); 7 venues and cca 80 artists; 5 days duration	Small-scale/boutique; 4 venues and cca 60 artists; 3 days duration
<i>Location and site layout</i>	Greenfield site (racecourse) in an urban location in the West Midlands	Rural location in the East Midlands region, use of year-round campsite facilities and adjacent to a rural hotel and a local airport	Remote costal location in the South of Wales on site of an existing historical venue (castle with cafes and gardens)	Rural location in the South-West region, on site of historical pleasure gardens	Rural coastal location in the South-West region, on site of a working farm
<i>Festival genre focus</i>	Celebrating VW and camping culture together with a focus on local food	Music (psychedelic techno and 'space rock', folk, world music)	Storytelling; theatre, poetry, folk and world music	Music (folk and popular music genres), arts; comedy	Folk music
<i>Target audience</i>	Family-friendly; mix of mostly middle-class local day visitors motorhome owners, campers, Volkswagen van owners from West Midlands and Wales region	Family-friendly; predominantly working-class, predominantly more mature audiences; mainly campers; predominantly from the East Midlands and Yorkshire/Humber regions	Family-friendly; families and older couples predominantly from Wales, West Midlands region and the South West	Family-friendly, large proportion of predominantly middle class day-visitors; campers, motorhome and campervan owners mainly from Southern regions & London	Family-friendly, campers and motorhome owners and day visitors, predominantly local and from South-West region

Holloway et al. (2010) and Miles and Huberman (1994) advise that in order to get to a construct (in a specific context), researchers - participant observers need to see different instances of it, at different moments, in different places, and with different people. In terms of *sampling within the festival settings*, observations were therefore carried out

in different places and at different times to cover the whole duration of the festivals (e.g., at the campsite, in festival venues, retail and catering areas). With respect to choosing informants, qualitative research typically works with small samples of people who are embedded in their natural context and allow for in-depth study of the research phenomena (Miles and Huberman 1994). A variety of attendees who make up the audience of each specific festival was therefore observed and subsequently approached for interviews, as outlined in section 3.4.2.

Sampling for informants to be interviewed was also informed by conceptual questions emerging from the literature rather than by a concern for representativeness (Miles and Huberman 1994). Similar to sampling for festivals, a variety of sampling criteria was therefore used to identify informants who could provide insights about co-creation from different perspectives. The researcher looked for conventional demographic classification and attributes (i.e. apparent age; gender; size of social unit), as well as more sophisticated distinctions (e.g., type of accommodation; apparent level of genre specialisation; length of stay at the festival) when identifying a variety of potential informants (Appendix 2). In some cases, sampling decisions were made on the spot; for instance informants' length of stay was based in some cases on observable wristband distinction and in others on style of clothing worn (for instance wellington boots vs. trainers). This approach to sampling participants and their co-creation processes in the specific setting allowed not only for the uniqueness of each case/ social unit to be documented through ethnographic-style detailed descriptions, but also enabled the emergence of shared patterns (Patton 2002) across all five festival settings.

3.4.2. *Data collection*

Data were collected from a variety of sources: observations and interviews with both individuals and naturally occurring groups of informants at festivals, but also in part through document analysis of complementary pictorial evidence of observed phenomena and supplementary information, such as news feeds and marketing material from festival websites. Interviews and field notes were used to document observations of social happenings on site, while document analysis (photographs in particular) was used as an aide-memoire to supplement and help contextualise field notes and thus aid in the analytical process (Mason 2002). The application of observational and interview-based data collection methods in this research is explained next.

With respect to *participant observation data collection*, it is first important to establish what the role of the researcher was in the field. Different ‘degrees’ of observation can be identified based on the level of immersion in the research setting. The etic (outsider) observer perspective elevates the observer to the status of an ultimate judge of the categories and concepts, while the emic (insider) stance prioritises the informant’s perspective (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002). Similarly, according to Gold (1958), observation ranges from full participation and at times covert observation of the complete participant to the complete observer who adopts a ‘fly on the wall’ approach, in order to minimise his or her impact on the setting. In the context of the study a certain amount of detachment was necessary in order to maintain a critical and analytical perspective of the co-creation situation and processes under study. But at the same time, a degree of involvement and immersion in the research setting was necessary, so that the researcher could engage in ‘deep hanging out’ (Wolcott 1999), conduct less formal opportunistic interviews, form relationships and build trust with informants (Elliott and Jankel-Elliott 2003). For that reason, Gold’s (1958) category of *observer as participant*, corresponding with Spradley’s (1980) moderate involvement category, was adopted in this research.

This role requires the researcher to be present and immersed at the site and occasionally interact with people in it, but not actively participate in the action and play a ‘real’ role in the setting (Jones et al. 2012). The observer as participant role was also warranted by the relative unfamiliarity of the researcher with the general UK festival culture and specific subcultures, such as the folk music or the motorhome communities found in some of the research settings. In contrast to more traditional ‘insider’ research perspectives on subcultures found in marketing literature (e.g., Goulding et al. 2013; Schouten and McAlexander 1995), this researcher had little experience visiting festivals and as such found herself asking questions about things that most of the informants would take for granted. The status of a relative outsider allowed for fresh analytical insights based on informants describing concepts in their own terms and making explicit their tacit knowledge of cultural meanings (Spradley 1979). For instance, many campers adorned their tents with colourful flags and bunting. But it was only when asked about the meaning of this that they thought about the significance of this practice.

Issues of access in terms of ‘getting in’ and ‘getting by’ (Lofland and Lofland 1984) also had to be considered. Permission was granted from the gatekeepers (i.e. festival organisers) to attend the sites as a researcher, as opposed to a paying customer.

Once inside, the sites were found to be relatively open, public and highly visible. In more traditional ethnographic studies the researcher who may after prolonged periods of time become part of the research setting and thus start affecting what goes on (Jones et al. 2012). In contrast, the open and public nature of festival settings meant that the presence of the researcher did not appear to have an adverse effect on the informants.

The researcher arrived at the field sites laden with her tent, sleeping bag and research paraphernalia (see Appendix 3). She would then immerse herself in the research settings by dressing in festival garb and staying in her small tent at the campsite alongside regular festival attendees, in line with strategies adopted in similar events studies (Kim and Jamal 2007; Mackellar 2013; Wilks 2011). The researcher would blend in with other festival attendees, listen to music, sit at tables and walk around the festival site, while at the same time watching what people do and listening to what they say, taking photographs and drawing diagrams of the setting. Later she would retreat into the privacy of her tent and jot down brief, condensed observational notes of the general picture at the festival and different types of observable actions and interactions. More expansive field notes were written up into the field journal at the end of each day, to reduce potential problems with memory recall (Atkinson and Hammersley 1998; Lofland and Lofland 1984). These also included reflections on personal feelings, perceptions, emotions and potential analytical ideas during fieldwork (Jones et al. 2012) (see Appendix 6 for excerpt from the WorldMusicFest field journal).

An integral part of observational methods was a number of conversational *unrecorded casual interviews*. While still informed by the overall purpose of enquiry and the relevant theoretical concepts, casual interviews offered a degree of spontaneity and flexibility as they were undertaken in reaction to emergent field circumstances (Patton 2002). The researcher engaged in brief casual conversations with informants as part of naturally occurring social situations and consequently, co-participated in the same co-creation practices and processes that were observed and reported on by informants. Such situations included waiting in queues, sitting down with a meal or relaxing at the campsite. During these brief interactions the researcher would initially not reveal the purpose of her visit unless explicitly asked, and later take note of what was happening and what was being said. Once rapport was established the researcher explained the purpose of her visit and asked if a formal interview could be arranged at a later point, which proved a successful strategy. Only on two occasions festival participants noticed the researcher jotting down notes and thoughts and approached to

ask about this. In these cases the researcher immediately revealed her identity and the encounter would turn into an informal conversation that yielded useful data. The ethical implications of this strategy are discussed in section 3.7.

Additionally, *recorded semi-structured interviews* were conducted to gain an understanding of informants' situated accounts (Mason 2002), and to help explain what is 'happening' with respect to C2C co-creation from the informants' perspective (i.e. the emic perspective). Semi structured interviews took place in quieter areas where festival goers were resting or congregating, such as at the campsite and in quieter areas inside the festival arena. In addition to interviews that followed from casual conversations, the researcher would approach both individuals and naturally occurring groups in the setting, introduce herself and ask whether they would agree to an informally conducted recorded conversation about the social aspects of their festival experience. Only in two cases the informants were not willing to take part, because they were about to leave or did not feel comfortable talking. Interviewer skills were important especially during the first set of interviews. Mason's (2002) advice to 'really listen' to what people are saying, observe non-verbal signals and understand the social dynamics of interviewing, was carefully followed.

During the planning of the research project interviewing in the field was envisaged to take place in one-to-one situations. Nonetheless, as fieldwork progressed it was found that *group interviewing* (distinctive from 'focus groups') not only represented a practical option from a time management point of view, but also was a more realistic reflection of everyday co-creation practices at the festivals. Researchers exploring co-creation from the social constructionist perspective caution against collecting data from individuals only, as these may not reflect the primacy of social practices as units of analysis. Edvardsson et al. (2011, p. 337) note that

“researchers, trying to explain phenomena in social groups, still collect data predominantly from individuals. This approach, however, excludes the social contexts from the study in general, and the relationships between all actors involved in particular.”

Similarly, Mason (2002) and Flick (2009) point out that group interviews correspond to the way in which knowledge is constructed, expressed and exchanged in everyday social situations. Researchers conducting interviews with individuals concerning their personalities and experiences need to work out how such experiential discourses are epistemologically related to individuals' understanding of how the social world operates (Mason 2002). Furthermore, group interviews can more effectively sensitise the

researcher to nuances of the social context that might otherwise remain unacknowledged and expand the depth and variation in description of social processes (Frey and Fontana 1991).

For this reason, the number of participants for each interview was determined by the naturally occurring social relationships between actors as they were observed and approached in the field. This meant that interviews were conducted with individuals but also with couples, groups of friends and whole families with children running around and interacting with the parents as they were being interviewed (see Table 7). On average 10 to 13 interviews (25-45 minutes long) took place in each of the five settings, with a total of 52 interviews conducted across the five festivals. Because the majority of the interviews involved groups, the total informant sample consisted of over 135 individuals. Similar numbers of interviews are adopted in relevant qualitative studies that explore co-creation in a variety of different contexts (outlined in section 3.3.1), and were therefore deemed sufficient to achieve theoretical saturation (Denzin and Lincoln 2005).

Table 7 Number and types of interviews per festival

Social unit interviewed/ Festival	Individual	Couple/ pair	Group 3-5	Group 6-10	Total interviews
<i>VanFest</i>	1	3	4	0	8
<i>WorldMusicFest</i>	0	5	5	1	11
<i>StoryFest</i>	7	3	0	0	10
<i>Music&ArtsFest</i>	4	6	2	0	12
<i>FolkFest</i>	4	5	2	0	11
					52

Conducting group interviews required more advanced interviewer skills and a degree of confidence, particularly when approaching larger groups. The researcher often had to deal with interviewees talking over each other, departing half-way through the interview and being less audible than others. While some of these problems were anticipated and resolved (for example, a better quality hand-held digital recorder and a back-up recorder were used following problems with recording initial interviews), being in the field meant that the researcher had to think on her feet and in some cases accommodate interviewees by cutting the interview short. Problems and observations were recorded after each interview, ensuring a high degree of reflexivity.

A final consideration when conducting fieldwork was related to *delimiting the scope of observation and interviewing*. A number of authors note that participant observers should observe and ask about social situations in a structured way, at least initially. DeWalt and DeWalt (2002, p. 68) note that most participant observers enter the field

“with well-defined and specific research questions, well thought-out theoretical and conceptual frameworks, and ideas about social structure, (and) social interaction systems.”

Similarly, Luton (2010, p. 140) suggests that researchers adopt frameworks that provide a basis for “organising what is observed and (perhaps) for predicting what previous research or a particular theoretical perspective suggests should be observed”. Spradley (1980) for instance offers a checklist of categories to be observed and enquired about, which is adapted by Holloway et al. (2010) for use in events contexts. The checklist includes the following categories: actors; space/ location; object/ items located in the setting; behaviours and actions exhibited by actors; events happening in the context but also outside of it; the time frame and sequencing; goals participants are trying to achieve; and, displayed emotions of actors in the setting (ibid). In a similar way, Lofland and Lofland (1984) recommend that participant observers should focus on a combination of what they call units and aspects of social settings, to provide a general orientation to the kinds of things for which to look in the setting. The units within social settings include routine practices; incidents and episodes; encounters; social roles and types; relationships and cliques; organisations and social worlds. The aspects of social settings then comprise meanings (roles, norms and understandings), emotional aspects of practices, and hierarchies and inequalities (Lofland and Lofland 1984).

Bryman (2008) cautions that qualitative researchers ought to keep an open mind when focussing down data collection. Nonetheless, the application of the practice-based approach to C2C co-creation meant that the researcher had a fairly clear idea from the outset of what categories within the social context made sense to observe and explore in order to fulfil the research objectives. As was outlined in section 2.3.2 of Chapter 2, social practices have an ‘anatomy’ (Schau et al. 2009) of practice elements, which interact together to form a systemic whole that is practice. Korkman’s (2006) conceptualisation of value-forming practices of customers who share their festival experience was therefore adopted *as an organising framework* that helped to delimit the categories and topics that were observed and asked about. As Pearce (2012, p. 62) notes, such frameworks “should provide structure but not be a straightjacket”. The practice-

based framework therefore provided a preliminary structure to how the findings were organised and communicated in this thesis (see section 3.5.3).

The focus of enquiry on how actors (practicing subjects), their tools & know-how, images and the environment orchestrate actions and together make up practices, bears a close resemblance to the units and aspects of analysis recommended in the observational literature (Lofland and Lofland 1984). Table 8 summarises the practice-lens-guided application of each qualitative method. Through observation, insights were sought about the physical environment; actions, interactions and relationships; and, both observable and implicit images and rule structures present in the setting. Through interviews, data were collected regarding actors' tools & know-how (e.g., resources, skills or level of commitment), and the situational images that impact on participants' engagement in actions (and practices). Through document analysis information about actors or subjects (i.e. customers) was collected.

Table 8 Delimiting the scope of data collection at festivals

<i>Topics and categories</i>	<i>Methods and data sources</i>	<i>Examples of questions relating to study objectives</i>
Actors - subjects	Actors who carry out practices	Observations and document analysis regarding types of audiences at festivals; demographic information about social units
Tools & know-how	Who performs practices at festivals? Are there different social units? What are they like?	In-depth interviews with participants regarding their skills, knowledge and resources
Images, rule & norm structures	The skills and resources required and seen as adequate to perform practices	How do participants' personal skills, knowledge and potentially other resources influence the ways in which they co-create?
Actions	The shared beliefs which regulate and guide practices	Observations of rule-following or -breaking in the festival context; interviews with participants
Environment	Actions, interactions and behaviours in which practices are embodied	What are the explicit and implicit rules and norms that guide people's actions and practices in the festival context? Are these being followed/ broken?
	The spaces, props barriers – the physical elements that influence actions and behaviours	Participant observation and recording of actions, interactions and behaviours of participants
	Photographs and diagrams of the setting; objects; props, barriers; also intangible service/programme elements with social implications for participants	What are the specific types of actions (e.g. spontaneous/ routine/ organised actions)? On which levels do interactions among participants take place (e.g. intra-group/ inter-group)?
		How is the space used in a social sense, e.g. where do people congregate? Are there any organiser-designed and -managed cues/ artefacts that explicitly aim to facilitate social interactions among attendees?

An observation schedule (Appendix 4) and interview guide (Appendix 5) were devised and followed to ensure that certain topics were covered, while at the same time remaining open to the ways in which each interviewee talked about topics as they were relevant to him or her. An iterative and flexible approach to data collection was maintained. As new insights emerged following preliminary analysis, the data collection procedure was revised after each fieldwork session to better reflect the emic perspective.

3.4.3. Pilot study

Prior to conducting the main study (Research phase 2), *six pilot interviews were conducted* in September 2011 (Research phase 1). The pilot interviews played an important role in allowing the researcher to familiarise herself with the festival context before commencing fieldwork and providing preliminary insights to C2C co-creation processes. The purpose of the pilot phase was also to refine and narrow down some of the concepts that were being considered in the initial stages of the research. These included customer-to-customer actions, interactions and behaviours as framed within specific social situations and ongoing experiences. The pilot study was therefore utilised to test the suitability of Social Situation Analysis (Argyle et al. 1981) as a potential analytical framework for the research, as is explained below.

From a practical perspective, the interviews were intended as a ‘test run’ for the researcher to practice her interview skills, to see if different forms of interviews (one-to-one/ couple; face-to-face/ telephone) would make a difference, and to help revise and refine the methodological design of the main study (Jennings 2005). Three interviews were conducted face-to-face at public locations (restaurants, pubs) to test how recording in noisy environments would influence audio quality and three using Skype 5.0 (voice-over-IP programme that enabled recording of audio interviews). One of the interviews was undertaken with a married couple, the rest with individuals. All interviews lasted between 30 minutes and 1 hour.

Participants were chosen purposefully on the basis of having recently been to any type of event or festival. Reasonable diversity was sought in terms of gender, age and occupation (see Table 9). The intention was to gain an overview of social experiences of, and co-creation processes at, different types of special events and festivals in terms of geographical location, duration and theme. However, when asked to talk about their most recent social experience at an event, a rather homogenous picture was built of

multi-day music and arts festivals. Additionally, almost all of the interviewees talked about more than one event they had visited, and some remembered music festivals from a distant past. This highlighted the importance of these immersive, intense experiences in the participants' lives, and helped to shape sampling criteria for the main study.

The pilot interviews followed the format of an open-ended ethnographic-style interview as suggested by Spradley (1979), in order to fit in with the proposed observation- and interview-based main data collection approach. After introducing the research project and explaining the purpose of the interview, a descriptive 'grand tour' question (Spradley 1979) followed, which expanded on the basic question with repeated phrases. By encouraging informants to 'ramble on and on' (Spradley 1979, p. 87), grand tour questions as well as prompting mini-tour questions can produce a wealth of empirical material. Participants were asked to talk about the social aspects of their event experience from the moment they arrived (or set off to travel to the site) to the end of the event. In some cases, numerous prompts were necessary to encourage informants to talk about the social aspect of the event experience, rather than other aspects, such as service and facilities quality.

Table 9 Pilot interview participants and types of events

Name(s)	Age	Occupation	Interview type and length	Types of events reported on
<i>Elli</i>	22	Graduate	Skype with video 29mins	Outdoor 3-day summer pop music festival; 2-day rock music festival (both UK-based)
<i>David</i>	56	Self-employed	Face-to-face in a restaurant 59 mins	Rural 3-day summer folk music festival in the UK; multi-day outdoor bluegrass festival in the USA
<i>Jack</i>	48	PR and marketing executive	Skype with video 51 mins	Outdoor 3-day pop music festival; multi-day urban arts festival (both in Scotland)
<i>Sandra</i>	30	Mature student	Face-to-face in a cafe 31 mins	Outdoor 3-day pop music festival in Scotland; multi-day urban book festival in the UK
<i>Linda and Tom</i>	24 and 33	Marketing assistant/researcher	Face-to-face in participants' home 32 mins	Outdoor 3-day arts family-oriented festival in the UK
<i>Sabina</i>	26	Student based in Germany	Skype with video 32 mins	Small-scale, outdoor multi-day pop-music festival; 1-day urban rock music event (both in Germany)

Social Situation Analysis [SSA] (Argyle et al. 1981) from social psychology was used as an analytical framework in the pilot study. This was help structure the analysis of the pilot data and to help order and communicate the findings (Pearce 2012). SSA combines theoretical concepts from psychology and sociology in a comprehensive methodological and analytical approach to investigating how social situations impact on behaviour. Within the tourism domain, Pearce (1984) was the first to advocate SSA as a framework that can provide a basis for the conceptual groundwork needed in the study of tourist-guide interactions. According to Argyle et al. (1981), social situations have eight defining features: space/environment; repertoire of behaviours; concepts and cognitive structures; rules; roles; language and speech; skills and difficulties; and goals. The former seven features are viewed as interacting together to support the attainment of goals.

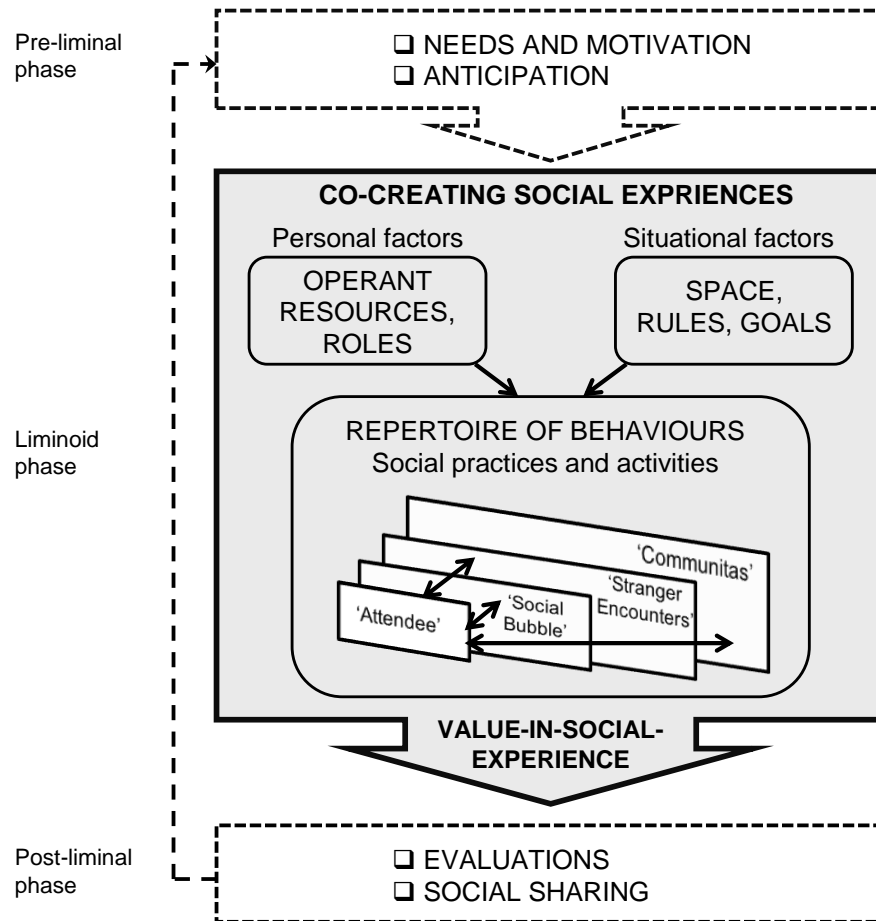
SSA is not a theory as such but it can provide an understanding of the structural properties of social situations (Pearce 1984; 1990). It has been applied in a number of leisure and tourism studies to provide insights into host-guest and tourist-tourist interactions (Murphy 2001; Pearce and Greenwood 1999; Pearce 1990). Pearce and Greenwood (1999), for instance, argue that SSA can help identify aspects of social situations that could be supported/ avoided by the service provider, so that positive customer experience outcomes are ensured. In the initial stages of this research, it was therefore envisaged that SSA could be adopted as an analytical framework to conceptualise C2C value co-creation at festivals.

All of the pilot interviews were recorded and transcribed. The first two interviews were analysed manually and were later transferred into QSR International's NVivo 9 (see section 3.5.1 for justification of its use), utilising a *content analysis* approach as per Saldaña (2009). During the First Cycle (FC) coding stage, 157 provisional, mainly descriptive and process codes were assigned. A 'start list' of codes (Miles and Huberman 1994) based on the eight SSA features was used, while still allowing for new codes to emerge. Second Cycle (SC) coding (Saldaña 2009) was then conducted, during which the FC codes were clustered and merged together to refine and label the basic topics and initial categories of specific text passages. Individual codes were then re-organised and assigned to more interpretive categories (themes) and sub-categories, using a tree structure.

The pilot study produced three main themes that were initially seen as relevant in the context of C2C co-creation at festivals. These are illustrated in the three-stage (Getz

2007) *Preliminary co-creation framework* (Figure 9). The findings are outlined next, together with a reflection on and brief discussion of how they influenced the theoretical and methodological decisions in Research phase 2.

Figure 9 Preliminary co-creation framework



First, the findings indicated that C2C co-creation may not be limited to the actual consumption setting only; i.e. participants talked about co-creation in the anticipatory pre-liminal phase, the actual liminal or liminoid (Turner 1982) festival phase, and the reflective post-liminal phase. The pre-liminal phase pertained to social needs and motivation of participants, as well as the social influences present in the anticipatory stage. The liminoid phase or space then represented the social context at festivals, while SSA was used to organise the various features within of the social situation and to illustrate the interplay of these feature in C2C co-creation. Finally, the post-liminal phase referred to interviewees’ reflections on and sharing of their social co-creation and experiences, linking these back to their future consumption. Value was found to emerge as a holistic construct formed –in-social-experience of festivals goes over the three phases of their festival consumption.

This finding was in line with the temporal conceptualisation of consumer experiences in a number of tourism and marketing studies (e.g., Arnould et al. 2004; Oh et al. 2007; Turnbull 2009), and reiterated the importance of focussing on value co-creation as embedded in the context of customers' lives as the main premise of C-D logic (Heinonen et al. 2010). A longitudinal qualitative approach (Mariampolski 2006) would have been useful to study this in more depth (e.g., following a group as they prepare for their festival visit, attend the festival, and reflect on it afterwards). Nevertheless, it was decided that such approach was beyond the scope of the study and a decision was made to limit Research phase 2 data collection to the co-creation practices that take place in the actual social context of festivals.

Secondly, a number of 'social co-creation layers' were identified by looking at the main social actors engaged in C2C co-creation at festivals: 'Attendee' (i.e. the festival goer); 'Social Bubble' (friends and family members the festival goers visits with); 'Stranger Encounters' (interactions, encounters and temporary relationships with previously un-known festival goers); and 'Communitas' (as an emerging sense of togetherness, the breaking of social boundaries, and a sense of social companionship with 'all people' at festivals). Interviewees talked mainly about memorable encounters and incidents, although more routine behaviours were also hinted at. This finding confirmed that value co-creation does not necessarily 'sit' with the individual customer as a subjectively perceived and unique outcome of the co-creation process, but rather, can be conceptualised as a complex and multi-layered process which involves different actors, behaviours and practices. Furthermore, a need for a more nuanced qualitative enquiry based on participatory methods became apparent following the pilot study, to enable access to the more mundane, routine, taken for granted, routine social actions in festival contexts (Echeverri and Skålén 2011; Moisander and Valtonen 2012; Korkman 2006).

Thirdly, the pilot interviews confirmed one of the main tenets of S-D logic in that customers integrated some 'personal factors' (adopted roles, skills and resources) with the personal resources of other customers to co-create value (as discussed in section 2.3.1, Chapter 2). But the pilot study also indicated that some external 'situational factors' influenced C2C co-creation. These situational features included the physical space, rules (i.e. the liminoid rule structures at festivals), and situational goals. This insight helped to provide a justification for a more reflexive exploration of value co-creation practices that would actively explore situational and contextual features of the

service setting. Additionally, it indicated that more in-depth examination of these situational factors may lead to identification of specific service management opportunities and strategies for facilitating C2C co-creation.

Data from the pilot interviews were not included in the main study, although they formed the basis of conceptual work by Rihova et al. (2013). Additionally, results from the pilot phase influenced the researcher's analytical thinking and naming of categories in the first stages of fieldwork (section 3.5.3). This was not seen as a limitation; the analytical procedures employed in the main research phase involved a high degree of reflexivity that examined pre-existing ideas on a theoretical level. But the relevance and use of SSA as an analytical framework was re-evaluated before commencing data collection in Research phase 2. Much of Argyle et al.'s (1981) work builds on the assumption that individuals' situational perceptions are subjective. Consequently, qualitative techniques that include in-depth interviewing and observations of individuals are used in SSA-led research, as they allow for "subjective understandings of actors in social settings" (Pearce 1984, p. 133). As the emphasis in the research shifted towards the practice-based view of C2C co-creation, this subjectivity was found to be incongruent with the need to study social practices rather than the individual as the main units of analysis. SSA was therefore no longer seen as offering appropriate epistemological and theoretical grounding for the study of C2C co-creation.

A final reflection pertains to issues with the coding process when analysing pilot interviews. Once initial codes were assigned in NVivo, it became apparent that too many text segments were 'bulked' into the same theme (Altinay and Paraskevas 2008). In an attempt to establish additional categories, too many facets/ sub-codes were created, resulting in an overly complicated coding tree. For example, most actions and behaviours that pilot interview participants talked about were initially coded as 'repertoires of behaviours', as per the initial SSA-guided coding sheet. In the second coding round these were divided into over 80 different actions and behaviours, depending on the various actors and contexts. The codes were continuously reviewed and eventually clustered into higher-order categories with many of the sub-codes deleted or merged into more general sub-themes. This process led to a more thorough and better managed analytical procedure in Research phase 2, which is detailed in the following section.

3.5. Data analysis

In order to analyse data gathered in Research phase 2, field notes were typed up on the computer. Each recorded interview was transcribed verbatim including the various imperfections in participants' grammar and speaking styles, nonverbal and emotional elements of the conversation, and incidents that interrupted the flow of conversations. This was done so that the quality of subsequent interpretation would not be affected (Bazeley 2007). Researcher's comments and annotations were added to the transcripts and observational notes to serve as a basis for subsequent analysis and writing. (Examples of a field journal and an interview transcript are provided in Appendices 6 and 7).

As was already indicated in section 3.3.2, the flexible 'emergent study design' (Patton 2002) allowed for data to be collected and processed on an ongoing basis and in an iterative manner. What this means is that observational and interview data gathered in each festival setting were transcribed and preliminarily (manually) analysed before data collection in the next festival setting took place. The transcripts were printed off and initial observations and themes that appeared of relevance and interest were manually highlighted and noted down. Adjusting the interview guide and observation schedule for each festival setting allowed for data collection in each subsequent fieldwork context to be more focussed. Emergent themes could be further explored and the concepts and processes under scrutiny could be refined (Patton 2002). When data collection at the festivals was completed the researcher commenced in-depth computer-assisted thematic analysis, as described below.

3.5.1. The use of CAQDAS

The issue of using computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) was carefully considered. While qualitative analysis programmes are only as effective as the researcher herself (Jennings 2005), according to Seale (2004, p. 316) they can be very useful in instances where researchers require "rapid retrieval of information from a mass of otherwise unwieldy transcripts". Advocates of CAQDAS note that the ability of qualitative software tools to employ counts of scripts and codes contributes to the validity of the study, as through higher transparency and systematic treatment of data it adds rigour to analysis (Bazeley 2007; Seale 2002). But as Coffey et al. (1996) point out, such arguments may seem more akin to standardised survey or experimental design in which a mechanistic approach to coding and analysis can somewhat impede the close

contact of the researcher with the data. The use of CADQAS can also encourage the researcher to develop too many coding categories and thus contribute to lack of analytical clarity (Bazeley 2007).

Having considered both its advantages and limitations, it was concluded that computer software would be useful in managing the large amounts of observational and interview data by linking between the different forms and types of data (e.g., text, photographs, documents), and also in providing greater rigour and transparency in qualitative analysis (Bazeley 2007; Coffey et al. 1996). QSR International *NVivo 9 software* (released in 2010) was therefore utilised both in the pilot study and main research study to assist coding, categorising, data retrieval, analysis and reporting.

3.5.2. *Qualitative thematic analysis*

In terms of the analytical procedure employed, Bazeley (2009) cautions against the commonly adopted ‘garden path’ thematic analysis approach, which is done by simply presenting key themes and supporting these by quotes from participants. The author contends that qualitative researchers should use more rigorous strategies. These strategies include: revisiting and improving categories; drawing on comparisons and analysing patterns; including divergent and negative views to challenge generalisation; creating data displays using matrices and models; and actively using memo writing and integrating the literature to prompt deeper thinking about emerging themes (ibid). These strategies were employed in the analytical process outlined below. NVivo served as an effective tool to aid this process, while still emphasising the social constructionist epistemological underpinning to the research approach.

Observational and interview data from the festival cases were initially coded manually in between each fieldwork using a ‘broad-brush’ or ‘bucket’ approach (Bazeley 2007), with the view to code in more detail when fieldwork was completed. Several descriptive and more abstract categories emerged from this provisional ‘quick sweep’ analysis, which were summarised and synthesised in five memos that outlined preliminary findings from the festivals. Once the data sources were uploaded into NVivo, a more detailed coding process commenced, which was undertaken in *six analytical steps* (see Table 10). These involved non-cross-sectional/ contextual coding for each of the five festival cases, followed by cross-sectional analysis that looked for comparisons, potential commonalities and deviant cases. By using this approach a holistic sense of what the data are about was gained, and main themes could be

inductively developed from the data in line with the research aim and objectives (Bazeley 2007; Mason 2002).

Table 10 Detailed analytical strategy

<i>Steps</i>	<i>Activities</i>	<i>Processes and procedures employed</i>
Step 1	Broad-brush coding	Twelve broad-brush codes were used to code the complete data set. This allowed for a systematic overview of the data without losing sight of the bigger picture in the data (Mason 2002). Each code was justified by having clearly defined rules for inclusion.
Step 2	Refining basic coding structure	Themes identified in Step 1 were re-arranged into categories to comprise a framework for further analysis. This step included distilling, re-labelling and merging categories to ensure that labels and rules for inclusion accurately reflect coded content.
Step 3	'Coding-on', re-structuring of main themes into in-depth sub-themes	Data were re-structured into a number of sub-themes by further coding and re-coding the content within four main themes that emerged from Step 2. This allowed for more in-depth understanding of the qualitative aspects under scrutiny and offered clearer insights into the meanings embedded in them.
Step 4	Summary memos, in-case analysis	Memos with summary statements were written on the content of lower-order codes and sub-themes, looking at each festival case individually. Case by case findings were written up at this stage, looking at "the <i>particular in the context</i> , rather than the common or consistent" (Mason 2002, p. 165).
Step 5	Data reduction and inductive cross-case analysis (analytical memos and queries)	Cross-case analysis was performed through memo-writing and data queries in NVivo. Data were reduced by consolidating codes into a more abstract and conceptual map of a final framework which contained only three top-level categories. These corresponded with literature-based themes and helped to structure findings and discussion chapters of the thesis.
Step 6	Synthesis into findings and discussion	Analytical memos were synthesised into a coherent, cohesive and well supported findings document which formed the basis of the draft findings and discussion chapters of the thesis.

The first three steps involved the coding of data, starting with 12 general 'broad brush' codes that emerged from the manual coding sweep and reflected an emic perspective; i.e. what informants were saying. These included the following codes: before and after festival; campsite; comparisons with other contexts; festival arena; festival feedback; festival programming; personal factors in co-creation; situational rules; social atmosphere; social practices; stranger interactions; and, weather. Clear criteria for inclusion into each of the codes were formulated inductively, as shown on the example of Social practices (see Appendix 8 for an overview of all 12 broad-brush codes and their inclusion criteria):

Social practices: References to the 'doings', routine actions and behaviours that describe what the different types of social co-creation units (families, groups of friends, tribes) actually do at the festival, the ways in which actions are performed and the tools/images associated with these

The broad brush codes were refined into six higher-level categories (or themes) in the second step. The categories were reduced in the third step to four main themes, including: co-creation practices; servicescape; person-specific practice elements; and, situation-specific practice elements. Within these themes, categories and sub-categories were 'coded-on' in more detail. Each main theme comprised 2-6 sub-categories, which were further divided to form a relatively complex coding hierarchy. Table 11 provides an example of how this was done for one of the 'co-creation practices' codes:

Table 11 Excerpt from data coding structure – coding-on and refining categories

Theme	Level 1 codes	Level 2 sub-codes	Level 3 sub-codes	Level 4 sub-codes
Co-creation practices				
	Inward orientation			
		<i>belongingness</i>		
			conforming	
				drinking ale
				engaging in tribal discourse
				wearing tribal clothes

The three coding steps were followed by in-case and cross-case (i.e. across festivals) analysis, prompted by memo-writing and in-case queries (as explained below). This helped to reduce and consolidate the categories in step five, to result in the final coding structure. An excerpt of the final coding structure is shown in Table 12 (see appendices 9 to 11 for complete overviews of the coding structures in analytical steps 2 – 5):

Table 12 Excerpt from data coding structure – reduction and abstraction

Theme	Level 1 codes	Level 2 sub-codes	Level 3 sub-codes
Value orientation			
	Private domain		
		<i>Belonging</i>	
			Conforming

Reducing and abstracting from sub-categories contributed to the development of concepts and formulation of the relationships between them for reporting purposes. Modelling and drawing were used to help visualise frameworks. Analytical memos and data queries in NVivo were conducted to help further conceptualise from the findings. Analytical memos included writing thoughts and observations on the following (Bazeley 2007; 2009):

- the content of the categories and their codes (i.e. summary statements);
- coding patterns (looking for example at the significance of low/ high numbers of references in each code, which could emerging patterns in the data);
- thinking about how various codes ‘fit into the story’;
- thinking about relevance of information and attributes of festivals and people (for instance profiling of festival visitors or physical context as possible ‘case attributes’ that may influence how co-creation practices are performed);
- considering relationship with existing literature (i.e. reflecting on how emerging findings relate to concepts from the literature).

Data queries in NVivo allowed for validation and revising of analytical memos, so as to self-audit proposed findings by seeking evidence in the data beyond textual quotes. This process involved interrogation of data and forced the consideration of elements beyond the category itself. This was done by drawing on relationships across and between categories, and cross tabulation with case attributes, observations and literature. Table 13 shows how such queries were used to indicate patterns in the data; in this instance the query showed the percentage of data coded in NVivo at social practices for each festival. In the final step, analytical memos were written and then synthesised into a coherent findings report, which was expanded to form the basis of the findings and discussion chapters.

Table 13 Example of coding query matrix in NVivo

	VanFest	WorldMusic -Fest	StoryFest	Music&Arts -Fest	FolkFest
<i>Belonging</i>	18.35%	4.22%	17.49%	8.54%	18.84%
<i>Bonding</i>	33.9%	27.18%	20.16%	14.41%	12.22%
<i>Detaching</i>	18.81%	5.58%	9.5%	23.66%	17.48%
<i>Communing</i>	2.89%	46.5%	8.24%	13.83%	12.58%
<i>Connecting</i>	15.26%	11.1%	18.89%	20.48%	15.68%
<i>Amiability</i>	10.79%	5.43%	25.72%	19.08%	23.2%

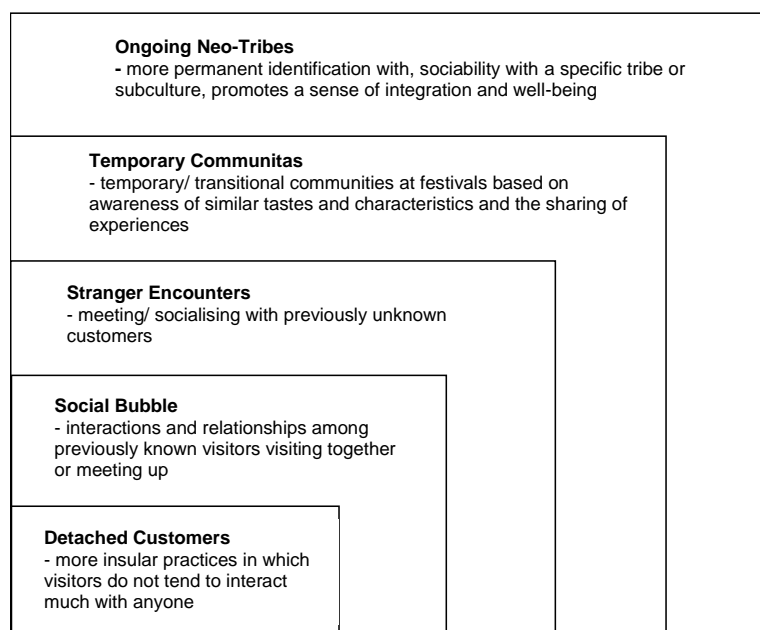
Throughout the main analytical process a ‘Journal’ was kept within NVivo. Into this document the researcher regularly entered information about her progress, coding decisions, analytical ‘hunches’, ideas, and literature excerpts that could aid analysis. This practice allowed for deeper conceptual thinking to develop from the early stages of analysis (Bazeley 2007) and for some of the teething problems encountered in the pilot study analysis to be avoided. It also meant that the analytical process in Research phase 2 was well structured and could be managed relatively easily.

3.5.3. Emerging themes and organisation of findings

The research objectives guided the analytical process and the naming and categorisation of coded data. This in turn shaped the way in which the study findings are structured and presented in the thesis. This section briefly discusses how the analytical procedures described in the previous section contributed to theoretical development of the main concepts developed in the thesis and presented in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. Categorisation of C2C co-creation ‘festivalling’ practices is considered first. The emergence of findings relating to subject- and situation specific practice elements that orchestrate customers’ engagement in practices is then outlined.

As the focus in this research is on identifying customers’ social practices (i.e. C2C value co-creation), it was important to establish from the onset how practices should be structured and presented in the thesis. This need became apparent in the course of preliminary analysis and coding; some categorisation of practices was necessary when conceptualising from the data. The subject in practice is the customer who engages in co-creation (Schatzki 2001) and a number of authors indeed suggest that different customers may engage in practices in different ways (Echeverri and Skålén 2011; Holttinen 2010; McColl-Kennedy et al. 2012). Building on pilot study findings, in analytical step 2, coded references to various social practices at festivals were therefore categorised according to five ‘social layers’ that customers in socially dense service contexts co-create within. These layers were termed ‘Detached Customers’ layer; ‘Social Bubble’ layer; ‘Stranger Encounters’ layer; ‘Temporary Communitas’ layer; and, ‘Ongoing Neo-Tribes’ layer (Figure 10).

Figure 10 Overview of initial categorisation of practices

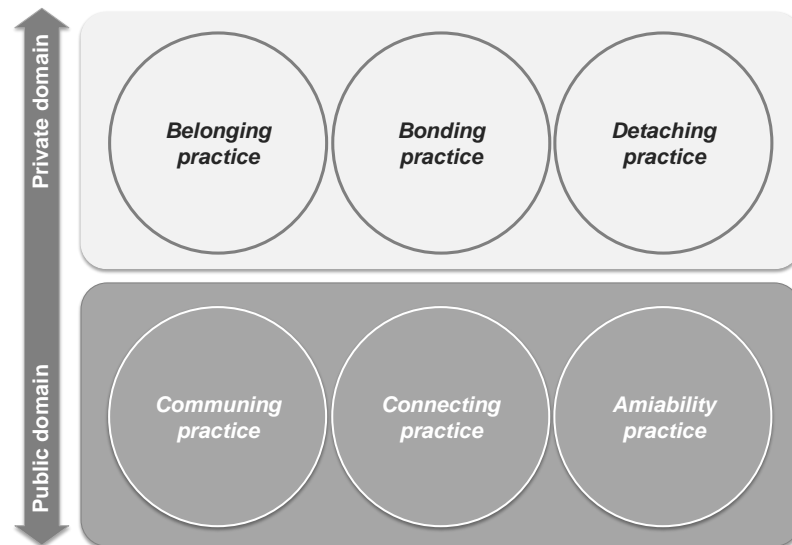


Assigning practices to the five ‘social layers’ appeared logical, as these could help illustrate how an individual customer engages in a practice based on the type of social experiences they seek. However, deeper analysis revealed that value in ‘festivalling’ practices was co-created in more complex ways. For example, one female participant came to FolkFest with her partner and at the festival met up with 10 other friends (Social Bubble). The group were part of a folk music club in their hometown, and as regular visitors met up at the festival with other folk music lovers, some of whom they knew previously (Neo-Tribes layer). At the festival they also interacted with complete strangers (Stranger Encounters layer), and engaged in social levelling practices within the Communitas layer.

To reflect further conceptual development as analysis progressed, social practices were therefore coded in analytical steps 3-4 on the basis of two main social domains in which value co-creation in socially dense service settings is oriented. Practices identified within the categories of Detached Customers, Social Bubble and Ongoing Neo-tribes were collectively assigned to the *Private domain*, in which C2C co-creation is oriented ‘inwardly’. Practices of ‘Belonging’, ‘Bonding’ and ‘Detaching’, involving families and friends but also other members of a subculture or neo-tribe (both known and unknown), were assigned to this category. Practices of ‘Communing’, ‘Connecting’ and ‘Amiability’ (Stranger Encounters and Communitas) were then categorised as *Public domain* practices. In this domain C2C co-creation was found to be ‘outwardly-

oriented' in that it involved inter-group socialisation and interactions among strangers (Figure 11).

Figure 11 Overview of final categorisation of practices



The Private - Public value domain distinction still reflects the multi-layered nature of C2C co-creation at festivals but is more in line with the theoretical underpinning of this thesis. Value is viewed as formed in C2C co-creation practices, which means that the practice is the primary unit of analysis and not the customer (Holttinen 2010; Schau et al. 2009). As the practice is orchestrated by a number of elements (Reckwitz 2002; Schatzki 2001; Schau et al. 2009), the customer is part of some social unit potentially involved in co-creation in different ways. Rather than prioritising the customer as an active initiator of co-creation processes, viewing practices as oriented within the Private/ Public domain therefore encompasses the customer in the value co-creation context as a subject who carries out practices (Korkman 2006). Furthermore, this way of categorising C2C co-creation laid the theoretical groundwork for a more practical contribution to service marketing, as will be discussed in extensive detail in Chapter 7.

Another point for consideration involved the organisation of findings pertaining to the elements of practices. Warde (2005) and other practice scholars (Reckwitz 2002; Schatzki 2001; Schau et al. 2009) hold that practices represent a holistic system of elements, the dynamism of which influences and orchestrates practice performance. NVivo's matrix building function was found to be helpful in discovering patterns in the data with respect to identifying links between practices and specific elements that appeared to influence how festivalling may be performed. Coded data (observations and interviews transcribed as text) were cross-referenced at the six main practices and

particular practice elements. Approximate percentages of coded data overlaps indicated if there were any differences in the way practices were performed. Table 14 shows an example of a coding query result in NVivo: the high percentage of text coded at Belonging for Committed festival goers indicates that festivals targeting highly specialised audiences (e.g. through a clear genre focus such as folk music) may facilitate Belonging practice at the festival. In contrast, festivals catering to a range of novice, non-specialised audiences with a generalist and varied programme may facilitate Private domain social practices, such as Detaching.

Table 14 Relationships between practices and subject-specific elements

Subject-specific practice elements/ Practices	Committed	Interested	Novice
<i>Belonging</i>	63.59%	10.37%	5.37%
<i>Bonding</i>	3.56%	19.76%	11.66%
<i>Detaching</i>	21.65%	9.84%	26.64%
<i>Communing</i>	11.2%	21.28%	22.78%
<i>Connecting</i>	0%	20.61%	14.76%
<i>Amiability</i>	0%	18.13%	18.79%

A number of practice elements were identified in the data. These were compared with a variety of practice elements categorisations in the literature (as shown in Table 3 in section 2.3.2 of the literature review). Analysis revealed that Korkman’s (2006) view of practices as comprising actions, subject, tools/know-how, images and physical space actually very closely resembled categories that emerged in this research (Table 15).

Table 15 Conceptualising practice elements in the thesis

Practice elements relevant in the context of C2C value co-creation at festivals	Practice elements in literature (Korkman 2006)	Grouped in NVivo under themes relating to	Where in thesis examined
- <i>Actions</i>	Actions	Practices	Chapter 4
- <i>Social unit size & make-up</i> - <i>Social class identity</i> - <i>Level of immersion</i>	Practicing subject	Subject-specific practice elements	Chapter 5
- <i>Level of skills</i> - <i>Genre specialisation</i>	Tools and know-how	Subject-specific practice elements	Chapter 5
- <i>Intrinsic rule structures</i> - <i>Extrinsic rule structures</i>	Images	Situation-specific practice elements	Chapter 6
- <i>Social density</i> - <i>Spatial orientation and layout</i>	Physical environment	Situation-specific practice elements	Chapter 6

The various coding categories were therefore grouped under the themes of Practices; Subject-specific practice elements and Situation-specific practice elements. This allowed for new and detailed insights to be provided with respect to the specific content of each practice element, its role in practice performance and consequently, opportunities for service organisation to facilitate C2C value co-creation and more favourable value outcomes for customers (as will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7).

3.6. Limitations and issues of ‘internal validity’ of the research

The research approach adopted in this study reflects the classic trade-off between breadth and depth and between generalisability and transferability involved in qualitative research (Patton 2002). The slow uptake of qualitative, interpretivist methodologies in marketing and service research discussed in section 3.2.1 is often seen to be caused in part by their lack of generalisability and applicability across a wide variety of contexts (Hanson and Grimmer 2007; Tadajewski 2004). These concerns are carried through into discussions of the limitations of this study.

In a similar vein, the validity of qualitative research cannot be judged in the same way as that of quantitative studies which strive for internal and external reliability, consistency and replicability. Instead, it is through academic rigour, a professional and ethical approach, honesty and openness that help determine credibility and *internal validity* of qualitative studies (Denzin and Lincoln 2005). Issues of generalisability and internal validity of the present research are discussed in what follows.

3.6.1. Generalisability vs. transferability

The methodological design adopted here is interpretivist in nature and as such it does not make claims of generalising to a wider population, or even the wider events and festival industry context. The relatively narrow focus on a small pool of festival cases delimited by purposive sampling criteria may be seen as not addressing the wider scope of the social aspects of co-creation within the whole events and festival industry, or indeed, within all possible socially dense service contexts.

A broader, more *generalisable* perspective could build for example on personality psychology (John 1990). The researcher could gather a large number of experience narratives concerning social incidents and experiences in a wide range of socially dense settings. By looking for commonalities between personality of the narrators and the

ways in which they interacted in different settings, the researcher could offer insights as to how marketers could better align their products with specific customer segments. However, such de-contextualisation of the study design (i.e. not acknowledging the social context in which individuals co-create) would represent an outcome-oriented value focus and consequently, a shift away from the practice-based perspective advocated in this study. (This issue is further considered in light of opportunities for future research in Chapter 8).

Qualitative researchers do not try to find cause and effect relationships in a straightforward fashion by basing future predictions on patterns of variables discerned from previous circumstances. But as Mason (2002, p. 175) notes,

“(their) concern with how and why social phenomena or processes happen in particular circumstances and particular ways can certainly support predictive ideas about how those things might vary in different contexts.”

The interview and observational methods used in the thesis mean that the findings cannot refer to a broad range of issues based on large samples. For instance, the relatively small sample of five family-friendly festivals means that findings may differ if the research was undertaken at hard-rock concerts or urban-based opera nights. Rather than simply aggregating data from a large number of individuals who refer to a wide variety of contexts, this study combined in-depth data from smaller units of analysis (people engaging in practices and the setting in which they perform these practices) to provide a holistic picture of a particular phenomenon (Patton 2002), i.e. C2C value co-creation. Because qualitative research uses rather than dims specificity and differences, explanations of how and why things work can more easily be connected with context (Holloway et al. 2010; Mason 2002). ‘Thick descriptions’ and participants’ voices should provide enough information for other researchers to decide whether or not findings are *transferable to similar social contexts and milieus* (Guba and Lincoln 2005; Holloway et al. 2010).

For instance, by examining the practice elements that influence how practices at festivals are performed (study Objective 2) the researcher is able to provide explanations that are likely to be transferable to other socially dense service contexts where customers engage in social practices that involve other customers. These include shopping mall visits, sports and leisure events, business events, visits to night clubs, dining at restaurants, arts performances, speed-dating events, events designed to bring together communities, and many other similar contexts. *Theoretical generalisations can*

be made (Bryman 2008) with respect to C2C value co-creation and value formation in social practices. Furthermore, the qualitative methodologies utilised in exploratory research can also serve to provide *tentative generalisations of concepts*, which can be validated and tested through quantitative methodologies in other contexts (Patton 2002).

3.6.2. Reliability vs. trustworthiness and internal validity

The ontological premise of social constructionism is that no single version of reality is feasible and that there can be several accounts of possible truths (Crotty 1998). This has important implications not only for the ways in which the research findings are judged, but also for the rigorousness of the research procedures adopted. When addressing the important questions of whether qualitative research provides sufficient evidence for judging its quality, qualitative researchers often use ‘scientific criteriology’ (Mason 2002) of reliability, consistency and replicability in their research. There are arguments, however, that such criteria are not suitable for the purposes of qualitative research (Denzin and Lincoln 2005). Instead, Guba and Lincoln (2005) talk about *trustworthiness of qualitative research in terms of its credibility and confirmability*.

Credibility refers to the role of the researcher to ensure that the account he or she arrives at is authentically presented and credible in the eyes of the members of the social world under study. Bryman (2008) recommends that researchers undertake member validation; i.e. submit their research findings to informants for confirmation. While it was not practical to check the findings with the informants themselves, the researcher submitted a sample of her interpretation and findings to peers who are experienced and knowledgeable of the festival culture in the UK. They thought that the categories and themes related to social practices at festivals were reasonable and reflected their own experiences. The findings and their interpretations were also subjected to peer review as part of the researcher’s publishing efforts (see Appendix 12).

Moreover, the combination of interviews and observation provided within-method triangulation. Triangulation represents one of the strengths of participant observation and ethnographic-style design (Holloway et al. 2010). It means that possible gaps between informants’ ‘acts and deeds’ could be addressed (Jones et al. 2012). It also contributed to what Taylor and Bogdan (1984) term ‘internal validity’, meaning that validity in qualitative research should be inherent in the way that data and what people actually say and do are constantly in close contact.

Confirmability is closely linked with reflexivity and axiological awareness of the researcher, who constantly makes choices based on his or her personal values and beliefs as they interact with the social world under study (Guba and Lincoln 2005; Saunders et al. 2009). The analytical strategy adopted in this study meant that the personal values, beliefs and biases of the researcher were constantly under scrutiny. While a positivist paradigm prompts researchers to adopt an objective stance and to remain independent of the data, in an interpretivist tradition this is not the case. Interpretivist researchers cannot be separated from what is being researched and so are always subjective and biased (ibid). As Janesick (1998, p. 41) contends, “there is no value-free or bias-free design” for qualitative researchers.

It could be argued that through her qualitative research focus, and the intensity sampling approach in particular, this researcher is indeed ‘biased’ towards exploration of festival contexts as co-creation-rich environments that potentially reflect well the formation of value in social practices. This thesis does not for example consider cases that may potentially lead to the emergence of ‘neutral’ or even ‘negative’ value co-created (or not co-created) in festival attendees’ social processes. Choosing more socially constrained types of events, or those of a much shorter duration that do not allow for intensive and spontaneous social co-creation, would possibly lead to a more complete picture of C2C co-creation across a variety of different settings. Similarly, exploring negative incidents through which value is diminished in some way (e.g., McColl-Kennedy and Tombs 2011) may provide further insights. However, an attempt to objectively judge if positive, neutral or negative value is being co-created through binary, dichotomous measures is not epistemologically and ontologically congruent with the practice-based grounding of this research. Rather, the fact that festival goers voluntarily take part in practices is taken to be an indication that these practices have value embedded within them, in line with Korkman’s (2006) and Warde’s (2005) approach.

Observational data in particular are not viewed as a representation of reality that mirrors what actually happens. Qualitative researchers represent the research ‘instrument’ (Janesick 1998; Lofland and Lofland 1984). The data are inevitably engrained with the researcher’s interpretations and her gaze, through which social reality is ‘filtered’ (Lofland and Lofland 1984). The researcher’s own cultural background, age, gender are therefore likely to play a role in her interpretations of findings. The thorough analytical approach and the use of NVivo did allow for such

personal interpretations to be recorded and later reflected on, allowing for greater researcher reflexivity.

3.7. Ethical considerations and risk assessment

Traditional ethnographies may involve a number of ethical issues, usually connected with a high degree of participation, covert observation and immersion in the field that can cause the researcher becoming part of the studied culture (i.e. ‘going native’) (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002). In the context of this research, however, the degree of participation was relatively low as the researcher adopted an overt observer as participant role. As the fieldwork took place at publicly accessible events to which permission to access was sought from gatekeepers, participant observation was not considered to be disruptive or intrusive in any major way. Therefore no significant ethical issues were perceived. The topic of the study – C2C value co-creation – was not deemed particularly sensitive or controversial. Nevertheless, throughout the design of this study the researcher sought to comply with Bournemouth University’s ethical and risk assessment guidelines and procedures. An Ethics Checklist was completed and risk assessment carried out prior to festival selection, with safety of the researcher during fieldwork considered (see Appendices 13 and 14).

To ensure that data obtained through observation on site were processed in accordance with privacy and confidentiality guidelines in social research (Ali and Kelly 2004), each interviewee was given an information sheet and asked to read and sign an ‘Informed consent’ form prior to them participating in the interviews (Appendix 15). Personal contact details and demographic data were collected. To comply with data protection guidelines, this information was stored in a safe place. Precautions were taken when working with the interview recordings, such as using pseudonyms in interview transcripts and audio files and not disclosing any details that could be linked directly back to interviewees (Ali and Kelly 2004). Audio files were deleted from the MP3 device as soon as a backup copy was made. The same guidelines were followed when conducting pilot interviews. Informed consent was sought, with most pilot interviewees providing their consent with the interviews being recorded in writing (by email), or verbally prior to the interviews. Pseudonyms were used when reporting on pilot study findings.

As described in section 3.4.2, observations were conducted in a discreet manner with notes being written up mostly in the privacy of the researcher's tent. This meant that the researcher could interact with participants covertly. However, as soon as rapport was established the researcher revealed her identity so as to not cause any inconvenience to participants. Participants were found to appreciate this strategy and in many cases were more likely to agree to be formally interviewed. Over 200 photographs were taken of people and the social context of the festivals to provide generic illustrations of observed situations and to act as an *aide-memoire* for the researcher (Bryman 2008). Care was taken to protect the participants' identity. While it is often difficult to gain consent from all parties photographed in the field (Mason 2002), permission was sought in cases where specific participants were photographed. In some cases illustrative photographs were taken covertly so as to not attract attention unnecessarily, although care was taken to ensure that participants could not be identified.

3.8. Summary

This research adopts social constructionism as its epistemological stance, in line with the practice-based theoretical perspectives from C-D logic in marketing that inform the study (Cassop Thompson 2012; Echeverri and Skålén 2011; Holttinen 2010; Korkman 2006). In order to address the aim and objectives outlined in Chapter 1, a qualitative research strategy is adopted that incorporates ethnographic-style methods of participant observation and both conversational and in-depth interviews with festival customers. By adopting qualitative methods, C2C value co-creation can be explored in depth.

The ethnographic-style approach is in accordance with the customer-centric perspectives in service marketing (Grönroos 2011; Heinonen et al. 2010; Holbrook and O'Shaughnessy 1988; Voima et al. 2010). It also complies with calls for more context-sensitive qualitative research approaches in festivals (e.g., Seaton 1997; Andrews and Leopold 2013; Mackellar 2013). Ethnographic methods prioritise the perspectives of the social unit under study and as such, allow for the study of social practices over shorter time periods and as one specific aspect of the event attendees' culture (Wolcott 1999).

The following three chapters outline and discuss the main findings of the study. The CAQDAS-assisted thematic analysis utilised in the research allowed for the identification of six C2C co-creation practices performed in festival contexts; these are

discussed in Chapter 4 that follows. Chapters 5 and 6 then discuss the subject- and situation-specific practice elements that were found to influence C2C co-creation patterns at festivals. In Chapter 7 the theoretical and practical implications of the findings are discussed in detail.

4. EXPLORING C2C CO-CREATION IN ‘FESTIVALLING’ PRACTICES

4.1. Introduction

Ethnographic-style qualitative methodology was adopted in order to study C2C value co-creation in the empirical context of festivals and more specifically, to examine the value-forming social practices of customers at festivals. These are termed here collectively as *‘festivalling’ practices*. This chapter fleshes out the social practices performed by customers in the context of festivals, by focussing on the actions in which these practices are embodied.

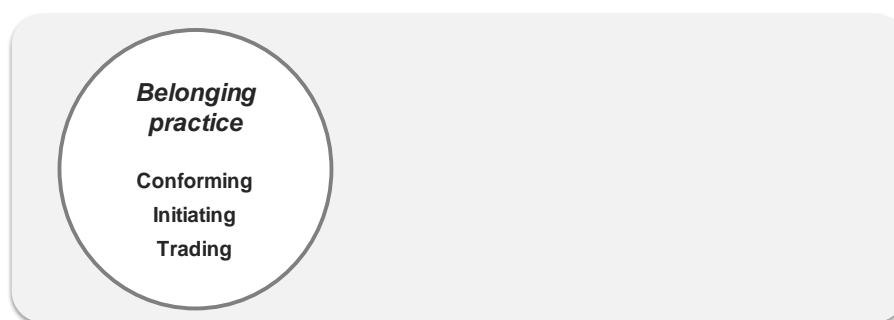
As Korkman (2006, p. 27) suggests, actions bring together other elements of practice. It is in actions that practices are embodied; that is, actions ‘bring alive’ practices. Drawing on analysis of informants’ voices, the researcher’s observations and photographs, six C2C co-creation practices and the actions that comprise them are therefore examined in detail in this chapter:

- Belonging – conforming, initiating, trading
- Bonding – communicating, sharing, collaborating
- Detaching – insulating, territoriality, non-conforming
- Communing – trusting, embracing, fun-making, rekindling
- Connecting – helping, relating, confiding
- Amiability – acknowledging, advising, conversing

Findings pertaining to each practice and its actions are outlined in sections 4.2 through 4.7. These sections are followed by a theoretical discussion, in which a number of concepts from social psychology, cultural studies, consumer research and sociology are drawn on to help interpret C2C value co-creation at festivals (section 4.8). Based on this theoretical analysis, the six practices are conceptualised in a *two-dimensional C2C value co-creation framework*, with ‘Value orientation dimension’ on the one hand and ‘Value immersion dimension’ on the other. The framework reflects the complexity of relationships between practices at festivals and offers a new theoretical contribution to co-creation studies.

A number of authors adopting the practice-based approach in marketing research suggest that practices may be performed in different ways depending on the configuration of practice elements (Echeverri and Skålén 2011; Holttinen 2010; McColl-Kennedy et al. 2012). This chapter focuses mainly on actions as a distinct practice element. Nevertheless, an argument is put forward that an in-depth understanding of further subject- and situation-specific elements that each practice is made up of will allow for more holistic service marketing considerations. The subject- and situation-specific practice elements will be examined in Chapter 5 and 6 respectively.

4.2. Belonging practice



In Belonging, as the first practice to be presented, festival-goers were found to use the festival service context as a platform on which they co-create value by enacting and expressing their membership within the framework of various sub-cultural identities and membership in tribal or sub-cultural structures (Maffesoli 1996 [1988]; Schouten and McAlexander 1995) (these concepts will be addressed in depth in section 4.8). Tribal structures were not universally present at all festivals but emerged where visitors strongly identified with a particular special interest genre, brand, lifestyle or object of consumption at festivals. These included storytelling at the StoryFest, folk music at the FolkFest, and also for instance ‘Hawkwind’, a British 1970s space rock music band headlining at the WorldMusicFest. Belonging was embodied in actions of conforming; initiating and trading, as detailed below.

4.2.1. *Conforming*

Participants conformed to inherent rules and norms (i.e. accepted ways of doing things) of their respective tribal groups by exhibiting symbols and artefacts that identified them as members of their respective sub-cultural communities. For instance many FolkFest

attendees were observed wearing particular attire that was indicative of the style typically adopted by folk music fans (Begg 2011);

FolkFest field notes (24/08/2012): [...] faded jeans, wellies, old but sturdy waterproof coats, leather/ suede hats. The man had a greying beard and both had pewter tankards attached to their belts in preparation for the evening's ale drinking session.

'Festival garb' was also evident at other festivals; comfortable, slightly hippie-like, folksy style of clothing was worn by men, women and children alike, particularly at StoryFest and Music&ArtsFest. Members of tribal groups appeared to very carefully and conscientiously attempt to conform not only through accepted clothing style, but also through the use of particular language and discourse. At the VanFest, members of the motorhome tribe talked of festivals and other social gatherings as "meets", while Volkswagen campervan enthusiasts met up at "shows". The display of artefacts and memorabilia from past festivals was also indicative of tribal memberships. For example, T-Shirts with traditional folk musicians and stickers or wristbands from other well known folk music festivals represented badges of honour through which one expressed his or her 'folkie' identity, as noted by Joanna from FolkFest:

I think there's a lot of people who will buy the t-shirt and wear last year's t-shirt. I mean, we bought one in the past that he wears from time to time at various festivals. It's kind of a badge of long-standing if you wear not this year's but previous year's...

These paraphernalia, symbolical objects or speech were displayed quite carefully and consciously to conform to the expectations and norm structures of the particular tribal group. Through conforming, other (unknown) members of the group could be identified quite easily.

Conforming actions represent an opportunity for service organisation. By facilitating transmission and communication of inherent knowledge from more experienced members to less experienced ones, festivals can tap into the ongoing consumption practices of these groups of specialised customers.

4.2.2. Initiating

Importantly, conforming actions outlined above appeared to assume that members of tribal communities know well the inherent rule and norm structures they are expected to conform to. At festivals, this tacit knowledge was found to be communicated to new members through initiating actions. Many first-time visitors were friends, children and

new spouses who attended alongside more established visitors to experience the festival and to be introduced to what for many participants became a 'festivalling tradition'. For instance, a number of Volkswagen van owners at VanFest reflected on how they introduced their friends to the campervan scene by bringing them to a festival. The members of a particular non-commercial motorhome club attending at the VanFest similarly consciously tried to present their community to unattached motorhome owners and initiate them as potential new members into their own tribal structures.

At the StoryFest, members of the storytelling tribe were keen to initiate friends and families as new members, but not so much strangers. This meant that groups often increased in size and 'snowballed' through initiation, as shown in the following exchange between two young couples visiting the Music&ArtsFest together:

Ally: Well, Nolan is my brother and I came here in 2008 with Benny, 'cause our friends were playing here. We had not heard of it before, so I came here with them that year. And I kind of have been hooked ever since. And I said to Nolan, probably that would be your kind of festival, 'cause he'd never been to one...

Nolan: And this is now my third year.

Ally: And then you asked Estell along -

Estell: - yes, and I have been, two years now.

Initiating is an interesting action from the festival organisers' perspective. It suggests that Belonging practice is not limited to the particular service value proposition (the festival itself) but rather, to ongoing sub-cultural, tribal and genre-specific memberships. Because of its association with these tribal structures, the festival as a service organisation may play an important role in the lives of the customers (Heinonen et al. 2013). Festival organisers could then aim to link their value proposition to tribe-specific membership associations. This could be done for instance by targeting and communicating with the members of discreet sub-cultural or tribal groups throughout the year via online social media platforms or regular promotional events, to maintain and build ongoing relationships with these groups and to encourage further engagement in initiating actions.

4.2.3. Trading

Trading was found to be the last action through which Belonging practice was performed, and went hand in hand with conforming through the display of the symbolic

objects and artefacts described above. Trading involved the exchange of genre-specific knowledge, experiences, advice and skills, for the purposes of expressing and reiterating the membership of tribal structures.

For instance, Sean and Jackie, Volkswagen campervan enthusiasts from VanFest, walked around the campsite to look at different ‘buses’ (i.e. campervans) and often stopped to ask the owners questions about the vehicles. A number of trading actions also took place at the StoryFest, with organisers encouraging informal story-trading sessions among audiences. At the FolkFest, Diana and her friends were keen to exchange and trade musical knowledge and skills with each other during informal ‘jamming’ sessions:

Doing the festivals and coming here is always great, a good inspiration as well... that coming here and seeing all the different types of music and things like that going on. And you take a lot away with you, you know, and you go home and think, oh, that tune was really good, and they were really good.

Informants talked about their experiences of festivals with a homogenous/ highly specialised genre orientation. Interestingly, trading actions in such contexts typically involved not only friends from the same tribal community but also strangers, as these were automatically perceived as members of the same community. As Heather from VanFest explained, motorhome gatherings she regularly visits bring together like-minded people, creating a community.

This did not always seem to be the case, however. As Norman from StoryFest noted, a closed, private nature of some of the trading knowledge exchanges was apparent within the storytelling tribe. Despite the fact he saw himself as a novice storyteller and thus eligible for membership of the storytelling tribe, Norman pointed to an almost cliquey, exclusive nature of Belonging practice at the StoryFest:

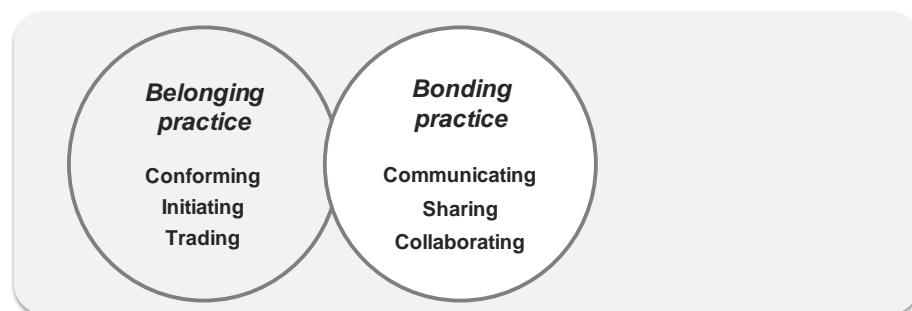
I am very new to doing this, my interests have developed in the past few years, but I get the impression, you know, them talking ‘did you see so-and-so at such-and-such festival’, they are obviously festival groupies and they go from festival to festival seeing the speakers and things. So you’ve got to sort of put in your years in terms of going to performances and seeing people.

As a relative novice in the storytelling circle, he struggled to penetrate existing tribal groups and contribute in a meaningful way to their trading and exchanging actions. In instances such as these, the cliquey nature of Belonging practice was particularly evident, as outsiders found it difficult to penetrate into more experienced tribal groups.

Belonging practice involved co-creation not only with other known members of the same special interest group, but also with strangers who were nevertheless perceived as members of the same neo-tribe or subculture. It has been found to reflect how specific neo-tribes and sub-cultures come together at festivals to celebrate and co-consume common values, beliefs and symbols, and in so doing co-create value. In this sense, co-creation at the festival represents only a small part of more enduring, ongoing networks and social relationships. Artefacts and sub-cultural symbols, such as particular types of clothing and memorabilia displays, have important meanings and can serve as an indicator of presence of Belonging practices within festival contexts.

In some cases, members of sub-cultural and neo-tribal groups were found to attend events simply to spend time with each other, their families and friends. This is discussed in the following section.

4.3. Bonding practice



Another practice identified in the dataset was Bonding. Value emerged in Bonding practice as groups of friends and families performed actions of communicating, sharing and collaborating and through these actions reaffirmed interpersonal relationships, enacted family rituals and revised family roles. Bonding appeared particularly important in the context of the family-oriented festivals studied in this research, but could potentially be of importance in a wide variety of group-based service settings (services that are consumed in pre-existing groups), such as tourism, hospitality or retail.

4.3.1. *Communicating*

Within Bonding practice, communicating was found to be among the most prevalent actions across all festival contexts. Families and friends spent their time chatting - catching up on news, sharing opinions and insights, telling stories, joking around, or

showing off in front of each other. The following exchange among a group of friends from the WorldMusicFest is an example of communicating with humour involved:

Jenna: well, we're not going anywhere we're gonna be still sitting here talking gobshite if you come back in a couple of hours...

Pete: some of us come back in five years and it might even be the same conversation...[all laugh]...

Morris: we've heard each others' stories enough times!...

Pete: same bollocks every year...[all laugh again]...

As the exchange between Jenna and her friends indicates, communicating often took place in the course of group interviewing. Banter and hints at past events during interviews were an indication that groups use their time at festivals to reminisce together, have fun, and spend valuable time with each other. But communication was not just about fun; visitors often used communicating at festivals to share some personal values to other group members. Referring to her 12-year old son, Andrea from Music&ArtsFest explained that she and her husband wanted to widen their son's horizons by bringing him to the festival:

[...]We want him to think that there is actually something broader than school and work and doing the same old thing. We want him to have as wide a horizon as possible. If he wants to see other people, if he wants to become a musician, become a musician. If he wants to become an artist, become an artist. If he wants to go and work and do what we do, just do that. But to actually give him those experiences, so it's a conscientious decision.

Communication therefore appeared important where parents wanted to educate their children, pass on their personal or cultural values, attitudes and beliefs, and in so doing, to reinforce the cohesiveness of family ties. Through communicating information, insights and personal values and beliefs, but also through joking and storytelling, family and friendship groups appeared to externalise their desire to spend valuable time with each other talking face-to-face. The festival may become a focal point of such actions and may over time be embedded with kinship meanings for family and friendship groups. With regular visitation some groups may come to treat the festival almost as a home away from home, and look for opportunities to return.

4.3.2. Sharing

Sharing actions were found to be a particularly prominent aspect of Bonding practice. They involved the sharing of objects and consumables among the members of family

and friendship groups, but also the active sharing of specific experiences in the context of the event. Shared family consumption in particular was observed in all research settings. A typical field note entry from all of the festivals would describe families sitting at the campsite under gazebos with their BBQs and picnic sets, partying by campfires outside their tents, sharing a meal at tables in catering areas, or standing around with pints of ale talking, joking and laughing with each other:

FolkFest field notes (28/08/2012): Everywhere I looked I could see lots of families, groups sitting outside, enjoying the sun, some with their tops off, some still with their pyjamas on, cooking breakfast, drinking coffee, relaxing or talking.

Music&ArtsFest field notes (11/07/2012): [A mum and her adult daughter] sat outside drinking gin and tonic. I could hear what they were talking about – [the daughter] was explaining to her mother why she was happy being single and unattached.

Sharing was, to a large extent, enacted in families and friendship groups by effectively integrating some operand resources (i.e. resources which the customer acts upon, such as tangible goods) (Vargo and Lusch 2004). But value did not in such cases pertain to the sharing of food and other consumables. Rather, it was co-created in the sense of kinship that emerged as families and friends sat together eating, drinking in companionable togetherness.

Families and groups of friends also actively shared their experiences of dancing, playing games, listening to music, partying and a getting drunk together. Actively means, in this case, that groups made a conscious effort to have shared experiences so that these could be later remembered and cherished. As illustrated in Image 1, Bonding practice at the StoryFest was performed by mother and daughter through the sharing of special times with each other during performances and organiser-facilitated social activities.

Image 1 Mother and daughter sharing a storytelling experience



Many family-oriented festivals do in fact already incorporate programming elements that are designed specifically to be shared by families, such as the provision of gaming tents and comedy performances. The fact that familiar groups share activities and experiences at festivals as objects of consumption (Holt 1995) therefore represents an opportunity for service organisations to facilitate Bonding practice through programming.

An interesting aspect was that the not so positive experiences shared with friends and families also appeared to be part of Bonding practice. As Jacob from Music&ArtsFest pointed out, a miserable weekend camping together in the mud would in the long term result in bringing him and his friends closer together:

It's like, even with the mud you look back at it and laugh, even though it's awful at the time, you're just like literally swimming in your tent, you hate every second of it, but it's funny a week later.

This action pointed to a more enduring nature of Bonding practice at festivals, in that value was formed in shared memories long after the event, even if these were perceived as negative experiences at the time.

Active sharing among friends and families appeared to help create a sense of exclusivity, as value was co-created in the unique experiences that could later be recalled and remembered. Groups of friends talked of re-connecting with each other after the festival (on social media platforms for instance) and recounting stories of object-centred sharing actions, such as listening and dancing together to a specific music performance. This post-event aspect of Bonding could therefore again represent an opportunity for service organisations who can try and tap into customers' co-creation practices even outside the immediate service context. For instance this could be done by

posting photographs of the event and encouraging participants to engage with these and 'share the stories' with their friends using social media.

4.3.3. Collaborating

The final action that was identified as forming part of Bonding practice was collaborating. Unlike sharing actions, which were rewarding in themselves, collaborating was found to require groups to work together to achieve some common goal. In this sense it could be viewed as a purely resource-integrating process in that group members pooled their operant resources to achieve some outcome (Arnould et al. 2006; Vargo and Lusch 2004). Operant resources are intangible resources upon which the customer acts (Arnould et al. 2006). In this case they involved mental capabilities and skills, such as organisational skills or skills linked with specific family roles (father, wife), to achieve some goal. Activities such as pitching tents, cooking together, or deciding on what to see each day, were found to form the collaborative aspect of Bonding. Value was co-created in the sense of achievement realised in collaborating actions.

Susan and Denny from Music&ArtsFest talked about bonding over collaborative actions, such as tent pitching, organising their 'duties' when camping, and scheduling together their time and activities at festival venues. Social groups, such as Andrea's family visiting Music&ArtsFest, delegated tasks collaboratively and in so doing co-created value by reinforcing, but also reversing traditional family roles:

And it's like here, you take on the role of the cooking, and I don't know if it's conscious, but it is in his nature to be tidy and he wants things to be nice and tidy. So I came back from the shower and the bed was made. And then you go into the cooking mode and all I've got to do is eat. Whereas at home it's more shared.

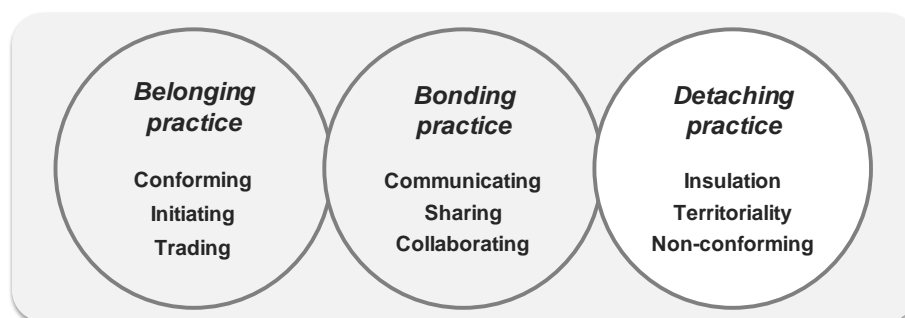
A number of informants reported in a jokey manner on the small disputes and conflicts they experienced while trying to pitch tents, although it was clear that even the slightly more negative incidents among family members contributed to value-forming. Any squabbles were soon forgotten and compromises were made in collaborating actions.

To conclude, Bonding practice was found to bring existing (known) groups of friends and families closer together. In Bonding practice these groups not only created experiences of togetherness through sharing, communicating and collaborating within the immediate service context of the festival, but also formed enduring memories that may last long after the festival. Bonding practice highlights the desire of people to come

together in physical contexts and reinforce their pre-existing social bonds. But Bonding practice could also represent an interesting opportunity for embedding consumption objects (i.e. the festival as a whole or elements of festival programming) within family and friendship group consumption practices that go beyond the festival scope. This could be done for example by engaging with existing groups on various social media platforms.

Some aspects of Bonding (e.g. cooking together in field kitchens at the campsite) were found to take the informants away into physically removed private spaces, to the point of isolating from the rest of the festival social environment in Detaching practice. This practice is outlined next.

4.4. Detaching practice



The third practice identified in the dataset was Detaching. Closely linked to Bonding, Detaching practice was found to consist of actions of insulating, territoriality and non-conforming. In Detaching, individuals, couples and groups of friends and families appeared to co-create value that was oriented towards their own autonomous goals, needs and desires. These needs and desires were often closely linked with the service offering and not necessarily with the social aspect of the consumption experience (e.g. a couple coming to the festival to listen to their favourite band). Detaching was therefore identified as a co-creation practice through which some festival goers consciously withdraw from the festival society into a rather close-knit co-creation domain, while expressing strong individual identity and escaping from the social environment to bond with each other in the private sphere.

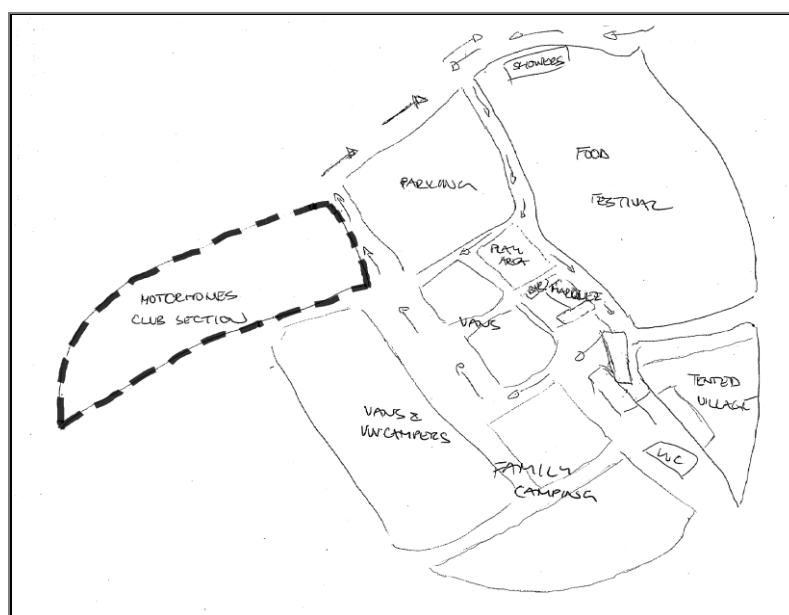
4.4.1. Insulating

The first action identified as part of Detaching practice was insulating. Many festival attendees insulated themselves and their group by gravitating or keeping together, not

seeking interactions with others. Insulating had not only social but also spatial implications. Pre-existing groups tended to sit or camp close to each other and in so doing, they deterred strangers from penetrating their own groups.

This involved physically distancing themselves by camping in a remote area. Physical distancing was especially apparent where large groups camped together, possibly due to their desire to find a larger private space where they could bond and socialise with each other undisturbed. As the location sketch from VanFest (Image 2) shows, approx. 60 members of a semi-organised motorhome club who meet together regularly on various occasions insulated themselves from other campers by parking in a separate section of the campsite (highlighted).

Image 2 Insulating of motorhome club members (VanFest campsite sketch)



In some cases people actively discouraged others from penetrating their own groups by seeking symbolic distance from others. Trish and Stacy, a gay couple visiting VanFest with their young son, were not interested in meeting other people. Rather, they were content to be around other people and to spend time with each other. Tamara from FolkFest confirmed that a lot of visitors she encountered tended to be “in their own personal bubble” rather than “mucking in” together with other people. A number of informants reported that they attended performances with other members of their group without necessarily interacting with strangers. Dylan from StoryFest observed:

[...] the storytelling session, which is the heart of it all, people come into these sessions in their groups and their families, the couples and groups of friends that they already know, and they sit in those and then they leave in those.

Through insulating actions, groups sought to socialise with each other undisturbed, while still absorbing the social atmosphere at the event. Furthermore, as was noted in section 4.2, certain groups within the tribal structure present in the service setting were observed to engage in occasional insulating actions (e.g. the storytelling tribe at the StoryFest). In this sense, insulation could be viewed as an enabler and a facilitating factor in Bonding and Belonging practices.

4.4.2. Territoriality

Closely linked with insulating actions were territoriality actions, which were particularly evident in campsite areas. These actions involved groups of families and friends defining and personalising own temporary territory, in some cases building physical barriers around their pitch. Colourful windbreakers, ropes decorated with fairy lights or even picket fences were used to demarcate a personal territory around a pitch, as illustrated in field notes excerpt below:

WorldMusicFest field notes (27/05/2012): I approached this group of 7 people as they were sitting in a relatively secluded area of the campsite, below the trees at the right edge of the campsite area. They were sat under a gazebo, which was set up in the middle of an enclosure of four tents in a semicircle and a large van with a colourful windbreaker sheltering the site away from the road and the kids' park just opposite. The gazebo and a couple of the tents were decorated with electric light chains and bunting. There were also a couple of flags attached to the van.

Tent areas and group camps were often adorned with colourful flags, windsocks or bunting which in some cases were used as tools to actually demarcate and physically enclose the socio-cultural space appropriated temporarily by the group. Groups also positioned cars, vans and tents so that these formed a cul-de-sac-like clusters that faced inwardly. At long-running festivals such as the Music&ArtsFest many regular visitors chose a specific spot at the campsite where they gathered year after year. In this spot they created their “own little camp” (Sandra, Music&ArtsFest), which not only served to indicate to strangers that this was their space (albeit spatially limited and temporary), but also helped to facilitate expressions of group identity as creative images on flags and tent pitch or van decorations were often used by different festival goers.

Instances of territorial actions were not very common in that people did appear to be open to at least some degree of intrusion by strangers (i.e. Amiability practice which will be examined in section 4.7). But in some cases an almost egoistic desire to get the best pitch for the group was evident. Rhona from WorldMusicFest commented on one

such example where a large group of visitors camping in a prominent spot in the central part of the campsite appropriated the space around them by laying down large canvasses so that friends joining later could pitch their tents in the same area. Rhona speculated that an inherent need to find the best place where groups could congregate in relative safety was evident:

I think there is something primeval thing of survival, where you're best to sleep. But it's also people looking after each other, for where they're gonna pitch, or you know, where you're together with your group.

In a small number of cases informants described the sometimes overcrowded, socially dense campsite and venue spaces. Protective territorial actions were then performed in response to spatial strategies experienced in terms of a social conflict (Owens 1985). For instance, Ben from Music&ArtsFest and Nolan from StoryFest described the feeling of unease when strangers came to pitch very close to their tents. Such attempts to achieve optimal spatial outcomes were perceived as encroaching on personal space. They appeared to lead to informants employing various defensive territorial strategies, such as zipping up the tent entrance to block off the neighbours, or moving away from those visitors who 'crammed in' too close in order to occupy to best available spot.

Territorial actions in Detaching practice at the campsite appeared to be closely linked with Bonding practice, presenting an opportunity for service organisations wishing to support value co-creation for families and friendship groups. By allowing for territoriality and insulating actions to take place, festival organisers engender the forming of spatial attachments, and potentially, loyalty to the festival. Groups build spaces they can call their own and so gain a sense of propriety. They may begin to associate the service setting with home and the festival becomes a 'third place' (Oldenburg 1999). This will be discussed in further detail in section 4.8.

4.4.3. Non-conforming

Lastly, a small number of informants performed Detaching through non-conforming actions, which related to a large degree to the breaking of accepted rule and norm structures at festivals (this will be addressed in Chapter 6) while co-creating with own group members. In non-conforming festival goes co-created value that was linked with enhancing their status within their social units, but also with achieving their own self-centred goals. Although still valuable for the customer, non-conforming can distance customers from the social norms and behavioural conventions generally accepted in the

social setting. This can sometimes result in incidents where co-creation potentially diminishes value for other customers (McColl-Kennedy and Tombs 2011). From the service organisation's perspective, non-conforming could, therefore, represent a challenge and least valuable part of Detaching practice, as it could result in a lower degree of social integration of some customers in the service setting.

A refusal to wear the same clothes as everyone else was reported by a number of informants. Stacy from FolkFest, who was visiting the festival for the first time, refused to dress in what she perceived was the accepted festival garb (i.e., long patterned skirts) and instead opted for more comfortable branded sportswear that she normally wears outdoors:

I was looking at some of the pictures and what the people were wearing and that. But then in the end I said, do you know what, I'm not gonna be something I'm not, I'm just gonna wear whatever, rather than trying to just, you know, blend in.

As a relative outsider to the folk music tribe Stacy felt that she did not want to fit in with the ways in which the 'folkies' do things. Rather, she opted for dressing in a way that she was comfortable with.

Not conforming to generally accepted ways of dressing at festivals was also evident among younger visitors, although in this case it was linked with adherence to the norms of behaviour that were expected and accepted by their own groups. As field observations revealed, a particular way of dressing was evident among some visitor groups. Younger visitors in particular appeared to prefer high street-fashion style that was different from the generally worn festival garb:

Music&ArtsFest field notes (12/07/2012): I could see younger girls in their tent ahead of me emerging from the tent very fashionably dressed in denim shorts, leggings and wellie-socks and bright shiny/colourful short-sleeved tops. They had obviously made a lot of effort - they were quite heavily made up and had decorated their faces with intricate patterns. I could not help thinking, without the wellies and the painted face they would look like any young girl on the high street.

Interviews revealed that younger visitors (15 – 25 year olds) at festivals formed images of what one should wear at festivals that were increasingly dictated by the media. A 'festival chic' trend among his peers was observed by Jacob, a twenty-year old visitor at the Music&ArtsFest:

Social statement, isn't it, it's the media, all that crap. This apparently started with Kate Moss wore a straw hat and denim shorts to a festival and

it's just all gone blown out of proportion, so...

As Jacob indicated, celebrities and fashion icons are increasingly used by the media to help promote festival-like high street style of clothing and accessorising. The *Festival Guide* published in the Independent (Holloway 2012) provided advice on what to wear for younger, fashion-conscious audiences who have not perhaps experienced festival culture before. Conforming and fitting in with the norms and expectations of their peer groups rather than some tribal communities or festival conventions appeared to be important for these younger audiences.

Non-conforming was also observed in rule- and norm-breaking actions that resulted in somewhat negative experiences for those describing these actions. This was the case for instance in the incidents that resulted in campers' territorial actions, as described above. Tamara from StoryFest and Graham from Music&ArtsFest talked about some attendees 'pushing and shoving' to get a drink for friends, or to get their children into a workshop:

I found people very pushy in the queue, again, it feels like a pub queue, ehm, everyone was muscling in to get to the bar first. I mean, I don't mind that 'cause that's what you have to do in London, I queue about 10 deep. But I didn't find it sociable at all, everybody was blinkered; "ale!"

And there, yeah, there is pushiness for the kids, in that you've got to push your way to the front, which me and my wife find quite difficult. Like, if you're queuing up for the craft areas, we kind of expected to wait in the queue, not have other people push their kids to the front.

As will be discussed further in Chapter 6 (section 6.2.2), some festival settings appear to be subject to a generally accepted rule and norm structures; a code of conduct that promotes generosity, politeness and friendliness. By engaging in such potentially rule-breaking behaviours, those attendees that Tamara and Graham referred to distanced themselves from the norm structures of the social context they were in. Despite festival goers potentially co-creating with own groups (e.g. families Bonding by sharing workshop experiences with their children), such actions were disapproved of or even shunned by other visitors. Festival organisers could in these instances play a more important role in introducing and enforcing a clear code of conduct (see section 7.4 in Chapter 7).

Detaching practice appeared to orient co-creation festival contexts exclusively toward social units that informants identified with. Through insular, territorial and non-

conforming actions, individuals, couples, families and groups of friends were found to co-create almost exclusively with each other. Some outwardly oriented co-creation involving others/ strangers may still be present (i.e. Detaching often went hand in hand with Amiability practices, as will be shown in section 4.7). But unlike co-creation in Belonging and to some extent Bonding, Detaching practice occurred within the immediate context of the event and, as such, did not appear to play an important role in the wider context of customers' lives outside the festival. By facilitating Detaching practice, service organisations could help pre-existing groups co-create value related to their own goals. But in so doing, they may also create barriers for more socially immersive experiences (i.e. experiences that involve strangers) and practices in which service organisations could build ongoing relationships with customers – as discussed in sections 4.5 – 4.7 that follow.

4.5. Communing practice



Another practice identified at festivals was Communing. Co-creation in Belonging, Bonding and Detaching were primarily oriented at the members of own family and friendship groups and tribes. In contrast, in Communing, customers reached out of their own social units and into the more open sphere of *communitas* (Turner 1979), as a spontaneously emerging festival community. Communing was found to involve actions through which value was formed in a shared sense of togetherness. Social barriers, raised in everyday life through the existence of different demographic attributes, such as age, gender, or social class, appeared to be transcended. Individuals merged, melted together in a spontaneously emerging community at the festival, with trusting, embracing and fun-making actions in evidence. In some cases, the spontaneous, temporary sense of community appeared to blend in with festival goers' everyday lives. They re-established old festival friendships, with rekindling found to represent another Communing action at festivals.

4.5.1. *Trusting*

Communing practice was found to involve trusting, as an action through which a strong sense of a close-knit community was manifested among strangers at festivals. Informants talked about consciously relying on others not to do harm, to be friendly, caring and respectful of the implicit and explicit rules and norms of behaviour that were perceived to exist at festivals. Informants felt they could leave their possessions (even valuables) without fear of anything being stolen, or to get drunk or high knowing that they will not be left sick and lying out in the cold.

Consumption of alcohol and soft drugs appeared to be viewed as safe activities thanks to trusting. Talking about drug taking at the WorldMusicFest, Kevin and Lee, two festival goers in their early twenties who met each other at the festival site for the first time, explained that trusting and feeling comfortable at the festival meant that drug consumption at the festival was perceived as less risky or dangerous compared to other contexts:

Lee: and like I, I was here three years ago and I did acid and mushrooms and it was an amazing time. But the thing is, because you feel so comfortable in this atmosphere...They always say that when you do hallucinogens you should be in an environment where you feel comfortable, because otherwise you...

Kevin: you need to be feeling safe, because if you don't...

Lee: if you're not you feel a bit, like you're out there...I've done it in, like, town before and you get really paranoid about people that..and so you really..

Kevin: yeah, it can literally ruin your weekend...

Lee: yeah, but here, because you feel so comfortable with everybody, you take it without any worries

Trusting was expressed as an action in that festival goers consciously left others to look after them, if things went wrong.

Active trusting also meant that festival visitors relied on others to keep in line with the unwritten code-of-conduct at festivals, engaging in behaviours they felt the festival community should exhibit. Through trusting, the emergent gathering of strangers became more close-knit, with a sense of goodwill and care becoming the norm that everyone was expected to observe. This meant that the community became self-regulated and there was no need to impose much external control over festival goers'

behaviours. Andy from WorldMusicFest talked about the self-regulatory nature of the festival community:

This thing, this (gestures with his arm around him) looks after itself. That I now for a fact. Now, someone's having a hard time, at one of these stalls, any stall, no matter what the stall is, there is enough people who will go and make sure it stopped. You know what I mean? That's what we like about it, the amount of goodwill at this festival.

It is perhaps this self-regulatory nature of trusting that left many families confident to leave their children to be looked after by strangers, as Diana from FolkFest did:

I have a nine-year old and a twelve-year old that come with us and they're great as well. And people, you look out for each other, you do. Even when you're camping, you look out for each other and it's nice that you can relax as a parent, as well, knowing that the environment you're camping in, people will keep an eye on each other, which is always good as well, you know? And that tends to happen here.

Lastly, trusting was enacted through environmentally friendly actions. Paul from StoryFest remarked on the cleanliness of toilet facilities at the festival site. Visitors made a lot of effort to keep them that way for everybody and trusted others to do the same. Morris from WorldMusicFest explained that the site would be left spotless when everyone has left, which may not be the case with larger, commercial music festivals.

Analysis of trusting actions as part of Communing practice could represent an opportunity for service contexts in which dysfunctional behaviours of 'jaycustomers' (i.e. customers who through their behaviour sabotage service delivery for other customers) (Harris and Reynolds 2003; McColl-Kennedy and Tombs 2011), represent a problem. Building a culture of active trusting among strangers in the service setting could go toward helping to overcome some of these issues, as customers voluntarily take responsibility for the well-being of others in the setting.

4.5.2. Embracing

Embracing actions were also strongly represented within Communing practice. Many festivals attracted a range of visitors from different backgrounds, i.e. with a variety of demographic, socio-cultural and ideological attributes. But informants described how the social boundaries that normally exist among people from different backgrounds blur or even disappear at festivals. Embracing was externalised in how festival goers saw others on a par with self and accepted the physical, social and cultural differences between themselves and others. Physical and social differences were accepted and

embraced; for example, Ginny from WorldMusicFest described how Graham, a transvestite, comes to the festival each year wearing woman's clothes without any fear of being shunned:

[...] everybody is that accepting and chilled out in here that he can do it in public and nobody gets nasty or funny with him, you know.

Lucy and her friends at the WorldMusicFest described how they embraced strangers who would stop by at night at the groups' campsite fire:

Like, we had some music on here last night and some different couples came up and different people and, uh you still have some music on. And they were just standing around and having a chat and then disappear. And because it's dark you wouldn't recognise them again if you saw them.

The researcher herself experienced the welcoming nature of embracing at the campsite at WorldMusicFest, as Martin invited her for a drink prior to him and his friends being interviewed:

[...] see, you're sat here now, we don't know you, would you like a drink, would you like something to eat, we're all friends, we don't know you, you know, but we embrace you, we bring you in.

Embracing often took place where experiences were shared with strangers, but also because some shared circumstances existed that brought strangers closer together. With regard to the former, informants talked about the relative ease with which they accepted and embraced strangers into their midst, as they participated together in festival programming as spectators, and in programmed group activities and workshops. A small number of informants talked about the levelling effect of festival performances during which strangers were readily embraced, especially in cases of high audience participation. Elena and Serena from StoryFest noted that it was easy to disregard other people's age when sharing a storytelling experience as children and adults alike clapped and made silly sounds. Marcus from StoryFest explained that audience members often left storytelling performance "with the same kind of glowing feeling" as they were "all shuffling down the same steps". In sharing the storytelling experience as one, Communing practice was enacted.

With regard to the latter aspect of embracing, that is, embracing strangers due to some shared circumstances, interviewees talked about empathising and identifying with strangers who found themselves in the same situation, or suffered from a commonly shared plight. Rain and mud for instance meant that everyone (those staying in tents at

least) suffered to the same degree, regardless of age, gender or social status. This was explained by Lydia from FolkFest:

We all have to use those same toilets, we all have to use those showers, and the one pipe, we all sleep in here and we all get wet when it rains, we all get muddy, we're all on the same level, whatever our social standing, whatever our wealth.

It would appear that the basic nature of camping that often resulted in a lack of physical comfort had a levelling effect on informants, as many traipsed around the muddy site in their pyjamas and stood around outdoor water taps washing their faces and brushing their teeth. Stone (2008) reports on the 'Dunkirk spirit' at music festivals that can prevail even in difficult, muddy conditions. Analysis of embracing actions may help to explain why this may be the case. The levelling nature of togetherness that emerged from participating in performances and workshops with strangers indeed forms a big part of embracing. But it appears that an awareness of everyone brought together in shared circumstances and 'common plight' may be of equal importance in co-creating value in Communing practice.

4.5.3. Fun-making

Fun-making represented the most prevalent action within Communing practice and often appeared to overlap in its levelling effects with embracing action. Fun-making actions are closely linked with the celebratory, entertainment-focussed nature of festival experiences that is frequently reported on in festival literature (e.g., Anderton 2009; Ehrenreich 2006; Getz 2012; Gibson and Connell 2012). Fun-making could be viewed simply as an expression of the hedonistic nature of the carnivalesque (Bakhtin 1968) at festivals (the notion of carnivalesque will be discussed in more detail in section 4.8).

A part of the entertainment element of festival was often found to be the wearing of fancy dress. Festival organisers in all of the research settings encouraged dressing up as part of a programmed 'carnival parade'. But spontaneous, customer-initiated alterations of appearance (e.g., face painting, unusual headwear) but also states of undress were also commonly observed at the festivals outside of the official carnival parade:

WorldMusicFest field notes (25/05/2012): [...] Men were wearing unusual clothes as well, I saw for instance three teenage boys with lion head-shaped hats, or a group of about 5 men in red Turkish-style fez hats with black trusses.

For some festival goers, fun-making and ‘going crazy’, as Andy from the WorldMusicFest called it, could also be interpreted as a venting mechanism for visitors’ desire to escape together from the sometimes mundane realities of everyday life. Fun-making actions involved the casting off of everyday social rules and identities and the adoption of new festival identities. In their new identities festival goers dressed up in colourful and sometimes role-reversing costumes and interacted with each other, often in relatively socially unconstrained manner. As the picture (Image 3) below shows, adult men were dressed up as, animals, superheroes, babies, and also as women. They exposed large parts of their bodies on which they drew profanities, and wore unusual garments, such as female underwear.

Image 3 Fun-making at the WorldMusicFest



As Debbie from WorldMusicFest confirmed, wearing a costume allowed a person to try something different, to become whoever they wanted to be for the duration of the festival:

I dressed as a man, and wondered around with a goatee, kissing ladies’ hands, saying good evening, lovely lady, I’d like to take you for my wife! (all laugh), which, yeah, seemed to go down quite well..I dressed up the boys in tracksuits, which was hysterical...

Other festival goers played an important role in such role-reversals as their (usually positive) responses reiterated the levelling of social boundaries and so contributed to value co-creation in Communing practice.

Not all festival goers wanted to adopt alternative personas. Rather, they wanted to engage in transgressive, ludic (aimlessly playful) behaviours that may not be seen as

socially acceptable in everyday circumstances. Flirting and playfulness, overt sexuality, dancing and public consumption of recreational drugs (including mainly alcohol and marijuana) all led to an atmosphere of hedonism, merry-making, festivity and laughter. In this atmosphere, few social barriers appeared to exist as all got involved. Transgressive fun-making actions were evidenced mainly in the festival venue areas and were accompanied by loud music, drum beat and plenty of alcohol supplied from nearby bars. With increasing degree of alcohol consumption and darkness the atmosphere got more jolly and involving; dancing at WorldMusicFest seemed almost contagious, with older men dancing next to small children:

WorldMusicFest field notes (25/05/2012): I could see that people were getting more and more drunk, but no one was being aggressive in any way. On the contrary, the atmosphere was rather jolly and merry with people dancing, laughing, and singing along. I found that I was joining in the dancing and merriment, the feeling contagious.

Encounters of a sensual nature formed part of fun-making. A number of informants remarked that festivals represent a “good opportunity to pull”, or to engage in encounters of a sexual nature with strangers. Flirting as fun-making occurred typically between groups of male and female strangers but also between less conventional partners:

WorldMusicFest field notes (25/05/2012): I witnessed a middle aged woman wearing a very revealing dress, bleached blond hair, a cigarette in her mouth, obviously quite drunk, dancing next to a young man (looked about 19), dressed in a costume that consisted of glittery silver leggings, a bright red sleeveless t-shirt and a red hat. The woman suddenly noticed the guy, and made a ‘delighted surprise and mock outrage’ gesture, pointing at his pants. She then slapped his bottom, laughing loudly. He looked a bit shocked for a few seconds, but then shrugged, grinned at his friends, and continued dancing.

Remarkably, many of the transgressions in fun-making, such as expressions of sexuality and hedonism (overt drug taking, excessive alcohol consumption), took place in the presence of children. Pippa and Sandra, both in their early sixties, were offered ‘laughing gas’¹ by a couple of teenagers at the Music&ArtsFest. This suggests that fun-making at festivals enabled value co-creation in Communing by facilitating an immersive sense of tolerance and a cheerful, laid-back atmosphere, rather than discriminating or criminalising those who engaged in fun-making. Along with trusting

¹ A gas-like substance typically used in dental surgery but also used as recreational drug to induce a temporary, short-term euphoria-like feeling.

and embracing actions, fun-making actions helped to erase any social barriers among festival goers.

4.5.4. Rekindling

The last aspect of Communing practice was found to be represented in rekindling actions. Long-running festivals with a large proportion of repeat visitors in particular were found to invite rekindling actions. Through these actions a highly immersive sense of solidarity and fellowship among the temporary community of strangers would, with repeat visitation, flourish and solidify into enduring festival relationships. Strangers who repeatedly met up at a particular festival became festival friends, although in the majority of cases the festival friendships did not appear to be maintained outside the festival context. Rather, festival goers would re-connect with these ‘known-strangers’ in the context of the event.

Fifty year old Shaun, who was visiting WorldMusicFest with his new wife, rekindled with a group of people he got to know at the festival. In his case, rekindling action that took place at the festival did cross over to his life-context. He stated that at festivals he had made friendships that are far deeper than relationships with his childhood friends, and had even invited his festival friends to his wedding. More commonly, however, enduring relationships that emerged through rekindling actions at festivals developed into festival stewardship and volunteering roles, in which informants engaged once a year. For Nicola and Kenneth, a volunteer pair from WorldMusicFest, the same group of festival stewards came to the festival time and time again. This then led to the development of a sense of kinship:

Nicola: I suppose at little festivals like this, because I have been coming so long, but you actually get the same people coming to the festival, time and time again and particularly with stewarding. And so you know people, you know, it's just the same people every year, which is actually quite nice.

Kenneth: It's like a big family, really.

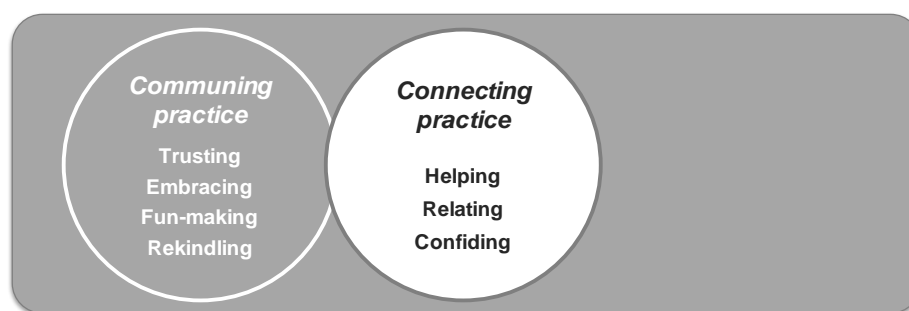
Gabrielle from Music&ArtsFest also started going to festivals several years ago and gradually formalised her ongoing social associations with festival friends through stewarding and volunteer duties. Retired electrician Andy travelled each year to a number of small music festivals including the WorldMusicFest and volunteered his services to help set up festival venues. He rekindled relationships with his festival friends, whom he had known for a long time but only met once a year at festivals. For these visitors festivals become part of their social environment and the people they meet

up with each year become their extended families. For this reason, rekindling action as an aspect of Communing practice is particularly important from the service organisation's perspective. It can provide insights as to why some festivals succeed in building loyal fan bases that over time transform into loyal volunteers, festival stewards, helpers and supporters.

To conclude the examination of findings pertaining to Communing practice at festivals, this practice epitomises, according to many of the informants, what festivals are about. Through Communing, festival goers enact a sense of respectfulness and trust, fellowship and social unity, an air of festivity and celebration, and in some cases, enduring festival friendships. Existing family and friendship groups open up through Communing practice to inter-group value co-creation and face outwards, toward an emerging community at festivals. The notion of 'us-and-them-ness', that was apparent in Bonding and Detaching practices is replaced by a strong sense of 'we-ness'. Importantly, through Communing practice festivals may represent outlets for transgressions, a space in which individuals escape their everyday lives and become who they want to be in a tolerant and accepting environment.

Due to the somewhat temporal, situated nature of aspects of Communing (e.g. embracing tent neighbours through sharing food and other resources), there was some overlap with Connecting practice, which is outlined in the following section.

4.6. Connecting practice



Connecting practice was found to temporarily link strangers at festivals to each other. Connecting practice was observed in localised, short-lived, but often rather intensive, inter-group and dyadic interactions and relationships with other/ unknown social units. Helping, relating to strangers and deep, intimate conversations and glimpsing the other person's life in confiding were all found to form part of Connecting. Compared with the more socially immersive co-creation in Communing practice, which pertained to the all-

encompassing emerging festival community, Connecting practice was found to be more limited in its scope. Nevertheless, this practice can lead to collaboration and the development of temporary relationships and ‘commercial friendships’ (Price and Arnould 1999; Rosenbaum 2006) among strangers in service settings. Such relationships not only benefit customers but also represent opportunities for service organisations, in that they can lead to more favourable service evaluation outcomes (de Geus 2013; Drengner et al. 2012), as discussed below.

4.6.1. Helping

Connecting practice was found to consist to a large extent of helping and assisting actions between strangers or groups of strangers, which was mainly functional in its nature. By sharing their resources and offering physical assistance, strangers built together temporary connections. These were based on a sense of reciprocity and trust, which often led to further interactions and more immersive social actions. Physical assistance often took place at the festival campsite, with many of the informants lending a hand to strangers with tent pitching. Such actions helped to foster a sense of neighbourliness among campsite residents and could therefore be of particular importance in service contexts that offer on-site accommodation, such as tours or campsites.

Food, alcohol and other grocery items were commonly shared between strangers; at WorldMusicFest in particular festival goers connected with each other by offering alcohol and food to new arrivals. Sarah from StoryFest reflected on how she assisted fellow campers by advising on how to use a particular type of stove that she had experience with:

[...] this couple here have got a new stove that they have not used before, they could not light it so therefore they come and ask me to give them a hand.

Tamara from FolkFest was on the receiving end of helping actions and recalled how these contributed to making a connection with tent neighbours:

Last year, the people next to us, they'd gone out and they brought some five-litre bottles of water. And we didn't realise that there would not be like decent facilities (a number of water points), as in, they were over here and we were all the way down there, so it was quite a track. And we only had like a two-litre bottle and they gave us one of their five-litre bottles, ehm, so that we could use it and we could fill it, which I thought was really, really nice.

This researcher also experienced helping actions, both in terms of giving and receiving help and assistance, as the following field journal entries show:

StoryFest field notes (28/06/2012): Emily popped up her tent to the left of mine. To her left a young woman was already pitching her tent. She was tall and slim, in her mid 30's, apparently camping alone. She started talking to Emily, then asked if either of us had a spare tent peg – I offered her a couple of mine.

FolkFest field notes (24/08/2012): I noticed that they (family camping next door) also had a Trangia stove. I said I had one, too, and that it was non-stick and I forgot to bring a wooden spoon. Kelly immediately offered one of theirs and Matt said if I needed anything all I needed to do was ask, as they had camped many times and always brought extra stuff with them.

In these situations, helping actions served as an excuse for, and an enabler of, further socialising during which the researcher could arrange interviews with the people she helped/ received assistance from.

Helping actions occurred not only at the campsite but also in other parts of the festival setting. For instance, informants obliged strangers with keeping an eye on their picnic blanket; taking a photo of them; offering lifts to and from the festival; and passing on of unused festival tickets (see Image 4).

Image 4 Assisting among strangers through offering lift-share at StoryFest



Assisting was also observed in workshops and creative sessions. More skilled crafts workshop participants patiently explained to a fellow participant how they created a piece of art during a crafts workshop, or showed a fellow dance workshop participant how to perform a new move. Again, helping actions facilitated a connection. The interacting strangers would strike up a conversation and when the workshop finished they would often leave together to get a drink and talk.

It could be argued that the sharing aspect of helping actions is akin to trading actions as part of Belonging, and to some extent also to sharing actions that were identified as part of Bonding practice. Strangers co-created value with each other through the sharing of resources (i.e. food, mallet, but also offering know-how and physical help). But in contrast to sharing and exchanges of various resources and knowledge in pre-existing group contexts that had some further purpose (reinforcing family ties or developing tribal membership), value in helping was somewhat more functional. While a sense of temporary connection and neighbourliness with a stranger may develop, the sharing and exchange of resources in helping rarely seemed to have any further purpose.

Importantly, in helping actions, the festival goers' role as customers could be viewed as veering toward providing service for other customers. As a number of authors suggest, customers' assistance could potentially make up for deficiencies and oversights in service delivery that may otherwise impact negatively on festival goers' perceptions of service quality (Cova and Dalli 2009; Humphreys and Grayson 2008; Parker and Ward 2000). From the service organisation's perspective, helping actions are therefore of particular interest.

4.6.2. *Relating*

Connecting practice was also performed through relating actions, in which festival goers actively sought to connect with strangers they could identify with in some way or perceived as similar to themselves. Relating actions appeared to be spatially bound and often followed a particular incident where strangers found themselves together in a shared moment. Unlike interacting with other members of a tribe as part of Belonging practice, and the embracing actions that formed part of Communing practice, relating actions appeared to be more circumstantial and short-lived. They nevertheless represented an important vehicle through which individuals connected with other people.

A number of relating actions were found to take place at campsites and in spaces where festival goers found themselves in a position to choose and occupy some spatial unit (e.g., dining tables, campsite pitch). At campsites which were not strictly divided into sections festival goers tended to cluster around others who they identified with. Camping at the Music&ArtsFest for example was sectioned into quiet camping, family camping, disabled camping, general camping, a caravans/ campervans section and two

‘glamping’ sections with spacious bell tents and yurts² for hire. Families tended to choose the family areas and campervan owners were obliged to park in their particular section. In that sense, informants did not have much freedom in choosing where at the campsite they want to pitch.

In contrast, WorldMusicFest organisers kept the campsite sections without any restrictions and campers could choose their pitch at will. Consequently, those who did not come with friends and relatives appeared to seek a spot where they could see themselves fitting in. As Lee from WorldMusicFest explained, when looking for a place to pitch, he and his friend related to a large group of similarly-aged men. In this case relating action resulted in Lee quickly making friends with a group of strangers:

[...] we're all nice people, it's not like, you know, we're not like... We're not annoying to each other, but we'd be annoying if we were next to a family, you know? So we try to pick our place with, like, people who are very similar to us, like, similar, like, interests and, like, you know, so we get along.

Informants also related through incidents and occurrences that acted as an ice-breaker to establishing a temporary connection with a stranger. John and Andrea, a couple from the Music&ArtsFest, described a situation in which they related to a woman they did not know:

John: like, last night, we went to watch Paloma Faith. We stood very close to the side of the stage and there was a bit of a fence but Chris could see through the fence to the back stage. But then somebody came from back stage with an umbrella and blocked everybody's view. And the woman that was nearest the fence said excuse me, you know, being very polite, said excuse me, but he would not move.

Andrea: But then that led to an interaction between us the ladies and it was so, 'how rude, how rude is that! How pompous!'

The lady Andrea and John talked to found herself in the same unpleasant situation as they did. This prompted relating actions as part of Connecting practice. Pippa from the same festival recalled an incident from the day of her arrival, when she made a noisy scene because the yurt she rented was not to her liking. This represented an incident of fun and laughter through which strangers camped in the vicinity could relate, and thus connect, with Pippa:

[...]everybody, first of all they were laughing, they were having a laugh at me, here's me thinking, this is too small, this is not what I got... you know,

² A tent-like dwelling often provided at festivals as a more comfortable, luxury accommodation option

they said to Sandra, you must be really good friends! And then we started talking to everyone, didn't we. Oh no, the amount of people, they came up to you and said, so, was the hot water bottle alright? [...]

In-depth knowledge of relating actions is useful for service organisations that wish to foster a degree of customer compatibility, as is common practice for instance in hospitality service settings (Martin and Pranter 1989). Customers appear to seek some commonality with others and in many cases this can be managed, or at the very least, facilitated. For instance by staging incidents in which inter-group interactions occur (e.g. speed-dating-style events) and bringing together strangers who are similar in some way, value co-creation in Connecting practice, could be supported.

4.6.3. Confiding

The last action that was found to comprise Connecting practice was confiding. Strangers at festivals were found to engage in confiding actions, i.e. intense encounters with strangers that tended to result in sometimes very strong albeit temporary connections at the festival. Confiding allowed festival goers to off-load their personal problems, issues and life's stresses in interactions with complete strangers. Informants talked about revealing to strangers snippets of their lives outside the festival. Confiding actions therefore highlight a significant intangible worth of social experiences at festivals, as facilitators of social support and psychological well-being (Larsen and O'Reilly 2005; Rosenbaum 2006) (discussed in more detail in section 7.3.2, Chapter 7).

Sharing intimate details and “pouring one's life story at complete strangers before you realise what you've done”, as Marcus from StoryFest put it, appeared to give many encounters an almost therapeutic quality. For instance, Pippa from Music&ArtsFest described how Amanda, a lady who was camping nearby, came to sit down with Pippa and her friend on the first day of the festival. Very soon they heard all about Amanda's life story and even her problems trying to conceive. Confiding was observed and also experienced directly by the researcher during fieldwork:

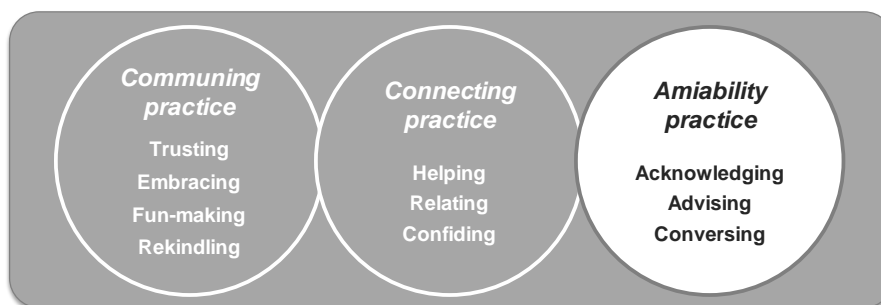
WorldMusicFest field notes (27/05/2012): I spent the evening at the main venue talking with Neville. We listened to a Polish folk band and talked about books, sci-fi movies and a lot of other things, some of them very personal; we talked about his and my past, good and bad experiences, and our relationships. [...] I found him very easy to chat to and to confide in, perhaps because I thought that I might not see him again. It felt quite therapeutic to be talking to someone I have never met before about my personal problems, and I had the impression that he felt the same way.

The relatively private and sensitive nature of such conversations did not appear to be a barrier in confiding actions. On the contrary, confidences were shared freely among strangers at festivals. Those at the receiving end of confiding actions appeared contented to listen and to offer their understanding and advice. Value as a sense of intimacy between strangers, which was formed in confiding actions, could be particularly important to visitors who come to the festival on their own and also to some groups of visitors who do not perhaps have access to social support in their normal day-to-day social situations (e.g. older visitor age groups). Rather than feeling isolated, through confiding a strong connection is established with another human being at the festival, making the service experience particularly memorable.

Connecting was identified as a co-creation practice in which value was formed in helping, relating and confiding actions, and which involved stranger dyads and inter-group interactions. In helping actions, a sense of neighbourliness was fostered among tent neighbours, with a shared beer or borrowed mallet often facilitating such connections. Assisting actions among festival audiences could encourage a sense of decency and a supportive, friendly atmosphere. Unlike Communing, which involved more all-encompassing, communal co-creation, Connecting practice was more limited in its scope, be it in terms of duration (shorter-term, localised connecting social incidents and interactions) or space (neighbours at campsite connecting through helping actions).

But relating and confiding actions were found to represent the first step towards more immersive Communing practice, and as such could under some conditions (e.g. regular festival attendance) develop into more socially immersive value co-creation. This represents evidence of the sequential nature of practices. Connecting and the somewhat less socially immersive Amiability examined in the next section may be important stepping stones through which service organisations could facilitate other C2C co-creation practices. (This will be discussed in detail in section 7.3.1, Chapter 7).

4.7. Amiability practice



Amiability practice as the last C2C co-creation practice identified at festivals encompassed superficial, less socially immersive actions that were found to involve mainly dyads and groups of strangers at festivals. These actions were identified as acknowledging, advising and conversing. Co-creation in Amiability contributed to a social atmosphere of friendliness, but rarely developed into lasting, more in-depth connections and relationships at the festival. While Amiability represents a crucial aspect of festivalling, it is one practice that could be particularly transferable to a variety of other socially dense service contexts, as discussed below.

4.7.1. Acknowledging

Acknowledging and expressing recognition of other people's presence through nodding, greeting and exchanging a few polite sentences was the most commonly observed action that comprised Amiability. Field observations from FolkFest and WorldMusicFest campsites consistently recorded friendly encounters between passing strangers. Festival goers' body language in acknowledging was found to be open and welcoming, with cheerful nods, smiles, grins and eye contact frequently made as people passed by a stranger or tent neighbour. Mary from FolkFest confirmed these observations:

People smile they say hi, they say good morning. You know, if you're walking down to the farm or walking back, people will speak to you on the way.

The majority of acknowledging actions took place at the campsite as individuals walked past families having a BBQ or couples sitting outside their tent with a morning coffee. Acknowledging actions were also commonly observed in festival venues; festival goers would nod and say hello to adjacent audience members when waiting for a performance to start or when walking through catering and stall areas of the festival venue.

What distinguishes acknowledging from the more socially immersive actions in Connecting is that there rarely appeared to be any further purpose to acknowledging strangers at festivals, other than being friendly or polite. Nonetheless, in some cases, the action of greeting, nodding hello and subsequently having a short conversation with the same individual in the shower queue, did present an opening for more engaging Connecting practice. This is further evidence of the somewhat sequential nature of some practices. Pippa from Music&ArtsFest for example described how such repeated greeting would develop into confiding actions:

You walk past people... with me, it's "hi, good morning! How are you doing", and then all of a sudden they start with their story!

Strangers at the campsite would often exchange a few nods and greetings, and when they subsequently bumped into each other they would engage in deeper, more immersive conversations. Acknowledging as part of Amiability practice could therefore be of importance, in that it helps to engender an easy, friendly atmosphere, but also lead under some circumstances (e.g. prolonged stay in smaller areas of the service setting) to Connecting and Communing practices.

4.7.2. Advising

Advising was another action in which Amiability was embodied. Similar to acknowledging action, advising was found to take place mostly around campsite pitches or in public areas in the festival arena, such as bars and eateries. Passing strangers offered advice and information through non-committal conversations. Unlike sharing actions that facilitate Belonging among members of specific tribes or sub-cultures, advising was mostly based on curiosity about objects, characteristics or possessions that were unrelated to the festival genre. Advising is also distinct from helping actions (Connecting practice) in that it pertains to service- or product-related information, rather than an altruistic connecting with strangers at the festival on a more meaningful level.

Festival goers were found to offer advice and practical introduction to arriving strangers; this related to the festival site and customs (for instance, where to get water, what is the best camping spot, what the weather is supposed to be like), or to choices within the festival offering (e.g., which kind of ale or food vendor to choose, which performance to go to). Gary from FolkFest often advised strangers on which type of real ale to go for:

Beer, because there's a group of people wondering what beer. 'Cause

there's so many ales to choose from... 'aaah, which one'...And I chose this drink and it was really nice and they were standing there and - 'Ach, that's really nice, try that', you know, it's really nice and you start talking about that, you know?

Again, such product- or service-related advising was rarely perceived as more than a friendly, amiable encounter. Nevertheless, service organisations can benefit from this type of information sharing. Customers can provide better and more accurate information about the service offering than the service organisation, and can respond to the needs to other customers more quickly than the service provider.

4.7.3. Conversing

The last action through which Amiability was enacted consisted of conversing. Conversing took place in a variety of situations in which people found themselves next to a stranger or group of strangers by chance, such as when waiting in queues, around tables in catering areas, or when sitting in performance venues. Conversing comprised autotelic (rewarding in themselves), but somewhat non-committal, superficial verbal exchanges with strangers. Many informants referred to small talk or chitchats, which rarely led to further co-creation but did contribute to a friendly atmosphere at festivals. As John from Music&ArtsFest observed,

[...] most of the time you're in a situation where you're actually trying to listen to the band. You might, as you say, have the polite contact, but you don't get the time as it were to really get to know somebody. It's just that quite superficial, 'they're good, aren't they', talking about the music.

The chitchats were often related to performances and programming, with festival participants sharing their opinions and feedback on performances they had just seen or were about to see. Emily from StoryFest pointed out that conversations with strangers often helped to make up her mind about which performance to see. But the majority of conversing revolved around the weather and other mundane everyday topics, such as chats about where visitors came from or why they had come to the festival.

Amiability practice reflected value co-creation at festivals in its least socially immersive form. This practice involved somewhat shallow, less engaging types of socialisation with friendly acknowledging, conversational small-talk, chitchats and information exchanges that were limited in scope and duration. Acknowledging, advising and conversing actions that involved strangers were carried out mainly by the members of existing family and friendship groups at festivals. This indicates that

Amiability practice often goes hand in hand with Detaching practice. In other words, at festivals where Detaching practice dominates, it is likely that Amiability is also present. The findings further indicate that in some cases Amiability could act as a gateway, or a stepping stone for more engaging Connecting and Communing practices, particularly where greater immersion and more repeat visitation was involved. Their importance for facilitating C2C value co-creation should therefore not be underestimated.

4.8. The two-dimensional nature of value in C2C co-creation

In this section, the findings pertaining to C2C value co-creation at festivals are discussed and put into perspective using theoretical insights from social psychology, cultural studies and sociology. Maffesoli's (1996 [1988]) notion of neo-tribes, Thornton's (1995) subcultures, Tajfel's (1982) social identity theory and Belk's (2009) ideas about sharing-in and -out as a particular type of consumption are all seen as particularly useful concepts to help illuminate the practices of Belonging, Bonding, Detaching, Communing, Connecting and Amiability. These concepts are addressed in what follows, and then drawn together with the findings to build a two-dimensional framework of inter-subjective value formed in festivalling.

The practices of Belonging, Bonding and Detaching could be interpreted using the notions of neo-tribes, sub-cultures and in-groups. Maffesoli (1996 [1988]) points to a kind of 'groupism' that exists in society, whereby individuals seek to identify themselves with a number of 'neo-tribes' (i.e. emotional communities that form around specific interests) and in so doing, reinforce common bonds. The folkies at the FolkFest and Volkswagen campers or motorhome owners at the VanFest can be identified as members of such on-going neo-tribes. Through conforming, trading and initiating actions that form Belonging practice these groups co-create value related to their neo-tribal identities. A similar concept is that of 'consumer sub-cultures' that form around particular brands, lifestyle activities or genres (Schouten and McAlexander 1995; Thornton 1995). Sub-cultural groups around genre interests, such as storytelling at the StoryFest or space rock at the WorldMusicFest, were found to engage in Bonding. They may experience value in the shape of a sense of kinship and collectivism when they share and exchange stories, trade sub-cultural symbols and artefacts, and introduce their friends as well as strangers to their sub-cultural values.

The notion of 'in-groups' (Tajfel 1982) from social psychology is also of relevance. In-groups are characterised as membership or reference groups that an individual identifies with, while in-group membership binds its members with loyalty and trust. Members side with others within their in-groups to the point of forming cliques and excluding out-group members (Tajfel 1982). In the context of festivals, in-groups could be seen to comprise teenage friends, but also adult-only and mixed family and friendship groups who came to the festival together and engaged in Bonding and Detaching practices. In-groups of friends and families who do not see each other regularly outside the festival context would often rejuvenate their relationships; young adults visiting with their peer groups would co-create value that stems from reinforcing their in-group ties and reaffirming their roles within the groups.

C2C value co-creation in Communing, Connecting and Amiability practices can be interpreted through the lens of temporary social villages, commercial friendships, and the notion of sharing-in/ -out from consumer research literature. 'Social villages' (Oliver 1999) represent a social alliance that emerges in commercial contexts and provides a sense of camaraderie and reciprocal trust. Non-essential conversations, helping and sharing and disclosure actions take place among customers occupying social villages, in line with the actions outlined in Connecting and Amiability practices at festivals. The social village represents a platform for outwardly oriented value co-creation in that the festival focus draws together customers with a presumed common set of values and attitudes. Festival attendees are then more likely to engage in reciprocal collaborative, resource sharing and exchanging actions. It is the friendship and the sense of togetherness that they reap from forming part of the social village, rather than some object/ genre-related benefits (Oliver 1999), as was the case with trading actions in Belonging practice.

The notions of sharing (Belk 2009) and commercial friendships loyalty (Price and Arnould 1999; Rosenbaum 2006) from consumer research are of relevance in the context of Connecting and Amiability practice, but to some extent also in Communing. Helping and advising actions reflect what Belk (2009) terms 'sharing out' in consumption. Sharing out involves separating the self and others by giving or exchanging some resource; in the case of festival sharing out this can involve lending someone a mallet or sharing food/ drinks with tent neighbours. But in sharing out individuals still demonstrate a degree of detachment through what Belk (2009, p. 726) terms 'unmerged selves'. What this means is that in assisting and helping (Amiability

and Connecting practices), customers rarely expand the self (i.e. extent their loyalties) beyond their in-groups. In contrast, through 'sharing in' customers expand the self to others, while regarding ownership of a particular resource (i.e. food or guy ropes) but also a particular circumstance (bad weather at the festival) as common and treating those they share with as 'pseudo-kin', or quasi family members (Belk 2009).

Relationships and commercial friendships may be formed that often last beyond the scope of the service situation and can lead to repeat purchase and customer loyalty (Oliver 1999), as was seen in rekindling actions of festival visitors who turned over time into stewards and volunteers. Commercial friendships typically refer to the building of relationships between customers and service employees that are associated with satisfaction, positive word of mouth and increased customer loyalty (Price and Arnould 1999). But the concept has also been used to explore how relationship building among customers in service contexts contributes to positive psychological outcomes for these customers (Rosenbaum 2006; Rosenbaum 2008). For instance, Rosenbaum (2006) finds that conversations with other customers in hospitality service settings such as diners can help to address the social supportive needs of older customers. Confiding and conversing actions identified in festival settings appeared to have similar functions for older festival visitors, but also for other customer groups.

Two additional concepts should be introduced at this point to help understand the notion of sharing in (Belk 2009) within socially immersive Communing practice: Bakhtin's (1968) 'carnavalesque' and Turner's (1979) 'communitas' in festivity. Bakhtin (1968) examines European literary culture through the lens of carnival and laughter. He argues that medieval and Renaissance carnivals represented an opportunity for townsfolk and citizens to detach themselves from, and enact parodies of, established ideas about high culture in a free display of the human body. Lower classes in society in particular could be empowered and liberated in carnivalesque environments marked by temporary "suspension of all hierarchical rank, privileges, norms, and prohibitions" (Bakhtin 1968, p. 10). The notions of carnivalesque were clearly reflected in fun-making actions at festivals, in that in the transgressive actions such as dancing, playing together or dressing up, appeared to bring people to the same level.

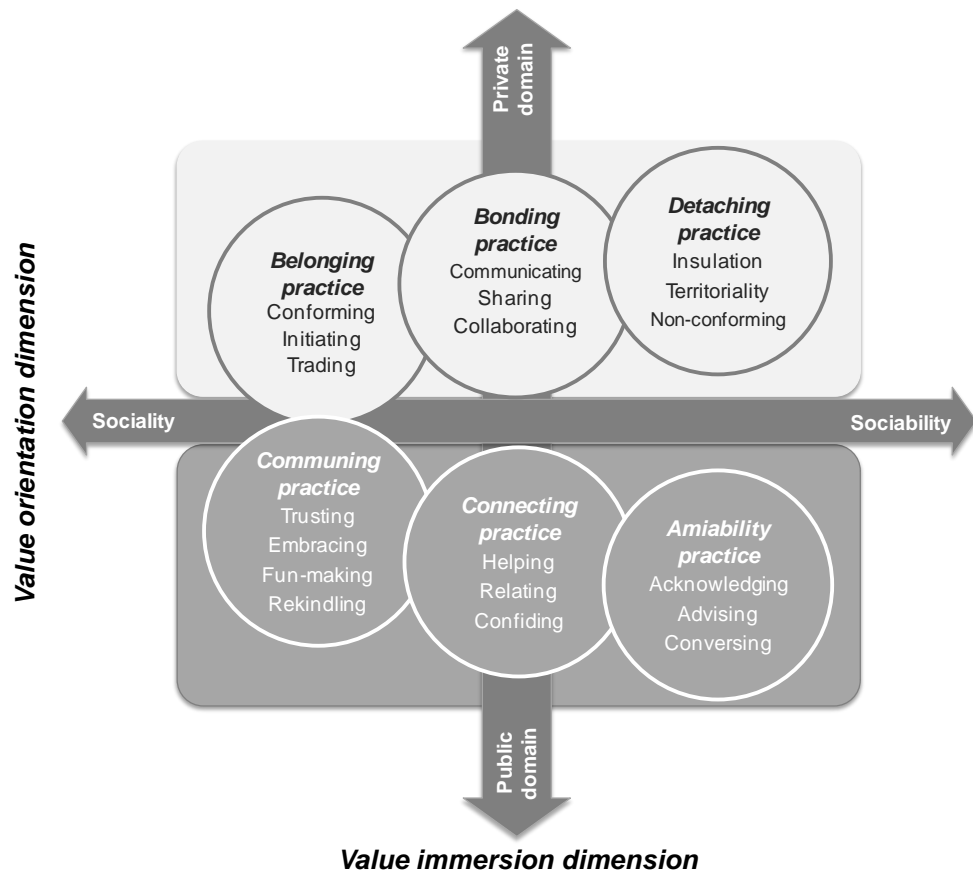
Turner (1995) similarly talks of social barriers being broken in liminal-like or 'liminoid' festival spaces. A pilgrim standing at a threshold of a ritual liminal stage begins a rite of passage by casting off goods that symbolise his or her everyday identity and social status (van Gennep 1960) and joins other fellow pilgrims in unstructured

communitas (Turner 1995). The emergence of unstructured communitas could be observed in the all-encompassing, social boundary-breaking embracing and trusting actions in particular. Social barriers of class, age or gender that exist in everyday life were, according to the informants, transcended. Individuals with all their different attributes merged or melted together through Communing practice into a festival community.

Based on the above theoretical interpretations of C2C value co-creation in festival contexts, relationships between the six practices can be identified, which highlight the complex nature of inter-subjective value. The six practices are organised in a two-dimensional framework with the *Value orientation dimension (Public ↔ Private domain)* on the one hand and *Value immersion dimension (Sociality ↔ Sociability)* on the other (Figure 12). As discussed below, some degree of ambiguity and blurring of boundaries existed not only between practices and their actions in Value immersion dimension, but also between the Public and Private domains in the Value orientation dimension. This is represented in the framework by depicting practices as overlapping circles, as well as the sloping in of practices toward the blurred boundary between Private and Public domains in Sociality.

The vertical Value orientation dimension distinguishes among practices that orient value within the *Private domain* on the one hand, and the *Public domain* on the other. In line with Tajfel's (1982) in-group conceptualisation, the Private domain encompasses co-creation of value oriented at in-groups – families, group members, partners and friends the festival-goer visited with or met at the festival with, but also at those perceived as members of the same neo-tribe (Maffesoli 1996 [1988]) or sub-culture (Schouten and McAlexander 1995; Thornton 1995). Private domain practices include Belonging, Bonding and Detaching. The Public domain, on the other hand, comprises practices that are oriented outwardly, toward the emerging festival 'communitas' (Bakhtin 1968; Turner 1979) as well as out-group members (unknown strangers) in dyadic and inter-group socialisation. The practices of Communing, Connecting and Amiability can be viewed as veering toward Public domain orientation.

Figure 12 Two-dimensional framework of C2C value co-creation



Co-creation of value within both the Private and Public domains could be viewed as a continuum within the Value immersion dimension. Value immersion is depicted as a horizontal dimension in Figure 12, with Sociality on one end and Sociability on the other end of the continuum. *Sociality* represents more immersive, socially all-encompassing sharing-in (Belk 2009) within a social village (Oliver 1999), the building of commercial friendships (Rosenbaum 2006) and the emergence of a boundary-transcending sense of festival communitas (Bakhtin 1968; Turner 1979). But Sociality was also evidenced within in-groups identified through specialist genre commitment and tribal or sub-cultural membership (Maffesoli 1996 [1988]; Schouten and McAlexander 1995; Thornton 1995). Sharing-in within neo-tribes and sub-cultures was perceived as more immersive in terms of co-creation. It involved out-group members, i.e. strangers who were not part of the customers' group yet potentially seen as part of the neo-tribe or subculture. Belonging practice was found to involve interactions between both previously known group members (e.g. friends from an organised motorhome club) but also complete strangers, with whom tips about the object of consumption were shared and stories, skills and information were traded. Communing

practice in the Public domain and Belonging practice in the Private domain therefore both point towards the Sociality end of the continuum.

Sociability on the other hand represents a lower degree of co-creation immersion, following Belk's (2009) unmerged selves in sharing out and a higher degree of individualism and out-group discrimination (Tajfel 1982). While some sociable interactions with non in-group members may be present in Sociability, customers are immersed through co-creation in their in-group membership. In other words, in-group membership takes primacy with respect to how socially immersed in value co-creation customers are, with a clear sense of 'us-and-them' emerging. For example, in-groups of couples and small groups of friends primarily co-create through Detaching and Bonding practices but at the same time, may still co-create with out-group members through Amiability and Connecting practices. Detaching in the Private domain and Amiability in the Public domain are therefore positioned within the Sociability sphere.

In some cases, particularly in Communing practice, informants at festivals did not appear to distinguish between 'us' and 'them' but rather, perceived others (strangers as well as acquaintances) as part of an all-encompassing festival in-group. In the spirit of what Belk (2009) terms 'pseudo-kinship', groups at the WorldMusicFest for instance actively trusted and embraced strangers and in helping actions shared food and drinks, treating them as 'one of us'. Through some common attribute or circumstance (e.g., similar age; a shared incident; commonplace state of discomfort) strangers were perceived as pseudo-kin. This sense of barrier-free 'we-ness' reflects the ambiguities involved at the Sociality end of the value immersion dimension. Where a homogenous festival programme with a clear specialist genre focus brought together members of the same neo-tribe or subculture (such as at the StoryFest or the FolkFest), an almost collective in-group identity emerged with the outside, non-festival world being perceived as the out-group. Not only there was a degree of overlap and ambiguity between the individual practices but a degree of *blurring and merging of the Private/Public domains (i.e., actual kin and pseudo-kin)* was also found to exist in Sociality.

The blurred and ambiguous nature of the relationships between practices, illustrated in Figure 12 by the sloping of Belonging and Communing toward the line between the two domains as well as the overlapping practice circles, highlights the holistic, complex nature of inter-subjective value that is formed in C2C co-creation practices. Previous C2C co-creation models tended to study customers' co-creation from the perspective of individual customers co-creating within customer dyads and

groups (Baron and Harris 2008; Baron et al. 2007; Finsterwalder and Tuzovic 2010), or within brand/ consumer communities (Chua et al. 2010; Pongsakornrunsilp and Schroeder 2011; Rowley et al. 2007; Schau et al. 2009; Seraj 2012; van Limburg 2009). But the two-dimensional framework presented in this chapter suggests that service marketing approaches, which study value in C2C co-creation by employing simple dichotomies of individual vs. group co-creation or friends vs. stranger co-creation, may be limited in scope. The framework also offers an alternative to those perspectives that aim to determine value by measuring individual customers' subjective value outcomes. Each of the six practices identified at festivals represents a context-laden arena in which actions and behaviours are carried out and value is created (Holttinen 2010, p. 102; Schatzki 2001). Thus, service marketing benefits from more holistic approaches in order to respond to this complexity. (The theoretical implications of this two-dimensional nature of value co-creation will be discussed further in Chapter 7, section 7.2.1).

The last point to be made with respect to the framework is that the two value dimensions give rise to four categories, or *C2C value co-creation spheres*: Private domain - Sociality; Private domain - Sociability; Public domain - Sociality; Public domain - Sociability. Focussing on these co-creation spheres offers some scope for operationalising the findings within service marketing. This will be addressed in detail in the two chapters that follow, and in Chapter 7, section 7.4.

4.9. Summary

This chapter examined in detail the value-forming (C2C value co-creation) practices of Belonging, Bonding, Detaching, Communing, Connecting and Amiability that are performed in socially dense festival contexts, and identified 19 actions in which the six practices are embodied (a summary table is provided in section 7.3, Chapter 7). In so doing the chapter goes toward finding opportunities for festival organisations to improve customers' value formation by exploring in depth the nature of customers' festivalling practices.

The practice-based approach highlights co-creation processes as dynamic, interactive, non-linear, and often spontaneous and unconscious (Korkman 2006; Schatzki 2001). The relationships between the six practices, illustrated through the blurring and merging of boundaries within the C2C value co-creation framework, indeed suggest that inter-subjective value formed in practices is a complex two-

dimensional construct. It can be conceptualised based on its orientation within the Private ⇔ Public dimension and immersion within the Sociality ⇔ Sociability dimension. C2C co-creation is viewed holistically, as embedded in social practices and not limited to particular social units, or determined according to customers' subjective value outcomes. Marketers therefore benefit from a more holistic understanding of the value-forming practices of customers.

The findings in this chapter indicate that all practices are not performed universally across all festival settings. For instance, Communing was particularly prevalent at the WorldMusicFest, while very little Communing practice was observed at the VanFest. Similarly, festivals in which one particular practice domain prevails may contain 'pockets' of practices that are seemingly an exception to the rule. In order to help determine more specifically how service marketers could enhance and facilitate C2C co-creation, it is useful to *identify and examine the elements of practices* that help shape whether and how value is oriented within the four C2C co-creation spheres (Private – Sociability; Public – Sociability; Private – Sociability; Public – Sociality). These elements of co-creation practices are discussed in detail in Chapters 5 and 6 that follow.

5. SUBJECT-SPECIFIC PRACTICE ELEMENTS

5.1. Introduction

Value-forming practice may be performed in different ways, as the actions in which practices are embodied are orchestrated by other practice elements including a number of contextual and personal factors (Reckwitz 2002; Schatzki 2001; Schau et al. 2009). As Chapter 4 indicated, different-sized social units for instance were found to engage in festivalling in different ways; i.e. Private domain practices appeared to be associated with family and friendship groups, while individual customers and customer dyads were found to figure more frequently in Public domain co-creation.

In order to examine more closely how the type of practicing social unit, and other aspects that relate to the practicing subject, influence specific practices, this chapter examines the *subject-specific practice elements* in C2C co-creation. Subject-specific practice elements identified in informants' statements and in observational data were found to relate to the following categories:

- Social unit size and make-up;
- Social class identity;
- Level of immersion;
- Level of skills;
- Genre specialisation.

Each subject-specific practice element, as it was evidenced in the dataset, is discussed in detail in sections 5.2 - 5.6. Insights into the categories are reflected on and interpreted in light of theoretical concepts from psychology and social psychology, and the relevance of the findings in the context of existing leisure, events and festival-related literature is evaluated.

5.2. Social unit size and make-up

Differences in how various social units practiced at festivals were found in the data, particularly with respect to group size and 'closeness' of social relationships within groups (i.e. group cohesion). The findings suggested that it was not as much the size of the social units visiting the festival together but rather, how close-knit the groups were.

Smaller and medium-sized groups with 5-10 members for instance were more likely to come to the festival together and keep together as a group, performing mainly Private domain practices (Bonding and Belonging). Groups of festival goers that perhaps knew each other beforehand but only formed when they arrived at the festival appeared more likely to break up, with individual members happy to get on with ‘doing their own thing’. In these cases, Public domain practices were found to be performed more frequently. In addition to the size of practicing social units, their make up in terms of group cohesion therefore also played an important role and as such it merits attention as a subject-specific practice element in C2C co-creation.

The different types of social units identified at festivals were grouped into four categories; smaller/larger closely-knit social units and smaller/ larger looser groupings; as outlined below.

5.2.1. *Smaller close-knit social units*

Smaller close-knit social units were represented by smaller- to medium-sized groups between 3 to 10 members, such as smaller families and groups of friends but also couples and pairs visiting for an afternoon. These types of social groupings often visited the festival together as a close-knit, cohesive unit, which meant that they would spend most of their time at the festival together and near each other. Perhaps not surprisingly, such social units were found to be more akin to co-creating in Private domain – Sociability, engaging mostly in Bonding and Detaching.

For instance, Caroline and her husband visited VanFest with Caroline’s sister, who also came with her family. As a medium-sized social unit the two families spent much of their time at the festival sharing meals together and catching up on news. Field observations frequently identified similar social units at festivals having a picnic, or laughing and dancing together. Families with children in particular tended to stick together and bond in a rather insular manner. At the same time, however, families that did not know each other would often interact in Amiability and Connecting practices, in that they were relatively open to brief conversations with strangers. These less socially immersive practices (conceptualised in the previous chapter as ‘Sociality’) typically took place in a serendipitous manner; for instance in situations where two couples sat in close proximity and started a brief conversation, or when campers assisted their newly arrived neighbours in camping practices. Stuart from VanFest described one such

situation where parents got talking to each other because their children were engaged in programming activities with each other:

You get kids playing ball games and the ball comes off, and then you get talking to the kids and then the mums and stuff.

The ability to socialise and interact with other in-group members was possibly the reason why that Public domain-oriented practices such as Connecting and Communing with strangers were not seen as necessary. Rather, smaller close-knit units tended to orient their value co-creation in the Private domain.

5.2.2. *Smaller looser social units*

Individuals, couples/ pairs but also smaller family and friendship groups could be classified as smaller, looser groupings. Unlike the close-knit groupings described above, these social units appeared to be less cohesive as a group and more relaxed about splitting up. They often met up at the festival, rather than coming together. Single visitors, for instance, often came to the festival by themselves but once at the festival would attach themselves to other social units. It was expected that couples and families in particular would be mainly engaged in Detaching and Bonding practices. But somewhat surprisingly, this did not seem to be the case. Communing and Connecting practices were performed most often by these social units, while Detaching was least common.

Pairs/ couples and less cohesive family and friendship groups as smaller-looser social units were found to be open to Public domain practices, particularly at the WorldMusicFest and StoryFest. This was somewhat surprising; rather than wanting to spend times with their significant other, informants in the majority of cases actively sought out interactions with other social units. Being with only one other person was mostly perceived as a facilitator, rather than barrier to co-creating in the Public domain, and couples appeared to feel comfortable approaching strangers in the friendly atmosphere of the festival.

The majority of the 16 single visitors interviewed or observed across the five festivals were also found to engage in confiding, rekindling, and embracing actions, with only three single visitors engaging in Detaching practice. This could be because being alone acted as a prompt or a facilitator for engaging in more immersive Sociality co-creation in an environment that encourages socialising. Caroline from the VanFest observed that visiting alone means that “one has to make friends”. Similarly, Elena from

the StoryFest explained that single visitors were more likely to become part of the festival “collective”:

So you can go here and be on your own and not feel lonely, I should imagine. [...] When you're in the storytelling you're still part of that collective.

In contrast, the need for contemplation or removal from the hustle and bustle of the festival were often noted as reasons for single attendees wanting to engage in Detaching practice. Liz who visited the StoryFest on her own, for instance, explained:

[...] sometimes storytelling can be a very intense emotional experience and you need some space to absorb it. And sometimes it's best to do it alone.

The presence of some other personal circumstances, such as lack of social skills (e.g. shy personality) or lack of immersion (day visitors) also appeared to play a role in smaller-looser social units Detaching (as will be discussed in sections 5.4 and 5.5).

5.2.3. Larger close-knit social units

Larger close-knit groupings were found to be represented by groups of more than 10 members, typically in found at festivals as large friendship and tribal groups. For these social units the festival acted as a gathering platform and the togetherness of their festival experience was paramount. Not many large groups in the festival contexts were identified as highly cohesive and close-knit, but those that were could be clearly observed in Detaching and Bonding practices. This was the case at campsites in particular where the insular and sometimes even impenetrable nature of such groups became apparent.

For instance, a large group of young adults was often observed at the Music&ArtsFest campsite sitting around the campfire drinking and talking:

Music&ArtsFest field notes (14/07/2012): I also walked past a group of about 10 boys in their early 20's, they were sitting with music on, drinking beer, I noticed an inflatable pool in front of one of their tents that had some water in it. There was some banter going on and one of the boys started to laugh loudly, I wondered what about but did not feel comfortable about approaching them.

As was noted by the researcher during observations and also by single visitor Emily from StoryFest, such larger groups were often perceived by informants as somewhat impenetrable:

But the larger groups I didn't approach as much because obviously they're

talking and it's hard to get into that, they don't really notice anyone outside their group.

It could be that in larger social units the notion of sharing out as opposed to sharing in (Belk 2009) was strongly represented. Through Detaching these larger groupings acted as 'unmerged selves' (Belk 2009). As they were largely self-sufficient in their socialising, 'sharing out' with others who were not perceived as members of their own group was therefore mostly limited to polite interactions (Amiability/ Connecting practices). These practice were particularly apparent in pre-existing close-knit tribal groups (e.g. the motorhome club at the VanFest), which tended to co-create predominantly in the Private domain. Because their Detaching appeared to discourage others from approaching, attracting large close-knit groups may act to hinder co-creation in the Public Domain.

5.2.4. Larger looser social units

Finally, larger looser groupings were represented by family and friendship groups of over 10 members who met up at the festival. While they spent much of their time performing Bonding and Belonging practices, unlike the larger close-knit groups they were found to be more open to interactions with strangers. Hence, practices in the Public domain were also performed more frequently by these social units.

Some larger family and friendship groups gathered at festivals in a relatively loose manner. They would often create a base (i.e. a cluster of tents, a corner in the performance stage area) around which group members would congregate and to which they would return, but otherwise let people come and go. Strangers would be more readily accepted into the group as temporary members. Lucy from WorldMusicFest who visited with a large group of friends readily accepted strangers into the group:

We had some music on here last night and some different couples came up and different people and, uh, you still have some music on. And they were just standing around and having a chat and then disappear.

In many cases, large family or friendship groups also performed practices linked to specific interests/ specialisation (Belonging practices), as was observed by Dylan from StoryFest:

It does strike me that there are a lot, I think, people have come in different sizes of groups. Some people have come just as a family and some as a group, small group of friends, and other in larger, you know, two or three families come together and maybe they do it every year and they love doing

it. And partly I think it's an induction of children into the, into this tribe, into this community.

Larger, less cohesive groups were often observed at festivals with a specific genre focus (the StoryFest, VanFest and FolkFest). Group membership was less constraining and more fluid in that despite their larger size, these social units were open to penetration from out-group members and to sharing and reaffirming tribal values. As a result, practices in the Sociality sphere (Communing and Connecting; Belonging practices) were found to be performed more frequently.

To summarise the influence of social unit size and make-up in C2C co-creation, the four social unit size and make-up categories identified above reflect to some extent findings from other socially dense service settings. But they also offer some new insights that could be of relevance to service marketers. For instance, tourism and leisure literature supports the notion of close-knit family and friend groups bonding together and nurturing existing relationships through leisure experiences (Lehto et al. 2009). Gibson and Connell (2012, p. 45) point out that festivals represent 'very much a social experience' for those who come in large groups. Similarly, de Geus (2013) proposes that larger friendship groups at festivals offer opportunities for interaction and consequently, better social experiences. The findings in this research confirm this but suggest that 'better social experiences' may be limited for larger groups to co-creation in the Private domain – Sociability dimensions only (Bonding and Detaching practices).

The sense of separation that exists among both smaller and larger close-knit social units in Detaching practice is also evidenced in a number of leisure and festival studies. For instance, Begg (2011) finds that pre-existing groups of friends visiting music festivals tend to socialise with each other rather than engaging in intensely communal experiences. Wilks (2011) suggests that couples at folk and opera festivals in particular do not tend to interact with strangers. Yet at the same time, the findings provide some new insights into how specific social groupings, such as individuals and couples/ pairs at festivals, co-create. The fact that small, looser social units (couples and pairs in particular) at festivals perform Communing and Connecting practices had not been previously discussed in the literature. On the contrary, Jankowiak and White (1999) describe lovers and friendship dyads at carnival-like events as engaging in 'restricted communitas'. That is, they were using the public arena to intensify their unity and fellowship with one another (i.e. Bonding practice) rather than engaging in interactions with strangers. The data showed that couples and pairs, but also other sized looser social

units, can be open to co-creation outside their own groupings, particularly if some other practice elements are present.

5.3. Social class identity

Another subject-specific aspect that appeared to influence C2C co-creation was identified as social class identity of festival audiences. While it was not the objective of the research to collect information on specific class differences among festival attendees, it was apparent in references made by informants to class identity of their own social units or the festival target group more generally that this subject-specific element was of importance in C2C co-creation. Two types of social class identity were identified in the data; working class and middle class. While it is acknowledged that basing the two categories on limited amount of information gathered in the field may represent a simplification of class-related issues (Argyle 1994), the categorising of practicing social units in this way emerged from the data itself and thus allowed for patterns in festivalling to be analysed.

Informants made specific distinctions between the socialising styles and behaviour of working-class versus middle-class audiences, with predominantly working-class identity of festival audiences leading to the prevalence of Public domain – Sociality practices (Communing, Connecting). Private domain practices (Detaching and Bonding) then appeared to dominate at festivals that targeted audiences with a predominantly middle-class identity. Festivals aimed at audiences with mixed-class identities (such as the VanFest) showed more ambiguous C2C co-creation patterns. Practices in the Private domain – Sociability (Detaching, Bonding) sphere were evidenced in the part of the event that attracted mainly local middle class day visitors, while Amiability and Connecting practices were apparent at the campsite where a mix of audiences gathered.

5.3.1. Working-class identity

Predominantly working-class audiences were identified in the context of this research as apparently less well-off visitors of a variety of ages, with unskilled or semi-skilled occupations (industrial, construction, manufacturing, call centres or service industry), and local accents (Argyle 1994). This category was particularly evident at the WorldMusicFest, and to some extent at the VanFest. Audiences associated with this

type of class identity were found to be more likely to co-create within the Public Domain – Sociality sphere (Communing, Connecting practices).

At the WorldMusicFest, for instance, mainly older adults and middle-aged visitors were present who saw themselves and others as working class or lower-middle class. Communing and Connecting practices were often observed, reported on by informants and experienced by the researcher at this festival. A level of acceptance appeared to exist among visitors; Ginny from WorldMusicFest talked about mainly working-class audiences tolerating and embracing various transgressions and gender reversions:

Graham from last year, blond hair. Normally during the day he wears black shorts and a t-shirt and sandals but then at night he gets dressed up. Because...he is a really big bloke, big, burly. He's a plumber and an electrician, you know. He's sort flounces about in a green sparkly skirt on, with a sparkly top.[...] But everybody is that accepting and chilled out in here that he can do it in public and nobody gets nasty or funny with him, you know.

It could be that certain geographical areas in Britain typically associated with social class identities play a role. Lower earnings and more densely inhabited areas of the post-industrial North and North-west could mean that class identities of social units co-creating at festivals are affected by North-South divide stereotypes (Frith 1996). This was also noted by a small number of informants who tried to account for the Communing and Connecting practices of predominantly ‘Northern’ working-class social units at the WorldMusicFest. Joanna from FolkFest, for instance, observed that being “gobby Northerners” led to her group interacting with anyone.

Nonetheless, this would mean that attracting audiences from different geographical areas would automatically influence C2C co-creation patterns, and this did not appear to be the case. The VanFest, which was staged in an affluent urban area in West Midlands and mainly targeted ‘Northern’ audiences, represented a setting populated by social units with mixed class identities. This appeared to lead to some degree of ambiguity in the ways in which practices were performed. Observations of apparently upper- and middle-class day visitors at the food event at VanFest showed a number of insular, Detaching practices. Amiability and Connecting were evidenced at the campsite, where the Volkswagen campervan special interest focus was also a draw for working-class van enthusiasts. While class identity could be influential in interactions between strangers at the VanFest campsite, in contrast to the predominantly working-class WorldMusicFest, co-creation practices did not reach into the more immersive Public domain – Sociality sphere (Communing).

This indicated that other practice elements, rather than solely class identity characteristics, may play an important role in C2C co-creation. For instance, the levelling nature of festivals (discussed in detail in section 6.2.2, Chapter 6), rather than the place of origin and associated class identity, may influence C2C co-creation patterns at festivals. As Lenny and Andy (both from the WorldMusicFest) explained;

I think some of the people when you talk to, seem sort of really well-spoken, seem quite, you know. But they still mix with everybody else!

Well, at a festival you're all equal. 'Cause nobody's got more than another person when they're at a festival, do they. I mean, people walking down that path, you don't know who they are, what they got at home, or what's round the corner. You're at a festival, you're all equal. And that's the key.

Although Andy and Lenny both acknowledged there may be members of a variety of social classes present at the WorldMusicFest, these differences are dismissed on account of other contextual features of the festival setting. Andy's statement "you're at a festival, you're all equal" suggest that the prevalent feeling of equality at the festivals, rather than the class identity alone, plays an important role.

5.3.2. Middle-class identity

Middle class audiences, both young adults and middle-aged, could be observed at the Music&ArtsFest, FolkFest and StoryFest. Social units with a predominantly middle class identity appeared to keep a distance from the rest of the audience, co-creating mainly within the Private domain. Influence of middle class identity on social practices appeared to be particularly evident at festivals that specifically targeted more upmarket audiences, such as the Music&ArtsFest.

Social units that were identified as middle class were well educated, broadsheet newspaper readers (informants at the Music&ArtsFest for example referred to themselves as Guardian readers), with soft accents and highly skilled occupations (e.g., teachers, accountants, IT, social workers, managers) (Argyle 1994). Symbols of conspicuous consumption were evident with designer camping gear and clothes on display. Music&ArtsFest, StoryFest and FolkFest also provided glamping-style accommodation to cater to these types of audiences (i.e. upmarket glamorous camping accommodation options involving more luxurious, comfortable facilities than traditional camping, such as tipis, yurts and bell tent hotels).

At the Music&ArtsFest the glamping sections were actually either roped off or removed occupants symbolically from the rest of the campers (see Image 5 - tipis at the Music&ArtsFest are seen here arranged in a circle facing away from surrounding tents). Consequently, those who stayed in campsite accommodation that was apparently VIP or 'luxury' were generally perceived by informants as separate or segregated from the general audience (performing Detaching and Bonding practice).

Image 5 The 'glamping section' at the Music&ArtsFest



Penny from the Music&ArtsFest for instance did not feel that she would approach and interact with someone staying in the glamping section of the campsite. She perceived this section as 'reserved' for those with higher income and higher social class identity and therefore different from her own values, beliefs and interest:

I don't think I'd have that much in common with someone who was glamping, 'cause I'm more down to earth.

Matt, an experienced festival goer from FolkFest explained that glamping sections at campsites could introduce an element of 'envy' into social relations, which prevented the different sections of the campsite from mingling with each other. Similar sentiments were expressed by a couple of stewards at the Music&ArtsFest, who the researcher exchanged a few words with while observing a crowd dancing:

Music&ArtsFest field notes (12/07/2012): Ed and Mo were stewarding (at the festival) for the first time [...] I said I was interested in the interactions among people here and Ed immediately replied, "well, that's it, there are no interactions, really, because they are all a bunch of middle-class gits!" He continued, "we are all here but we're not integrated!"

Apparent symbols of middle class identity may have led to a perceived lack of commonality and equality among visitors and thus presented a barrier to Communing and Connecting practices. Perhaps for that reason middle class audiences were found to

co-create predominantly within the Private domain with Bonding, Detaching and to a lesser extent, Amiability practices.

There were a number of exceptions in that some visitors at largely middle-class festivals did appear to engage in Communing practices, particularly through fun-making actions. Transgressive behaviours such as consumption of soft drugs and alcohol took place in all of the festival settings, especially among younger visitors:

Music&ArtsFest field notes (12/07/2012): I woke up in the middle of the night with a young man shouting “has anybody here got any weed for sale?!?” I could hear a few people laugh and mutter and then I went back to sleep...

The call to purchase and to share soft drugs was not limited to the man’s in-group but rather was directed outwardly and accepted with tolerance and even amusement. In this sense, the action could be described as fun-making that was positioned within the Public domain – Sociality sphere at the otherwise predominantly middle-class event.

Costuming and dressing up was also commonly performed by middle-class social units. Jacob from FolkFest, for instance, wanted to justify why he enjoyed wearing his pirate costume and ‘acting silly’ at the largely middle- class festival:

But most of us are just a bit too inhibited, aren’t we, to do all these silly things in normal society. You wouldn’t be down shopping in the middle of town on a Saturday in a pirate hat, would you, really. But here it’s totally acceptable, they’re almost expecting it, it’s nice, isn’t it. It’s a bit different like that....

Costumes as artefacts associated with carnival-like events appeared to serve as facilitators to Public domain practices among mixed class or middle-class audiences, in that they appeared to help informants adopt alternative and to some degree class-less festival identities. The importance of the socially accepted rule structures at festivals (section 6.2) is again evident in that norms of behaviour that are normally perceived as binding (within the context on one’s social class identity) are transcended at festivals.

The influence of social class identity on co-creation confirms to some extent the relationships between social class and socialisation patterns evidenced in consumer culture studies and the social identity literature. Argyle (1994) and Buonfino and Hilder (2006) note that those who identify themselves as members of the working class are traditionally more likely to turn to their kin (families, friends and neighbours) for help and advice. Buonfino and Hilder (2006) explain that historically, the working classes in Britain lived in greater proximity to each other and often worked in socially dense

environments. The lack of physical and economic resources they faced often meant that kinship relationships had to be relied on for support.

Middle class identity on the other hand was historically associated with casual social ties and less dense/ more varied kinship networks. Hence, those belonging to the middle classes were less reliant on relatives and neighbours (Buonfino and Hilder 2006) and thus tended to develop weaker social ties. The findings outlined above appear to confirm this. The predominantly working-class audiences at the WorldMusicFest appeared to extend their kinship sociality through *Communing* and *Connecting* in the festival settings to neighbours who quickly turned from strangers to friends. In contrast, at the Music&ArtsFest, FolkFest and to some extent at the VanFest, social units with middle class identity were found to be more likely to keep their distance and primarily orient value co-creation in the Private domain (*Detaching* and *Bonding* practices).

Gibson and Connell (2012) and Wilks (2011) found similar patterns with respect to class differences in socialisation at festivals. Older middle-class audiences at opera festivals in the UK (Wilks 2011) and in Australia (Gibson and Connell 2012) largely attended 'to be seen' by other members of the opera music community. They shared their experience with existing social networks (akin to *Bonding* and *Belonging* practices), but did not experience a particularly strong sense of *communitas*. Similarly, Matheson (2005) highlights the relevance of class groupings in folk festival contexts. She questions the validity of Maffesoli's (1996 [1988]) notion of neo-tribes as (class-less) emotional communities that form around leisure interests. Matheson's (2005) findings suggest that folk music in particular is mainly accessed by middle class audiences for whom sociability at festivals is limited to music participation and identification with the folk culture (i.e., *Belonging* practice). The findings in this research confirm Matheson's assertion and go further in suggesting that even for middle-class audiences, transcending social barriers through *Communing* practice at festivals may be possible if other practice elements are present.

The findings in this section are pertinent in the context of the emergence of 'posh' festivals and 'increasing snobbery' at festivals as a trend noted increasingly in the media (Atkinson 2010; Winterman 2010). Targeting audiences with predominantly middle-class identities (e.g. through strategies such as providing 'VIP'-access-only areas in festival venues and segregating audiences into glamping sections at campsites) may lead to a lack of social integration. Hence, such strategies could represent a barrier to co-creation in the Public domain with *Communing* and *Connecting* practices in particular.

At the same time, the findings build a more complex picture of social class at festivals in that some ambiguity was found to exist in C2C co-creation patterns. Less rigid rules and social norms with respect to transgressive behaviours, or the introduction of programming elements such as carnival-like fancy dress events, may serve to facilitate more socially immersive value co-creation practices.

5.4. Level of immersion

Level of immersion with respect to the length of stay at the festival was identified as another important subject-specific aspect of co-creation. All of the five festivals sold a variety of different ticket options, with weekend stay and camping option and day-/afternoon-only option available. Based on observations and interviews pertaining to visitors' immersion in the festival, two main categories were established: transient social units and immersed social units.

Transient social units comprised festival goers who did not stay in the festival environment for longer than an afternoon/day. This meant that the time needed to engage in more meaningful and more socially immersive C2C co-creation practice was insufficient. As a result, day visitors were found to stay with their pre-existing social units and co-create predominantly within the Private domain (Bonding and Detaching/Amiability practices). In contrast, longer stay (a minimum of one night) was found to typically lead to greater degree of immersion in the social environment and more opportunities to co-create within the Public domain (Amiability, Connecting and Communing practices).

5.4.1. *Transient social units*

Transient day visitors were found to co-create predominantly on the Private Domain – Sociability level. Detaching and Bonding were evident at the VanFest, Music&ArtsFest and FolkFest, all of which attracted large number of day visitors who typically attended in pre-existing family and friendship social units and were mainly interested in enjoying a particular aspect of event programming. While socialising was important for these social units, it was enjoying the day with their partner, families and friends that was seen as paramount and not engaging in conversing and other outwardly-oriented actions that involved other visitors.

Gabrielle from the Music&ArtsFest believed that families visiting for a day just wanted to spend some time together rather than talk to strangers:

I think people, I think the family groups are more, you see them, they're coming together and maybe they're only here on a day ticket. I think those people, they're, like, they don't wanna talk to anyone.

The general lack of immersion in the social environment was manifested in the way that day visitors appeared 'different' to more immersed weekend visitors. At the Music&ArtsFest and FolkFest, where the weather was not very good, day visitors typically entered the site wearing clean clothes and so stood out and were clearly recognisable as day visitors. This may have acted as a barrier that prevented more immersed visitors from interacting with these social units. Weekend visitors saw day visitors as out-group members (Tajfel 1982) in that they had not suffered the same hardships and therefore could not properly become part of the festival community. Elena who visited the StoryFest with her elderly mother for instance did not stay at the campsite, but came into the three-day festival site each morning and left late in the evening. As such they perceived themselves as more immersed and somehow more eligible or connected with the festival than those who only come for one day or afternoon:

Some people are here for the weekend, some have only come on Saturday...because when we got here this morning, it was a totally different atmosphere. Because some people just come for the Sunday and so I think that changes the dynamic of it as well [...] just, ehmm...I would not say it was worse, just, in a way you thought, what are all these people doing here? We felt a bit indignant. So I think that changes the dynamic of the festival as well.

Janet and Nelson from the StoryFest offered another insight. The couple recalled their past experience of the festival when they stayed at a nearby B&B and came into the festival site each morning:

Janet: yeah, you didn't feel, you felt part of it but there was a slight disconnection.

Nelson: yeah, you felt a little a bit isolated. It's so much better when you can be up there you feel part of it.

Staying elsewhere and coming into the festival did not allow, according to the informants, for a sense of belonging to develop and hence could lead to C2C co-creation being confined within the Private domain. They day visitors may not 'feel part of the event' to the same extent that weekend visitors do.

There were also a few exceptions. Day visitors at the StoryFest and the WorldMusicFest for instance were found to be more open to Communing and Connecting with strangers as they stayed all day and shared together dancing or storytelling experiences. Remoteness of the site could play a role. The StoryFest took place in a remote location on the south coast of Wales and visitors had to walk for approximately 10 minutes to get from the car park to the venue. During this journey a sense of embarking together on a pilgrimage could develop (van Gennep 1960) that transforms transient into immersed, and helps to level any perceived differences among visitor types.

Some Amiability practices were also observed among day visitors at the FolkFest and the Music&ArtsFest, although these were limited to engaging in polite conversations when queuing and recognising and greeting people in the enclosed space of smaller festivals. In these cases the size of the festival rather than the degree of immersion could influence Amiability practice, in that small numbers of people present for an afternoon kept bumping into each other leading to incidental conversations. But the reason for transient visitors not engaging in as many Public domain – Sociality practices could be simply that there was not sufficient time and space for day visitors to engage in interactions with strangers, especially when visiting with already-known groups.

5.4.2. *Immersed social units*

In contrast to transient social units, immersed social units, such as weekend campers or those coming into the site each day for the duration of the festival, were found to perform more readily practices in the Public domain – Sociality sphere (Connecting and Communing practices). With longer stay and more opportunities for meeting and engaging in outwardly-oriented interactions, the greater immersion of weekend ticket holders allowed for co-creation within the Public Domain, but also more immersive experienced linked with tribal Belonging practice.

For immersed social units the campsite often served as a temporary home. Practices such as helping strangers with tent pitching, sharing the ‘hardship’ of sleeping in tents in bad weather, and meeting the same people at toilets and at water points clearly served as a common element that facilitated interactions with strangers and co-creation in the Public domain. As Gabrielle from the Music&ArtsFest noted, longer stay at the festival means that one would start recognising people:

[...] if you've been here since Wednesday or Thursday, but Sunday, you're just like yeeey, who are you, all that (laughs)...

Penny from FolkFest explained that conversations with strangers that lasted longer, and that one would often engage in at the campsite, would often lead to Connecting practice:

[...] we don't seem to be camped by anybody this year, but if you camp so you're chatting, so you get past that small talk, or you're in a situation where you're just sat for a couple of hours and I think you sort of get a deeper friendship from that...

The researcher herself would with the passage of time at the campsite increasingly nod, smile, say hello and exchange a few words with people camped in the vicinity of her pitch. It seems that simply the longer duration meant that it was more likely that an all-encompassing festival community could develop at the festival.

Immersion in the festival environment was also found to offer ample opportunities to perform Bonding and Belonging practices in the Private Domain. At the FolkFest in particular socialising and jamming around fires 'after hours' (at night around campfires, but also during the day outside tents and in impromptu open mike sessions) meant that members of the 'folkies' neo-tribe had more time to exchange tunes and learn from each other. Calvin, an amateur guitar player visiting FolkFest with a group of friends, felt that he was able to improve his guitar playing skills thanks to this immersive experiences of "just being in the festival environment when it's four days of music".

Somewhat surprisingly, the influence of customers' level of immersion in terms of length of stay within the setting on socialisation does not appear to be addressed in the festival literature. From the festival organisers' perspective, greater length of stay is typically viewed through the monetary income lens. Compared to one day-only events, festivals that facilitate activities such as sleeping, drinking, eating and conviviality have been shown to increase visitor expenditure (Gibson and Connell 2012). Yet, consumer research suggests that interaction duration is instrumental in whether relationships move beyond a 'friendly stranger' stage and into a more meaningful connection and communion stage. As Rosenbaum (2008, p. 193) notes, "the time required for strangers to become supportive friends is probably shortened when customers are in the same boat".

The findings relating to the role of transient vs. immersed social units in C2C co-creation confirm that more immersive service environments, in which customers have a chance to interact for prolonged periods of time, could indeed engender C2C co-

creation in the Sociality sphere. But an important finding from the service marketers' perspective is that a degree of disjuncture may be present among the two categories of co-creating social units analysed above. Transient social units could usually be readily recognised by the more immersed weekenders (e.g. due to different coloured wristbands or spotless clothing and shoes) and at times weekend visitors felt somewhat resentful toward day visitors who were seen as 'outsiders'. This could be an issue for festivals wishing to engender Public domain – Sociality practices (Communing and Connecting) and at the same time, to put emphasis on day ticket sales (i.e. attracting more transient customers).

5.5. Level of skills

Skills in terms of social skills and personality and also the level of 'festival experience' represent another subject-specific practice element that was found to influence C2C co-creation. Out of the five subject-specific practice elements discussed in this chapter, skills were mostly identified in the interviews and observations as attributable to specific individuals (particularly where informants talked about their personalities). But couples, families and other social units also often referred to their 'interaction styles' (e.g., an "extravert family", a "self-contained couple") or level of festival experience. Skills were conceptualised in the context of this research in terms of social skills on one hand, and experience with the particular social setting on the other. Low-level skills were identified in terms of a shy, reserved, introverted personality and lack of openness in social situations. Lack of experience within the particular social setting (i.e. first-time visitors) was also viewed as lower skills. Social units with an open, sociable manner and previous experience of the festival setting was then categorised as high-level skills.

The data suggested that lower-level skills tended to lead to co-creation at festivals predominantly in the Private domain, with Public domain practices limited to Sociability (Amiability practice). In contrast, practicing subjects with a high level of skills were found to be generally more engaged in Public domain co-creation. At the same time, however, there were a number of exceptions. At some of the festivals personality in particular did not appear to play as important a role as other, context-specific practice elements, as explained below.

5.5.1. *High-level skills*

Open, confident, extravert personalities and long-running experience of festival attendance (regular visitors) appeared to be linked predominantly with co-creation in the Public domain – Sociality sphere. Festival goers who identified themselves as being open and extraverted were found to be more comfortable in the festival social situation and thus more likely to interact with strangers in Public domain practices. For instance, referring to extrovert personality features, Matt from FolkFest explained that some families appeared to immediately establish connections with neighbouring families:

I think the other thing you've got to take into account are the personalities involved. If you are, I mean, we're not the most extroverted family, but then if you're gonna get extroverted families they're gonna just plop themselves and get on with everyone, become best mates in one hour. We're not like that...

When asked about situations where they talked to strangers, six informants noted that they were “the kind of person who would talk to anyone” and went on to report on their Connecting and Amiability practices. The social skills afforded by open personalities and attitudes toward interacting with strangers could therefore lead to Connecting and also Communing practices being performed more easily, regardless of whether the practicing social units were at festivals or not.

High social skills gained through informants' occupation were also mentioned. Pippa, Sandra and Gabrielle from the Music&ArtsFest and Ally from the FolkFest had all worked as councillors and interacting with strangers was part and parcel of what they did on a daily basis. As Gabrielle explained, talking to and connecting with strangers at the festival therefore came naturally to her:

I don't really know, they just sort of happen somehow. But you talk to people outside the showers and just talk. I mean, I talk a lot anyway, that's my, I do that for a living. You know, we talk to strangers for a living. So for me it's part of what I do anyway.

Nonetheless, some informants admitted that such openness in socialising with strangers could also be due to the nature of the festival social situation. Marcus from StoryFest described himself as a generally confident person used to approaching strangers and therefore comfortable about engaging in C2C co-creation within the Public domain. But when asked whether this is the way he is outside the festival, he reasoned that the social context may moderate his behaviour:

[...] but then again, in Sainsbury's (supermarket), if I was in the queue with

a trolley, would I just turn around and start talking to the guy in front of me? Absolutely not. Could I turn around and talk to their kid without the mum turning around and probably calling security? Absolutely not, you know? Whereas here, I could.

Some situation-specific practice elements could be of even more importance in influencing C2C co-creation.

High-level skills in terms of long-running festival experience were also found to be of importance in C2C co-creation. The WorldMusicFest and the Music&ArtsFest in particular were established festivals and some of the informants have been coming to the festivals for years. In these cases, regular visitors appeared to be more open to interactions with strangers in the Public domain – Sociality sphere, particularly when assisting newcomers or rekindling with old festival acquaintances. For instance, as a group of regular visitors at the Music&ArtsFest, Estell and her friends re-connected with their tent neighbours from last year:

So you can sort of set up camp, like the people over there (points just to the left of their two tents), they came here last year and were in the same spot and we were here as well. And it's really, there's quite a community feel, as opposed to like loads of strangers having a big party.

Laura from the WorldMusicFest pointed out that some festivals are ‘like a little village’ that pops up and people like to come back to it year after year. It could be that with experience and increasing familiarity with the festival and its value proposition these social units focus more on the social aspect of their experiences rather than the programming elements. They begin to share in (Belk 2009) with the festival community in an outwardly-facing manner. Through rekindling, trusting and helping actions they engage in Communing and Connecting practices.

5.5.2. Low-level skills

Social units with low-level skills in terms of a lack of social skills, a shy, introvert personality, reserved nature, but also lack of experience with the particular festival (first-time visitors) were found to be more likely engage in co-creation within the Private domain. Public domain practices did take place, but appeared to be limited to surface-like conversations and Amiability practice. Lower level skills gave customers and other social units less confidence to co-create within the Public domain. First-time visitors in particular often depended on their in-groups to ‘show them the ropes’ and appeared to be more comfortable enjoying the festival with their friends and families.

Shy, more reserved individuals reported that they were less comfortable socialising with strangers at the festival, analogous to the effects of extravert personality as high-level skills described above. Mary from FolkFest and Amy from Music&ArtsFest observed that low-level social skills and somewhat reserved personalities could represent a barrier to Public domain practices:

[...] it depends on the individual. If you're shy you might not interact with anybody, you might just go and listen to the music and look very sort of contained and assume, other people assume, you don't want to talk.

I think, also, personally, a lot of people's inhibitions, they're very, very reserved. So they feel safe going to a workshop, music, because if they just specifically went to a workshop festival, they would not know how to handle themselves.

Similarly, Gary from FolkFest described himself as a shy individual and as such, struggled to engage in conversations with strangers:

You know, some people are very good at sort being able to get into a conversation about things, talk about anything, whereas I'm not. It kind of makes me aware of myself, as well, about not being able to just going to, you know, just talk. I spoke to these people about the beer, drink, because that was helping them, they were just sort of interested in the ale, you know, there was a point to it, kind of thing. You know, when people just say hi, I just say hi, how are you, and, so, 'yeah, this is great, what are you up to?' I find that quite difficult to just kind of open up that sort of conversation.

Shy people or those with generally lower degree of social skills at festivals may prefer to detach themselves from the social community at festivals and rather, engage as spectators in event programming elements. Gary saw his lack of social skills in dealing with polite conversations at the festival as a handicap, although did find that situations in which he could assist or advise strangers made chatting to strangers come more easily. Service organisation-facilitated social programme elements could perhaps aid in such situations where low-level (social) skills at festivals act as a barrier to Public domain co-creation. The Music&ArtsFest, FolkFest and many other festivals do in fact programme in facilitated social events to help those with lower-level social skills, such as dance workshops where partner-swapping is encouraged.

Lack of festival experience in terms of visiting a festival for the first time also appeared to lead to practices performed predominantly on the Private domain - Sociability spectrum. This could be because first-time visitors often came along with more experienced festival goers and relied on them to introduce them into the particular

festival culture. Diane from Music&ArtsFest described how her sister in law, who was visiting the festival for the first time, spent much time Detaching herself, as she felt uncomfortable not knowing how she was expected to behave:

[...] my sister in law, when she came for the first year, she freaked out because she was a very designer dresses and all that. And she came in and she just, she didn't know how to behave. It was like she was taken out of her comfort zone and she, yeah, she went back to the tent, and just like, yeah, didn't know what to do, how to dress, because she couldn't act like she was normally. And she's immaculate about her dress sense. And we're like, no this is not what this is about, this is about chilling out, you've got to act a bit crazy, put silly things on your head, you know.

First-time visitors often also wanted to experience the festival content itself and share it with their in-groups, leading to Bonding and often Detaching practices being performed.

Not only visiting a specific festival for the first time, but also visiting a different festival each year appeared to represent a barrier to Sociality practices in the Public domain (rekindling in particular), as Amy from Music&ArtsFest experienced:

[...]I think if you do a different festival each year, which I have done, you may recognise a few faces but you would not actually stop and have a deep conversation, or you wouldn't, you would just go 'hi'.

As Amy explained, 'doing different festivals' did not allow her to develop new relationships. Rather, she focussed on developing existing friendships, performing practices predominantly within the Private domain - Sociability dimension.

Psychological studies confirm to some extent what the informants indicated; that high level of social skills and an open, friendly personality are more likely to lead to co-creation within the Public domain. For instance, Csikszentmihalyi (1997) notes that positive emotions stemming from flow in social situations requires a degree of empathy and understanding of the interacting partner's goals (i.e. high level of social skills). This was evident in Communing and Connecting practices at festivals. Strangers were often viewed as in-group members who have come to festivals for similar reasons and thus one could identify with and understand their own goals in the festival social situation.

Personality research (Eysenck et al. 1982; Furnham 1981) confirms that people with higher level of extraversion find it easier to start conversations with strangers and engage in 'outgoing', more adventurous behaviours (including fun-making and embracing actions for instance). Those with an introvert, shyer personality may detach themselves more and prefer to revel in solitude. The influence of personality and personal attributes of customer in C2C co-creation was, nevertheless, confirmed in the

data only to some degree. As the informants themselves admitted, some situational practice elements may be of equal, if not higher, importance in facilitating Public domain co-creation.

Skills in terms of experience of visiting a particular festival also resonate in customer co-creation research. A number of studies have pointed out that customers with relevant product- or place-specific knowledge are more likely to pass on their knowledge to other, less experienced customers (McGrath and Otnes 1995; Parker and Ward 2000). Similarly, less experienced tourists are found to ‘cope’ better in unfamiliar situations by approaching and seeking advice from other tourists (Prebensen and Foss 2011). The findings in this section then suggest that regular visitors at festivals are more likely to co-create on the more immersive Sociality level and thus potentially extend their co-creation beyond the immediate service situation into enduring event careers (Getz 2007). This appears particularly important from the service organisation’s perspective. Helping customers improve and draw on their stock of high-level social skills, personality and visitor experience could help engender more immersive forms of Public domain co-creation.

5.6. Genre specialisation

Genre specialisation represents the final subject-specific practice element that was found to influence C2C value co-creation. Information about genre specialisation was gauged from observations of artefacts that would suggest a degree of specialisation within the relevant festival genre (e.g. clothes normally associated with some tribal identity). It was also based on information provided by informants about the nature of their interest in the festival genre (e.g. their level of involvement in the genre). Three categories were identified in the dataset that correspond loosely with different degrees of Stebbins’s (1992) leisure specialisation: committed attendees, interested attendees and novices.

Looking at the influence of genre specialisation in C2C value co-creation is of importance for festival organisers. Specific decisions regarding music line-up and other programming elements may influence which types of audiences attend, and consequently, which social practises may be performed. But understanding how novices, interested and committed social units co-create could also help other service organisations, particularly those within leisure and tourism and in other contexts in

which the notions of leisure specialisation (Stebbins 1992), neo-tribes (Maffesoli 1996 [1988]) and consumer sub-cultures (Thornton 1995) are of relevance.

5.6.1. Committed

Committed social units were identified as those focussed on an activity or genre. Committed customers “launch themselves on a career centred on acquiring and expressing its special skills, knowledge and experience.” (Stebbins 1992, p. 3). High commitment as a subject-specific practice element was found to play an important role in C2C co-creation particularly at festivals with a single genre focus. The FolkFest for instance targeted folk-music lovers, many of whom identified themselves as members of a ‘folkie’ neo-tribe (Maffesoli 1996 [1988]) or subculture (Thornton 1995). At the StoryFest semi-professional storytellers formed a large part of a storytelling neo-tribe. Committed social units could also be found at the WorldMusicFest. The main headlining band *Hawkwind* attracted a number of committed fans for whom space rock as a particular genre led to serious pursuit of leisure careers (Stebbins 1992).

In terms of C2C co-creation, for committed social units the festival often represented merely an episode in their genre-specific pursuits. Expressing and reinforcing their identification with a neo-tribe appeared to give committed informants a sense of cohortness and communality with other members of the neo-tribe. This was manifested in their Belonging but also Communing practices. As a number of informants explained, the common interest in the specific genre or object of consumption served as an ice-breaker in friendly conversations and knowledge exchanges with strangers who they recognised as other members of ‘their’ neo-tribe. The Volkswagen campervan enthusiast Tim explained:

[...] it's the common interest in the buses and the cars. You wonder around, even when there's a show, you still spend more time wondering round the campsite, looking at other owners' cars, do you know what I mean? And as soon as you stop and look, somebody will come out and then tell you a little bit about it and then you start asking questions.

Belonging practices among highly committed audiences were at times found to be accompanied by Detaching, particularly at festivals that aimed to provide a varied programme with a wider appeal to less committed audiences (interested attendees and novices). The VanFest positioned itself as a festival for ‘all those who enjoy camping and good food’ (mixed genre orientation). Nonetheless, festival marketing communication symbolism on the festival website and printed brochures appeared to

appeal to the Volkswagen campervan community only (highly committed visitors) (Image 6).

Image 6 Volkswagen campervan symbolism in VanFest programme brochure



The effect of this incoherent genre focus was that committed social units tended to congregate with other committed attendees (Detaching practices) rather than practicing within the Public domain, as may have been the intention of the festival organisers. This was noted by Anthony, a non-campervan festival goer from VanFest:

Well, like last night, we walked down there, but it's just, everybody's gone over there (pointing to the campervan site), it's a bit cliquey[...] they (the Volkswagen campervan owners) have their vans, you see, they're very insular. 'Cause you go in your van, and that's it, you're there on your own... Camping, and you tend to talk to more people.

The Music&ArtsFest also saw Detaching of the fans of specific bands. As Sandy, an experienced music festival-goer observed, some committed members of the audience were not interested in mixing with more general audiences:

Different bands have different followers. And people who, the hard core Stranglers³ fans will go somewhere to see the Stranglers, irrespective of what's happening at the rest of the festival. And they certainly will be a closely-knit group, a Stranglers travelling band of, fans of a particular band. Like the Levellers last night, they carry a hard-core group of supporters around with them. And they clearly are not interested in interacting with people who are here on a much more general basis. That is their focus, to see that band.

This was not the case universally across all festivals, however. Hawkwind followers as committed social units did appear to co-create in the Public domain – Sociality sphere. This suggested that other practice elements influenced C2C co-creation patterns at the festival. Yet, service organisations positioning their value proposition within a mix of

³ *Stranglers* - an English punk-rock music group founded in the 1970s; *Levellers* – English rock band founded in 1988

genres (committed and other groups) may find that different groups of highly committed attendees cluster together ‘in cliques’, resulting in Detaching practices and a lack of intra-group co-creation.

5.6.2. *Novices*

Festivals that tried to appeal to a wide range of predominantly non-specialised, novice audiences through a varied genre focus were found to be conducive mainly to practices at the Sociability level (both in the Private and Public domains). The Music&ArtsFest, for instance, brought together a number of music styles, comedy, arts and crafts workshop, alternative healing and many other programme elements. These elements may potentially appeal to a wide variety of audiences and there were few activities that would attract highly specialised groups or neo-tribes. Unlike committed social units, novices did not appear to have any specific interest in a main genre that was being celebrated at the festival. Rather, they were found to spend much time experiencing new things with their respective social units, with Detaching and Bonding practices most commonly evidenced in the dataset.

For instance, Marcus and his wife came to StoryFest as storytelling novices to nurture their relationship with old friends. They were also hoping to learn about the friends’ passion for storytelling (Bonding practice):

I have known N. & J. (Marcus’s friends) since I was about 10 and I grew up in their house. They lived across the road from me and they were very much part of my childhood. And N. had all the great games and all the great stories and we have been close friends ever since. Ehm, they still live up in Swindon, we live down in Brighton. Ehm, they go to lots of festivals, they have been coming to this one since it began and N., being an amateur storyteller, he told stories at our wedding, which was just magical [...] And they said, ‘look, you’ve got to come, it’d be lovely to share this with you, don’t mind about hanging around with us,’ and so on, and that’s how we’ve ended up here.

Findings indicated that genre novices at festivals that aim to attract a mix of genre interest groups co-create predominantly within the Private domain, with Public Domain practice limited to Amiability and Connecting. This may be due to the fact that less intensive interest in the specific genre leaves participants focussing more on the social aspect of the festival experience.

5.6.3. *Interested*

Finally, ‘interested’ attendees represents the most numerous group evidenced in the data. Interested attendees were present at festivals that focussed on more general genres which attracted a high degree of interest from its target audiences. Unlike highly committed social units that were the members of neo-tribes and sub-cultures, interested social units did not pursue the genre through leisure careers. The genre interest served instead as a common element that binds otherwise heterogeneous groups of people together. As such it can lead to embracing and trusting actions that are embodied in Communing practice.

At the WorldMusicFest, for instance, this group of attendees was found to be interested in the genre (i.e. music or festivals in general) but did not necessarily follow a specific band. They enjoyed festival culture but were not committed to the genre with a high degree of ‘geekiness’, as Nolan from StoryFest put it. Barbara and Morris (both from WorldMusicFest) explained that festivals serve to gather interested attendees with similar values, beliefs and ethos. Thus, people are more likely to find a common thread when they interact:

I think here there is more people that are thinking the same way are collected together, or more intensely, where you can see it magnified that people are more caring towards each other in a sense. These people are scattered amongst in the outside world in the towns or whatever...so perhaps it is it's the environment, the music, the combination of things that draws the people together. I suppose like you got any gathering, if you build any gathering, like hunting, fox hunting group, you get a certain kind of people there that won't think the same as a group of the people here. They'll have certain beliefs and code of conduct almost that they will follow.

(Talking about a past Glastonbury visit): We were standing on the top of the hill and looking over the fezzie and it was just beautiful and I am saying, ah, don't you think it's reassuring there's about 200.000 people who think pretty much the same as you do?

Despite its openness to various sub-genres and sub-interests, interested attendees perceived themselves as relatively homogenous. The shared interest in festival-going served as a melting pot within which personal backgrounds, preferences and particular interests converged into what Kevin from the WorldMusicFest termed ‘festival type’. Consequently, embracing actions (Communing practice), confiding and relating to strangers who are perceived as similar in principle (Connecting practices) were performed. Festivals, but also other service settings in which predominantly interested

attendees gather, may be more open to practices in the Public domain – Sociality sphere, as was the case at the WorldMusicFest.

Literature on genre specialisation has already been addressed in section 4.8 of Chapter 4 as part of the socio-psychological and sociological discussion of genre neo-tribes and subcultures. Importantly, analysis of Private domain social practices in this thesis draws on social identity theory (Tajfel 1982), but also research on serious leisure and hobby-related pursuits (Stebbins 1992). These concepts are useful for understanding how membership in a particular neo-tribal group leads to predominantly Belonging practices in leisure and festival settings.

This section uncovers new findings in terms of how attracting different combinations of genre specialism to festivals may influence the patterns of C2C value co-creation. Many consumer studies exploring serious leisure at festivals and in other consumption contexts examine the presence of actions and behaviours akin to Belonging but also Communing practices (e.g., Begg 2011; Kim and Jamal 2007; Mackellar 2009; Matheson 2005; Schouten and McAlexander 1995). But the findings also suggest that groups of highly committed genre specialists may in the presence of other, less committed festival goers form ‘cliques’ and engage in Detaching practices. Johnson et al. (2013) are among few authors who come to similar conclusions. Studying consumer-to-consumer helping and assisting actions of participants at a biker rally in the United States, the authors find that those who identify themselves strongly with a subgroup of the biker neo-tribe are less likely to help others in the overall biker community gathering (i.e. strangers at the biker rally). Based on the findings presented in this section, festival organisers wishing to facilitate Public domain – Sociality practices should instead focus on attracting interested social units. These have an interest in the festival culture per se, rather than being highly committed to a particular specialised genre.

5.7. Focus on the co-creating subject - ‘practitioner’

This chapter examines in a comprehensive manner the subject-specific practice elements that appeared to be of relevance in influencing C2C co-creation practices in the context of festivals. Korkman (2006) categorises practice elements that relate to the customer – practitioner. These include the subject as the agent who carries the practice and tools & know-how, which comprise different material ‘things’ but also immaterial

competencies and skills that enable the performance of practices. Korkman's conceptualisation is drawn upon to consolidate the five subject-specific practice elements outlined in sections 5.2 to 5.6 in the following two categories:

- **Practicing subject** attributes, specifically social unit size and make-up, social class identity and level of immersion; and,
- **Skills & know-how**, i.e. level of skills and genre specialisation of the practicing subjects.

The examination of the practicing subject and skills & know-how as part of subject-specific practice elements provides a focussed and detailed overview of the actual contents of each category, and examines its influence on how practices are performed. Table 16 offers an overview of the aspects and characteristics of particular subject-specific practice elements in this chapter, and outlines the practices in which these were found to be of relevance.

Table 16 Subject-specific practice elements

	Practice elements	Characteristic	Predominant practices
Practicing subject	<i>Social unit size and make-up</i>		
	Smaller, close-knit social units	Families with children, groups of friends 2-10	Bonding; Detaching/Amiability; Connecting
	Smaller, looser social units	Single visitors, couples and pairs	Communing; Connecting
	Larger close-knit social units	Very large pre-existing friendship and tribal membership groups 10<	Detaching; Bonding
	Larger looser social units	Family and friends groups 10< members	Bonding; Belonging
	<i>Social class identity</i>		
	Predominantly working class	Mixed ages, less well-off, local accents	Communing; Connecting/Bonding
	Predominantly middle-class	Mixed ages, well dressed and well-spoken	Detaching; Bonding/Connecting; Communing
	Mixed class identity	Mixed ages and mixed class identities	Detaching; Bonding/Communing
	<i>Level of immersion</i>		
Transient	Day visitors (not staying in on-site accommodation for the whole duration of the festival)	Detaching; Bonding/Amiability	
Immersed	Overnight or weekend visitors	Communing; Connecting/Belonging; Bonding	

	Practice elements	Characteristic	Predominant practices
Skills & know-how	Level of skills		
	Low-level skills	Socially unskilled (e.g., insular, shy, reserved); first-time visitors	Detaching; Bonding/Amiability
	High-level skills	Socially skilled (e.g., confident, easygoing, extrovert); regular visitors	Communing; Connecting
	Genre specialisation		
	Committed	Fans; band followers; members of neo-tribes (e.g., 'folkies', VW campers)	Belonging/Detaching
	Novice	General, non-specialist genre audiences	Detaching; Bonding/Amiability
	Interested	High level of interest in the genre ('festival type')	Communing, Connecting/Bonding

Cassop Thompson (2012), Echeverri and Skålén (2011) and Korkman (2006) identify *who co-creates* or the main 'actors' or 'practitioners' who carry certain practices (i.e. customers, fitness instructors, adults, children, families) and as such provide valid in-depth interpretive insights into co-creation practices. But these authors do not look in detail at how different attributes or characteristics of these different practicing subjects may affect their engagement in different practices in a given consumption context. The understanding of skills and know-how in this chapter is somewhat different. Korkman (2006) identifies *tools* and know-how primarily as resources that are embedded within the practice context and used by practicing subjects to carry out practices. For instance, he identifies "the street-like environment with opportunities to stroll around and look" as a particular tool/ know-how that forms part of a family practice of "circulat(-ing) the boat" (cruise ship) (ibid, p. 112). In contrast, *skills* and know-how are viewed in this thesis as practice elements that are directly linked with the practicing subject, i.e. with the family, friendship or tribal in-group, and also within stranger dyads or the emerging festival community. This means that the scope of skills and know-how is expanded to the multitude of social units that co-create value in the particular service setting, rather than being limited to families/ adults/ children (Korkman 2006) or individual customers (Cassop Thompson 2012; Echeverri and Skålén 2011).

The approach adopted in this chapter also offers a clear indicative overview of which C2C value co-creation practices may be found at festivals with a focus on practicing subjects with particular characteristics. The summary in Table 16 shows that by focussing on co-creation subjects-practitioners with specific attributes, social skills,

level of commitment and experience, service marketers could influence co-creation patterns in the service setting.

The findings presented in this chapter therefore offer an insightful overview, which could be of direct relevance for service marketing. Service organisation could facilitate the performance of specific practices, while other practices are discouraged. In other words, is possible to adopt tangible, operationalisable strategies to facilitate C2C co-creation of inter-subjective value within those C2C co-creation spheres that the service organisation wishes to support. Section 7.4.1 in Chapter 7 will consider in some detail the implications that stem from the examination of subject-specific practice elements in this chapter. An example could be that family oriented festivals may wish to support value co-creation in Private domain - Sociability sphere (Detaching and Bonding practices). The findings suggest that this could be done by attracting close-knit, middle class social units with lower-level skills and novice-like genre specialisation.

An additional concept is addressed at this point that may be of relevance in overall interpretations of the findings presented in this chapter, and that is the notion of *homophily principle*. The homophily principle is often referred as ‘birds of a feather’ and posits that individuals with similar characteristics are more likely to develop links and ties (McPherson et al. 2001) and also to trust each other (McGrath and Otnes 1995). As McPherson et al. (2001) and other authors (Brack and Benkenstein 2012) suggest, patterns of links can develop as a result of similarity in categories such as socio-demographic dimensions and acquired characteristics of education, occupation or behaviour patterns. Findings relating to subject-specific practice elements were permeated by informants’ awareness of similarity, as they linked their involvement in practices with the presence of similar demographics, similar taste in music, similar values but also others being on the same wavelength and with the same mindset. Similarity in categories that are based on values, attitudes and beliefs was also evident in findings pertaining to level of immersion (campers identified themselves with other immersed visitors rather than day visitors) and even more strongly in genre specialisation.

Perhaps for that reason, the similarity of customer segments targeted by festival organisers aside, the homophily principle was evident in the majority of festivals in relating, acknowledging and embracing actions in that perceived similarity acted as an ice-breaker or facilitator of co-creation in the Public domain. It could therefore be that

festivals and other service organisations encouraging customer gatherings based on the homophily principle are more likely to facilitate co-creation in the Public domain. Those service organisations encouraging *heterophily* (i.e. attempting to be ‘everything to all’) may instead facilitate co-creation in the Private domain. In any case, the above discussion indicates that the study findings regarding subject-specific practice elements have important implications for service organisations. These will be discussed further in Chapter 7, section 7.4.1.

5.8. Summary

This chapter has provided a detailed overview of five subject-specific practice elements, which have been conceptualised in two main categories: the practicing subject and skills & know-how. It was argued that detailed examination of the various aspects of these elements in the context of C2C co-creation practices (Belonging, Bonding, Detaching, Communing, Connecting and Amiability) is useful in building a comprehensive picture of specific strategies through which C2C co-creation could be facilitated or supported.

However, as was already stressed elsewhere in this thesis, subject-specific practice elements represent only part of the overall complex phenomenon that is C2C value co-creation. Holttinen (2010) and Korkman (2006) posit that inter-subjective value as a social construct is tied to a practice. As such, the meaning structures (socially constructed rule and norm structures that guide social behaviour) and the physical context in which practices are performed are also instrumental in C2C co-creation of value. These *situation-specific practice elements* are examined in detail in Chapter 6.

6. SITUATION-SPECIFIC PRACTICE ELEMENTS

6.1. Introduction

Certain practices outlined in Chapter 4 appeared to be more prevalent at certain festivals and in specific areas within the service settings, but not others. For instance, Bonding practice was more prominent at the Music&ArtsFest, while the WorldMusicFest saw a great deal of Communing practice. This means that in addition to attributes and characteristics of practicing subjects present in the setting, the features of the social context within each service context may play an important role in how C2C co-creation practices are performed.

Following on from Chapter 5, this chapter examines in detail findings relating to *situation-specific practice elements* in C2C co-creation at festivals. Four situation-specific practice elements were identified in the data:

- Intrinsic rule structures;
- Extrinsic rule structures;
- Social density in the physical setting;
- Space designation and layout within the setting.

Each of these elements is described in detail in sections 6.2 – 6.5, drawing on analysis of interviewees' narratives, observations, photographs and documents from each festival (marketing information and materials). The relevance of these practice elements within C2C co-creation at festivals is interpreted and discussed in light of concepts from social and environmental psychology, sociology, anthropology and cultural studies.

6.2. Intrinsic rule structures

Intrinsic rule structures could be viewed as the socially constructed images that festival goers themselves associated with the service setting. These rule structures carried inherent norms that appeared to be known and accepted by most participants present in the social setting, and that ruled and shaped their behaviours and actions. Intrinsic rule structures formed an implicit part of the festival experience and as such were found to be one of the most influential situation-specific elements that guided how practices were performed in festival contexts. Two types of intrinsic rule structures that influenced co-

creation in different ways were identified in the data: holiday-like rule structure and liminoid rule structure.

The holiday-like rule structure was found in festival settings that allowed for a sense of escapism to develop, but this was escapism into a holiday-like space in which the rule structures mirror closely everyday situations. While this type of rule structure represented a more relaxed, laid-back environment, it was found to be more conducive to in-group Bonding and less socially immersive Public domain value co-creation practices. The latter liminoid rule structure on the other hand reflected the ‘time-out-of-time’ and ‘place-out-of-place’ nature of festival contexts, in which social status and rank is transcended (Falassi 1987; Turner 1979). This type of rule structure was the socially constructed set of rules that distinguished the festival context from other contexts. These rules were manifested particularly in the way in which informants referred to festivals as “a different world” (Pete from the WorldMusicFest), separate from everyday social conventions and allowing for certain actions (fun-making and embracing, rekindling) to take place. Communing, Connecting and Belonging practices were found to take place at festivals with liminoid rule structures, highlighting the potential of such environments to facilitate more immersive Sociality C2C co-creation.

6.2.1. *Holiday-like rule structure*

Holiday-like rule structure was found to exist to some extent in all of the festival settings. Holiday-like rule structure was manifested in a general sense of relaxation with altered time-keeping norms, a lack of rigid rules and absence of usual everyday pressures. Altered sense of time and more flexible schedules were often referred to by informants when talking about their activities at the festival. This type of intrinsic rule structure appeared to be particularly influential in Private domain C2C co-creation, as it enabled families and existing in-groups to spend valuable time together in Detaching and Bonding practices.

Festivals were found to represent spaces that the informants escaped into from their stressful, fast-paced, high-pressure lives. Caroline from VanFest a number of other informants noted that the festival was like a retreat, with time going at a slower pace and no need for watches:

We don't run on time, do we, I mean, (we) were laughing at him (a family member) earlier because he's got a watch on but it's not, 'oh, we need to have breakfast now, or it's dinner time...'

Informants consistently emphasised the lack of everyday chores, stresses, responsibilities and drudgery at festivals. The usual routines and everyday tasks, such as getting up, taking a shower, having breakfast and going to work, were altered or become redundant altogether. Instead, as noted by Sarah from FolkFest, new and less rigid holiday-like routines were established. These allowed for much more flexibility and fluidity in terms of specific activities:

But I think here, you have to make them (routines) afresh. I mean you do, because I suppose it's human, perhaps it's animal, you know, the sun comes up, that dictates when you get up, you start baking in your tent so you have to come out. But you know, you don't set your alarm, you don't have to be anywhere at a certain time, you know, he's (referring to her young son) just come back, eh, they're going so I want to go, and that's ok. But actually, the school bell isn't gonna ring now, so, actually I'm choosing to speak to you. So I think it's just more fluid, it's just more fluid.

Holiday-like rule structure gave practicing subjects the opportunity to engage in everyday practices such as household chores in different ways, or abandon them completely. This has implications for family Bonding in particular, as the holiday-like rule structure allowed informants to escape together into a different, more relaxed time and space and to spend time together “just chilling, relaxing” (Debbie from the WorldMusicFest). Graham from Music&ArtsFest referred to time away together with his family:

We try and bring enough money to buy food so that we can share a meal and not have the 'who's gonna wash-up' argument. And, yeah, there's more space, there is more time to just sit around and chat.

Holiday-like rule structure seemed to facilitate a more laid-back approach to everyday tasks that groups share, and enabled more sharing and communicating actions for existing in-groups. The ability to “spend a lot of time doing very little” at festivals (Rennie, WorldMusicFest) meant that festival goers appeared to be more likely to focus on social actions that involved others, rather than on their everyday tasks and chores. Sitting and chatting and enjoying time spent together with children who would otherwise be “glued to their devices at home” (Candy from the WorldMusicFest) was found to be an important holiday-like characteristic of festival contexts.

Within the relaxing, care-free rule structure informants enjoyed time off with their in-groups. Providing spaces in which members of in-groups can escape from everyday drudgery, relax and have time for each other is therefore crucial for festivals and also for other service organisations that wish to facilitate Private domain co-creation. These

could include holiday resorts, hospitality establishments but also retail organisations that wish to provide facilities for family groups. The fluidity and flexibility of routines in holiday-like spaces allowed for Bonding in the Private domain to be performed. While there was not much evidence of Public domain practices in the data, it is likely that customers in service settings with a holiday-like rule structure will be more likely to engage in a friendly conversation with strangers (Amiability practice in the Public domain).

6.2.2. *Liminoid rule structure*

A somewhat different set of rules and norms was identified in liminoid rule structures. Individuals entering liminoid spaces leave their home environment behind and enter a space and time in which normal social status and everyday rules and norms are transcended or abandoned (Turner 1982; van Gennep 1960). In festival contexts liminoid rule structure was evident in the acceptance of everyone at the festival regardless of where they come from, openness towards others, an inherent ethos of friendliness, social equality, solidarity, trust and care for others. Liminoid rule structure was reflected overwhelmingly in the Public domain practices sphere (Communing and Amiability) and was identified predominantly in the responses of WorldMusicFest and FolkFest informants.

People at festivals with liminoid rule structure tended to conform to the norm of not pigeonholing or judging others. As Pippa from Music&ArtsFest explained, there is a common understanding at festivals that people should be “just accepting who everybody is”, treating others openly as equals despite of who they are and what they look like. As the following comment from Andy at WorldMusicFest shows, accepting without judgement alternative and unconventional fashion choices was clearly a norm at the festival:

(Commenting with a smile on a passing half-naked man wearing face-and body-paint) They're being stupid! I mean the clothes that they'll be wearing in here, you wouldn't be seen dead in them on the street! It's not designer, it's not this, it's not that, but here, it's the norm. You wear the craziest thing you can get.

Class differences ceased to play a significant role in highly liminoid contexts. Festival goers meeting in the festival arena all dressed up in fancy dress (fun-making actions) could not identify the members of other social ranks by their usual markers, i.e. branded clothes or valuable possessions. Informants' statements that related to this

disappearance of social rank clearly conveyed the sense of all participants being treated on a par; “you’re not gonna get looked down at” (Leslie from the FolkFest) and “everyone is on the same level” (Lydia from FolkFest). Instead the feeling of *communitas* (Turner 1982) as people are thrown together in shared circumstances helped to re-order existing social structures. Penny from Music&ArtsFest explained:

At a festival you lose that social class, don't you, whether you're working class, upper class, middle class, you don't know, you've got the same...within reason, you're all staying in a tent, you're all in wellington boots, you're all dirty (chuckles).

Debbie from WorldMusicFest noted that in contrast to the everyday music and dance scene (i.e. attending occasional live music and dance gigs), where a degree of competitiveness and a desire to fit in with class-specific symbols prevails, there was a marked lack of pretentiousness when dancing at the WorldMusicFest:

There was no competitiveness, you know, 'look at me, look at my new dress, look at my shoes, look at my nails and my fake boobs, my new facelift'.

It was this lack of social boundaries and the resulting norm of acceptance and laid-back openness that translated at the festivals into Fun-making actions on the Public domain – Sociality level (Communing practices).

Additionally, norms of tolerance, trust and care toward others were identified as another aspect of liminoid rule structure that appeared to lead directly to trusting and helping actions in festival contexts (i.e. Communing and Connecting practice). An unwritten code-of-conduct that emphasised a need to respect, care for and help other festival goers was found to be present particularly in connection with camping. Tom from the WorldMusicFest believed that one should always bring enough food and drinks for personal consumption plus ten per cent, so that the extra supplies can be shared with whoever needs them. Observations revealed that festival goers at the WorldMusicFest regularly left their tents open with their possessions (e.g. radios, food) clearly visible, and any lost valuables were immediately handed in to festival stewards and returned to their owners. Kirk and Laura, a couple from the WorldMusicFest explained that festival attendees expect mutual respect from each other, particularly when interacting with strangers in festival venue areas:

Laura: It's the fact that you don't feel at all threatened in this situation, you don't feel like you at a risk of anything, it just feels like a really nice, comfortable place to be. You know? As opposed to being out at home.

Kirk: there are generally nice people... Generally, if you're out, if you just at

say a bar full of strangers they could be totally... if you sit next to someone you might start a conversation. But here (at the festival), because you're here for the same event...

Laura: You're all, you've all paid for your tickets so you have mutual respect to listen to what's going on rather than being involved in any rowdiness.

Kirk compared being in a bar at a festival with being in a bar in the town; it was clear that interactions in the festival environment were guided by a different set of social norms. Marcus from StoryFest also talked about the liminoid caring norm found at the festival that contrasted with less altruistic rule structures of everyday environments. He explained he would not expect anyone to stop and help him if he fell down the stairs in a busy shopping street, “because it’s not the rules there”. Talking about camping at festivals, Caroline and her friends Stuart and Jen from VanFest also emphasised this inherent helping ethos of liminoid rule structure at festivals:

Caroline: They (campers at festivals) are always happy to help out, if someone needs anything, really.

Stuart: Yea, or someone’s car won’t start, they’ve got the battery and that and the car is flat, oh, I’ll give you a push, you know. And if it’s raining, pouring down and someone is trying to collapse a tent or trying to put one up, you chip in, oh, you’re struggling, and stuff like that.

Jen: It’s not, like, you don’t, you don’t have to ask. It’s just, it’s an unwritten rule, you go and help them because that’s just what you do.

It seemed that the social equality, tolerance, acceptance and respectfulness norms among festival participants helped to blur any symbolic or actual social boundaries that may exist among individuals, and engendered a more caring environment conducive to Communing, Connecting and Amiability practices. The existence of liminoid structures therefore appeared particularly important in facilitating Public domain co-creation practices.

Findings relating to intrinsic rule structures at festivals, and the liminoid rules structures in particular, are in line with Turner’s (1995) and Bakhtin (1968) notions of the socially constructed social reality and blurring of social boundaries in liminoid and carnivalesque contexts (discussed in section 4.8, Chapter 4). Festival environments tend to be described in these terms because they are socially constructed and imagined as special places, liminoid ‘out-of-place’ spaces (Anderton 2011; Costa 2001; Getz 2007; Marling and Kibb 2012; Ryan 2012; van Gennep 1960). The distinction between holiday-like and liminoid rule structures is nevertheless novel in that it represents a

much more nuanced description of what has been presented in the events literature as a somewhat uniform image of festivals. Turner's (1995) notion of festivals as spaces with a liminoid condition is presented rather as a *continuum* with holiday-like rule structures at the one end and a highly liminoid condition at the other end. Escapism and the shared sense of belonging that stems from escaping together in environments with a holiday-like rule structure can be present in any setting, but the findings show that Communing as a practice tends to prevail only in highly liminoid settings. In contrast, holiday-like festival contexts are more akin to Private domain practices.

Festival organisers try to facilitate liminoid social norms of friendliness, social inclusivity and decency by publishing and communicating liminoid rule structure through a 'code-of-conduct'. This was the case with the majority of the studied festivals. Organisers published on their websites rules that, apart from health and safety-related guidelines, encouraged participants to share lifts, help others, be responsible and respectful toward each other. While for some this may be tacit knowledge, less experienced festival goers may need to learn the rules. In a similar vein, festival organisers introduce environmental cues and artefacts that represent 'festivity symbols', such as flags, decoration, or interactive arts installations, in order to signify the removal of festival participants away from their everyday environments into a special environment (Getz 2007; Pettersson and Getz 2009). What the findings suggested, however, is that these festivity symbols do not guarantee the presence of a liminoid rule structure. Rather, they appear to facilitate festival goers' removal into a holiday-like space in which Bonding and Detaching practices that involve in-group members are more prevalent. Through festivity-related design organisers can provide escapism but Communing and Connecting practices may not necessarily be engendered.

6.3. Extrinsic rule structures

Extrinsic rule structures could be defined as those rule structures imposed on the festival setting through the actions taken by the event organiser. Through extrinsic structures festival organisers were found to communicate with festival goers what the festival is all about, what kinds of values and meanings it carries. Elements of marketing communication, programming, pricing structures, but also signs and symbolism within 'festivalscapes' (Lee et al. 2008) were found to convey extrinsic rule structures at festivals. Two types of extrinsic rule structure categories emerged from the data: contrived and genuine.

Informants often referred to contrived rule structure at transaction-oriented, commercial festivals that they had visited or heard about, but contrived rule structure could also be observed to some extent in specific situations at the Music&ArtsFest and VanFest. In general, the presence of these contrived rule structures appeared to act as a barrier to co-creating in the Public domain and to Communing and Connecting practices in particular (although there were exceptions, as discussed below). In contrast, genuine rule structure conveyed more grassroots, genuine values and promoted closer social relationships between participants, performers and audiences. At festivals such as the StoryFest, FolkFest and WorldMusicFest genuine rule structure appeared to be more likely to facilitate co-creation in the Public domain.

6.3.1. *Contrived rule structure*

Contrived rule structure refers in the context of festivals to somewhat artificial images created in heavily structured, commercial and controlled festival environments. While such festivals were not included in the sample, many informants talked about large scale commercial events with higher cost entry and heavy security presence on site. For example, as Stacy from the FolkFest remarked, large music festivals such as the V Festival or the Isle of Wight Festival, had become 'too busy and commercialised'. This had led according to Stacy to the loss of a sense of community among festival goers. Although Communing practice may take place to some extent during performances (embracing actions) and in programmed fancy dress events (fun-making actions), commercial festivals were found to be mostly conducive to Private domain co-creation.

Higher than expected prices of commodities such as food and drinks at the festival, and other services such as children's entertainment, were viewed as a sign of commercialism that could cause people to spend more time Bonding at the campsite and not participating in social activities with other festival goers. As Kenny and Trish, both from VanFest, explained, due to high prices at the festival venue attendees preferred to stay together and consume their own provisions:

It (beer) is four quid there, so...I think that a lot more people, is that they wouldn't, they'd rather go to Tesco's, buy a crate and had music and their own beer, rather than go there and pay four pound a pint..so that don't help..

I think it's quite exclusive, this particular place, you know? You go down there (the festival venue), you've got to pay extra for the (children's) rides

and the drink, etcetera. Whereas other places, you can bring your own drink, so that encourages you to mingle a bit more.

Festival goers were not allowed to bring own drinks into the small campsite venue that was designated at the VanFest for socialising before/ after the main food festival venue closed. Pricey drinks had to be purchased from a nearby bar van and as a result most people engaged in Bonding and Detaching practices, isolated within their own campsite areas. This did not appear to be an issue at any of the other festivals (Music&ArtsFest, StoryFest, FolkFest), as they provided common socialising areas inside the festival arena that were accessible at different times of the day. Informants consequently did spend time engaging in Amiability and Connecting practices around bar and food areas.

VIP sections and more costly accommodation options (such as the glamping areas mentioned in Chapter 5) increasingly form part of mainstream festivals with heavy sponsorship presence (Anderton 2011). However, these appeared to discourage people from engaging in C2C co-creation within the Public domain – Sociality sphere. Amy and Penny from the Music&ArtsFest for example observed that glamping, which provided the comforts and conveniences one would expect to receive at a hotel (e.g. phone chargers), appeared to discourage people from mingling:

Amy: 'Cause you're got the glamping, you know, the camping with glamour, they've got that here as well. And I just can't see the point of doing a festival and doing that, because it's defeating the object of why you're camping. You wanna get away from the technology, you wanna get away from TV.

Penny: Yea...

Amy: And why encourage it in... because they even got a mobile phone charge place here.

Penny: That also does not encourage community, because you still do the same things that you do at home and you're then still with the same group, probably. Because you're, I don't think you're being encouraged to, it was too technology-wise, to actually interact and mingle.

According to Amy and Penny, festival goers who stayed in the glamping areas of the campsite appeared detached. The contrived space was too much like the everyday environment in that it allowed for everyday routines and interactions to take place. Furthermore, the physical isolation from the rest of the festival goers at the campsite meant that these VIP festival goers would likely perform Detaching and Bonding practices, and very rarely engage in C2C co-creation within the Public domain.

Somewhat surprisingly, the presence of technology at outdoor festivals that was mentioned by Amy and also a small number of other interviewees was found to represent a feature of contrived rule structures at festivals that could act as potential barrier to co-creation in the Public domain. Technology was reported to discourage detaching from everyday materialism (the “rubbish and stuff”, as Gary from FolkFest put it). This meant that festival goers were still immersed in their own in-groups and less open to interacting with strangers as part of Connecting and Communing practices. A television screen had been displayed outside a tent at the WorldMusicFest to express this desire to escape from everyday contrived commercialism into the more real, genuine festival environment (Image 7).

Image 7 Escaping from everyday reality at WorldMusicFest



The presence and use of technology (e.g. festival organisers providing phone chargers or encouraging sharing on social media sites during the festival) was found to facilitate co-creation predominantly in the Private domain. For instance, as Linda from VanFest explained, smart phones and social were used to engender Bonding among her friend group:

We put pictures up and tag them so that everyone knows that we're here and what we're doing and I suppose that builds up a story of what happens. And like, so we've got more people coming tonight and he's at work, so I know he'll be seeing those pictures and itching to come, you know, and get really excited.

The use of social media facilitated connections and bonding within pre-existing in-groups, rather than with the emerging festival community. Social media therefore appeared to play an important role outside the festival context, in helping to keep friends in touch, and when organising visit to the festival. Once at the festival, however,

the majority of interviewees preferred to disconnect in order to escape the contrived rule structures that are present in everyday life.

Lastly, rigidly enforced health and safety rules imposed by organisers and strong presence of on-site security clamping down on ludic behaviours (drug and alcohol overconsumption) were found to be translated into informants' inability to get away, to depart from the everyday pressures that they were trying to escape. This was found to lead to practices being performed predominantly within the Private domain. Diane from Music&ArtsFest complained about overt security at the festival:

Yeah, you feel kind of overly scrutinised, especially around the Social (Social tent venue) and that, they were like all wondering through the whole time and... The thing is the festival is all about being relaxed, and being away from authority and being away from rules.[...]I think that's a real shame, they could damage the kind of, yeah, the laid-back atmosphere, which is what you come for to the festival, to get away from everything, all the stresses from home. You come here to chill out.

The presence of security conveyed an air of distrust and possibility of violence occurring. This was reported to lead to visitors at such festivals not trusting each other and keeping to their small insular units and groups, with Detaching and Bonding as prevalent value co-creation practices.

Extrinsic contrived rule structure was implied and communicated through high security, marketing and pricing strategies and audience segregation, which was found to be common at large scale commercial events. As such, contrived rule structure appeared to lead to practices being performed predominantly in the Private domain. The presence of sponsorship, but also technology and other material comforts and conveniences, were reported to re-introduce the stresses and pressure of everyday environments into the festival context. Within contrived rule structure informants seemed to feel controlled and unable to escape into the chilled out festival environment they sought. This type of extrinsic rule structure in socially dense service settings could therefore potentially represent a barrier to co-creation in the more immersive Public domain – Sociality sphere.

6.3.2. *Genuine rule structures*

A genuine rule structure at festivals could be identified as rule structure linked with the notions of altruism, authenticity, genuine celebration, and grassroots management and marketing. Informants referred to “traditional”, “low-key” festivals and events, which

communicated a clear message of celebrating specific social and cultural values. The FolkFest and StoryFest for instance transmitted messages of altruism, upholding traditions (of music and storytelling) among younger generations, and contributing to local community development. A genuine rule structure at these festivals was communicated by the organisers through the lack of proliferation of heavy sponsorship and advertising, and a weaker police presence.

A number of informants commented on the grass-roots marketing and management styles that could be seen at “home-grown” festivals (Janet from StoryFest). In contrast to commercial events, such festivals had a laid-back atmosphere with organisers as well as performers walking around and engaging with audiences. There was also a lack of overt security and absence of overt sponsorship and advertising on site. Genuine rule structure was then, according to Janet, more likely to bring about the emergence of an open, family-like community (i.e. Communing and Connecting practices):

I suppose it's not a money making venture. It's got a different feel. It still feels kind of home-grown. Whereas when there's big money to be made, when it's kind of cut-throat, it's not to me, not as family.

Such festivals were also perceived as more conducive to transgression and escapism, linking genuine rule structure with the intrinsic liminoid rule structures. As Susan from Music&ArtsFest observed, the festival was not being broadcasted on television, as many commercial music festivals are. This meant that one could truly immerse him or herself in the liminoid festival environment with many fun-making actions taking place as a consequence:

[...]it's a bit more, the whole thing is relaxed. Because it's not sponsored by British Gas. And it's not on the telly or on the radio. It feels like you can remove yourself, you know, your mum's not gonna see you doing...(laughs)

Lack of rigid security and overt control over festival goers' actions similarly allowed for immersion in the festival environment, and was reflected in the ways in which festival attendees behaved toward each other. As Morris and Andy, both interviewed at the WorldMusicFest, explained, the lack of rigid security at the festival helped to promote a sense of trust and respectfulness among festival goers, which translated into trusting and helping actions:

[...] when you haven't got the security breathing down your neck everybody's a lot more chilled out about it...and you sort of police it yourself, if one of your mates is being out of order, you tell them 'you're out

of order' and tell them to go to bed! You don't get hassled, so nobody's out of order.

It's all low key, there is no big security walking round, saying put that fire out, it's, that would be a bit annoying, you know what I mean, it don't happen. They're there if we need them, but other than that, no. So you need a little bit of freedom but where there's control.

Debbie from WorldMusicFest observed that a degree of liberalness from the organisers with regard to “smoking certain substances” seemed to form part of what festivals should be about. She believed that this trust of festival organisers in the self-regulated nature of festival goers’ fun-making promoted a sense of togetherness in ‘bending the rules’ that exist in the everyday world. This in turn led to value co-created in Communing practice.

Another feature of genuine rule structure at festivals was the accessible, unassuming nature of programming and performances. At the StoryFest, FolkFest and the WorldMusicFest there existed a levelling of barriers between the performers and the audience. This led to a sense of intimacy and closeness which was reflected in festival goers interacting with each other. For example, Nelson from StoryFest noted:

Performers are right here, you can speak to them. There is none of this, you know, prima donna stuff in here.

Intimacy within the professional storytelling community appeared to rub off the audience in the sense that similar openness in interactions was found to be universally present at the festival. This intimacy also enabled performance of Belonging practices for in-groups and neo-tribes, as these social units were observed organising impromptu jamming sessions. Genuine festival rule structure was therefore found to facilitate a sense of togetherness and C2C co-creation within the Sociality sphere (both Public and Private domains), as informants had an opportunity to interact with each other in a less controlled, relaxed, more authentic atmosphere. A low degree of separation between the performers and the audience then also appeared to facilitate inter-group embracing and sharing among festival goers.

The findings indicate that service organisations may be able to contribute to how the image of the co-creation context is socially constructed by communicating certain extrinsic rule structures. In the tourism and festival literature, contrived extrinsic rule structures discussed in section 6.3.1 are reflected in recent considerations of

sponsorship, authenticity and commercialisation. Increasing competitiveness and the need for sponsorship and commercial support within the sector has forced many festivals to diversify into less sub-cultural, more mainstream segments. As a result they have become increasingly commercialised (Anderton 2009; Anderton 2011; Carah 2009). More affluent, discerning audiences increasingly take advantage of glamping and other up-market festival experience products and experiences (Atkinson 2010). Although as the data show, such marketing strategies may serve to engender primarily Private domain – Sociability co-creation rather than facilitate inter-group co-creation.

The penetration of technology into festive spaces noted in the literature (Brown and Hutton 2013; Carah 2009), and observed to some extent at the festivals also, appears to be indicative of this trend toward contrived structures in the festival sector. Unexpectedly, the majority of informants saw technology as part of pre- and post-event sharing of their festival experience, yet at the same time, as a barrier to escaping into a more authentic, genuine rule structures when at the festival. This is an important finding in the context of a society in which customers are increasingly connected and socially active within the virtual environment (Binkhorst and Den Dekker 2009; Neuhofer et al. 2012; Richards 2010). As the informants indicated, contrived rule structures at mediatised, commercialised, technology-heavy festivals such as Virgin's V Festival may still bring together groups of friends and companionable others to partake in "commercialized form of the countercultural carnivalesque" (Anderton 2011, p. 155). At the same time, however, the presence of technology may represent a barrier to spontaneous, class-less Communing practices of physical co-presence (Ehrenreich 2006; Richards 2010), or more meaningful, relationship-building face-to-face interactions among families and strangers (e.g., Lehto et al. 2009; Storper and Venables 2004).

In contrast, the genuine extrinsic rule structure evidenced at WorldMusicFest and StoryFest appeared to communicate to participants a more authentic, sincere sense of celebration, and an image of festivals as a social gathering in the traditional sense. Echoes of counter-cultural music festivals and gatherings of the 1960s as well as first free UK festivals in the 1970s could be observed in the WorldMusicFest rule structures. Free events and festivals such as the Hampstead Heath and Hyde Park events in the 1970s existed, according to Worthington (2004), as exercises in communal living where various tribes and counter-cultures mingled in an air of blissful otherworldliness. The space-rock group Hawkwind who played at the WorldMusicFest participated at these

free festivals, and it is possible that by association the festival extrinsic rules were perceived as more authentic than those of other, more commercially oriented events.

Similar associations could be made with respect to genuine rule structures at folk music festivals. Frith (1996) links folk music with rural romanticism, revolt against urban corruption, commerce and mass music, and blurring of barriers between the performer and listeners. The extrinsic rule structure at FolkFest for instance revolved around the no-nonsense dress code, openness and friendliness toward both the audiences and performers. By communicating the genuine nature of values linked with folk festivals and festivals more generally, organisers could engender C2C co-creation built on such genuine sense of community.

6.4. Social density

Social density within the physical environment was identified as another situation-specific practice element in C2C value co-creation. Social density as a category reflects festival scale and visitor numbers, which appeared to have an impact on how practices were performed. All of the festival settings in this study represented smaller scale events, although the Music&ArtsFest could be classified as a medium-size festival (see Table 6 on p.75). But many informants also used examples from large-scale festivals they experienced to compare and contrast these with the smaller festival they were visiting. This offered a more complete overview of the importance of social density in C2C co-creation within festival contexts. Two sub-categories of social density as a situation-specific element were identified in the data: low social density and high social density.

Low social density at smaller-scale festivals was found to be more conducive to Public domain practices. At the FolkFest, StoryFest and the WorldMusicFest in particular, low social density resulted in the emergence of a relatively close-knit festival community in which strangers quickly started recognising and greeting each other (Amiability) and were more likely to connect and commune with each other. Larger-scale, highly socially dense festivals on the other hand afforded festival goers a degree of anonymity. They appeared to resemble city-like landscapes with relationships building restricted to in-groups and co-creation taking place predominantly in the Private domain.

6.4.1. *Low social density*

Smaller scale festivals with lower social density were described by informants as friendly communities in that they tended to be more socially cohesive. Lower numbers of visitors meant that it was easier to keep in touch with friends. Informants felt more comfortable with wondering off on their own or engaging in a conversation with strangers, as they did not worry about losing their friends. The smallness was also found to lead to a feeling of intimacy and immediacy among audiences, which appeared to facilitate Public domain C2C value co-creation.

As Wonda from the FolkFest believed, low social density in the festival landscape meant that a more close-knit community could emerge at smaller-scale festivals than at large-scale festivals:

You would imagine that the smaller festivals are better for creating community, as opposed to the big Glastonbury-type festivals, where it's just too, too big.

Bumping into tent neighbours that one recognised from the campsite in the festival venues was more likely at smaller festivals. Festival goers would see or repeatedly bump into a familiar neighbour and consequently engage in friendly conversations (Amiability and Connecting practices). Lee and Kevin from the WorldMusicFest talked about meeting their neighbour Scott at the campsite:

Lee: Scott, he's camped right next to us and like he came over and he was chatting, he's on his own and he's loving it! Aee but that's what happens, you just, I don't know, what's the capacity?

Kevin: I don't know, like 2000?

Lee: well it never feels like it, so probably fifteen, twelve hundred people, I don't know...it's not like a massive festival when you're not gonna see him again, so..we always bump into people. You don't even have to, like, get people's phone numbers, 'cause you just bump into them again, you know.

Lee and Kevin knew they would see Scott again, as the small scale of the festival did not pose any difficulty in finding both existing and new connections. This seemed to engender an immediate sense of connection with strangers at the festival. Gabrielle, a steward at the Music&ArtsFest, also noted that low social density appears to facilitate a degree of familiarity. This presumably leads to situations in which one can interact with the familiar strangers in the festival venue (Amiability and Connecting practices):

There's that feeling of smallness, you kind of bump into who you know, you will, you'll see loads of people you know will have passed (your tent).

A conversation with a refreshments stall vendor at the FolkFest campsite confirmed that the ability to greet and subsequently recognise people at smaller-scale festivals facilitates the emergence of a sense of community:

FolkFest field notes (24/08/2012): She (a young female stall holder) likes these small festivals, she told me, she always tries to say hello to as many people as she possibly can. With 1300 people it is likely that by the end of it she would have greeted pretty much everybody. She believes that there is much more of a community here than at bigger festivals

Informants tended to associate low social density in terms of visitor numbers with a more intimate atmosphere and a village-like feel at the festival, which in turn influenced practices being performed predominantly within the Public domain. For festival visitors, chance encounters and the ability to recognise their campsite neighbours within the festival landscape could subsequently lead to more prolonged, deeper Connecting and Communing practices. Facilitating this sense of smallness even at larger-scale events (e.g. by encouraging visitors to get to know their members to generate a sense of neighbourliness) could then potentially lead to C2C value co-creation that is not limited to in-groups.

6.4.2. High social density

Informants tended to contrast their experiences of small-scale communities at festivals with highly socially dense larger-scale events. With increasing social density the smaller communities that existed in lower density settings started to become more fractured and were confined to specific areas. Informants likened such settings to urban, city-like spaces and associated these with the more contrived rule structures discussed in section 6.3.1. As a result, practices at larger-scale, highly socially dense festivals were found to be generally restricted to Detaching and Bonding within the Private domain. Although at campsites friendly Amiability practices did occur, possibly due to the physical proximity of campers.

According to a number of informants, large numbers of visitors concentrated in the confined space of the festival landscape may dissipate the feeling of intimacy and community. Public domain – Sociality practices were found to be less common, and co-creation limited to smaller pockets of mainly large in-groups. Janet from StoryFest believed that large visitor numbers are not conducive to an all-encompassing community feeling at festivals:

I think as the size gets bigger you lose that (community feeling). The kind of,

I don't know what the numbers would be, but I think critical mass thing, there's a certain thing when maybe you lose that feeling, yea.

Sandy from the Music&ArtsFest also pointed to Public domain C2C co-creation in highly dense festival environments being limited to Amiability practice:

[...] the large (folk music) festivals, that kind of social interaction, because it's so large, it may be confined to the people in the tents around you. And, or, the people that you sort of meet randomly at the arena in front of the stages. It seems to me that any kind of social interaction would be much more limited.

A small number of informants speculated that highly socially dense, large-scale festivals are like urban spaces, which do not allow for more intimate connections to develop and in which “people are far more insular” (Sandy from Music&ArtsFest). Just like in towns and cities, people at large-scale festivals were, according to the informants, more likely to close themselves off, to detach from what they perceived as out-groups and rather, spent their time Bonding with in-group members. Lee from WorldMusicFest recalled his past visit to Glastonbury festival⁴:

It's so big that it's almost like approaching someone in town and be like, hi I'm Lee, how are you doing, and they'd be like (makes a doubtful face), “yeah, hi...”

Lee explained that strangers within such city-like-scapes may be relatively friendly yet somewhat cautious about his attempts to interact with them, with Public domain co-creation limited to the less immersive Sociability dimension.

In some cases, social density and physical proximity did appear to facilitate Public domain – Sociability co-creation. This was found to be the case at the campsite in particular, where the nearness of other campers was coupled with a lack of any physical barriers other than canvas walls. The ability to hear, smell and see clearly what others are doing seemed to contribute to the normally private practices becoming externalised and more visible to strangers. Jacob from the Music&ArtsFest and Graham from WorldMusicFest described how close physical proximity between tents at large-scale music festivals they visited did appear to facilitate Amiability and Connecting practices that involved strangers:

Just 'cause you're so close, you can hear everyone all the time, you, a lot of people in a small space, you have to (interact with strangers), don't you.

⁴ In 2011 Glastonbury audiences totalled approximately 175,000 (www.glastonburyfestivals.co.uk)

You know, where we put our tent up, and it's always been round that one area, we've always just chat to people. I mean, you chat, it's not like you, you know, exchange addresses and say 'let's meet up again'. It's more of 'what did you see last night, was it good?'

A perception of symbolic closeness with strangers was perhaps the main facilitator of naturally occurring interactions and Amiability practices in highly socially dense campsite areas.

Considerations relating to social density and festival scale reflect discussions from social psychology and social theory. Argyle et al. (1981) argue that in some activities, and with some cultural groups, high density and social crowding may be experienced as exhilarating and facilitate feelings of solidarity among these groups. Ehrenreich (2006) talks about the notion of 'collective effervescence' as a shared feeling of joy experienced during ritual dances, religious festivities and also modern large-scale rock concerts. Drawing on Csikszentmihalyi's (1997) concept of flow that may occur in such communal experiences, Ehrenreich (2006) stresses that it is perhaps the collective rhythmic movement and a common focal point (e.g. band on the stage) that serve to facilitate a sense of one-ness among participants. Somewhat unexpectedly, this aspect of Communing practices was not commonly alluded to by the informants. Communing at venues was rather attributed to the principle of homophily and in-group social identity as subject-specific practice elements (discussed in section 5.7 in Chapter 5). C2C co-creation through Communing and collective effervescence in highly socially dense environments is nevertheless something that appears in the literature and may be significant if large-scale festivals were part of the research sample.

Many informants viewed highly socially dense, large scale settings as somewhat impersonal, city-like landscapes where more immersive Public domain co-creation was difficult to engage in. Scale seems significant; social theory of Tönnies (1957 [1887]) suggests that in the modern, highly individualist post-industrial society, city life facilitates the growth of distant and rigidly ordered society, which he calls *Gessellschaft*. Marling and Kibb (2012) have previously observed that participants at large-scale festivals potentially experience this city-like distance and consequently, most interactions and practices are grounded in kinship and intra-group relationships (akin to Private domain – Detaching and Bonding practices). In contrast, informants in the smaller scale, less socially dense contexts, such as those explored in this study, sought to escape into smaller communities that Tönnies (1957 [1887]) terms

Gemeinschaft. The notion of *Gemeinschaft* may explain why less socially dense, smaller-scale festivals seem to facilitate closer relations, more natural sociality and thus more intimate sense of one-ness in Public domain - Communing and Connecting practices.

Another possible explanation for the significance of social density lies in the concept *propinquity*, the effect of occupying nearby territories. Environmental psychologists note that higher levels of perceived nearness between places people occupy tend to lead to the emergence of social links. Bell et al. (2001) offer an example of apartment blocks in which residents form friendships with those closest to them. Propinquity only leads to friendship under cooperative conditions (Bell et al. 2001), however. Where social crowding is perceived negatively, i.e. as a competition for space resource (Owens 1985), high social density and nearness between occupied spaces can lead to less immersive Detaching practices. Informants did talk of crowded spaces at large-scale festivals as less conducive to co-creation in the Sociality domain. But where tents were close to each other at campsites, with a degree of equity between individuals evident (e.g. relatively homogenous groups of strangers all camping under the same conditions), strangers were found to be more likely to become friends (Amiability and Connecting practices).

6.5. Space designation and layout

The last situation-specific practice element identified in C2C co-creation related to the ways in which space within the festival settings was designated and laid out by the festival organiser. Space designation and layout could be conceptualised in terms of their openness and accessibility, and was found to consist of three types of spaces: private spaces, semi-public spaces, and public spaces.

Private spaces, such as informants' tents and campsite cul-de-sacs, but also confined, secluded areas in the festivalscape, were found to be conducive to Private domain practices - Sociability sphere, which existing in-groups used as spaces to relax and spend time together. Semi-public spaces were identified as toilet and shower facilities, tent 'porches' at campsites, and also relatively restricted semi-public spaces in the festival arena (workshops, smaller public relaxation spaces). These spaces somewhat surprisingly appeared to facilitate co-creation in the Public domain. Externalisation of normally private practices allowed for a sense of closeness to develop with Public

domain practices often performed as people sat outside their tents, or queued for showers.

Public spaces tended to be ambiguous in their effects on C2C co-creation. In terms of spatial layout, barrier-free, publicly accessible spaces such as campsite areas, open dancing areas near festival stages and large eating areas with a varied seating layout that allowed for multiple social units to sit close to each other, were all found to engender Public domain co-creation. These spaces could therefore be termed *co-creation hot-spots* for Public domain value orientation. Yet, areas the spatial layout of some public seating appeared to act as a barrier to interactions among strangers. As such these areas represented not a meeting place but instead, more private hang-outs conducive to Detaching and Bonding.

6.5.1. Private spaces

Spaces designated as private spaces within the festival physical environment were found to discourage inter-group socialisation. Private spaces at festivals were characterised by the presence of physical barriers and relative inaccessibility to most festival goers (especially those perceived as members of out-groups). Such areas in festival arenas but also at campsites across all of the research settings could be identified as private spaces, conducive mainly to Detaching, Bonding and also Belonging practices.

Spatially confined “nooks and crannies” (Mervin, StoryFest) and tucked away corners in the festivalscape appeared to evoke a sense of physical confinement. As such they were found to serve as spaces in which individual social units sought privacy. For that reason, they appeared to facilitate co-creation in the Private domain. As Ben from Music&ArtsFest observed, private spaces within festival arenas offered individuals or small groups an opportunity to distance themselves from the hubbub of the festival and sit down with drinks or to have a picnic (Detaching, Bonding practices):

Yeah, it's good that they have those wooded areas, 'cause you can sort of get away from the music and the crowds and go and sort of shut down a bit.

Areas of the campsite were also found to serve as a private space where social units performed primarily Private domain practices. Observations revealed a number of instances where festival attendees created enclaves and cul-de-sacs. These were generally located at campsite fringes or in areas detached from others. Private spaces could also be found in areas that were purposefully designed by festival organisers to separate and segregate campers, such as the glamping and VIP areas discussed earlier.

Territories were claimed by laying down large canvasses or staking out areas around one's tent to prevent strangers from camping nearby. Consequently, Public domain co-creation appeared less likely to occur within private spaces.

Image 8 shows how such private spaces at campsites facilitated groups' territorial tendencies and in effect prevented strangers from approaching.

Image 8 Private spaces at festival campsites



Secluded campsite spaces were being appropriated and privatised by groups of families and friends who organised their tents or campervans around a central courtyard and in effect barricaded themselves inside their enclaves. Again, Detaching and Bonding could be observed, but Belonging practices also occurred as neo-tribal in-groups used private spaces for their own purposes.

6.5.2. *Semi-public spaces*

Another category of space designation and layout was identified as semi-public spaces. These were relatively spatially restricted areas both at the campsite and within the festival arena. These were typically appropriated by in-groups. But at the same time, they also attracted the public gaze. These spaces represented a home-like environment for festival goers, yet also a space that was open to communal practices (Public domain co-creation). In contrast to private spaces, C2C co-creation in semi-public spaces mostly involved Connecting and Amiability practices, although in some semi-public areas Private domain practices were more prevalent.

Most general campsite areas were relatively open with tents pitched in a haphazard way and smaller groups of people sitting outside in front of their tents or under smaller open-sided gazebos. Spaces in between and in front of tents acted as porches or front yards that can normally be found in urban residential areas. In these

spaces neighbours were clearly visible to each other. General open campsite spaces could therefore be viewed as semi-public spaces. John and Andrea from the Music&ArtsFest described how such open space within their glamping section of the campsite functioned as a village green where people sat outside, played and interacted. Talking about the same space, John and Andrea's neighbour Pippa noted that enhancing the semi-public communal space could facilitate Public domain co-creation even further:

For us, as a community, there could have had chairs round. For us, as a community, there could have been fairy lights round, there could have been camp fire in the middle, there could have been chairs around, even in the rain, or putting like the things up where people could sit and have their tea and coffee to meet each other even more.

The weather appeared to play an important role in the extent to which tent porches and village squares/ green at campsites were occupied. As Pippa suggested, providing covered semi-public spaces throughout the campsite could be a feasible solution when the weather prevents festival goers from being outside their private spaces (i.e. inside tents and caravans).

An unanticipated finding was that festival and campsite facilities, such as shower and toilet blocks or wash sinks, also represented semi-public spaces in which practices that are normally perceived as private become externalised. Marcus from StoryFest commented that the space in front of showers and toilets where queues formed was such a semi-public arena, where Amiability and Connecting practices were often performed:

I think most of the talking that we have done to strangers has been queues for toilets and showers, as disgusting as that is.

Participants were on numerous occasions observed walking through the campsite semi-public spaces in their pyjamas and with their toiletries in hand. They were observed on several occasions chatting to strangers while queuing. Queues in front of showers and wash sink slots then represented semi-public spaces in which informants were exposed to the public gaze. Rather than serving merely as utilities, these semi-public spaces appeared to provide a safe environment in which one could engage strangers.

Intimate, semi-public spaces that were relatively spatially confined and offered limited accessibility were observed also in the festival landscape. These included smaller workshops and (non-music) smaller venues in the festival arena. At the Music&ArtsFest 'the Social' was provided as a venue that during the day offered comfortable seating and an opportunity to relax, to play games or to have a drink.

Similarly, StoryFest organisers provided a small ‘Shisha tent’. This was an intimate semi-public social space with comfortable seating, low level lighting and a few waterpipes around which festival goers could sit and smoke. While their purpose was, according to information provided by festival organisers, to bring together strangers, observations revealed mainly families playing parlour games, having a drink or chatting with each other. Somewhat surprisingly therefore, semi-public spaces in the festival venues appeared mainly conducive to Bonding.

But Amiability and Connecting practices among strangers sharing the intimate semi-public spaces also occurred. Festival workshops and small-scale activities were found to be designated and laid out as semi-public spaces in that accessibility to them was relatively limited and their spatially restricted nature helped to create an intimate atmosphere. As Estell from Music&ArtsFest noted, this confined nature of workshops helped to facilitate C2C co-creation in the Public domain:

There is also loads of, like they have yoga in the mornings and all the dance workshops as well. And everyone obviously comes together. And because you're not, you're not main focus is not the music, but like all the craft stuff, there is a lot more opportunity to sort of, and 'cause you're in there for a considerable amount of time in one place with the same group of people, it gives you a nice, gives you an opportunity to chat to people.

The relatively restricted semi-public spaces at the venue (workshops, smaller public relaxation spaces) allowed for a sense of intimacy to develop among the captive audiences, which led to Connecting and Communing practices. It is therefore possible that by aiming to provide mostly semi-public spaces, rather than private spaces, service organisations may better facilitate co-creation in the Public domain – Sociality sphere.

6.5.3. Public spaces

The last category within space designation and layout was identified as public spaces. These represented open and fully accessible spaces that were designated for public communal use and could be found both in the festival arena and at campsites. Public spaces in the festival arena consisted of audience areas and ‘dance floors’ in front of stages; bars and catering areas with seating; vendor and stalls areas; and the general thoroughfare in the festival arena where people moved, sat down and queued. Public spaces at campsites comprised communal spots and places where people gathered, such as campsite cafes and refreshment vans with attached seating areas playgrounds, and open areas around water fountains.

In terms of their influence on C2C co-creation, public spaces seemed somewhat more ambiguous than private and semi-public spaces. In some cases they were found to represent *co-creation hotspots*, in the sense that they promoted Public domain – Sociality practices. But the physical layout of public spaces seemed to have great influence on practices, as Detaching and Amiability were also frequently observed. This could have important implications for service organisations that take for granted that by providing public spaces they will automatically facilitate inter-group socialisation. It was expected that public spaces would be more conducive to immersive Sociality practices within the Public domain (Communing, Connecting). In larger, open spaces within the festival arena that were designated for communal performance experiences (e.g. open-air dance floors or performance stages) Communing and Connecting practices were indeed observed. Many of the transgressive, ludic actions described as part of Communing practice (section 4.5 in Chapter 4) took place within such public spaces.

But somewhat unexpectedly, those social areas designated for festival goers to sit down, relax, enjoy food and drinks, and potentially socialise with strangers, appeared to be largely conducive to less immersive Sociability co-creation. Bonding, Detaching and Amiability practices were observed within the Music&ArtsFest covered eating area. In this public space families and existing in-groups were seen chatting, laughing, eating and drinking. Only occasionally did inter-group socialisation occur:

Music&ArtsFest field notes (12/07/2012): Even though I could see spaces at tables that were already occupied I actually found it quite difficult to ask people already engaged in conversations with each other if I could sit down. A couple of women said no, there is someone already sitting there. I could see a lot of families, couples and small groups laughing, smiling, talking, but apparently only among themselves, rather than with strangers. I asked a group of three women if I could join them at their table – there was a spare seat. There were two other men standing nearby, apparently there with the women. The women continued talking among themselves and I sat quietly at the end of the bench, watching the musicians. One of the standing men came closer and stood next to me, while talking to the women. I moved to the middle of the bench, so that he could sit down, but he just walked over to the other side.

The reason for the lack of more immersive co-creation could be that communal spaces designated for public use were often filled with tables, benches and chairs that only accommodated smaller groups. This seemed to prevent naturally occurring C2C co-creation that is normally facilitated by the sense of physical nearness, as discussed in

section 6.4.2. Lack of openness of seating in the physical layout of public spaces could therefore represent a potential barrier to co-creation in the Public domain.

In contrast, public areas with comfortable, informal seats arranged around tables that accommodated social units of varying sizes (e.g. larger round tables positioned in close proximity or rectangular tables with long benches) appeared more successful in facilitating Public domain practice. The FolkFest offered settee areas in the performance arena, one of which was adjacent to the bar and another near a café. As Diana from FolkFest observed, these areas represented a public space with an open layout, and as such did appear to facilitate Amiability practices:

Just by having that area to actually gather, and again, that's quite a social thing, too, you know. 'Cause people are sitting around chatting, you know, so they interact with each other, not just with their own little groups, you know. And even the cafe areas as well, it was the same thing there. We sat outside one for a while and chatting to other people and somebody fell off the chair, hahaha...

Amiability practices were also performed within bar areas, in bar/ food vendor queues and while informants were sitting down in open public spaces or waiting for performances to start. John from the Music&ArtsFest observed polite conversations and advising actions taking place in public spaces around venues:

[...] most of the time you're in a situation where you're actually trying to listen to the band. You might, as you say, have the polite contact, but you don't get the time as it were to really get to know somebody. It's just that quite superficial, 'they're good, aren't they', talking about the music.

Interactions could be taking place due to the fact that informants' actions in open-air public spaces were clearly on display to passing strangers, and this served as a prompt to Amiability practices. At the Music&ArtsFest the researcher sat down to eat with a mother and her daughter she met at the campsite. Spontaneous dancing and laughter of the two women attracted attention of a passing stranger, who offered to take a photo of them:

Music&ArtsFest field notes (11/07/2012): As we sat at the table the ladies started to dance together. A shower came at one point and (the daughter) helped her mum put on her emergency poncho. A passing man stopped and asked if we wanted a photo taken.

Some areas at festival campsites were also designated as public spaces. In areas such as public water taps and campsite cafes campsite residents exchanged feedback and advice (Amiability practice). Image 9 shows the refreshments van with a small seating area at

the StoryFest campsite. This public space proved very effective in facilitating Amiability, with strangers often sitting down with their morning cup of tea and discussing performances they wanted to see on that day. Image 10 shows a similar refreshments area provided at the FolkFest. But in contrast to the StoryFest, at the FolkFest there was no space to sit down. Campers would walk up to the vendor, make their purchase and carry it back to their camping spot without stopping and chatting to other customers.

Image 9 Public space at campsites - StoryFest



Image 10 Public space at campsites - FolkFest



Finne from FolkFest commented on the lack of seating in the café area. He observed that some kind of meeting place would be useful as a space at the campsite where he could chat with strangers, away from the privacy of his tent. Similar to eating areas within festival arenas, it therefore seems that the spatial layout of these campsite public spaces (for instance seating areas that only accommodated family and friend units or café areas with insufficient seating provided) appeared to act as a barrier to interactions among strangers.

Research from human geography and spatial planning in leisure and tourism contexts can provide useful insights into the importance of space designation and layout in C2C value co-creation. Drawing on the work of Glyptis (1981), who observes specific activities of tourists in leisure and recreation spaces, Hall and Page (2006) note that spatial analysis can provide useful insights into different types of recreational behavioural patterns in given spaces. But with only a small number of exceptions (e.g., Pettersson and Getz 2009), implications of contextual layout and space designation are not well documented in events and festival studies. Petterson and Getz (2009) analyse spatial and temporal patterns at ski sport events. The authors map visitors' positive experiences and identify a number of 'experiential hot spots'. These are found

particularly in areas where large numbers of people gather, such as in performance spaces and catering areas (Pettersson and Getz 2009).

Taking Petterson and Getz's concept further, the findings in this section highlight the presence of a number of *co-creation hot spots*. These represent the private, semi-public and public areas that are designated and laid out to facilitate co-creation practices. For instance, designating various nooks and crannies in the festivalscape as private spaces was found to clearly engender Detaching and Bonding practices, but at the same time, to serve as a barrier to co-creation in the Public domain. Detaching and Bonding of pre-existing in-groups in these private spaces may be perceived by service organisations as an expression of group territoriality of social units (Bell et al. 2001) that is potentially detrimental to a positive social atmosphere. Nevertheless, confined private spaces can also help facilitate feelings of self-sufficiency of social units and removal from the festival community, and also from informants' usual social sphere. As a number of authors show (Begg 2011; Kyle and Chick 2002; Wilks 2009), value that stems from escaping together at festivals may be of even greater importance than a positive social atmosphere at the event.

While tents and residential areas at campsites were found to be a space generally more conducive to Private domain practices, informants would often use (on a nice day) the semi-public space in front of their tent/ campervan/ motorhome to observe and greet passing neighbours. Bell et al. (2001, p. 414) view a front porch on residential dwellings as a design feature that can indeed encourage more informal interaction with neighbours, "to learn who belongs and who does not". In a similar way, campsite residents can use the semi-private spaces to identify other members of their potential in-groups, which could in turn facilitate Belonging, Connecting and Communing practices. Spatially-bound group identity has been shown to be positively linked with the emergence of neighbourhood ties and pride of territory (territorial personalisation) among unknown strangers (Greenbaum and Greenbaum 1981). There was some evidence for this in the data. Semi-public spaces at the campsite (for example the tipi village at the Music&ArtsFest was oriented around a communal square) appeared to facilitate the forming of social links and a degree of positive appropriation of the space.

The concept of *neighbourliness* (Bell et al. 2001) from environmental psychology could be of use in devising strategies toward engendering community cohesiveness and Public domain co-creation at campsites. Neighbourliness can be facilitated by providing public communal spaces (e.g. refreshment vans with seating areas), or by designing

campsite layout in a way that fosters thoroughfare passing by the front porches of tents, caravans and campervans (rather than encouraging confined-private clusters of tents). Additionally, environmental psychology suggests that attractive, aesthetically pleasing, open environments make people more comfortable with each other. The moods associated with such environments seem to increase people's willingness to help and interact with each other (Bell et al. 2001; Sherrod et al. 1977). Strategies could therefore include various competitions that would bring together residential sections of the campsite in decorating and customising their own space.

Tombs and McColl-Kennedy (2003) argue that spatial layout that reduces the perception of highly crowded public settings could aid in facilitating inter-group co-creation. For that reason, effective use of public space through spatial designation and layout represents a particularly important concept to be considered by those service organisations wishing to facilitate C2C co-creation in the Public domain. Urban planners and designers try to facilitate a sense of community cohesion by incorporating intentionally designed public spaces for social interaction (Skjaeveland and Garling 1997). These open 'interactional spaces' within the festival arena, such as areas in front of stages, common thoroughfare near venues and eating areas, therefore also potentially represent co-creation hotspots facilitating Public domain – Sociality practices.

Observations at festivals revealed that while there were plenty of common, public spaces at festivals, these represented mostly transient areas where Private domain and less immersive Sociability practices were performed. This is in line with a study conducted for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (Buonfino and Hilder 2006). The study found that while public spaces such as restaurants are useful for enhancing existing social relationships, they do not actually contribute too much to inter-group socialisation. The findings suggest that where public eateries are concerned, the layout of seating may be influential. In this regard Bell et al. (2001) argue that 'sociopetal' spacing (spacing that brings people together, such as clusters of larger or round tables with chairs/ benches/ sofas) is more effective than 'sociofugal' spacing (spacing that separates people, such as back-to-back rows of chair) in increasing interactions between group members. Some examples of how this can be done were seen in seating orientation in public areas in the FolkFest festival arena. It appears that arranging the layout of outdoor and indoor social spaces in sociopetal manner could lead to more co-creation hotspots within public spaces.

6.6. Focus on the context of C2C co-creation

This chapter examines in detail the situation-specific practice elements that were found to influence C2C value co-creation at festivals. Korkman (2006) identifies two practice elements that relate to the context in which practices are performed. These are images, i.e. symbolic meanings that influence the practice; and, the physical space, which can both restrict and enable performance of practices. Korkman's view of practice elements is again drawn on to collate the four situation-specific practice elements in this chapter into the following two categories:

- **Situational images**, made up of the intrinsic and extrinsic rule structures embedded in the particular situational context; and,
- **Physical environment**, including social density (festival scale) and space designation and layout of the physical context.

Table 17 summarises each practice element category, its aspects and characteristics, and outlines how these appeared to influence C2C co-creation in terms of which practices could be predominantly observed.

Table 17 Situation-specific practice elements

	Situation-specific practice elements	Social unit characteristic	Predominant practices
Situational images	<i>Intrinsic rule structures</i>		
	Holiday-like rule structures	A sense of 'being away on holiday'; altered time-keeping; flexible and fluid routines; absence/ alteration of everyday chores and stresses	Detaching; Bonding
	Liminoid rule structures	Acceptance of general class-less equality; norms of respectfulness and tolerance towards others	Communing; Connecting/ Amiability
	<i>Extrinsic rule structures</i>		
	Contrived rule structures	Commercialism; presence of overt sponsorship and rigid security; presence of technology and mundane reality	Detaching; Bonding/ Amiability
	Genuine rule structures	Authenticity, grass-roots marketing and management, genuine celebration and altruism; absence of barriers between performers and audience	Communing; Connecting/ Belonging

	Situation-specific practice elements	Social unit characteristic	Predominant practices
Physical environment	Social density		
	Low social density	Smaller-scale festivals with low social density; sense of 'smallness' and village-like nature	Amiability; Connecting; Communing
	High social density	Large scale festivals with high social density and city-like urban feel; physical proximity and 'propinquity' at campsite	Detaching; Bonding/Amiability
	Space designation and layout		
	Private spaces	Spatially confined spaces; presence of social and physical barriers; limited accessibility (e.g., confined campsite areas; festival 'nooks and crannies')	Detaching; Bonding; Belonging
	Semi-public spaces	Somewhat restricted public access (e.g., residential areas; facilities; intimate social spaces; workshops)	Connecting; Amiability/Bonding, Belonging
Public spaces	Open, unrestricted spaces used for congregation (dance 'floors'; queues; around water points; cafes and eateries; 'village greens')	Amiability; Communing/Bonding; Detaching	

Images as an element of practices in Korkman's (2006) conceptualisation pertain to the symbolic meanings embedded in practices. These are drawn upon by the subject to carry out the practice. Other practice theorists talk about images as the notions of mental frames, discourse, values and symbols (Orlikowski 2010), representations (Warde 2005) or ways through which world is understood (Reckwitz 2002). Images can therefore be interpreted as the rule structures that direct and guide actions in each practice. As such they represent a crucial practice element in influencing C2C co-creation. But there appears to be some disparity in the literature as to the basis on which images and rule and norm structures are studied.

Intrinsic rule structures in particular as socially constructed images associated with festivals could be viewed as properties of the social identities adopted by the customers on one hand, and as embedded in the context on the other. Studies on social identities set in music and festival contexts point out that different specialised genre memberships are associated with specific sets of values, beliefs and symbols, which stem from the significance of particular musical or cultural sources (Frith 1996; Matheson 2005). For example, Frith (1996) links folk music with rural romanticism, revolt against urban corruption, commerce and mass music, and the blurring of barriers between the performer and listeners. These values are translated into socially

constructed rules and norms associated with folk festivals and festivals more generally (Frith 1996).

The resource-based view in co-creation literature acknowledges the existence of social rule and norm structures within consumer sub-cultures and neo-tribes, and views them as operant resources of co-creating customers (Arnould et al. 2006; Pongsakornrungsilp and Schroeder 2011). But this perspective does not sit very well with the epistemological assumptions of practice-based approach adopted in this thesis. Peñaloza and Venkatesh (2006) point out that meaning structures and intrinsic rules are contextual in nature, socially constructed, and emerging when shared within spontaneous communities. They are not properties of customers and the social identities they adopt, but rather are embedded in practices carried by the customers. As such, the authors argue, rule structures only emerge as a customer engages in practice in a given context (Peñaloza and Venkatesh 2006). This view justifies the study of intrinsic rule structures as a situational practice element and as part of the intrinsic images associated with festival experiences. As was shown in section 6.2, intrinsic holiday-like rule structures that existed at the festivals indeed appeared to emerge from the festival social situation, rather than existing as properties of consumer subcultures that were brought into the festival contexts.

Somewhat surprisingly, the influence of situational images and the physical environment on performance of value-forming practices does not appear to be explored in much depth in co-creation studies. Cassop Thompson (2012) identifies image as being what the health club service symbolises to the customer, but does not go into detail on how different images may influence practices. Korkman (2006) identifies images that cruise tourists draw on in each practice on board of the cruise ship and considers how these could be changed or altered to facilitate more value for customers. But the author is only concerned with intrinsic images; i.e. images customers associate with practices. In contrast, this chapter shows situational images as a category that encompasses *both intrinsic and extrinsic rule structures*. That is, situational images are viewed as a practice element that can also be managed and re-configured by the service organisation through extrinsic rule structures. This chapter also provides new insights into how specific features of the physical environment (i.e. social density and space designation and layout) impact on C2C co-creation practices. Korkman (2006) does identify the types of physical spaces in which value-forming practices of cruise ship passengers take place. But the author focuses on the specific locations of these

practices, rather than considering the types of spaces that may engender or discourage involvement in certain practices.

The overview of situation-specific practice elements in Table 17 offers an indication of which C2C value co-creation practices may be found at festivals with particular types of intrinsic or extrinsic situational images associated with the service setting, and social and spatial features of the physical environment. As such, it could be of particular use in *devising specific strategies for servicescape design*, through which service marketers could facilitate C2C co-creation of inter-subjective value. For example, profit oriented music festivals with a strong emphasis on programming and the line-up might wish to facilitate value co-creation in the Private domain - Sociability sphere (Detaching and Bonding practices), so that groups of festival goers focus on the music. The findings in this chapter suggest that this could be best done by attracting large crowds, providing plenty of private spaces, emphasising the escapist, holiday-like rule structure, while allowing for penetration of technology and other elements of contrived rule structures. Section 7.4.2 in Chapter 7 will consider in more detail applications that arise from the examination of situation-specific practice elements for service organisations.

6.7. Summary

This chapter has outlined findings relating to situational images and physical environment as two main categories that comprise the situation-specific elements of practices, and examined their influence in C2C co-creation practices. Importantly, physical as well as symbolic features of the socially dense service setting appeared to play a role in customers' socialisation, with particular features and spaces in the setting acting as C2C co-creation hotspots.

Service marketing strategies that build on a practice-based approach to C2C co-creation could utilise the in-depth insights provided in Chapters 5 and 6 as a starting point for various strategies, through which specific value-forming practices could be facilitated and supported. Importantly, from the service organisation's perspective, collaborative, stranger-oriented inter-group practices within the Public domain – Sociality sphere could be more 'valuable'. In co-creating value together through Communing and to some extent, Connecting, customers act as operant resource that the organisation may benefit from in some way (e.g., Baron and Warnaby 2011; Parker and

Ward 2000; Pongsakornrungrungsilp and Schroeder 2011). The less socially immersive Sociability C2C co-creation may also be facilitated to help ‘nudge’ customers toward favourable social experiences.

Based on the discussion and interpretation of the findings in this chapter, specific strategies could be put forward that service organisations may adopt in order to facilitate C2C co-creation and to support specific practices. In addition to targeting and bringing together the right practicing subjects, service organisations can benefit from building innovative and creative value propositions (i.e. the service platform or servicescape in which C2C co-creation practices are performed). These strategies are outlined in detail in the second part of the following chapter, which also considers the theoretical and practical contribution of the findings presented so far.

7. THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS OF C2C VALUE CO-CREATION

7.1. Introduction

This chapter reflects on the main research findings presented in Chapters 4 to 6 in the wider context of service marketing and considers what has been achieved in terms of the theoretical and practical significance of the thesis.

In the first part of the chapter the theoretical contribution of C2C value co-creation is considered. First, the theoretical implications of conceptualising inter-subjective value as a two-dimensional construct are discussed. Theoretical comparisons with previous value co-creation literature as well as leisure and festival studies to-date are made. A conceptual framework is presented that synthesises the holistic, system-like nature of C2C co-creation practices. This ‘C2C co-creation wheel’ framework shows subject- and situation-specific elements as complementing and supporting the performance of actions. Together these elements play an important role in the ‘hows’ and ‘whys’ of C2C value co-creation.

In the second part of the chapter the implications of C2C co-creation practices for service organisations are discussed. The potential impacts of facilitating C2C value co-creation is briefly discussed in the context of social policy and the development of social and cultural capital in particular as specific impacts of C2C co-creation in socially dense service settings. The chapter concludes by offering insights into the ways through which some of these impacts could be facilitated. Practice-based segmentation and social servicescape design are discussed as specific strategies for facilitating C2C co-creation in four spheres of Private domain – Sociality; Private domain – Sociability; Public domain – Sociality; and Public domain – Sociability.

7.2. Conceptualising C2C value co-creation

This thesis explores the notion C2C value co-creation in the context of festivaling practices. Belonging, Bonding, Detaching, Communing, Connecting and Amiability were the six practices identified and discussed in Chapter 4. The relationships between these practices were conceptualised in the C2C value co-creation framework presented in Figure 12 (p.143). The complex, two-dimensional nature of value formed in C2C co-creation practices represents a new theoretical insight within co-creation research, as

well as within leisure, tourism and events consumption studies. This is explored in section 7.2.1 that follows.

Additionally, this thesis examines in detail the practice elements that play a role in how C2C co-creation is performed. A C2C co-creation practice is conceptualised as a holistic system that acts together in a dynamic, interactive and contextualised way. This systemic perspective is not entirely new in practice-based co-creation literature (Korkman 2006; Schatzki 2001; Schau et al. 2009; Warde 2005). Nonetheless, the thesis introduces novel insights through the ‘C2C co-creation practice wheel’ framework in section 7.2.2. The wheel framework bundles practice elements in an intuitive and coherent manner. It also offers in-depth conceptualisation of each element and its role in co-creation practice.

7.2.1. Inter-subjective value as a two-dimensional construct

The findings suggest that value in socially dense service contexts is co-created in customers’ social practices, and positioned somewhere within the two Public ⇔ Private and Sociality ⇔ Sociability dimensions. C2C value co-creation is therefore conceptualised as a two-dimensional construct with the ‘Value orientation dimension’ on the one hand and ‘Value immersion dimension’ on the other (Figure 12). This represents *a new theoretical development within co-creation research in service marketing.*

Existing co-creation models tend to position value in its subjective representations, due to its epistemological basis in phenomenology (Vargo and Lusch 2008b). These models focus on the roles and resources of individual customers, and study how these interact or are integrated to co-create value in dyadic or group contexts (Baron and Harris 2008; Baron et al. 2007; Finsterwalder and Tuzovic 2010), and in collective, consumer/ brand community contexts (Chua et al. 2010; Pongsakornrungrungsilp and Schroeder 2011; Rowley et al. 2007; Schau et al. 2009; Seraj 2012; van Limburg 2009). The two-dimensional value co-creation conceptualisation represents a shift of perspective from existing co-creation research, which implicitly views customer agency as important. Customers are typically viewed as realising themselves some subjective, idiosyncratic value through their co-creation (Payne et al. 2008). Holbrook’s (1999) dimensions of subjective, phenomenological value as self- vs. other-oriented may be interpreted as resembling the Private ⇔ Public value orientation in this thesis. But Holbrook (1999) limits the focus of the value-creating experience to either the self (i.e.

the individual customer and his or her personal goals) or to others (i.e. family, friends, strangers, the society). This means that value in Holbrook's view stems either from personal consumption experience or from the reaction or effect on others of the customer using the product.

This research contributes to co-creation theory within service marketing by taking a more holistic approach, grounded in the notion of inter-subjective value. It conceptualises C2C co-creation in a model that encompasses the multi-layered, multi-actor reality that exists in many socially dense service contexts. The researcher does not attempt to determine what type of value specifically customers realise through the experiential reactions to their social environment. Rather, value is studied as emerging through complex, inter-subjective co-creation processes (i.e. practices) that are performed within the Value immersion and Value orientation dimensions. The practice-based perspective views the co-creation practice as the unit of analysis. As Schau et al. (2009) suggest, value underlies all practices and the engagement in practices is an act of value (co-)creation. Thus, practice-based research does not limit itself to subjective responses or pre-determined service variables but rather, studies customers as part of a larger whole of practicing subjects, actions, resources, skills, and rule structures and physical settings, as they are performed in the customers' own life contexts. This perspective allows for a degree of blurring and ambiguity of practices and as such, can offer more holistic insights into customers' C2C co-creation, and the ways through which it could be facilitated or supported by service organisations.

In addition to that, this research offers new theoretical insights with respect to how different social units co-create value. Specifically, the research goes toward explaining in a comprehensive manner what the contents or granularities are of customers' co-creation processes (i.e. the specific actions in which practices are embodied). Belonging, Bonding and Detaching practices orient value in the Private domain, which was found to involve those practicing subjects termed by social identity theory as in-groups (e.g., Tajfel 1982); that is, groups that one identifies with. In-groups in the festival context were found to represent families and friends, but also other members of a subculture or neo-tribe (Maffesoli 1996 [1988]; Schouten and McAlexander 1995) (both known and unknown members). Communing, Connecting and Amiability practices then orient value in the Public domain, in that these practices were found to be performed predominantly through inter-group (between groups) interactions. In the Public domain festival goers reached out of their in-groups and into

the more open sphere of amiable togetherness and spontaneous *communitas* (Turner 1979) in the emerging festival community.

A number of authors have found that customers go on holiday or visit events simply to spend time with their families and friends (Andereck et al. 2006; de Geus 2013; Gibson and Connell 2012; Heimtun and Abelsen 2012; Jankowiak and White 1999; Kyle and Chick 2002; Lehto et al. 2009). Researchers have also previously considered the notion of leisure specialisation (Stebbins 1992) and the development of on-going tribal or sub-cultural communities and highlighted the sense of belonging that is associated with these (e.g., Begg 2011; Funk 2008; Gibson and Connell 2012; Goulding et al. 2010; Larsen and O'Reilly 2005; Mackellar 2009; Morgan 2009). The specific practices of co-consuming members of such genre-specific in-groups have been described in some depth using qualitative ethnographic approaches, and the discussion around Belonging practices in this thesis complements the findings of previous studies in this area. The concept of *communitas* (Turner 1979) and the implications of communing for events and festival experience has also been explored (e.g., Anderton 2009; Gardner 2004; Getz 2012; Kim and Jamal 2007; Morgan 2009). The findings of this research reflect those of other authors.

Additionally, not many studies provide in-depth insights into the specific actions in which C2C value co-creation in socially dense contexts is embodied. Rather, they tend to focus on the benefits of collective consumption. For instance, looking at the notion of family and friendship groups co-creating with each other in tourism and events contexts, de Geus (2013) suggests that visiting community festivals with larger groups of friends can result in more positive experiential and satisfaction outcomes, due to higher levels of hedonic enjoyment. But the author does not go into detail on what precisely these social experiences involve. Kyle and Chick (2002) and other authors (Heimtun and Abelsen 2012) provide more detailed qualitative insights into some of the practices that lead in the contexts of shared consumption to re-enforced group ties, psychological well-being or re-invented group roles. In their study of family travel as a means to enhance family functioning, Lehto et al. (2009, p. 474) point out;

“[...] shared enjoyable experiences contribute greatly to family bonding. Such experiences become strong memories that can be relived over and over again. They also lead to traditions, discussions, and other efforts to repeat the enjoyable experience, in which the bond is reawakened and reinforced. [...] By providing a shared experience, a family vacation may also build shared attitudes among family members.”

Similar conclusion could be made about potential value that forms in Bonding practice at festivals. But only by looking at the specific family actions of communicating, sharing and collaborating that make up Bonding practice one can understand how this value in creating, reawakening and reinforcing the family bond (Lehto et al. 2009) is made possible. This research therefore contributes to knowledge by providing a more systematic and comprehensive overview than previous studies have done of how all of the various social units co-create value.

Conceptualisation of the Value immersion dimension (Sociality ⇔ Sociability) also provides a critical perspective on the established notion of *communitas* and liminality (Turner 1979) in festival studies. As such, the two-dimensional C2C value co-creation framework in this thesis also *contributes theoretically within the context of leisure, tourism and festival research*. Specifically, the conceptualisation of the Value immersion dimension in the C2C co-creation framework represents a nuanced and critical perspective on the sense of *communitas* (Turner 1979), as well as the notion of festivals as a liminal/ liminoid space (Falassi 1987). The practices of Belonging and Communing were found to represent more intensive, socially immersive co-creation conceptualised as Sociality, in which an all-encompassing, social boundary-transgressing sense of *communitas* may emerge. Detaching and Amiability, conceptualised in this thesis as Sociability, were found to involve much less socially immersive co-creation, in that they emphasise in-group membership of practicing customers.

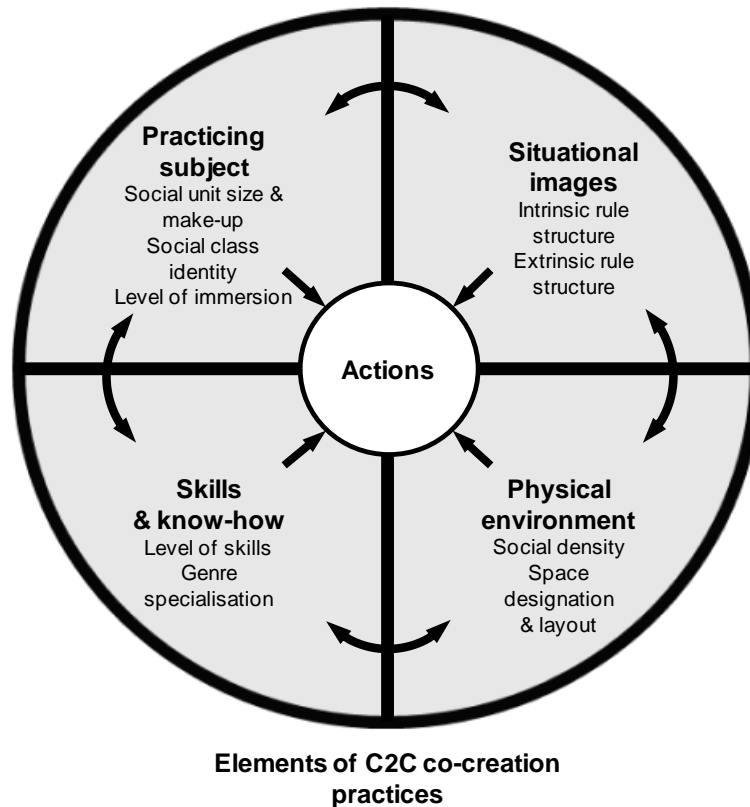
It was expected that Communing practices would be prevalent in festival contexts, but this was not the case. *Communitas* as a particular aspect of social meanings associated with event experiences is ubiquitous in events and festival studies (e.g., Anderton 2009; Begg 2011; Gardner 2004; Getz 2012; Kim and Jamal 2007; Morgan 2009) and is also adopted in tourism and leisure research (Arnould and Price 1993; Graburn 2001). Interestingly, a large number of researchers appear to accept the existence of *communitas* in leisure contexts without questioning. There appears to be an assumption that where people with homogenous interests or genre specialism come together a sense of camaraderie, fellowship, and levelling or social barriers will always be present. For instance, in his study of folk festival experiences, Morgan (2009, p. 90) interprets participant quotes relating to socialising with friends and family involvement in the festival as evidence of a “strong sense of *communitas* and identity” from festival participation.

Nevertheless, a small number of event scholars (Jankowiak and White 1999; Gibson and Pennington-Gray 2005; Wilks 2011) point out that the presence of this highly immersive Sociality is contested. This is confirmed in the present thesis in that Public domain co-creation practices in the majority of festival contexts veered toward less immersive Sociability, akin to what Jankowiak and White (1999, p. 347) describe as “at best an exercise in guarded fellowship” among groups of strangers at community festivals. The notion of all festivals as universally liminal (van Gennep 1960) or liminoid (Turner 1982) spaces is similarly contested in this thesis. The out-of-time space, in which normal, everyday social structures are replaced by different rules and norms, and where festival goers revel together in class-less, transgressive, hedonistic but also caring actions, was only evident in a small number of cases. Examination of the intrinsic rule structures at festivals (section 6.2 in Chapter 6) uncovered the presence of rather less socially immersive ‘holiday-like rule structures’ in the majority of the festival contexts. The levelling of social barriers in liminality was not always observed. The findings pertaining to the Value immersion dimension (Sociality \Leftrightarrow Sociability) at festivals therefore offer a more nuanced perspective on the notion of *communitas* that emerge in liminality.

7.2.2. *Value-forming practices as a systemic whole*

Throughout this thesis value-forming practices are viewed as composite of different elements. This is in line with previous conceptual and empirical studies (Cassop Thompson 2012; Korkman 2006; Schau et al. 2009). Korkman (2006, p. 27) posits that social practices are “orchestrated by tools, know-how, images, physical space, and a subject who is carrying out the practice”. The analysis of practice elements confirmed that a practice should not be reduced to any one of its individual elements, but rather is to be viewed as a systemic whole (Reckwitz 2002; Schatzki 2001; Schatzki 1996). This interconnected, systemic nature of C2C co-creation practices is illustrated in the ‘**C2C co-creation practice wheel**’ framework (Figure 13). C2C co-creation is conceptualised as a wheel-like system that consists of the actions that make up practices; practicing subject who carries out practices; their skills & know-how; situational images pertaining to the consumption context; and, the physical environment in which practices are carried out.

Figure 13 Elements of practices: the 'C2C co-creation practice wheel'



The four central segments of the wheel correspond with the four categories of subject- and situation-specific practice elements (i.e. practicing subject, skills & know-how examined in Chapter 5, and the situational images and physical environment presented in Chapter 6). These practice element categories interact together to guide actions as the fifth practice element. Actions have a prominent position in the centre of the wheel framework, as practices get their 'status in reality' only through the actions of subjects (Reckwitz 2002; Schatzki 2001). In other words, C2C co-creation practices are embodied in the actions of practicing subjects. These are in turn influenced by the attributes of the practicing subject and skills & know-how (subject-specific practice elements), and by the situational images and physical environment (situation-specific practice elements). The arrows between actions and the other segments of the wheel illustrate this interconnected and dynamic nature of the C2C co-creation process.

An example of this systemic nature of C2C co-creation practices is demonstrated empirically in the ways in which informants talked about territoriality and non-conforming actions at large, commercial music festivals. Festival goers attributed these actions primarily to the presence of heavy sponsorship and media presence as contrived rule structures (situational images), and high social density (physical environment). But to this was added the fact that the majority of attendees at such festivals were possibly

younger and relatively inexperienced (skills and know-how), and came in larger close-knit groupings (practicing subject). A number of different elements therefore played a role in Detaching and Bonding practices at such festivals.

Practice elements have been previously conceptualised in the literature (see Table 3 on p. 52), although these conceptualisations have been somewhat fragmented and inconsistent. Holttinen (2010) for instance categorises practice elements by bundling mental states, goals, beliefs and emotions under ‘teleoaffective structures’ (as per Schatzki 2001), and rules that guide participation in practices under ‘meaning structures’. Together with operant and operand resources these structures direct customers’ participation in practices (Holttinen 2010). According to Warde (2005), practices comprise a ‘nexus of behaviours’ that include technology, discourse, values, symbols artefacts and mental frames. For Reckwitz (2002) practices represent bodily activities, ‘things’ and background knowledge that includes states of emotion, understanding and know-how, as well as motivational knowledge.

The disjointed view of the complex and somewhat theoretically challenging nature of practices in the literature could represent a barrier to their further application within service marketing research. Furthermore, there is a dearth of empirical studies that examine in detail the various elements and their role within practices. For instance, Schau et al. (2009, p. 32) claim they “wanted to dissect and dimensionalize” practices that represent co-creation within brand communities. They identify procedures, understandings and emotional engagements as three ‘anatomical components’ that are inherent in and common to each brand community practice. But the authors only provide a few examples of what specifically these components are, rather than offering a systematic overview of these elements in each practice, grounded in empirical research.

In his doctoral thesis, Cassop Thompson (2012) divides the Commitment practice of fitness club members into ‘Joining’ and ‘Attendance’ sub-practices, and then subdivides each of these into a further 5-8 practices that influence Attendance and Joining practices. The influencing practices are analysed in terms of customers’ tools, attitudes, resources, social and historical contexts and the values and beliefs they hold about Joining and Attendance. These could also be interpreted as practice elements (Skills & know-how, Situational images) that orchestrate actions that make up social practices, but the author does not view them as such. Korkman (2006) on the other hand does explicitly identify individual practice elements in the 21 customer practices on

board of a cruise ship. But his focus is on describing each practice in terms of the elements that make it up and highlighting possible problems/ disjunctures that exist in some of the elements, rather than looking at how different aspects of practice elements may influence the performance across a number of different socially dense settings.

The categorisation of practice elements in Chapters 5 and 6 arguably bears similarity to that proposed by Korkman (2009) (see Figure 7 on p. 53), there are differences in how each specific element is understood by other practice scholars and how they are conceptualised in this thesis. For example, researchers have previously conceptualised tools & know-how in terms of the resources in the practice context that customers draw on (Korkman 2006), while in this thesis they pertain to the attributes of the practicing subject. Images have previously been studied as intrinsic rule structures associated a priori by practicing customers within service contexts (Cassop Thompson 2012). In contrast, this thesis views situational images as forming in practice (i.e. can differ in different contexts). Additionally, situational images also comprise an extrinsic part that is linked with the service organisation's own portrait of itself.

Practice elements are 'bundled' together in the C2C co-creation wheel in an intuitive, simplified and coherent manner. The conceptualisation of practice elements is grounded in empirical data and as such, provides a strong basis for application in other socially dense contexts. The subject- and context-specific practice elements are viewed as acting together. Nevertheless, by analysing specific aspects of each practice element it is possible to determine where (i.e. in which C2C co-creation spheres) value co-creation is positioned within the two-dimensional value framework. Consequently, service marketers may be able to facilitate and support C2C co-creation in particular ways. The wheel framework therefore contributes within practice-based co-creation research by highlighting which specific practice elements service organisations should focus on to do so. Before discussing this in section 7.4, the next section considers why service marketers may want to facilitate C2C co-creation in the first place, based on evidence found in the data.

7.3. Importance of facilitating C2C co-creation

This thesis explores value as formed in customers' festivalling practices, in which event programming and service quality represent the platform on which customers' own co-creation practices are performed. The findings illuminate the nature of festivalling more

comprehensively than previous research does (as seen in section 7.2.1). Additionally, the findings provide a theoretical basis for the study of C2C co-creation in a number of similar socially dense service settings, in which the above practices could also be identified. These include, for instance, campsite contexts, hotel and leisure resorts, but also more structured cultural holidays in urban contexts. While not all of the practices identified in this research may be applicable or transferable to all such settings, the thick descriptions in this thesis provide useful insights. These can serve as a basis for service marketers' understanding and developing strategies for positive interventions and hence, creating service offerings that result in more favourable outcomes for customers.

Some of these implications for facilitating C2C value co-creation in socially dense service contexts are outlined in Table 18, which offers a comprehensive summary of the six value-forming practices and the 19 actions that comprise them (as they were presented in Chapter 4). The table also shows which of the four C2C co-creation spheres practices are oriented in.

Table 18 Overview and implications of C2C value co-creation at festivals

Practice	Actions	Action characteristics	C2C co-creation spheres	Implications for facilitating C2C value co-creation
Belonging	Conforming	- Exhibiting symbols and artefacts of tribal membership	Private domain - known/ unknown members of in-groups (neo-tribes or sub-cultures) Sociality - Highly social (socially immersive) co-creation	Service context becomes platform for on-going social practices of tribal in-groups and is embedded in genre-specific memberships of customers.
	Initiating	- Ensuring genre continuation by initiating new members		
	Trading	- Exchanging genre/object-centred knowledge, skills and information to reiterate tribal membership		
Bonding	Communicating	- Catching up, reminiscing, joking, 'showing off' and transmitting values and beliefs to in-group members	Private domain - Members of in-groups (families and friends) Sociality/ Sociability - Medium level socially immersive co-creation	Service context becomes embedded with kinship meanings and central to face-to-face socialisation of in-groups (e.g. returning family and friendship groups).
	Sharing	- Sharing objects, consumables, but also sharing of festival experiences		
	Collaborating	- Working together to achieve some common goal		
Detaching	Insulating	- Keeping together, distancing from, consciously not involving other people	Private domain - Exclusively members of in-groups (known, close-knit) Sociability - Sociable (least socially immersive) co-creation	Service context provides a temporary social background for own in-group practices (oriented e.g. at programming as a priority or at expressions of in-group identity).
	Territoriality	- Defining, personalising and protecting own territory		
	Non-conforming	- Consciously refusing to conform to festival norms, through in-group oriented actions		

Practice	Actions	Action characteristics	C2C co-creation spheres	Implications for facilitating C2C value co-creation
Communing	Trusting	- Actively relying on friendliness, responsibility and care of others (e.g. self-regulation)	Public domain - Egalitarian festival community (overarching sense of solidarity, 'we-ness') Sociality - Highly social (socially immersive) co-creation	Service context becomes central to the emergence of spontaneous <i>communitas</i> and embedded with pseudo-kinship (Belk 2009) meanings, which may become associated with service organisation (e.g. festival volunteering).
	Embracing	- Accepting social differences (shared or commonplace experience or circumstance)		
	Fun-making	- Blurring of social boundaries and everyday norms in ludic behaviours (costuming; hedonism; transgressions)		
	Rekindling	- Perpetuating and solidifying ongoing 'festival friendships' (e.g. festival volunteering)		
Connecting	Helping	- Functional physical and intangible assistance to strangers; sharing resources (e.g. expressing 'neighbourliness')	Public domain - Involves predominantly unknown others (stranger dyads and intergroup connections) Sociality/Sociability - Medium level socially immersive co-creation	Service context facilitates emergence of temporary collaborative social relationships among strangers, akin to commercial friendships
	Relating	- Establishing short-lived connections and relationships with strangers perceived as similar (e.g. attributes or ice-breaker incidents)		
	Confiding	- Intense sharing of intimate details of one's life with strangers; off-loading		
Amiability	Acknowledging	- Expressing recognition, greeting, nodding to strangers	Public domain - Toward others (friendly but not overly engaging sense of festival community) Sociability - Sociable (least socially immersive) co-creation	Service context provides background for superficial sociability (i.e. mainly in-group practices) but harbours potential for more immersive social relationship building
	Advising	- Informing and passing on tips and advice to less experienced, curious strangers on various objects, skills, customs		
	Conversing	- Engaging in non-committal, superficial small talk with strangers during chance encounters		

Table 18 is used as a background against which the practical contributions of the research are discussed. The conceptualisation of C2C co-creation practices in this thesis offers opportunities for service organisations and marketers by addressing two areas in particular. First, the last column in the table synthesises the implications for the facilitation of C2C value co-creation within each of the four C2C co-creation spheres. The following sub-section therefore considers why service organisations should facilitate the practices identified in this study. In other words, what is the significance of 'nudging' customers toward C2C co-creation practices? Section 7.3.2 then expands on a particular aspect of this, the facilitation of softer social and cultural impacts that can be

fostered by engendering C2C co-creation. These areas are explored in the subsequent two sections.

7.3.1. *From strangers to friends: facilitating ‘Sociality’*

Traditional customer-to-customer interaction research in service literature posits that organisations dealing with the impacts of incidents and interactions among customers in socially dense service settings benefit from managing these (e.g., Grove and Fisk 1997; Levy 2010; Martin 1996; Parker and Ward 2000; Wu 2007; Zhang et al. 2010). The rationale for such research lies in the desire to prevent negative interactions from impacting on overall service evaluation and experience. Consequently, ‘customer compatibility management’ is often suggested as a strategy for managing positive C2C interactions. Customer compatibility techniques include the organisation positioning itself clearly in the marketplace to attract the right (i.e. homogenous and compatible) customer segment; utilising the physical environment to foster positive C2C interactions; communicating to customers the rules and norms of acceptable behaviours; and, rewarding customers for exhibiting compatible behaviours (Martin and Pranter 1989; Wu 2007).

The focus on C2C interactions and incidents represents a valuable research avenue in service management in that it can help determine to what degree social interactions contribute to customers’ positive service evaluations (Nicholls 2010). But the findings in this thesis go further in suggesting that service organisations can, and should, go beyond measuring the impacts of positive/ negative stranger interactions and incidents. An in-depth understanding of customers’ C2C co-creation practices is needed, in order to highlight the implications and opportunities for service organisations in terms of facilitating value formed in these practices (Korkman 2006; Rai 2012).

Looking first at co-creation in Sociability sphere, in Detaching, customers tend to orient value co-creation at their own in-groups. The socially dense service context provides them with a temporary social background, with their own in-group-oriented goals being a priority. This was evident for instance in the way in which informants mentioned ‘being around’ other people at the festival as an aspect of the social atmosphere, while ‘being with’ their friends and family dominated in their discourse. Territoriality and insulating actions that were evidenced in the data have the potential to facilitate the emergence of a sense of propriety and ownership relating to, e.g. a specific spot at the campsite. As such they can represent an opportunity for return visitation. But

as one of the interviewees noted, if they did not like the line-up, she and her friends would go together elsewhere next year. Additionally, the rule-breaking, non-conforming actions that at times externalised Detaching could potentially represent a challenge for service organisers, as shown in studies on ‘jaycustomers’ and dysfunctional C2C interactions (Harris and Reynolds 2003; McColl-Kennedy and Tombs 2011).

The presence of Amiability practices appears crucial in facilitating a friendly, amiable atmosphere at the festival. The service context becomes a place in which superficial sociability and occasional advising and helping actions among customers-strangers can act to supplement the role of the service provider through information provision and resource sharing. This could in turn lead to more favourable perceptions of service quality and experience, as previous studies have shown (Gruen et al. 2007; McGrath and Otnes 1995; Parker and Ward 2000). Negative perceptions of service and service experience could even be overshadowed by the more positive social aspects of the experience, as was seen in the case of Jacob who revelled in recalling the ‘awful times’ he experienced with his friends at the festival long after the event (section 4.3.2). Furthermore, the sense of neighbourliness that can emerge from frequent acknowledging and conversing actions among strangers can in some circumstances act as an ice-breaker in stranger interactions. This could with increasing immersion in the service setting lead to commercial friendships (Meshram and O’Cass 2013; Oliver 1999; Rosenbaum 2006; Rosenbaum 2008). But as was shown in Chapter 4, Amiability often went hand-in-hand with Detaching and Bonding practices, thus potentially representing a barrier to more socially immersive co-creation. While Amiability practices can under certain conditions also become a stepping stone toward co-creation in the Sociality sphere, there was a sense of distance from the social community in the interviewees’ discourse.

In contrast, co-creation within the Sociality sphere could have implications for service organisations that reach beyond the immediate service context and lead to repeat visitation, increased revenue and customer loyalty. In Belonging practice, the service context becomes a platform for customers’ enacting and reinforcing on-going tribal memberships. This reflects previous findings from leisure studies. Other authors (Getz 2007) found that immersive socialising at genre-specific festivals (e.g. folk festival) leads to transformative experiences, and as a result customers embark on enduring festival careers. Service marketers could establish relationships with these groups and tap into their consumption practices for instance by recruiting more experienced

members to help initiate new members, or by reaching into the tribal structures via social media. This would facilitate Belonging as a practice in which the service marketer can play an important role.

In Communing the service context becomes central to the spontaneous emergence of a class-less, egalitarian sense of ‘we-ness’ in *communitas*. The sense of pseudo-kinship (Belk 2009) felt with other festival goers may be reflected in the desire to rekindle festival friendships year after year, leading to greater customer loyalty (as seen in the example of festival volunteering in section 4.5.4). This again is reflected in the literature. A number of authors (e.g., Cova 1997; Larsen and O’Reilly 2005; Oliver 1999; Schau et al. 2009; Schouten and McAlexander 1995) show that feelings of connectedness and goodwill among collective service users can lead to higher service and brand loyalty.

All of the practices can be of importance in the facilitation of C2C value co-creation in that they can bring about a variety of favourable outcomes both for customers and for the service organisation. But arguably, the more socially immersive Sociality practices (Belonging, Communing and to some extent Connecting), rather than Sociability practices (Detaching and Amiability), could represent more ‘valuable’ types of C2C co-creation from the service organisation’s point of view. By nudging customers along the Value immersion continuum from Sociability to Sociality, interactions of customers-strangers could be turned into more ephemeral commercial friendships, and also into enduring social relationships. It is therefore posited here that service marketers benefit from facilitating Sociality practices. As was already indicated in Chapters 6 & 7, by exploring in detail the subject- and situation-specific elements of practices, service organisations may be able to facilitate customers’ practices in each of the four C2C co-creation spheres by adopting a number of specific strategies. The strategies for providing practice-based value propositions to facilitate co-creation in specific C2C co-creation spheres are discussed in section 7.4 below. But before that, the implications of C2C co-creation for social policy are considered.

7.3.2. Co-creating social and cultural capital: implications for social policy

A theme which this thesis did not explicitly focus on in its aim and objectives, but which may have important implications for leisure-based social policy, is the idea of facilitating C2C co-creation practices for the development and nurturing of social and cultural capital. Within events studies, exploration of how social and cultural capital can

be developed through events and festivals represent an increasingly important research agenda (Arcodia and Whitford 2007; Gibson and Connell 2005; Moscardo 2008; Page and Connell 2012; Richards and de Brito 2013; Wilks 2011). Social capital represents phenomena by which members of collectives, such as friendship groups, families, organisations or sub-cultural groups, make use of resources which facilitate the pursuit of collective goals and give them cohesiveness (Adler and Kwon 2002). The findings suggest that the development of sub-cultural capital (Thornton 1995), as well as bridging and bonding social capital (Putnam 2000), could be engendered in socially dense service contexts by fostering an environment that is supportive of co-creation within the Sociality sphere.

Bonding social capital represents a type of social capital where existing relations are reinforced (Putnam 2000). By facilitating Private domain oriented practices, festival organisers may facilitate the emergence of linking value (Cova 1997) and bonding social capital (Putnam 2000) for members of in-groups – families, groups of friends and neo-tribal or sub-cultural groups. Previous events and festival studies have observed that community events in particular facilitate the building of bonding social capital in pre-existing family and friendship groups (de Geus 2013; Jankowiak and White 1999; Wilks 2011). There was also evidence in the data for Bonding practices helping to reinforce family relationships and to bring groups of friends closer together through the sharing of festival experiences. This can have implications for customers' long-term relationships, as experiences shared can be revived and remembered post-event (Lehto et al. 2009). By facilitating value co-creation in Bonding practices, festival organisations, and service marketers more generally, could therefore engender the building of bonding social capital.

Additionally, the presence of Belonging practice highlights the importance of festivals as a potential vehicle for generating sub-cultural capital (Thornton 1995). Exchanges of physical artefacts, cultural resources, skills and know-how, and a specific kind of discourse evidenced in the Belonging practice, could take place in a variety of similar socially dense service contexts. These include 'shows' for Volkswagen campervanners, trade shows and 'meets' for motorhomers but also holidays and gatherings for members of various brand communities, such as the holiday company Club Med. Where the members of neo-tribes and subcultures gather and interact with each other through Belonging practice, sub-cultural capital may be built, highlighting the value of specialist customers' leisure pursuits in the long term (Mackellar 2009).

By building social and cultural capital, events and festivals could re-enforce homogeneity, promote exclusive identities and create strong in-group ties. This could then have important implications for promoting community cohesiveness and social togetherness to the increasingly fragmented consumers (Buonfino and Hilder 2006; Cova 1997). As Richards (2010) notes, in the context of high-tech networked society events and festivals may be a way for customers to reconnect with each other in a physical sense. Despite the fragmentation of social relationships and proliferation of technology-mediated sociality among modern consumers, physical co-presence has not lost its appeal. On the contrary, increasing ‘hyperfestivity’, or proliferation of events and festivals in many cities and destinations, but also in less traditional spheres of leisure and consumption, may be evidence of the desire among consumers to connect and interact with other human beings in physical contexts (ibid). Similarly, Buonfino and Hilder (2006) and Rosenbaum (2008) observe that socially dense contexts within residential communities, such as car boot sales, supermarket cafes, bookstores, allotments, video-arcades, gyms but also community gatherings and festivities, act as increasingly popular physical social hubs in many cities. These ‘third places’ (Oldenburg 1999) can offer social support and contribute to health and well-being of residents (Rosenbaum 2006).

Publicly-oriented practices in particular then provide opportunities to potentially create commercial friendships (Rosenbaum 2008) and to establish social villages (Oliver 1999) in commercial contexts. Thus, the development of bridging social capital (Putnam 2000) could be elicited through new temporary and/or long-lasting relationships between groups of socially disparate visitors in Sociality practices. In this sense, the thesis offers important insights for policy makers and marketers who wish to leverage the less tangible socio-cultural impacts of co-creation in such public spaces, by facilitating co-creation in the four C2C co-creation spheres.

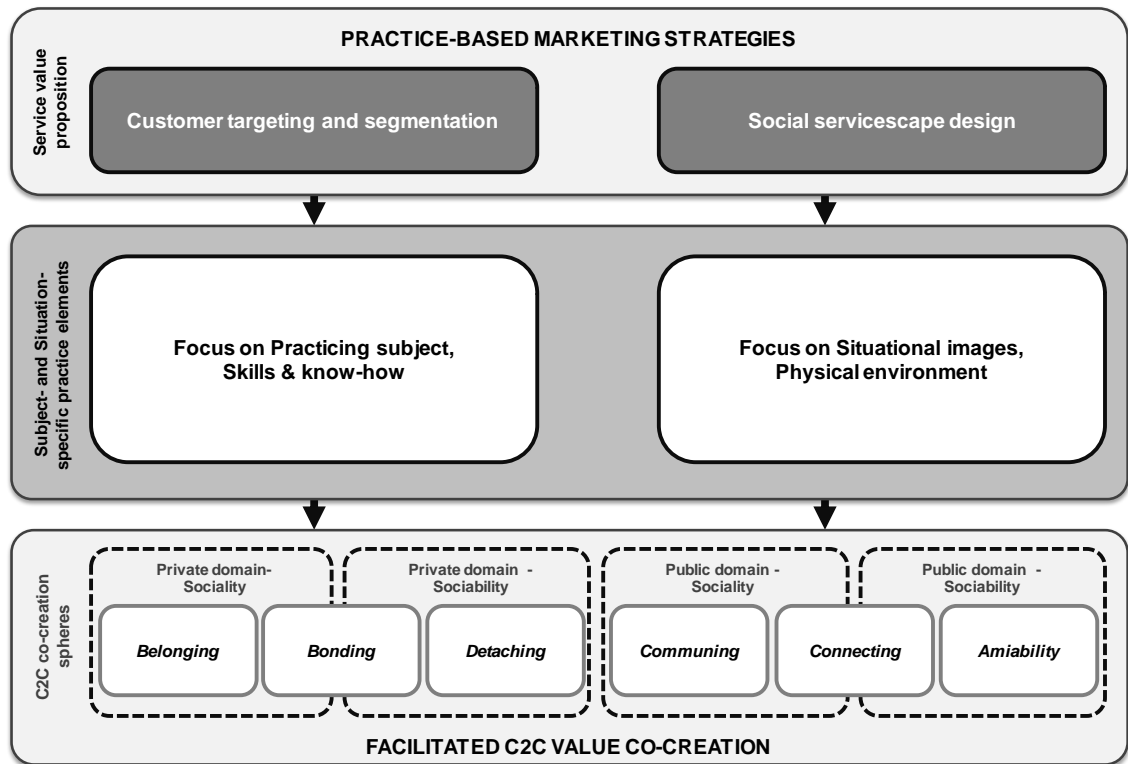
7.4. Toward practice-based value propositions

Cassop Thompson (2012) shows in his ethnographic study of fitness centre practices that these are mediated via the provider-customer practice dialectic. By this the author means that service providers have expectations of, and make suggestions about, how a specific practice should be carried out by the customers. Yet customers often alter the practice to make it their own. For instance, the ‘Commitment practice’ is envisaged by the fitness centre management in terms of joining up, induction and regular attendance

of the fitness centre. Problems arise when the customer lacks motivation (skills and resources), or finds it difficult to get to the fitness centre due to limited access (physical environment/ setting). This dialectic offers opportunities for service improvement with respect to B2C consumption practices, based on the identification of specific practice elements that may cause the disjuncture, and then rectifying these (Cassop Thompson 2012). The author does not however provide insights into how service marketers can learn from customers' social practices that are oriented toward other customers in the service setting, and based on this knowledge, adapt their core service offering, supplementary service and delivery processes (i.e. their value 'proposition') to better facilitate C2C value co-creation. This thesis addresses this gap and in so doing so, offers practical contribution to service marketing, by highlighting how specific aspects of each practice element may influence and facilitate the process of C2C co-creation.

Figure 14 'Facilitating C2C value co-creation' shows how the focus on subject- and situation-specific practice elements can serve as a basis for specific strategies for the design of practice-based value propositions (depicted in the upper half of the framework). By offering such value propositions, service marketers can support and facilitate value-forming practices in one of the four C2C co-creation spheres (depicted at the bottom of the framework): Private domain – Sociality; Private domain – Sociability; Public domain – Sociability; Public domain – Sociality. Specifically, focus on, and information about, the characteristics of practicing subject and the skills & know-how they possess can provide *a basis for customer targeting and segmentation strategies*, using the notion of homophily as a potential co-creation facilitator. Information gained through detailed analysis of situational images and the physical environment then aids in *social servicescape design strategies*, with co-creation hotspots representing opportunities for service organisations to enhance particular C2C co-creation practices. The downward-facing arrows in Figure 14 illustrate the flow from the practice-based value proposition to facilitated C2C value co-creation.

Figure 14 Facilitating C2C value co-creation



The following two sub-sections ‘zoom in’ on the central part of the C2C value co-creation facilitation framework, drawing on detailed analysis of subject- and situation-specific practice elements and their roles in influencing C2C co-creation (as summarised in Tables 16 and 17 in Chapters 5 & 6 respectively): Section 7.4.1 explores how service marketers can focus on specific aspects of the practicing subject and skills & know-how (i.e. subject-specific practice element categories), as part of their *customer targeting and segmentation strategies*. Section 7.4.2 then engages in a similar discussion with respect to specific aspects of situational images and the physical environment as part of *social servicescape design strategies*. Examples of strategies available to festival organisations specifically are provided to illustrate the practical applications of the above marketing strategies, although wider applicability in other contexts may be possible.

7.4.1. Customer targeting and segmentation strategies

Chapter 5 focussed on examining the subject-specific practice elements in co-creation. These were consolidated in the following two categories:

- Practicing subject, including attributes and characteristics of practicing social units; namely, social unit size and make-up, social class identity and level of immersion in the service situation; and

- Skills and know-how, which comprised the practicing subjects' level of skills in terms of previous experience and know-how, and genre specialisation.

It is proposed here that in-depth insights about each of these practice element categories and their aspects can provide a useful basis for market segmentation and targeting of specific types of 'practitioner' social units.

Service marketing traditionally builds on information about customers in order to better segment the market and target their products and services. Market segmentation strategies in service context then typically focus on personal attributes, attitudes and purchase behaviours of individual customers. In events marketing for instance this is done through approaches such as geographic, demographic, geo-demographic, psychographic or behavioural segmentation (Jackson 2013; Mehmetoglu and Ellingsen 2005). The findings pertaining to attributes of practicing subjects (e.g. group size) and the skills and know-how (e.g. personality types) did reflect to some extent insights from consumer behaviour literature that focuses on customers' personal and socio-demographic attributes and their role in social behaviour. But the conceptualisation of subject-specific practice elements in this thesis differs theoretically and epistemologically from traditional consumer behaviour perspectives.

Echeverri and Skålén (2011) emphasise that personality, motivation, and subjective beliefs and attitudes are traditionally viewed as customer attribute constellations that make up subjectivity and identity, and as such guide behaviour. In a similar way, skills and know-how are viewed traditionally as operant resources at the disposal of an individual customer (Arnould et al. 2006; Baron and Harris 2008; McColl-Kennedy et al. 2009; Pongsakornrunsilp and Schroeder 2011). Individual customers may utilise their membership in a particular neo-tribe, sub-culture, reference group and also temporary commercial friendships, as a social operant resource (Arnould et al. 2006) to co-create inter-subjective value. Consequently, it would seem that attributes of individual customers may indeed play a major role in illuminating which co-creation practices are performed in particular contexts.

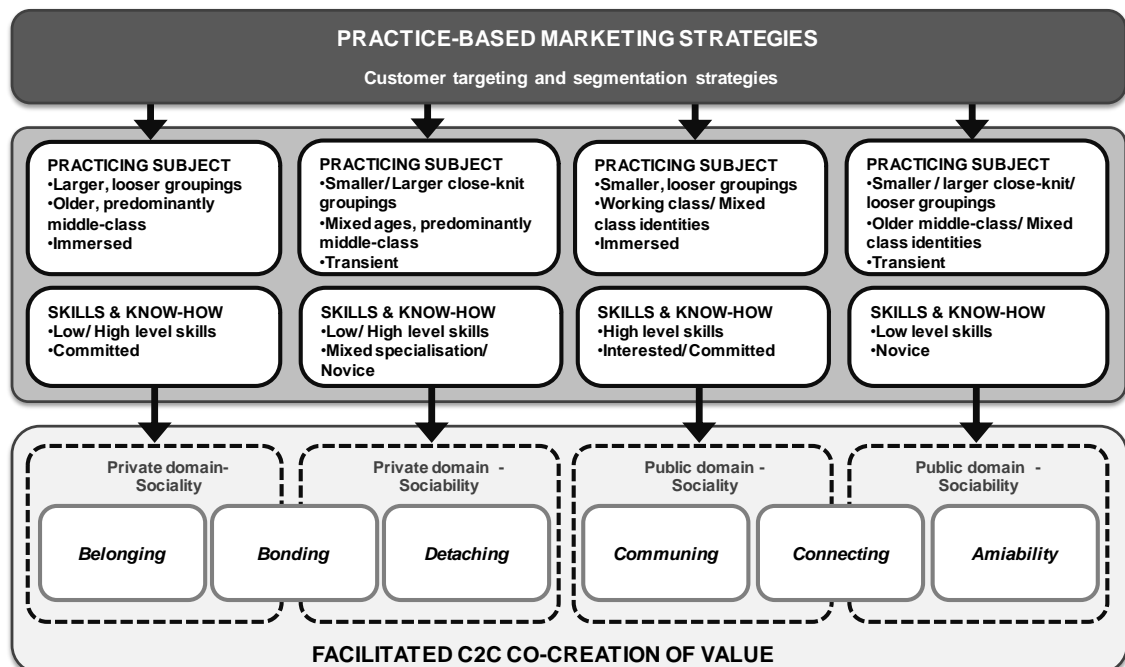
Yet, according to the practice-based approach, attitudes, values, beliefs (manifested in informants' genre specialisation), as well as personality, motives and socio-demographic attributes (level of social skills, festival knowledge and experience, and social class identity) do not 'reside' in the individual (Warde 2005). Instead, they are embedded in 'background knowledge' which governs and structures a particular practice performed by the individual (ibid). Rather than prioritising the customer as the

agent in co-creation, the findings reflect the notion of the customer as the *practicing subject* in co-creation. What this means is that the subject can be an individual customer. But equally, it can be a family of four or a group of fifteen friends.

While segmentation strategies focussing on the behavioural aspects of specific customer groups still have their place in marketing research, a segmentation approach that builds on C2C co-creation practice could offer much more meaningful basis for profiling. Understanding who practicing subjects are, what purposes, beliefs and attitudes they are guided by, and what resources they have, is not used to predict individual behaviour but rather, to illuminate the ways in which co-creation practices are likely to be performed in the specific consumption context (i.e. which C2C co-creation spheres may be facilitated).

Figure 15 looks in detail at how findings related to specific aspects of practicing subject and skills & know-how can facilitate C2C co-creation in specific co-creation practices. This could be it in particular contexts within the service setting, or across the entire service situation by attracting and targeting customers based on practice-based segmentation strategies.

Figure 15 Practice-based customer targeting and segmentation strategies



- **Private domain - Sociality**

Looking at the bottom left quadrant pertaining to Private domain – Sociality, service marketers wishing to facilitate co-creation within this sphere could focus on bringing

together larger close-knit groupings. Marketers could target existing friendship and family groups of older, predominantly middle-class individuals, who are highly specialised and committed to a particular genre or brand. This could be done for instance by advertising via genre-specific forums and social medial channels, and by offering better value tickets to established groups of committed customers (e.g. ‘early bird’ discount).

Homogeneity and homophily (McPherson et al. 2001) in terms of attracting groups of similar customers once they get to the service setting (e.g. through programming) may also help to facilitate co-creation among committed customers. Opportunities for the trading and exchange of genre-specific resources could be offered. For example, ‘jamming sessions’ organised and supported to bring together such customers within the service setting may prove a useful strategy. By building relationships with more experienced and committed customers, and encouraging these to help initiate new members into tribal structures, Belonging and to some extent also Bonding practices may be engendered (i.e. existing groups bringing new members to the service setting). Lastly, organisations should also allow customers to immerse themselves in the service setting for prolonged periods of time, e.g. by offering on-site accommodation.

- **Private domain – Sociability**

Private domain – Sociability co-creation could be facilitated by targeting families and other small or larger close-knit groups of predominantly middle-class customers who are not particularly interested in a specific genre. Again, ticketing options may be provided to attract different types of practicing subjects (e.g. family and group discount offers via appropriate distribution channels). Using the *heterophily* principle (McPherson et al. 2001) in customer targeting may facilitate Detaching practices in particular. Earlier in the thesis an example was provided of family-oriented festivals that provide a wide variety of different programming elements, rather than trying to cater to a specific special interest group. Challenging pre-existing social units by providing a range of different programme elements may mean that these social units will be more likely to wish to experience these together.

Additionally, a lesser degree of immersion in the setting may lead to co-creation in the Private domain – Sociability sphere. For instance, festivals that sell a large proportion of day-tickets are successful in engendering Detaching and also Bonding

practices. Families and other close-knit social units may then tend to focus on programming and interact with each other in the limited time they have together.

- **Public domain - Sociality**

Service organisations can foster Public domain – Sociality practices by attracting smaller, looser groupings (single visitors, couples, pairs in particular) of older, predominantly working class audiences. By encouraging visitors to come alone or with a partner, greater inter-group socialisation may ensue. Those customers, who visit regularly and identify themselves with a particular in-group in terms of a homogenous, homophilous identity, could also be targeted to facilitate Public domain – Sociality co-creation. Genre-specific membership may not be that important, however. Festivals for instance target audiences with more general, as opposed to highly specialised, interests and rather share a common love of music or outdoor camping. Lastly, greater immersion in the service setting is desirable to facilitate Sociality in the Public domain. At festivals, this can be achieved by limiting the number of day tickets and encouraging customers to stay longer and interact with strangers by providing excellent campsite facilities and offering multi-day ticket options.

- **Public domain - Sociability**

Finally, the subject-specific elements that facilitate less socially immersive practices in the Public domain- Sociability C2C co-creation sphere mirror to some extent the principles pertaining to facilitation of the Private domain – Sociability co-creation. A variety of social unit types (in terms of their make-up and demographic attributes) may be targeted, although attracting customers with higher level skills and know-how may be necessary for successfully supporting co-creation in this sphere.

Festival organisers benefit from attracting more experienced and highly socially skilled visitors through programming content. At the festival, ‘helpers’ (staff) or festival ‘veterans’ (experienced visitors) can be introduced to aid less experienced and less outgoing social units in familiarising themselves with the service context and feeling more comfortable about interacting with strangers. Organisers can also engineer ‘talking points’ around programming elements and thus support customers’ amiable conversations and advising actions. This could be done by providing both off- and online social platforms, such as social media sites or physical discussion fora at the event.

7.4.2. Social servicescape design strategies

In line with previous practice-based literature (Korkman 2006; Schatzki 2001), the situation-specific elements examined in Chapter 6 were consolidated in the following two categories:

- Situational images, made up of socially constructed intrinsic and extrinsic rule structures; and,
- Physical environment, including social density (festival scale) and space designation and layout of the physical context.

In-depth analysis of the roles situational practice elements play in C2C co-creation is useful in helping service managers and marketers to design their value propositions in terms of the social servicescape, to better support and facilitate specific practices.

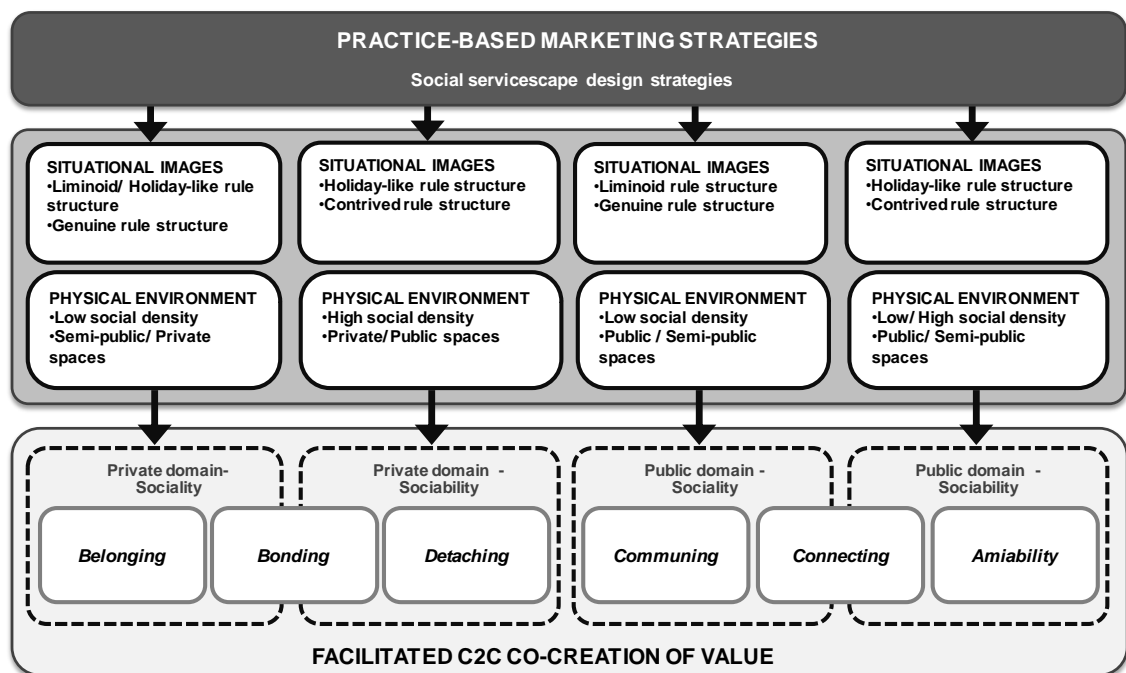
Traditionally, service literature builds on the notion of the ‘servicescape’ (Bitner 1992) to conceptualise specific features of a service setting that may impact in some way on customers’ behaviour. The notion of the social servicescape draws largely on principles of environmental psychology (Bitner 1992; Mehrabian and Russell 1974) and social psychology (Belk 1975). Bitner (1992) posits that service organisations benefit from focussing on a number of functional, symbolic, aesthetic and social cues that are communicated through mechanical and human aspects. These cues in the service setting impact on the behaviour of both consumers and employees and create emotional responses that can have significant implications for customer satisfaction and re-purchase behaviours (e.g. Lee and Beeler 2009). According to Bitner (1992), the servicescape aspects include ambient conditions (e.g. temperature, noise, music); space/function (e.g. layout, furnishings) and signs, symbols and artefacts (e.g. signage, style of décor). In the context of festivals, these aspects are akin to the choice of programming elements, the layout of the campsite and festival arena, layout of seating areas and indoor spaces, but also decorations, or types of structures used and the signs and symbolism used to convey both intrinsic and extrinsic rule and norm structures.

The notion of servicescapes has been used as a conceptual framework to analyse service encounters in a number of leisure, tourism and events texts (see e.g. Lee and Kyle 2009; Lovelock and Wirtz 2007; Palmer 2005). Tombs and McColl-Kennedy (2002) expand on the notion of the servicescape to include explicitly the influence of other customers in the setting, coining the term ‘social servicescape’. The authors use it, however, to evaluate customers’ perceptions and feelings that stem from their social

interactions with the servicescape (Tombs and McColl-Kennedy 2003; Tombs and McColl-Kennedy 2010; Lee et al. 2008). In contrast, the term is used in this thesis to denote specific attempts of service organisations with respect to designing both the tangible and symbolic elements of the value proposition, to facilitate or support customers' C2C co-creation practices.

A small number of authors (Mossberg 2007; Pareigis et al. 2012; Venkatraman and Nelson 2008) have noted that understanding the 'internal mechanisms' and meanings of customers' experiences within servicescapes, but also the practices they perform, is useful in facilitating holistic servicescape design strategies. Figure 16 illustrates the practice-based strategies service organisations could build on in designing the social servicescape, focussing specifically on aspects of situational images and physical environment, as analysed in Chapter 6.

Figure 16 Practice-based social servicescape design



- **Private domain - Sociality**

Service organisations seeking to facilitate practices within the Private domain – Sociality sphere will benefit from allowing customers to escape into a relaxed holiday-like environment. At festivals this can be done by introducing less rigid time-keeping norms, and by physically removing customers from their everyday environment (e.g. outdoor events). Depending on the nature of practicing social units (e.g. highly committed 'folkies', or families of storytelling enthusiasts), service organisations can

also aim to emphasise the liminoid rule structures by communicating and enforcing a 'code of conduct'. This would be built around the class-less sharing of values and beliefs associated with the genre- or brand-specific sub-culture.

An abundance of intimate semi-public spaces could facilitate co-creation in the Private domain – Sociality sphere. For example, folk music festivals can introduce open but cosy public campfire areas at the campsite. Additionally, at festivals, an extrinsic rule structure linked with the image of 'traditional', smaller-scale, non-profit events may facilitate co-creation among in-groups. Merchandise and marketing communication can be geared toward artefacts perceived as genuine by the members of the particular in-group (e.g., pewter tankards for folk music enthusiasts).

- **Private domain - Sociability**

More commercial, urban-like highly socially dense social servicescapes, which include symbols, signs and props that enhance the sense of escapism into holiday-like structures. This may facilitate co-creation of families and groups of friends within the less socially immersive Private domain – Sociality sphere. For instance, festivals introduce 'festivity symbols', such as flags, circus-like venues and commercial fairground artefacts, to denote the sense of escapism and a relaxed, celebratory atmosphere. Communicating contrived extrinsic rule structures may prevent a sense of togetherness among strangers to develop, but the presence of security and commercial comforts and conveniences may facilitate Bonding and Detaching practices of families and friendship groups.

Organising and facilitating in-group-oriented activities on site and providing public spaces for these could also prove helpful in facilitating Private domain – Sociability co-creation (e.g. provider-guided group games and playgrounds at festivals). But equally, secluded and restricted private spaces within the servicescape (e.g. dedicated family areas) can be provided to support co-creation in Private domain – Sociality. The provision of private space also may lead to place attachment and loyalty/ repeat visitation of pre-existing in-groups, as was seen in the territoriality actions of families and tribal groups at festival campsites.

- **Public domain - Sociality**

Public domain – Sociality can be supported by communicating cues within the servicescape that highlight genuine, liminoid rule structures. The levelling of social barriers among customers could be facilitated by introducing 'uniforms' and providing

the same basic conditions for everyone. For instance, commercial festivals increasingly supply convenient campsite shops where customers can purchase groceries and other supplies. But by purposefully neglecting the provision of such resources, festival organisers could encourage customers to share and collaborate with each other. Supplying the platform for collaborative actions and sharing in (Belk 2009) (e.g. sharing of lifts among festival goers) could engender a sense of trust among customers.

Programming content and customer activities can be designed to encourage confiding and connecting actions (e.g. dating and match-making events at festivals), thus fostering a sense of togetherness and shared experience among strangers. Additionally, limiting numbers of co-creating customers, as several boutique festivals have recently done, and communicating genuine rule structures could also facilitate Public domain – Sociality co-creation. Lastly, designating plenty of spaces as semi-public and public could also lead to immersive inter-group socialisation. At festivals, provisions for bad weather must be made in outdoor spaces to help facilitate such inter-group co-creation; i.e. plenty of covered public spaces, such as cafes, playgrounds and venues are needed.

- **Public domain - Sociability**

Lastly, Public domain – Sociability in the bottom right quadrant in Figure 16 could be facilitated through similar strategies as those pertaining to Private domain – Sociability. Although service contexts with lower social density and more public spaces with an open layout may be more successful in facilitating Amiability and to some extent, Connecting practices. While higher social density and customer numbers lead to higher spend and more profit, service organisations could try to manage spaces to decrease social density. This could facilitate the development of a sense of propinquity (i.e. nearness) and neighbourliness within smaller spaces (as was discussed in Chapter 6). Strategies for supporting the emergence of customer neighbourliness specifically at campsites could include, e.g., organising competitions between campsite segments; encouraging collaborative games and helping practices between tent neighbours; and providing resources for emergent neighbourhoods to decorate and customise their campsite segments.

7.5. Summary

Two new conceptual frameworks have been introduced in the above discussion: the first ‘C2C co-creation practice wheel’ framework on p. 218 confirms to some extent conceptualisations from previous practice-based research regarding the dynamic, systemic nature of practices (Reckwitz 2002; Schatzki 2001; Schatzki 1996). The framework develops further Korkman’s (2006) conceptualisation of practice elements as actions, subjects, tools and know-how, images and contexts. In contrast to previous studies, the wheel framework draws on empirical evidence in specifying what each practice element consists of in the context of C2C value co-creation. As such it offers deeper insights and potentially a greater degree of transferability to similar socially dense service settings.

The second framework termed ‘Facilitating C2C value co-creation’ presented on p. 231 illustrates the implications for service marketers of studying subject- and situation-specific practice elements for facilitating co-creation, by improving their practice-based value proposition. Concrete, tangible suggestions were then offered as to how service marketers can adjust their customer targeting and segmentation and social servicescape design strategies, in order to facilitate specific C2C co-creation practices.

To conclude, this chapter has engaged in theoretical comparisons of the thesis findings within the context of service marketing and events-specific literature. It has also shown specifically how this research makes contributions to theory and practice. These contributions will be re-iterated and synthesised in Chapter 8 that follows.

8. EVALUATION, REFLECTION AND CONCLUSION

8.1. Introduction

This thesis attempted to address an important gap in service marketing research and the Customer-Dominant logic in marketing in particular with respect to the empirical study of customer-to-customer value co-creation. To advance and complement existing perspectives in co-creation theory within service marketing, the aim of the research was *to explore C2C value co-creation in socially dense service contexts through an investigation of value-forming social practices of customers at festivals*. A qualitative, ethnographic-style methodological approach informed by the social constructionist epistemology was utilised, to explore the C2C value co-creation concept in the context of five different UK-based outdoor festivals. To achieve the aim of the research three objectives were set. It is in pursuing these objectives that the contributions of the thesis are evident.

The organisation of findings and discussion chapters in the thesis reflects the research objectives: Objective 1, to identify value-forming social practices of customers at festivals, was addressed in Chapter 4. Using observation and interview-based methods, the objective was achieved by analysing in detail six practices of customers at festivals, and describing them in terms of 19 actions in which they are embodied:

- Belonging – conforming, trading, initiating
- Bonding – communicating, sharing, collaborating
- Detaching – insulation, territoriality, non-conforming
- Communing – trusting, embracing, fun-making, rekindling
- Connecting – helping, relating, confiding
- Amiability – acknowledging, advising, conversing

The ‘two-dimensional C2C value co-creation framework’ (Figure 12 on p. 143) conceptualised the six value-forming practices in terms of Value orientation (i.e. whether value is oriented inwardly toward in-groups and own social units, or if it involves inter-group socialisation) and Value immersion (i.e. the degree of social immersion in terms of mere amiable sociability and detachment on the one hand, and an all-encompassing sense of community on the other). The Value orientation and the Value immersion dimensions gave rise to a matrix with four C2C co-creation spheres:

Private domain – Sociality; Private domain – Sociability; Public domain – Sociality; and, Public domain – Sociability.

Objective 2, to examine practice elements that influence how practices at festivals are performed, was achieved by identifying and examining in detail two main practice element categories in the data:

- Subject-specific practice elements, that comprised the practicing subject and skills & know-how;
- Situation-specific practice elements that included situational images and physical environment

Aspects of each of the subject- and situation-specific practice elements were analysed in Chapters 5 and 6. The two practice element categories were found to orchestrate actions, and interact together in a dynamic, system-like manner in C2C co-creation practices. This was illustrated in the second theoretical framework, the ‘C2C co-creation practice wheel’ (Figure 13 on p. 218). Furthermore, in-depth analysis of the subject- and situation-specific practice elements allowed for insights to be gained with respect to their influence on co-creation. Evidence in the data indicated that C2C co-creation in the four spheres may be facilitated through practiced-based value propositions. These are informed by the focus on the subject- and situation-specific practice element categories and executed through customer targeting and segmentation, and social servicescape design strategies. This was illustrated in the ‘facilitating C2C value co-creation’ framework (Figure 14, p. 229).

The implications and applications of the first two research objectives converged in Objective 3 - to develop a customer-to-customer co-creation framework that is of theoretical and practical relevance within service marketing. This objective was addressed in Chapter 7 in the discussion of the theoretical and practical implications of C2C co-creation. Importantly, the thesis has not presented one comprehensive graphical representation that reflects both the theoretical and practical implications of C2C value co-creation. Instead, the three main frameworks that have been produced (Figures 12, 13 and 14) together demonstrate the ‘theoretical and practical relevance’ of the C2C co-creation concept within service marketing (this is discussed further in section 8.2.4).

Following the brief recapitulation of the main research findings, their implications are synthesised in this concluding chapter. The research process is evaluated in terms of the main theoretical, practical and methodological contributions. Areas for future

research in C2C co-creation and the emerging S-D and C-D logics in marketing are then considered. The researcher concludes the thesis with a brief reflection on the personal PhD journey.

8.2. Evaluating the thesis

To help crystallise the main contributions and importance of the research findings, and to evaluate the appropriateness of the theoretical and methodological approach selected to generate theory, Fawcett and Downs's (1992) criteria for evaluating the relationship between theory and research are adopted. These include the theoretical and social significance of the research; pragmatic adequacy of the theory generated; operational and empirical adequacy of the research approach and findings; and, internal consistency and parsimony. Each of these four criteria is discussed in turn below.

8.2.1. *Theoretical and social significance*

The ways in which the thesis meets the criteria of theoretical and social significance can be synthesised in three main points. First, the thesis highlights the importance of studying C2C value co-creation as a distinct research area within the new service marketing orientation of the marketing discipline, demonstrating the theoretical significance of the research. Secondly, the thesis provides an alternative view on the traditional study of value as benefits and value as phenomenological perception and demonstrates that the practice-based perspective could represent a promising new research avenue in this area. Thirdly, the social significance of the research is demonstrated in its offering deeper insights into the social aspects and implications of C2C co-creation. These are of relevance in light of the growing trends of collaborative consumption and sharing among customers-strangers in various tourism and leisure settings.

- **Focus on C2C value co-creation is critical in service marketing**

As was discussed in the introductory chapter, the marketing discipline has evolved considerably through the 20th century. In its beginnings in the first half of the 20th century marketing had a strongly production- and product-focussed orientation, with selling and promotion to increase competitiveness as the underpinning mindset of marketers. A move toward market orientation in the post-war period and throughout the 1960s and 70s saw a growing emphasis on customers' wants and needs. Traditional

mainstream marketing advocated predominantly by the American school of thought (e.g. Borden 1964; Kotler et al. 2009) emerged in the marketing orientation era. It emphasised value embedded in products and services and delivered to customers, who perceive it as a range of benefits (Grönroos 2008). This perspective continues to form an important part of marketing research and practice (Baker 2010).

The traditional marketing distinguishes sharply between producer and consumer (Gummesson 2004; Vargo and Lusch 2004). Nevertheless, with the proliferation of service economies and technology in the marketplace an increasingly relationships- and networks-focussed orientation is evident within the marketing discipline, converging in the new service marketing orientation. The concept of value co-creation has received considerable attention in service marketing research, as it is seen to address well the notion of customers as active participants in the firms' own value creation processes (Prahalad and Ramaswamy 2004; Payne et al. 2008; Vargo and Lusch 2004). Specifically, customers' value co-creation is studied as something that the marketer can and should manage (Cabiddu et al. 2013; Payne et al. 2008; Prahalad and Ramaswamy 2004) and even exploit (Cova and Dall'Aglio 2009; Pongsakornrungrasit and Schroeder 2011) for service innovation inputs.

Yet, as the literature review showed, the importance of co-creation that involves other customers rather than the service organisation has so far not been widely acknowledged in service research. The Customer-Dominant logic in marketing (Grönroos and Voima 2013; Heinonen et al. 2013) suggests that value co-creation takes place in the customers' sphere to which the marketer may not necessarily have access. Marketers therefore benefit from understanding in depth the processes that take place as customers interact with each other, as opposed to with the service organisation (C2C rather than B2C co-creation).

In this thesis, the C2C co-creation is addressed through the notion of value-forming social practices. Six 'festivalling' practices were identified and their analysis showed that these may have very important implications for creating more favourable social experiences for customers. Additionally, customers' festivalling practices have important implications for the service organisation. If customers' C2C co-creation practices are successfully facilitated and supported, the service context can become embedded with kinship meanings, or represent a platform for on-going tribal memberships and collaborative, commercial friendships (as seen in section 7.3).

While this research focussed on the specific socially dense service context of festivals, the breadth and richness of the findings suggests that C2C co-creation research in other settings could provide equally illuminating insights into customers' role in the co-creation of value. This thesis therefore confirms the importance of C2C value co-creation as a critical area for research within service marketing and the marketing discipline more generally. This highlights the theoretical significance of the study.

- **Social practices offer holistic insights into C2C value co-creation**

This thesis adopts the theoretical perspective of the C-D logic in marketing (Grönroos 2008; Heinonen et al. 2013; Helkkula et al. 2012b; Holttinen 2010) in its exploration of C2C co-creation. The C-D logic positions co-creation within customers' social sphere and focuses on their somewhat routine, value-forming social practices. The practice-based approach is increasingly advocated as a suitable way to study value co-creation (Holttinen 2010; Korkman 2006; Schau et al. 2009). There is also growing interest in customer practices in a number of service disciplines, such as tourism and leisure studies (Crouch 2004; Richards 2010). This thesis therefore contributes within this rapidly developing body of literature by adopting the practice-based perspective to empirically study C2C co-creation, and specifically by developing two new theoretical frameworks.

The first framework of C2C value co-creation in Figure 12 shows value formed in practices as a complex two-dimensional construct. Value immersion and Value orientation represent the two dimensions discussed in terms of the Private and Public domains (Value orientation) and Sociality and Sociability spheres (Value immersion). This conceptualisation offers a novel representation of value in service marketing research in that it expands on the notion of subjectivity and individual customer co-creation agency. This thesis actively recognises the sometimes multi-layered and messy nature of social situations in which different entities, social units and individuals with different goals and attributes come to interact, or to just 'be' together.

The second 'C2C co-creation practice wheel' framework presented in Figure 13 offers a significant contribution to existing body of knowledge within practice-based co-creation research. In line with other authors (Cassop Thompson 2012; Korkman 2006; Schau et al. 2009), co-creation practices are conceptualised as a systemic whole. The framework provides a coherent, simplified overview of the practice elements and their aspects, grounded in empirical data. It shows that actions, the practicing subject, skills and know-how, situational images and the physical environment interact with each

other in co-creation practices in dynamic, complex ways. This systemic representation of C2C co-creation practices highlights the importance of studying not only individual customers but also the social and symbolic aspects of the social situations and life contexts.

More holistic customer-centric perspectives are increasingly called for within consumer and marketing studies (Grönroos and Voima 2011; Heinonen et al. 2013). Numerous scholars (Gummesson 2005; Hackley 1998; Levy 2005; Moisander and Valtonen 2012) also advocate the merits of a qualitative research agenda that would enable such perspectives. The detail and richness of the findings with respect to the C2C value co-creation process demonstrate that the practice-based approach indeed represents a useful empirical perspective to help underpin well such enquiry. The practice-based approach can be used to study meaningfully and fruitfully customers' C2C value co-creation. The frameworks presented have not only theoretical and practical implications for service marketing, but could also be used to guide future research endeavours into C2C co-creation. Thus a methodological contribution within co-creation research is provided.

- **Understanding of C2C value co-creation highlights the importance of social aspects of consumption in society**

The importance of C2C co-creation in society is growing. Within tourism and events, for instance, new consumer trends have started to influence the way that service is provided. CouchSurfing.org, as an internet-based social networking community where members (i.e. tourists-customers) offer each other free accommodation, and house swapping, as a service that offers to its members authentic self-service lodging experiences, are examples of collaborative approaches to hospitality. Tourists' resource sharing, collaboration and relationship building with other tourist customers underpin such trends in consumption (e.g., Dickinson et al. In press; Murphy 2001; Seraj 2012). Smith (2012) has recently coined the term 'the new kinship economy' to reflect these collaborative trends that take place within the customers' sphere. Although services, such as web-hosting or bookings, are usually managed by tourism suppliers and firms (Frochot and Batat 2013), other services can in some cases bypass the traditional provider (Grönroos and Voima 2013; Heinonen et al. 2013). In such cases customers' own consumption activities can contribute towards the building of social and cultural capital in local communities and in the economy more generally (Bourdieu 1986; Putnam 2000).

In response to Hackley's (1998) calls for marketing research to build on more reflexive understandings of how meaning and value is constructed in the social world, this thesis actively takes into account the sometimes mundane, taken-for-granted nature of customers' co-creation processes (Carù and Cova 2003; Korkman 2006). It can be argued that the practice-based approach has uncovered the social significance and value of consumption in the less extraordinary social actions, such as sharing food, exhibiting territorial tendencies, or queuing for toilets. These are actions that other theoretical perspectives would perhaps not pick up. Additionally, the practice-based approach in this thesis highlights that C2C co-creation practices have implications for the building of social and cultural capital as the more intangible social aspects of consumption. The findings pertaining to *communitas* (Turner 1979) and sharing in (Belk 2009) in this thesis are particularly pertinent in the context of various policy agendas. These might for instance seek to understand in more depth the social implications of groups of socially disparate customers engaging in Communing practice, or socially disadvantaged customers participating in tribal Belonging practise (as discussed in section 7.3.2).

The findings therefore provide useful insights for local tourism bodies that seek to use community festivals and events as part of their community development efforts. Social policy makers who wish to facilitate a sense of neighbourliness and community building by facilitating Amiability and Bonding practices in third places (Oldenburg 1999) and community social hubs can also benefit from insights and discussion presented in the research. Thus, the criterion of social significance is adequately met.

8.2.2. *Pragmatic adequacy*

Pragmatic adequacy as a criterion for evaluation of the research focuses on the implications of a theory and research findings for practice. Fawcett and Downs (1992) suggest that research findings should be related to the practical problem of interest. Additionally, the implementation of actions that stem from the research should be feasible.

The findings lend themselves to a number of tangible applications and these were discussed at length in sections 7.3 and 7.4 of the previous chapter. The implications for practice can be synthesised in two points. First, the research showed that in-depth knowledge of specific C2C co-creation practices can potentially help service marketers to understand the *value* (i.e. specific types of value) *experienced* as customers interact

with each other, share their consumption experiences or as they are co-present in the same socially dense service setting. Secondly, the thesis demonstrates that by facilitating C2C co-creation practices, service organisations could gain competitive advantage. The research thus meets well the criterion of pragmatic adequacy in that it offers ideas as to how the research findings could be further applied in practice.

- **Understanding of C2C co-creation practices illuminates the nature of experienced value**

In depth understanding of C2C co-creation practices is a crucial initial step toward understanding the complexity of the ‘value’ construct. The focus in this thesis is on the particulars of the value creation process, rather than ‘evaluation’ or captured value (Gummerus 2013). The researcher therefore did not attempt to measure or objectively determine specific types of value that emerged as a result of customers’ co-creation. Rather, six value forming C2C co-creation practices were identified and analysed by means of the social actions that comprise them.

Nevertheless, value in terms of the sense of betterment or worth (Grönroos 2008) may still be experienced by each individual in any one or all of the practices identified in this thesis. For instance, the value-forming practice of Belonging could be experienced and articulated by a member of the storytelling tribe as ‘belongingness value’, which is the sum of value experienced in the actions of conforming, initiating and trading. The thesis has therefore in effect provided a basis for *a typology of value that may be experienced by individuals in practices*. This approach would be more in line with the phenomenological perspective as part of the ‘value-in-’ discourse, or the outcome-oriented ‘features-and-benefits’ value discourse in service marketing research. It may offer tangible opportunities for managerially-relevant research agendas that aim to determine how experienced value could be facilitated through value propositions. (This is discussed in more detail as part of considerations of future research opportunities in section 8.3 below.)

- **Competitive advantage through the facilitation of C2C co-creation**

The service organisation’s offering and the actual service context represent a platform on which C2C co-creation practices are performed by customers. Customers’ C2C value co-creation may therefore be accessed and facilitated by the organisation. This can result in favourable social outcomes for customers and thus, competitive advantage for service organisations. The subject- and situation-specific practice elements were

analysed in detail to find out how they influence the performance of C2C co-creation practices. In doing so, the possible ‘whys’ in C2C co-creation were effectively uncovered in terms of revealing some of the conditions under which co-creation may be located in one of the four spheres of the two-dimensional Value orientation - Value immersion framework.

The findings showed that by facilitating practices in the Sociality Value immersion dimension, for instance, opportunities are created for customers’ collaborative, relationship-building and sharing actions. These can potentially lead to more positive service experience evaluations, repeat visitation and loyalty. This thesis provided in section 7.4 specific strategies (i.e. practice-based customer segmentation and servicescape design) with which customers could be nudged toward specific C2C co-creation spheres and the practices within those. It could perhaps be argued that such strategies serve to provide positivistic ‘predictions’ in terms of managing customer outcomes (i.e. value). They may not necessarily account for the blurring and merging of boundaries between individual practices, as evidenced in Chapter 4. But the novel application of the practice-based approach builds a more holistic picture for the facilitation and support rather than management of C2C co-creation. As such, the thesis offers a tangible contribution to service marketing in a pragmatic sense.

8.2.3. Operational and empirical adequacy

Researchers benefit from evaluating their research design and findings using the operational and empirical adequacy criterion. According to Fawcett and Downs (1992), this criterion involves the following considerations: alternative methodologies should be considered; the sample should be representative of the population of interest; the research procedure and the data analysis procedure should be appropriate; and the data should support the conclusions regarding the phenomenon under study. How these criteria were met in the context of the qualitative research design was already largely discussed in Chapter 3, and is reiterated next.

The *appropriateness of the epistemological and methodological decisions* that were made throughout the research process was thoroughly explained and justified based their utility to the aim and objectives of the study. They were also considered in light of the approaches adopted in previous research in the area of C2C co-creation. The studies used for reference on appropriate methodologies are representative of the literature on C2C co-creation and practice-based approaches (see sections 3.2 and 3.3).

Phenomenology was emphasised as an epistemological framework that has been utilised in a number of value co-creation studies (e.g., Chandler and Vargo 2011; Helkkula et al. 2012a; McColl-Kennedy et al. 2009; Vargo and Lusch 2008b). The high number of interviews conducted (52 interviews) could perhaps provide enough empirical evidence to inform such approach and to provide interesting insights into the experiential aspects of value co-creation from a subjective perspective.

But as was already discussed above, a phenomenological, interview-based framework could not bring out the richness and complexity with respect to inter-subjective value and the granularities of the co-creation processes through which it emerges. If a purely subjectivist perspective was adopted, some C2C co-creation practices may not be 'judged' by the practicing subjects as valuable due to their routine, mundane nature. Cooking, drinking, eating, and greeting and exchanging pleasantries with passers-by, could meaningfully be elicited as value-forming Bonding and Amiability practices through observations of those who voluntarily performed them. This confirms that the social constructionist epistemology combined with the ethnographic-style methods was suitable. It provided an understanding of not only the customer – practicing subject - and his or her actions per se, but also the context in which the customer acts and interacts. The combination of interviews and participant observation also enabled the emergence of the dynamics of the various elements that come into play as practices are performed.

The *sampling criteria* both for festival selection and within festivals were based on their relevance to understanding the overall purpose of enquiry rather than a quest for representativeness, and applied in line with established qualitative research guidelines (Bryman 2008; Flick 2009; Patton 2002; Taylor and Bogdan 1984; Walliman 2011). Lastly, empirical adequacy in *analysis and interpretation* of the data was achieved by following guidelines for conducting 'good' qualitative research right from the outset (Denzin and Lincoln 2005). Researcher credibility and internal validity within the data were achieved by presenting the data in the thesis in a clear and coherent manner (as discussed in the following section). The voices of the study participants were evident in the findings chapters and supported the conclusions regarding the categories and dimensions of the C2C co-creation phenomenon.

8.2.4. *Internal consistency and parsimony*

This final research evaluation criterion pertains to the quality of the research report (i.e. the findings chapters and the thesis as a whole), and the clarity with which the main concepts and constructs in the study are determined and communicated. Fawcett and Downs (1992) argue that the theoretical concepts should be defined clearly and used consistently, with semantic clarity with respect to the definitions used. Related to this is the notion of parsimony in writing research reports. Parsimony refers to the degree to which generated theory is stated clearly and concisely, without using unnecessary or redundant concepts and propositions (Fawcett and Downs 1992).

The study explored C2C value co-creation in the context of festivals, identifying and defining a number of concepts and constructs. The inter-subjective, two-dimensional value as a construct that emerged through inductive analysis was categorised in terms of the concept of C2C co-creation practices and the elements they consist of. *Definitions and empirical indicators* for the concepts pertaining to C2C value co-creation can be found in the thesis. Tables are provided to summarise and clarify the inclusion criteria, and to show how the definitions for specific categories were developed. The categorisation of practices follows a logical structure which is based on interpretations of conclusions that were clearly grounded in the data. Participants' own voices (i.e. quotes from interviews) and ethnographic observations are drawn on throughout the findings chapters to provide rich illustrative examples of how the categories were created. Additionally, NVivo 9 was used as an effective tool to facilitate high transparency and accountability throughout the analytical process.

Semantic clarity of concepts is retained throughout the report as far as possible, although as iterated earlier, some degree of ambiguity and overlap could not be avoided due to the nature of the C2C value co-creation concept (e.g. the blurring of boundaries between the Private and Public domain and the overlap between some of the practices). Arguably, more clarity could be provided to the reader through a glossary of terms with concise definitions (e.g. what is value). But an over-simplification and strict categorising of terms would be neither consistent with the social constructionist epistemology adopted in this research, nor would it go towards providing the in-depth, context-sensitive insights that were sought in this study.

It is also necessary to consider the extent to which the *conceptual frameworks* developed in this thesis reflect the conceptual clarity adequacy criterion. According to Pearce (2012), conceptual frameworks help to identify, clarify and conceptualise

emerging, fragmented or broader themes. In qualitative research, good frameworks emerge from coding and categorising of the findings with increasing levels of abstraction that stem from engagement with the literature (ibid). The three main conceptual frameworks in the thesis (Figures 14, 15 and 16) identify the main concepts of relevance in C2C value co-creation, based on evidence and interpretation of empirical data. The relationships between the concepts are clearly indicated in the frameworks, although simpler graphical representations could perhaps be offered. The types of frameworks (matrix, wheel and process) are appropriate for illustrating the main concepts and the nature of relationships between these, and are in line with the theoretical tenets of the thesis. A clear and explicit account is provided to accompany each framework that explains how the frameworks should be read. In this respect, it can be said that criteria for 'good frameworks' have been generally satisfied.

The two-dimensional C2C value co-creation framework in particular could be designed in a different way. The four spheres of the Value orientation x Value immersion matrix (Private domain – Sociality; Private domain – Sociability; Public domain – Sociality; Public domain – Sociability) are not very helpful in clearly establishing the boundaries between individual practices positioned within the two dimensions. Nevertheless, the purpose of the framework is to illustrate the boundary-merging and ambiguous nature of C2C co-creation practices at festivals, rather than providing a clear-cut practice typology. The summary Table 18 on pp. 221-222 does define and delimit the boundaries of each practice and the actions it comprises, helping other researchers determine whether the practices and actions in this study can serve as a basis for further empirical research.

The frameworks do not aim to provide an objective and predictive measurement tool. Rather they try to facilitate a deeper understanding of C2C co-creation by highlighting some of its main features, in a way that is 'operable and useable for research purposes' (Pearce 2012) as well as for practice. An attempt to bring together the three main conceptual frameworks in one clear framework to demonstrate the practical and theoretical tenets of C2C co-creation (Objective 3 of the research) was not successful. Nonetheless, such framework would perhaps represent too simplified a version of what the research has tried to do. The three frameworks together should therefore be thought of in terms of an *integrative set* that tries to tackle some of the complexities involved in C2C value co-creation research.

Lastly, the conceptualisation and re-conceptualisation of terms within co-creation research is part of the theoretical contribution of the study and a somewhat prolonged discussion of these terms was therefore required. Consequently, in terms of *parsimony*, the description of C2C co-creation in this thesis may seem somewhat verbose. There is some repetition in the explanations of concepts, categories and sub-categories. But as Guba and Lincoln (2005) note, thick descriptions are needed in the research report so that other researchers are to decide whether or not findings are transferable. The aim was to provide enough detailed information in the thesis and the repetitiveness of some terms could be treated as a stylistic issue.

8.3. Opportunities for future research

The present thesis offers itself to a number of opportunities for further enquiry, and these are addressed in the following five points.

First, further research could utilise the practice-based approach and methodology used in this thesis to *explore C2C co-creation in different festival contexts, and also a variety of other socially dense service contexts*. In order to make the findings more generalisable to the socially dense events and festivals setting, future research can extend the scope of this study to other types of events and festivals. This would allow researchers to explore the detailed aspects and dimensions of practice elements that influence C2C co-creation. For instance, cultural differences, differences in event duration and location, genre emphasis and target audience, and the physical orientation and layout of the social servicescape may all lead to additional or different findings. Alternative study settings could include events of shorter duration (e.g. community events, such as food festivals; agricultural fairs; carnivals); festivals outside the UK; or events that focus on a different genres and attract different types of audiences (large-scale, commercial rock music festivals; opera festivals; workshop-based events such as woodcraft festivals or dance congresses; business and corporate events) (also see Table 2 on p. 14).

Future research also benefits from drawing on a variety of non-event socially dense service contexts. Other studies of this type looked at service settings such as family practices at cruise ships (Korkman 2006), patient practices within healthcare services (McCull-Kennedy et al. 2012) and customer value seeking practices in fitness clubs (Cassop Thompson 2012). The methods and approach advocated in this thesis

could therefore also be extended to explore C2C co-creation in other socially dense settings, such as wildlife and cultural tours; holiday resorts and campsites; special interest gatherings (e.g. gatherings focussed on brand or product consumer communities); and, third places (Oldenburg 1999; Rosenbaum 2006), such as cafes, restaurants, diners, bookshops, car boot sales and shopping malls.

Secondly, the present study focuses purely on the customers' perspective in studying C2C co-creation processes. This decision was guided primarily by the tenets of the C-D perspective (Heinonen et al. 2013), which emphasises customers' lives, practices and experiences. But richer insights could potentially be gained by *including the providers' perspective*, to find out what existing strategies service organisations adopt to facilitate C2C value co-creation. The scope of ethnographic-style methods utilised in this research could be extended in future studies by including more in-depth, systematic interviews with representatives of the service organisation (managers, customer-facing staff members, volunteers). The C2C co-creation wheel framework (Figure 13) could also be studied from the provider's perspective, to find out how specific service design elements play a role in customer's co-creation. Such new service provider-centric model would contribute toward the still developing B2C co-creation paradigm within the Service-Dominant logic (Vargo and Lusch 2004).

Thirdly, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, by adopting a more objective value perspective grounded in the positivist paradigm, future research can *identify specific types of value outcomes* realised to customers as they socialise with each other. These outcomes could then be tested against various service-related implications, such as service experience and loyalty intentions of customers. This thesis can be utilised as an exploratory starting point for such studies. The detailed conceptualisation of 19 actions that comprise C2C co-creation practices can form the basis for an instrument used in confirmatory quantitative studies in a variety of service contexts. Adopting tools such as cluster analysis or regression analysis, researchers could identify which actions/practices are most prevalent, test which practices lead to customer satisfaction and loyalty, or identify which practices have negative impacts on customer experiences.

Fourthly, the findings indicated that some of the 19 actions identified at festivals, such as territoriality and non-conforming of large friendship groups (Detaching practice), were perceived by other customers in somewhat negative terms. Service organisations benefit from *identifying such potentially problematic actions and practices*, as these may have a negative impact on customers' service quality and

experience evaluation (McColl-Kennedy and Tombs 2011). Service organisations may need to choose whose practices they wish to primarily facilitate, and be prepared to run the risk that the recipients of some practices may experience value as an outcome in negative terms (i.e. as impinging or diminishing value for others). Researchers could therefore study the implications of negative incidents on C2C value co-creation, in order to determine if / how these form part of social practices, and whether or not they could be avoided.

Lastly, this thesis has confirmed customers' wider life-contexts and ongoing social practices as an important area of interest within the emerging C-D logic (Heinonen et al. 2010). Communing and Belonging practices were found to go beyond the immediate service context. Through longitudinal qualitative methodological approaches more valuable insights could be gained about *the importance of services, and the value-forming practices pertaining to these, in customers' life contexts*. Future studies can extend the scope of C2C co-creation research beyond immediate service contexts, to explore further how customers perform practices in their life worlds. This approach could provide service organisations with deeper insights into how the service offering fits into customers' own life and ongoing consumption practices (Grönroos and Voima 2013; Heinonen et al. 2013).

This could be done for instance by conducting ethnographies of the different practicing subjects identified in this research over time, and observing their practices in the context of their lives (Mariampolski 2006). Insights could be gained for example about Bonding practices that happen online before and after consumption, as family and friendship in-groups share and reflect on their experiences using social media. Longitudinal study of Belonging practices of neo-tribes and sub-cultural social units, as they come together throughout the year and in a variety of contexts, could illuminate the importance of leisure consumption. It is likely, for example, that folk festivals represent a culmination of, and a focal point for, Belonging practices of the 'folkie' neo-tribes. Studying how these in-groups meet in pubs throughout the year for folk music gigs, and where they share new tunes and exchange know-how, could aid more effective facilitation of Belonging practice when these groups eventually gather at the festival.

Ethnographic study of how strangers help and share lifts even before they arrive in the festival setting could also provide useful insights. In travel and tourism specifically there appears to be growing interest in collaborative practices among customers-tourists (Dickinson et al. In press; Frochot and Batat 2013; Murphy 2001).

Exploration of how service organisations can facilitate strangers' connecting and assisting actions using the service context (i.e. the festival) as a platform could therefore aid further strategies for helping customers draw on each others' resources more effectively.

8.4. Reflecting on the personal journey

“In some ways, embarking on reflexivity is akin to entering uncertain terrain where solid ground can all too easily give way to swamp and mire. The challenge is to negotiate a path through this complicated landscape – one that exposes the traveller to interesting discoveries while ensuring a route out the other side.” (Finlay 2002, p. 212)

As Finlay indicates, in any research endeavour it is important to look back and evaluate what has been achieved and where the journey has taken the researcher. I have attempted to engage in reflexivity throughout the research. But in this penultimate section I would like to summarise and reiterate some of the points made earlier, as well as expand on some of the decisions I made along the way. I engage briefly in the 'swamp' of self-analysis and self-disclosure (Finlay 2002) in a narrative of the personal PhD journey.

This PhD project started off as a short bursary proposal built on the notion of festival experience co-creation and C2C interactions. With a background and interest in tourism, hospitality and events (corporate events specifically), I was confident I could explore the notion of festival experiences. But it took time before I could properly 'own' the project. The thesis developed and evolved organically, from its early stages of grappling with literature that did not end up forming the theoretical basis of the study, through to justifying the epistemological and methodological approach of the research, and finally to gaining competency in fieldwork.

Looking back at early drafts of my literature review, an experiential, value-perceptions-oriented focus is apparent. In my reading I focussed initially on festival experiences (Getz 2007; Jackson 2006; Lee and Jeong 2009), and emotions as outcome-value of a co-creation process that is merely impinged by the presence of other customers in a setting (Lee and Jeong 2009; Moital et al. 2009). This focus was very much akin to the features-and-benefits approach critiqued in Chapter 2. Through reading and writing, I realised that the contents of the process that leads to, precedes and surrounds co-created value represent something of a 'black box' in services literature,

and tourism and festival studies in particular. Focussing on the contents of the process of valuing rather than the value outcomes represented an interesting research area.

For a long time I hesitated, unable to formulate clearly how to go about studying this black box. Bazeley (2007) advises that in order to help sharpen their conceptual thinking researchers benefit from writing often and writing a lot. This was certainly the case in my PhD journey. Writing helped me to understand the concepts I was talking about and to crystallise my thoughts and arguments more effectively. Thanks to the patient guidance of my supervisory team, and my visit to the 2011 AMA Conference in Liverpool that came just at the right time, I discovered the S-D and C-D logics in marketing. Practice theory and its role in value research finally brought everything into a much sharper focus both theoretically and methodologically.

My skills and capabilities as a qualitative researcher were put to the test when I entered the field for the first time. How would I approach people for interviews? Would they even talk to me? What if it rained and people hide in their tents all the time? Mason (2002) suggests that aspects of the researcher's demeanour, gender and appearance can have an impact in the field. I think that being a young female researcher made establishing contact with informants easier and my initial apprehension proved to be unfounded. Following the pilot study and throughout the data collection period in Research phase 2, I reflected on and adjusted my field procedures and interview skills. By the time I got to the FolkFest I did not experience any problems, although there were still a number of unexpected situations that could have impacted on my role as a researcher. For example, feeling poorly during FolkFest field work influenced the quality of a couple of interviews, as I was not able to respond as well to the informants. On another note, flirtatious practices of young men at the WorldMusicFest that were directed at me meant I had to resort to wearing a fake wedding ring, to ward off unwanted attention and to not impede my official role as a researcher.

I became concerned about my own voice within the thesis. As the reader notes, this section is the only one written in the first person. Jones et al. (2012) argue it is good practice in qualitative theses, and ethnographic accounts in particular, to write in the first person. This is typically done to show that the researcher accepts responsibility for his or her work and acknowledges personal bias and influence in the research process. Similarly, Wolcott (1999) cautions that observation-based studies reported on in the third person (i.e., 'the author states') can reflect authors' attempts to convey 'an objective truth'. But apart from a few exceptions (e.g. Holbrook 1985; Woodward and

Holbrook 2013) seen mainly in conceptual and opinion papers, academic journals within the marketing discipline require a writing style that conveys a dispassionate, objective voice and a somewhat rigid writing structure. After careful consideration, I therefore chose to write this thesis using the third person and a passive form, in order to comply with established norms within the academic discipline I aim to contribute to. I have tried to provide an engaging and informative account of the research by carefully explaining the findings that emerged, decisions I made, and issues that arose.

The writing process made me realise the importance of being overt and open with respect to my own theoretical and methodological assumptions, and this is something I will take forward in my academic career. The hard philosophical, theoretical and methodological decisions I made along the way, and the rigour with which these needed to be justified and defended, helped me to gain a degree of confidence in my own ability to deal with the complexities of a major research project. I have developed a habit of questioning assumptions underpinning social research and found a passion for writing. Whatever the final outcome of the PhD process, it has showed me a number of exciting possibilities with respect to where my research and academic career could go next.

8.5. Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to bring about a better understanding of the customer-dominant perspective in value co-creation, by focussing on festivalling practices of customers. As such, it represents an innovative piece of co-creation research that has a number of contributions to knowledge and practice within marketing, and service marketing in particular.

The topic of customer-to-customer value co-creation is likely to gain more prominence in research. The proliferation of technology in services has made customer-to-customer interactions and relationship building in service settings easier than ever. This has had an enormous impact on how organisations deal with service provision. While service marketers can go some way toward co-creating value with customers, customers' own routine social practices also represent a crucial facet for value co-creation. As such, the focus of the Customer-Dominant logic on customers' own life contexts, and the practices customers engage in with others, could lay the groundwork for informing further evolution of the marketing discipline.

The practice-based approach to the study of C2C co-creation has proved to be effective in providing a coherent approach to understanding C2C value co-creation, which to date has been rather ambiguous and difficult to grasp. As has been shown in the empirical evidence provided in this thesis, C2C value co-creation is indeed a rich, dynamic and complex process that positions value in the routine, taken-for-granted social practices of customers who share a service setting. Through context-sensitive ethnographic-style methodologies, it is possible to illuminate the numerous opportunities for facilitating C2C value co-creation. The suggestions provided above of some of the avenues that future research could take will hopefully serve as a precursor to further practice-based study of C2C value co-creation. These future endeavours could go towards advancing more holistic perspectives on the nature of value and co-creation within marketing.

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Appendix 1 Characteristics of selected festival cases

Festival/ Features	<i>VanFest</i>	<i>WorldMusicFest</i>	<i>StoryFest</i>	<i>Music&ArtsFest</i>	<i>FolkFest</i>
Festival scale and duration	Small-scale, 120 exhibitors at food event, 1 venue at campsite; 4 days duration	Small-scale/ boutique, up to 1500 visitors; 2 venues and cca 40 artists; 3 days duration	Small-scale, up to 2500 visitors; 5 venues and cca 40 artists; 3 days duration	Medium-scale (up to 4000 visitors/day); 7 venues and cca 80 artists; 5 days duration	Small-scale/ boutique; 4 venues and cca 60 artists; 3 days duration
Location and orientation	Greenfield site (racecourse) in an urban location in the West Midlands	Rural location in the East Midlands region, use of year-round campsite facilities and adjacent to a rural hotel and a local airport	Remote costal location in the South of Wales on site of an existing historical venue (castle with cafes and gardens)	Rural location in the South-West region, on site of historical pleasure gardens	Rural coastal location in the South-West region, on site of an existing farm
Festival history and focus	In its 2 nd year; focus on celebrating VW and camping culture, together with a focus on local food	Long-established festival; focus on a variety of music genres (psychedelic techno and 'space rock', folk, world music)	Running bi-annually since 1993; focus on the storytelling tradition; theatre, poetry, folk and world music	Long-established festival; focus on music (folk and popular music genres), arts, comedy	Running since 2009; focus overwhelmingly on folk music
Target audience	Family-friendly; mix of mostly middle-class local day visitors motorhome owners from the West Midlands and Wales regions	Family-friendly; predominantly working-class, predominantly more mature audiences; mainly campers but also a number of campervans and a few motorhomes; predominantly from the East Midlands and Yorkshire/ Humber regions	Family-friendly; predominantly middle-class audiences, families and older couples predominantly from Wales, West Midlands region and the South West	Family-friendly, large proportion of predominantly middle class day-visitors; campers, motorhome and campervan owners mainly from Southern regions & London	Family-friendly, campers and motorhome owners and day visitors, predominantly local and from South-West region
Programme elements and facilities	Dress-up parties with live music in Communal marquee; children's playground and food activities/workshops; bar and fast food van available at campsite; food and lifestyle exhibition (140 exhibitors and cookery demonstrations) in main festival arena; dress-up evening and Chinese lantern 'festival'	Music programming; ethno- and sustainable living stalls and food stalls on site; 2 pop-up cider/ale bars and 2 indoor bars on site; healing therapies and workshops; fancy dress encouraged; activities for children (cinema, playground, workshops)	Storytelling, music, and poetry; arts & crafts activities and workshops for children and adults; fixed and interactive arts installations; book and ethnic merchandise stalls; 'organic'/ locally-sourced food stalls; small bar with limited indoor seating; permanent indoor cafe	Music (popular, folk and various other genres), comedy and organic theatre performances; workshops (dance, arts & crafts, media) for children and adults; therapies on site; fixed and interactive arts installations; themed carnival day; a number of indoor/pop-up bars, cafes and eateries; large under-canvas and open-air food areas	Folk music performances and workshops (open-mike and singing sessions); children's arts & crafts activities and workshops; folk dance workshops and performances; 2 covered bars and eateries; several food stalls; music and local arts & crafts stalls; fixed arts installations
Accommodation options	Motorhome/ campervan/ tent accommodation in different campsite sections; local (urban) accommodation options	Tent/ campervan accommodation at campsite adjacent to festival venue (several sections but no distinction between them); local accommodation	Tent/ campervan accommodation at campsite a 10 minute walk from festival venue; limited 'comfy camping' option available (luxury yurts for hire)	Tent/ campervan/ motorhome accommodation in dedicated campsite sections that surround the festival venue; several 'comfy camping' options available (luxury tents and yurts for hire)	Tent/ campervan accommodation at campsite; local accommodation. 'comfy camping' option available

Appendix 2 Interview participants – demographics and attributes

Pseudo-nym	Accommodation	Age range	Festival	Festival experience	Genre commitment	Social unit	Group	Length of visit	Social class
Allen	Tent	Mid 20's to mid 30's	FolkFest	Been before in the past	Novice	Friends	3-5	Weekender	Lower middle class
Ally	Tent	Late 30's to early 40's	FolkFest	Been before in the past	Experienced	Single attendee	1-2	Overnight stay	Lower middle class
Anon 5 [male]	Van	Mid 20's to mid 30's	FolkFest	First time visitors	Experienced	Friends	3-5	Weekender	Unassigned
Anon 6 [male]	Tent	Late 30's to early 40's	FolkFest	Regular visitors	Experienced	Couple/pair	1-2	Weekender	Working class
Calvin	Tent	Late 30's to early 40's	FolkFest	Regular visitors	Committed	Friends	10<	Weekender	Working class
Ciaran	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	FolkFest	First time visitors	Committed	Family	3-5	Overnight stay	Working class
Dianna	Tent	Late 30's to early 40's	FolkFest	First time visitors	Committed	Friends	3-5	Overnight stay	Working class
Finne	Tent	Mid 20's to mid 30's	FolkFest	First time visitors	Novice	Couple/pair	3-5	Weekender	Lower middle class
Gary	Tent	Late 50's to mid 60's	FolkFest	First time visitors	Committed	Single attendee	1-2	Weekender	Lower middle class
Heather	Tent	Mid 20's to mid 30's	FolkFest	Been before in the past	Novice	Friends	3-5	Weekender	Middle middle class
Jacob	Tent	Mid 20's to mid 30's	FolkFest	Been before in the past	Novice	Friends	3-5	Weekender	Lower middle class
Joanna	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	FolkFest	Regular visitors	Committed	Couple/pair	10<	Weekender	Working class
Kelly	Tent	Late 30's to early 40's	FolkFest	First time visitors	Experienced	Family	3-5	Weekender	Lower middle class
Leslie	Tent	Mid 20's to mid 30's	FolkFest	Regular visitors	Committed	Friends	10<	Weekender	Working class
Lydia	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	FolkFest	First time visitors	Experienced	Couple/pair	1-2	Weekender	Working class
Mark	Tent	Late 30's to early 40's	FolkFest	Been before in the past	Experienced	Single attendee	3-5	Weekender	Middle middle class
Martin	Van	Mid 40's to early 50's	FolkFest	First time visitors	Experienced	Family	3-5	Weekender	Working class
Mary	Tent	Late 50's to mid 60's	FolkFest	Been before in the past	Experienced	Couple/pair	1-2	Weekender	Lower middle class
Matt	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	FolkFest	First time visitors	Experienced	Family	3-5	Weekender	Lower middle class
Penny	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	FolkFest	First time visitors	Novice	Couple/pair	1-2	Weekender	Working class
Stacy	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	FolkFest	First time visitors	Novice	Couple/pair	1-2	Weekender	Working class
Stuart	Tent	Late 50's to mid 60's	FolkFest	Regular visitors	Committed	Couple/pair	10<	Weekender	Lower middle class
Tamara	Tent	Late 30's to early 40's	FolkFest	Been before in the past	Novice	Couple/pair	3-5	Weekender	Lower middle class
Theresa	Tent	Mid 20's to mid 30's	FolkFest	Been before in the past	Novice	Friends	3-5	Weekender	Lower middle class
Wonda	Tent	Late 50's to mid 60's	FolkFest	First time visitors	Experienced	Couple/pair	1-2	Weekender	Lower middle class

Ally	Tent	Mid 20's to mid 30's	Music&ArtsFest	Regular visitors	Experienced	Friends	3-5	Weekender	Working class
Amy	Tent	Late 30's to early 40's	Music&ArtsFest	First time visitors	Experienced	Couple/pair	1-2	Weekender	Middle middle class
Andrea	Glamping	Mid 40's to early 50's	Music&ArtsFest	Been before in the past	Experienced	Family	3-5	Weekender	Middle middle class
Angus	Unassigned	Teenage to early 20's	Music&ArtsFest	Unassigned	Unassigned	Single attendee	1-2	Weekender	Unassigned
Ben	Tent	Mid 20's to mid 30's	Music&ArtsFest	Regular visitors	Experienced	Friends	3-5	Weekender	Unassigned
Denny	Tent	Late 50's to mid 60's	Music&ArtsFest	Regular visitors	Committed	Couple/pair	3-5	Weekender	Lower middle class
Diane	Van	Mid 40's to early 50's	Music&ArtsFest	Regular visitors	Experienced	Couple/pair	10<	Weekender	Lower middle class
Estell	Tent	Mid 20's to mid 30's	Music&ArtsFest	Regular visitors	Experienced	Friends	3-5	Weekender	Lower middle class
Gabrielle	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	Music&ArtsFest	Regular visitors	Committed	Family	5-10	Weekender	Working class
Graham	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	Music&ArtsFest	Regular visitors	Committed	Family	5-10	Weekender	Working class
Jacob	Tent	Teenage to early 20's	Music&ArtsFest	Regular visitors	Experienced	Friends	10<	Weekender	Unassigned
John	Glamping	Mid 40's to early 50's	Music&ArtsFest	Been before in the past	Experienced	Family	3-5	Weekender	Middle middle class
Leo	Tent	Teenage to early 20's	Music&ArtsFest	Been before in the past	Experienced	Friends	3-5	Overnight stay	Unassigned
Lesley	Tent	Mid 20's to mid 30's	Music&ArtsFest	Been before in the past	Experienced	Couple/pair	3-5	Weekender	Lower middle class
Melvin	Van	Mid 40's to early 50's	Music&ArtsFest	Regular visitors	Committed	Couple/pair	10<	Weekender	Lower middle class
Nathan	Tent	Teenage to early 20's	Music&ArtsFest	First time visitors	Experienced	Friends	3-5	Weekender	Unassigned
Nolan	Tent	Mid 20's to mid 30's	Music&ArtsFest	Been before in the past	Experienced	Friends	3-5	Weekender	Lower middle class
Penny	Tent	Late 30's to early 40's	Music&ArtsFest	First time visitors	Experienced	Couple/pair	1-2	Weekender	Lower middle class
Poppy	Motorhome	Mid 40's to early 50's	Music&ArtsFest	Been before in the past	Committed	Couple/pair	1-2	Weekender	Middle middle class
Pippa	Glamping	Late 50's to mid 60's	Music&ArtsFest	First time visitors	Experienced	Couple/pair	1-2	Weekender	Middle middle class
Sandy	Motorhome	Late 50's to mid 60's	Music&ArtsFest	Been before in the past	Committed	Couple/pair	1-2	Weekender	Middle middle class
Sandra	Glamping	Late 50's to mid 60's	Music&ArtsFest	First time visitors	Experienced	Couple/pair	1-2	Weekender	Middle middle class
Susan	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	Music&ArtsFest	Regular visitors	Committed	Couple/pair	3-5	Weekender	Working class
Tammy	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	Music&ArtsFest	First time visitors	Novice	Couple/pair	5-10	Weekender	Working class
Becky	Tent	Mid 20's to mid 30's	StoryFest	Regular visitors	Committed	Family	3-5	Weekender	Unassigned
Dylan	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	StoryFest	First time visitors	Committed	Friends	3-5	Weekender	Lower middle class
Elena	Off site	Late 50's to mid 60's	StoryFest	Been before in the past	Experienced	Couple/pair	1-2	Day visitor	Lower middle class
Emily	Tent	Late 30's to early 40's	StoryFest	First time visitors	Experienced	Single attendee	1-2	Weekender	Unassigned
Janet	Tent	Late 50's to mid 60's	StoryFest	Regular visitors	Committed	Couple/pair	5-10	Weekender	Lower middle class
Keith	Van	Mid 40's to early 50's	StoryFest	Regular visitors	Committed	Single attendee	10<	Weekender	Unassigned

Kellie	Off site	Mid 20's to mid 30's	StoryFest	Been before in the past	Committed	Couple/pair	1-2	Day visitor	Unassigned
Lizzie	Tent	Mid 20's to mid 30's	StoryFest	First time visitors	Experienced	Single attendee	1-2	Weekender	Lower middle class
Marcus	Tent	Late 30's to early 40's	StoryFest	First time visitors	Novice	Family	5-10	Weekender	Middle middle class
Mervin	Off site	Late 30's to early 40's	StoryFest	First time visitors	Committed	Couple/pair	1-2	Day visitor	Unassigned
Mischa	Van	Late 30's to early 40's	StoryFest	First time visitors	Experienced	Single attendee	1-2	Weekender	Unassigned
Nelson	Tent	Late 50's to mid 60's	StoryFest	Regular visitors	Committed	Couple/pair	5-10	Weekender	Lower middle class
Norman	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	StoryFest	First time visitors	Experienced	Couple/pair	5-10	Weekender	Middle middle class
Paul	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	StoryFest	Been before in the past	Experienced	Couple/pair	10<	Weekender	Unassigned
Rebecca	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	StoryFest	Regular visitors	Experienced	Family	3-5	Weekender	Middle middle class
Sarah	Tent	Late 30's to early 40's	StoryFest	First time visitors	Novice	Family	1-2	Weekender	Lower middle class
Serena	Off site	Late 50's to mid 60's	StoryFest	First time visitors	Experienced	Couple/pair	1-2	Day visitor	Unassigned
Anon 1 [male]	Off site	Mid 20's to mid 30's	VanFest	Unassigned	Unassigned	Family	3-5	Day visitor	Middle middle class
Anon 2 [male]	Off site	Mid 40's to early 50's	VanFest	Been before in the past	Unassigned	Couple/pair	1-2	Day visitor	Unassigned
Anon 3 [female]	Off site	Mid 20's to mid 30's	VanFest	Unassigned	Unassigned	Friends	3-5	Day visitor	Middle middle class
Anon 4 [male]	Off site	Late 50's to mid 60's	VanFest	First time visitors	Unassigned	Family	3-5	Day visitor	Unassigned
Anthony	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	VanFest	First time visitors	Experienced	Family	3-5	Weekender	Working class
Ben	Van	Late 30's to early 40's	VanFest	First time visitors	Committed	Family	5-10	Weekender	Lower middle class
Brian	Motorhome	Late 50's to mid 60's	VanFest	Been before in the past	Committed	Couple/pair	1-2	Weekender	Working class
Caroline	Tent	Late 30's to early 40's	VanFest	First time visitors	Committed	Family	3-5	Weekender	Lower middle class
Derek	Tent	Teenage to early 20's	VanFest	First time visitors	Novice	Family	3-5	Weekender	Working class
Gerry	Van	Late 50's to mid 60's	VanFest	Been before in the past	Committed	Friends	10<	Weekender	Working class
Heather	Motorhome	Late 30's to early 40's	VanFest	First time visitors	Committed	Couple/pair	10<	Weekender	Middle middle class
Jackie	Van	Mid 40's to early 50's	VanFest	Been before in the past	Committed	Friends	10<	Weekender	Working class
Janet	Van	Late 30's to early 40's	VanFest	First time visitors	Committed	Family	5-10	Weekender	Lower middle class
Jen	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	VanFest	First time visitors	Committed	Family	3-5	Weekender	Lower middle class
Julie	Van	Mid 20's to mid 30's	VanFest	Been before in the past	Committed	Friends	5-10	Weekender	Middle middle class
Keith	Van	Mid 40's to early 50's	VanFest	Been before in the past	Committed	Friends	10<	Weekender	Working class
Kenny	Tent	Mid 20's to mid 30's	VanFest	First time visitors	Novice	Family	3-5	Weekender	Working class
Laura	Van	Mid 20's to mid 30's	VanFest	First time visitors	Experienced	Family	5-10	Weekender	Working class

Linda	Van	Late 30's to early 40's	VanFest	Been before in the past	Committed	Friends	5-10	Weekender	Middle middle class
Lisa	Tent	Teenage to early 20's	VanFest	First time visitors	Novice	Family	3-5	Weekender	Working class
Martin	Van	Late 30's to early 40's	VanFest	Been before in the past	Committed	Friends	5-10	Weekender	Middle middle class
Phil	Van	Mid 40's to early 50's	VanFest	First time visitors	Experienced	Single attendee	1-2	Weekender	Working class
Russell	Van	Late 30's to early 40's	VanFest	Been before in the past	Committed	Friends	10<	Weekender	Unassigned
Sean	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	VanFest	Been before in the past	Committed	Friends	10<	Weekender	Unassigned
Shane	Van	Mid 40's to early 50's	VanFest	First time visitors	Novice	Family	3-5	Weekender	Working class
Stacy	Tent	Mid 20's to mid 30's	VanFest	First time visitors	Novice	Family	3-5	Weekender	Lower middle class
Stuart	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	VanFest	First time visitors	Committed	Family	3-5	Weekender	Working class
Svitlana	Van	Teenage to early 20's	VanFest	First time visitors	Experienced	Family	5-10	Weekender	Working class
Tim	Van	Late 30's to early 40's	VanFest	Been before in the past	Committed	Friends	3-5	Weekender	Upper middle class
Tracy	Van	Mid 40's to early 50's	VanFest	First time visitors	Novice	Family	3-5	Weekender	Working class
Trish	Tent	Late 30's to early 40's	VanFest	First time visitors	Novice	Family	3-5	Weekender	Lower middle class
Andy	Van	Late 50's to mid 60's	WorldMusicFest	Regular visitors	Experienced	Single attendee	1-2	Weekender	Working class
Anna	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	WorldMusicFest	Regular visitors	Experienced	Friends	5-10	Weekender	Lower middle class
Barbara	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	WorldMusicFest	First time visitors	Novice	Couple/pair	1-2	Weekender	Middle middle class
Ben	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	WorldMusicFest	Regular visitors	Committed	Friends	3-5	Weekender	Working class
Bill	Tent	Late 30's to early 40's	WorldMusicFest	Been before in the past	Committed	Couple/pair	1-2	Weekender	Middle middle class
Candy	Van	Late 30's to early 40's	WorldMusicFest	Been before in the past	Experienced	Family	10<	Weekender	Middle middle class
Caroline	Tent	Late 30's to early 40's	WorldMusicFest	Regular visitors	Experienced	Friends	5-10	Weekender	Working class
Chris	Tent	Late 50's to mid 60's	WorldMusicFest	First time visitors	Novice	Couple/pair	1-2	Weekender	Middle middle class
Christina	Tent	Mid 20's to mid 30's	WorldMusicFest	First time visitors	Novice	Friends	10<	Weekender	Unassigned
Dave	Van	Mid 20's to mid 30's	WorldMusicFest	Regular visitors	Committed	Friends	3-5	Weekender	Lower middle class
Debbie	Van	Late 30's to early 40's	WorldMusicFest	Been before in the past	Experienced	Friends	10<	Weekender	Lower middle class
Ginny	Tent	Mid 20's to mid 30's	WorldMusicFest	Been before in the past	Experienced	Friends	3-5	Weekender	Working class
Heli	Tent	Mid 20's to mid 30's	WorldMusicFest	First time visitors	Novice	Friends	10<	Weekender	Unassigned
Jenna	Tent	Late 30's to early 40's	WorldMusicFest	Regular visitors	Committed	Friends	5-10	Weekender	Working class
Johnny	Tent	Late 30's to early 40's	WorldMusicFest	Regular visitors	Committed	Friends	3-5	Weekender	Unassigned
Karina	Tent	Late 30's to early 40's	WorldMusicFest	Regular visitors	Experienced	Couple/pair	10<	Weekender	Middle middle class
Keith	Tent	Late 30's to early 40's	WorldMusicFest	Regular visitors	Committed	Friends	3-5	Weekender	Unassigned
Kenneth	Off site	Mid 40's to early 50's	WorldMusicFest	Regular visitors	Experienced	Friends	5-10	Weekender	Lower middle class

Kevin	Tent	Teenage to early 20's	WorldMusicFest	First time visitors	Experienced	Friends	5-10	Weekender	Not Applicable
Kirk	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	WorldMusicFest	Regular visitors	Committed	Couple/pair	1-2	Weekender	Middle middle class
Laura	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	WorldMusicFest	Regular visitors	Committed	Couple/pair	1-2	Weekender	Middle middle class
Lee	Tent	Teenage to early 20's	WorldMusicFest	Regular visitors	Experienced	Friends	1-2	Weekender	Not Applicable
Lenny	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	WorldMusicFest	Regular visitors	Committed	Single attendee	1-2	Weekender	Working class
Lucy	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	WorldMusicFest	Been before in the past	Experienced	Friends	5-10	Weekender	Working class
Martin	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	WorldMusicFest	Regular visitors	Committed	Single attendee	3-5	Weekender	Unassigned
Mary	Tent	Late 30's to early 40's	WorldMusicFest	Regular visitors	Experienced	Friends	5-10	Weekender	Unassigned
Morris	Tent	Late 30's to early 40's	WorldMusicFest	Regular visitors	Committed	Friends	5-10	Weekender	Lower middle class
Neville	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	WorldMusicFest	Regular visitors	Experienced	Single attendee	3-5	Weekender	Middle middle class
Nicola	Tent	Late 30's to early 40's	WorldMusicFest	Regular visitors	Experienced	Friends	5-10	Weekender	Unassigned
Pete	Unassigned	Mid 40's to early 50's	WorldMusicFest	Regular visitors	Committed	Friends	5-10	Weekender	Working class
Rennie	Tent	Late 30's to early 40's	WorldMusicFest	Been before in the past	Committed	Couple/pair	1-2	Weekender	Lower middle class
Rhona	Tent	Late 30's to early 40's	WorldMusicFest	First time visitors	Committed	Couple/pair	3-5	Weekender	Working class
Roger	Motorhome	Late 50's to mid 60's	WorldMusicFest	Regular visitors	Committed	Couple/pair	1-2	Weekender	Working class
Ronald	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	WorldMusicFest	Regular visitors	Committed	Friends	3-5	Weekender	Working class
Sally	Tent	Late 50's to mid 60's	WorldMusicFest	Been before in the past	Committed	Friends	5-10	Weekender	Working class
Scotty	Tent	Late 30's to early 40's	WorldMusicFest	Regular visitors	Experienced	Single attendee	1-2	Weekender	Lower middle class
Shaun	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	WorldMusicFest	Regular visitors	Committed	Couple/pair	3-5	Weekender	Lower middle class
Stacy	Tent	Mid 40's to early 50's	WorldMusicFest	Regular visitors	Experienced	Friends	5-10	Weekender	Unassigned
Tom	Van	Mid 40's to early 50's	WorldMusicFest	Regular visitors	Committed	Single attendee	3-5	Weekender	Lower middle class
Tommy	Tent	Late 50's to mid 60's	WorldMusicFest	Been before in the past	Experienced	Single attendee	5-10	Weekender	Unassigned

Appendix 3 Fieldwork equipment

- *Interview guide and observation schedule* to follow as part of the data collection process
- *Video camera* to take illustrative photographs and/or short video shots of the festival setting/ environment and where possible, participants within the setting (abiding by ethics rules and following restrictions imposed by the organisers)
- *Digital voice recorder (+ microphone)* to use during formal, semi-structured interviews
- *Field diary* to record notes of the setting; observed social activities, interactions and practices of the participants and of the researcher; researchers' impressions and experiences; ideas and reflections; and, procedures carried out in the field.
- *Proof of permission from festival organiser* to show security staff if necessary
- *Bournemouth University badge/ letter of recommendation* and business cards to establish credibility with the participants and pass on researcher's contact details
- *Participant information sheet and Informed consent form* to be read and signed by interview participants

Appendix 4 Observation schedule

Festival:

Date/Time:

Specific location/venue at festival:

General impressions

Atmosphere, mood

Setting/ environment:

Layout, signs, objects, props/artefacts, barriers, atmosphere (building a picture of the festival/venue site)

How is the space used?

Where do people congregate?

How do physical/intangible marketer-supplied artefacts influence social behaviours?

Subjects/ actors and social structures:

Who is present?

Types social structures (individuals, couples, groups...)?

Are there any obvious hierarchies/ social cliques?

How do people group together?

Actions/ practices:

Observable social practices and interactions? Patterns and frequency of interactions?
What is the direction of interactions?

Spontaneous/ organised socialisation?

Episodes and incidents?

Are there any visible cues/ artefacts used when interacting?

(Is any technology involved?)

Situational images/ rule structures:

Observable social norms/ rules?

Clothes/dress ('typical festival garb')?

Explicit rules and incidents of rule breaking/ following rules?

Appendix 5 Interview guide

Site:

Location:

Date/ Time:

Interview no:

Interview duration:

Interview code:

Reflection on the interview situation:

Thanks and informed consent form signature

Start recording

Introduction:

I am interested in the social experiences of people at festivals. So I will be asking you questions about how the festival has been for you and what sorts of things are involved in terms of the social aspects of your festival experience. Is that OK?

1. Interviewees' personal details for background information

Names:

Visiting with:

Duration of festival visit:

Travelled to festival from:

Accommodation type:

Age range (20's, 30's etc):

Occupation(s):

2. Festival questions

How did you come to choose this festival/ reasons for coming?

What do you think of it so far?

3. Socialisation across levels

(So you said you are visiting with...) Could you tell me a little bit about who they are and how they have come to be here with you?

Did you meet people here you knew already? How did that come about?

Did you talk to or meet someone you did not know already? If so, what prompted you to do that? (Could you tell me a bit more about those situations?)

What do you think of the overall social atmosphere? (How do you find the people here?)

4. Social practices and actions

Could you describe to me what goes on in terms of your social activities here at the festival?

What sorts of things or activities do you do here that involve other people?

Could you describe what happens at the venues/ during the performances?

5. Skills and know-how

How do you feel about interacting with other festival visitors (both people you know and don't know)?

Is it any different from socialising in other places (other than festivals)?

Have you found yourself in situations here at the festival where you felt uncomfortable?

6. Images and rule structures

Is there a typical way of doing things at this festival? E.g. clothes, camping, cooking...

Are there any rules (imposed or implicit) or norms that you follow/ don't follow?

Would you say that being and socialising here at the festival is different in any way from your normal day-to-day life? If so, in what ways? Can you give me some examples?

7. Environment/ setting

What are the places within the festival site where you tend to come together and socialise with people you know/ people you don't know?

Did you get involved in any of the (social activities set up by the organisers, e.g. workshops)? If so, can you describe what went on?

9. Conclusion and thanks

10. Interviewee contact information

For member checks and in case clarification is needed at a later stage – personal and contact details will be destroyed as soon as project concludes.

Title: Name: Surname:

Email:

Appendix 6 WorldMusicFest field journal excerpt

25th May – First day of the festival

I woke up at about 8.30am. I was so glad I brought my earplugs as the landing planes were actually going right above my head. It was a lovely morning and as I walked down to the toilets I could see lots of people sitting out in their picnic chairs already.

I realised the man with the tear-shaped camper was on his own (I thought he was there with a woman). Two women came up to the camper to look it over and he gave them a 'tour'. Shortly after that, a couple came with their gear and put it down in front of my tent, slightly to the left. The chap from next door was chatting with them and telling them what he thought was the best spot. I thought at first that they had not known each other but then I overheard the chap saying that 'Mark was coming, too, at some point', and I realised that they must all know each other and probably come here regularly. I got out my tent out of curiosity and chipped in with my opinions of a good spot. We started chatting quite amiably, I introduced myself. They were Rhona and Sean, and the camper chap is called Tom. Rhona and Sean were from near Birmingham, they took a couple of days off to come to the festival. Sean is quite an interesting looking character – he is quite short and a little stocky, with a shaved head except for a small cluster of braids at the back of his head. He is wearing shorts and a sleeveless t-shirt and I can see he's covered with tattoos and wearing body jewellery. He has a very friendly demeanour though and a friendly smile. His wife Rhona is a bit more 'conventional'-looking, with long hair and a wearing camper gear – loosely fitting clothes.

While Rhona and Sean were pitching up, Tom kept getting visitors, asking him about the camper. I overheard him saying that they could find him on Facebook and learn about the camper community. Tom then came over again with a cooler box full of beer and talked to Rhona and Sean about the music this weekend, the new album that Hawkwind, the headline act, have out, and other stuff. John just walked past with his friend and remarked towards Rhona and Sean: "Good morning, ready to party?" I can hear lots of laughter coming from different parts of the campsite, can see kids playing, people sitting on the grass having a drink.

I walked down to the main gate to get my festival wrist band. Chatted to the stewards on the gate, they did not know how many people were expected this weekend. I then went to get some food at the small grocery shop that opened near the lodge at the bottom of the campsite. I could see the food stalls being set up but guessed they would not be open till the evening. Looking around the site, I could see people just sitting/ lying on duvets outside their tents, sunbathing. I saw a woman giving a massage to a guy. There were kids playing football, a large group of young adults occupying a spot at the top right corner of the campsite were out playing with a Frisbee.

As new people were arriving (most of them would come today and tomorrow morning), there was a lot of pitching up going on. The stewards would help deliver people's camping gear from the car park to their selected pitch, so that cars would not be clogging up the site. I went to have a look at the children's area near a small toilets block that was set up around a couple of large trees near children's swings that were part of the campsite. There was a large colourful van that belongs to Jenny and Paul, and older couple that goes round festivals offering their services of 'manning' the children's area and supplying

toys and activities. They invited me to come and sit with them and we chatted for about 30 mins about various things. Jenny said that this was a very nice festival, very friendly. Because there are two events each year and people go to both (the Spring and the Summer WorldMusicFest), they come on a regular basis and meet people they know. Some visitors always pay, other come as volunteers or work as stewards (like her and Paul).

I noticed that people walk around the site carrying nothing with them, unlike me with my bag (with the camera, recorder, phone). This gives the impression of a safe environment and I concluded that people must feel very safe to leave their possessions in their tents. There are signs to say that people should not leave valuables, but Tom for instance keeps walking away and leaving his unusual tear-shaped camper (with some expensive equipment inside) wide open so that people can have a look inside.

At around 1 pm, I sat on my tent 'porch' sunbathing when Rhona came over with a can of lager for me. I went to talk with them near their tent for a bit. Rhona and Sean are newly married. Sean has been to the festival before and brought Rhona with him now for the first time (PASSING ON THE FESTIVAL GOING HERITAGE TO SPOUSES??) He showed me a Turkish hat he brought with him that he always brings to festivals (ESCAPISM?), he put it on and sat with his pint looking very relaxed (although took the hat off after a few minutes as it was very hot). I asked them who the people were who come to WorldMusicFest – Sean explained that there are a lot of people here who come and they will have respectable jobs and they come here and just do whatever. Rhona pitched in – “and nobody gives a donkey’s ass!” While I was talking to Rhona and Sean a newcomer started pitching his tent just slightly to the right and above me – he seemed to be on his own and John and his mate went to give him a hand with the tent. I overhear him shout after them – “thanks very much”. John shouted back – “no problem”.

I lay beside the tent in the shade and relaxed a bit and afterwards I walked down to the main festival area again. The food and traders' stall were now all up and running and I bought myself a cap for sun protection. There were some quirky/ crazy pieces of headwear, glasses and other accessories, dresses and clothes on sale, even fancy dress clothing. The stalls area looked very colourful and with the weather being nice, girls were walking around wearing hippy-style dresses and pretty hats, and I saw men and boys mostly tops off and some of them with funny hats on. I sat in the refreshments area; there were 4 large tables with stools attached to them that people could sit at while eating. There was a relaxation tent next to the eating area offering face painting, massages and a bit of a chill-out area with music and a DJ. While sitting in front of it I watched a group of 3 men talking. They were commenting on people walking past, talking about the festivals they had been to, this festival and their expectations of it. I also noticed there was a cinema for children adjacent to the refreshments area – a room at the end of an old barn with a screen and projector set up, cushions on the ground and cartoons on. I talked to the man who was operating it – he is actually local and does this for the festival organisers each year for free. Walking back to my tent I noticed that beside the shower/toilet blocks there were a couple of sinks where the campers would come to wash their dishes – as I was watching a group of two women came to the sinks and started talking to the 3 people already there, about the weather. (A CONGREGATION/MEETING POINT!). I went back to my tent and fell asleep as my hayfever tablets were making me a bit groggy.

I got up again at around 4 pm and noticed that the campsite had started to fill up a bit more. A middle-aged couple pitched their tent right above my tent, a few more people pitched on the other side of

the trees next to my tent. Three older men pitched behind my tent, about 8 meters away. They were sitting in front of their three small tents, with their backs to me, jamming with their guitars and playing with a sheepdog they had with them. I chatted to the couple just above me, after they pitched the tent they just sat outside in their camping chairs, he was having a beer, she was reading a book. I got out my tent and just said, "what a lovely day", they agreed. I asked if they'd been before, they'd said yes. We exchanged a couple more polite sentences and left it at that. The single man who arrived earlier and who got help from John and his mate was also sitting outside, rolling up a cigarette and having a beer, then just playing with his phone. I wondered if he was on his own for the rest of the weekend, as he had a fairly large tent. I could hear reggae music, bongo drums, more music from next the guys jamming next door, birds singing, car tyres screeching (from the race course), landing planes booming...I was lying outside in the shade of the trees, on my sleeping mat..

I walked down to the main area again at around 5.30 pm, in anticipation of the main music programme which was due to start at 6 pm. On the way down I saw a young man juggling with balls outside a tent, with two other men watching on. Another man (presumably from the same party) was trying to work a hula hoop and not doing very well, his friends were laughing at him. I got the impression the juggler (who was doing quite well) was perhaps trying to impress with his 'party tricks', whereas the other guy was entertaining the others perhaps in a different way. In the stalls area there were 4 young boys playing water gun battles, occasionally attacking adults (who presumably knew them). I sat on a shady bench at the front of the lodge beside a woman with a vendor apron – she was one of the stall holders selling clothes, hats and different accessories. I asked if I could join her, she said yes of course, and how nice and cool it was in here, unlike the stall she was working in.

We chatted for a bit, she comes to different festivals with her stall. I commented on some of the 'crazy stuff' on sale, she remarked that at festivals all these bankers and such come here and go a bit wild. They return to their hippie years, smoke pot, get smashed, and dance. People buy the crazy headwear and clothes and wear it only during the festival weekend and then probably never again. I did notice that a lot of women (even older women) were wearing very colourful accessories, hippie-style floating dresses, flowers in their hair and colourful headpieces/bandanas, very short dresses (I walked past a pair of middle-aged women just as one of them was commenting on how uncomfortable she was feeling in her very short ruffle- slightly see-through dress). Men were wearing unusual clothes as well, I saw for instance three teenage boys with lion head-shaped hats, or a group of about 5 men in red Turkish-style fez hats with black trusses.

I noticed that there is also a stall that sells different windsocks, party tricks, juggling gear (balls, clubs and 'diabolos'), magic tricks, hula hoops (THIS IS ALL 'CIRCUS SKILLS' EQUIPMENT. IS THAT TO DO WITH THE CARNIVALESQUE AT FESTIVALS – JUGGLERS, STILT-WALKERS, CIRCUS-LIKE PERFORMANCES LEND FESTIVALS THE AIR OF TRADITIONAL VILLAGE FAIRS AND FESTS?? WHAT ALSO STRIKES ME THAT THESE 'TOYS' AND ARTEFACTS ARE FOR INDIVIDUAL PRACTICES ONLY, I COULD NOT SEE ANYTHING THAT COULD BE USED BY GROUPS AND FOR PLAYFUL GROUP PRATCICES. I FOUND A LOT OF PERFORMERS ON THE INTERNET WHO ORGANISE CIRCUS SKILLS WORKSHOPS SPECIFICALLY AT FESTIVALS AND EVENTS, THEY CLAIM TO TEACH NEW SKILLS, DYNAMIC AND ENTERTAINING EXPRIENCES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR INTERACTION AS PEOPLE HELP

AND ASSIST EACH OTHER WHILE LEARNING). The stall holder has some of this equipment out for people to use freely and then perhaps buy. It also appears that a lot of the stall holders know each other, as they go to the same festivals and meet regularly.

There are people who appear a bit drunk, carrying cans of beer/cider in their hands as they walk around the stalls. I walked back to the campsite – again, lots of people just sitting by their tents, with music on, BBQing, cooking – as I could not see too many people at the refreshments stalls I take it that a lot of people have brought food with them. Sitting back in my tent a family of three adult women with their three daughters and a young son pitched right in front of me, so when I zipped up my tent I could observe them without any difficulty. One of the women was just commenting on the shortness of one of the girls' dresses: "I can see your knickers, you look quite tarty," she said. She said it jokingly and the girl did not immediately go and change, so obviously it was not an issue. The women went on commenting on each other's clothes – one of the women said to the second girl, "you are wearing my old pants" and the girl replied, "they are great, they look like festival pants!" They talked about festival food, the woman said to the kids, "don't stuff yourself now so that you can have some festival food later", as if this was a treat that they were all looking forward to. I could see that each of the women had brought an awful lot of food with her and they appear to be sharing all of it (I overheard one of the women say that she was worried she had not brought enough food with her, the other women said, "don't worry about it, I have enough, it's all 'sharing' size as well"). The ladies are sharing a pitcher of Pimms, there is a lot of laughter and chatter. They tell each other stories and anecdotes from their daily life. (CATCHING UP WITH OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS, SPENDING QUALITY TIME TOGETHER?)...

Appendix 7 Example of interview transcript

Music&ArtsFest: Susan and Denny

Post-interview reflection:

I walked into the Family Section of the campsite and straight away spotted Susan and Denny sitting in their folding chairs, reading, on the porch of their large 4-man tent. Their tent entrance faced two other large tents in a triangle, so I had to weave my way in through the guy ropes, feeling like a bit of an intruder. The couple looked up in surprise as I approached, but readily agreed to be interviewed and turned out to be a nice talk. They had been a few times and knew the festival well.

Interviewer: (filling out the face-sheet) just to get started, could you tell me how you came to be here, what prompted you..

Susan: well, it's our fifth year, isn't it...

Denny: yea...

Susan: why did we come the first time? I think it was, we got sick of Glastonbury, which was really big, and I think I just maybe saw an ad for a band, but it was just trying to find a smaller festival than Glastonbury...

Denny: so we just tried it one year and really liked it. I was sort of dragged along a bit the first year, we're both really into music but we like different types and I thought, ach, I have never really heard of any of them, I don't know..but we got here and it was great, you know? You just hear lots of really good stuff, and there's good beer (smiling)

Interviewer: so what has it been like this year?...

Denny: so far, I mean Jules Holland was very good, you know, again, fine but really good fun. Ehm, and yesterday a few bands in the Social we saw...

Susan: yeah...

Denny: as we hang around in the social more than we normally would, just because it's fine to sit down and stay dry...

Susan: yeah and we missed all the bigger ones this time, but only because of the rain. We missed all those big names just because we sat down and could not be bothered to move so we would not get a seat anywhere...

Interviewer: I suppose you have to stand out there in the rain otherwise.

Susan: yeah...

Denny: it does lose its appeal after a while...

Susan: 'cause everyone is ramming into places where they're gonna get a bit of shelter so you end up on the edge with water dripping down your neck. So we just plonked ourselves, didn't we, and listened to the little bands which are things that you never would have listened to normally, 'cause we would have been off listening to Paloma Faith or what have you. But we did not bother. So that was a bit different...

Interviewer: so what has been the biggest draw for you? Because you mentioned you wanted to get away from Glastonbury...

Denny: well, the music, initially. We come because there's music. But it is just the, because you can park quite near where you camp, you can take a few more sort of home comforts, you're not quite a roughing it as you are at Glastonbury. You could walk an hour from your car to your tent, you have to take everything on your back and tent like this...

Susan: yes, it's very basic camping...

Denny: unless you got there first of all...

Interviewer: so you like the camping element of it?...

Denny: yes, but camping in comfort...

Susan: yes, not falling in and out, we're too old for crawling into a little tent (laughs)...

Denny: yes. And also, the sort of toilets and showers are much cleaner generally...

Susan: yes, partly sort of finding something with music where you did not have to crawl in and out your tent any more. It's nice to have the ability to stand up and get dressed and undressed, not just filthy clothes and back into a little space which we finished now...(laugh)

Interviewer: but you mentioned that at first, the music, you did not really find anything that was of interest...

Denny: well no, once we got here I did, but before we go here I thought, you know, I thought it was going to be more sort of Womad (music style similar to the WOMAD festival), just slightly a bit more, off...I don't know really. I really like rock music and folk, that sort of thing. And I thought it was gonna be more folky, less rocky. And I got here and it was a total mix of everything. And you sort of wonder around and come across someone that's playing, oh, this is really good. I would not normally go and listen to it. And somehow that is the appeal now. Initially it was sort of, you know, never heard of anyone, not really interested but just because you have not heard of them does not mean that they are not any good. So, yeah....does that answer the question?

Interviewer: yeah, no, that's find, I just find that very interesting that the music element of it. 'Cause this is quite a big eclectic mix, it's not like a music festival where you only have folk music. It seems like there are lots of people here from all sort of backgrounds...

Denny: yea it's really everything...

Susan: and each year we take back a little gem, we bought a CD or...and even there is one chap that we've seen subsequently in Bristol that we would otherwise have not known about. And it sort of feels like it's not that far for us. Although it feels like it's a long way, everyone had come from a short way away, whereas we've come from Bristol, therefore Glastonbury and Scotland and Cornwall, you know, it has a different sort of catchment area. But now you're the second person who said, oh, you've come from a long way. That perhaps it's a very local thing, people don't travel a long way.

Interviewer: yes, perhaps that's what it is, most people come from Bournemouth and around here, Bristol sounds like a long way away...

Susan: but to us it is not..

Interviewer: right, back to socialising, you said that you are meeting up here with some friends, could you tell me a little bit more about that? Do you normally meet here?...

Denny: no, well, we've only known them four or five years through our children who are in a band together. And we call ourselves the 'band parents', you know, that's how we, you know, you take them into gigs and that's how you get chatting and most of us are really good friends. And last year, one of the couples came for the first time and had a really good time. And they were not particularly into music, well, they don't dislike music but, just thought it sounds like fun, came and really enjoyed it. And they're coming back this year and with the others as well...

Interviewer: and you organised it before hand and got the tents?...

Susan: yes, we brought the tents and put them up...

Denny: yeah, that was, not necessarily trying to be good friends but sort of on the practical side. If you don't put them up now, we would not be able to camp next to each other. Although you do see some people putting up signs 'please don't put your tent up here my mate is coming', so you go, oooh, I could have done that, why did not we think of that! (laughing) Because it's a bit frantic, on Wednesday, we get closest to divorce when we put the tents up (S laughing)...no no, that's not right, what are you doing...'

Susan: yea but we always make up quickly and it's all good...you have to work together, you know..

Interviewer: I suppose you have different tents to put up...

Denny: yeayeah, you're never quite sure how far we're to put them...but they're still standing, yeah...So we're sort of, the couple who are coming for the first time, we're not sure if they'll enjoy it, 'cause you know, wet and muddy, and 'oh god'...

Interviewer: alright, so you're kind of worried...

Denny: yeah, well I am, you (to S) are like, 'well,...they're grown up'...

Interviewer: I see, so there is an element of people who are trying to introduce someone new to this, you kind of...

Denny: almost feel responsible...

Interviewer: exactly..

Susan: you do...

Denny: I do, yea. I'm a worrier. But yeah, the couple who came last year, it was the same then, I thought oh god (mumbling)...

Susan: yeah, well they would not be coming back if they had not enjoyed it...

Denny: no no, I appreciate that...

Interviewer: as long as they have a good pair of wellies...

Susan: yea yea...

Denny: you can't control the weather...no.

Interviewer: So, over the past couple of days, have you met up with anyone else you knew?...

Denny: no, no and we did not bump into anyone either...

Susan: well no, we've seen faces, we saw the guy who's the electrician...

Denny: oh yea, one person who we got chatting to last year we sat down at the same table and sort of talking this year. But that's it really...

Susan: I'm sure, I was speaking to a woman last night who it's her tenth year. And I'm sure it draws people back year on year. But I guess like a lot of festivals do. I know WOMAD, you sort of go back every year, or Glastonbury, so it becomes part of your, this is our summer holiday thing, we would not normally go camping...

Denny: well it is, we have not been abroad for quite a few years now and this is sort of a ...

Susan: yea, so we put (Music&ArtsFest) on the calendar and it becomes part of our year.

Interviewer: it's quite interesting, you sort of do come here regularly, I have not see too many people who would come here regularly without arranging it and just bump into the same people, it seems a bit too big for that, it's not quite small enough for you to bump into people that you know from last year that you would recognise...

Denny: yeah, although...

Susan: no, but we sort of not desperately social. We don't sort of gout of our way to make ne acquaintances. So although we may sit and chat to someone for a while, it's not, it does not then become a relationship. It's just a few moments of chitchat about whatever is going on, the weather or, you know. So I don't think we don't do that, really, don't do holiday to make more friends....

Denny: nono. But you do then bump into the same people again, it's not huge...

Interviewer: right, you do recognise the same people again...

Denny: we have not made any lasting relationships with people that we kept in contact with, no...

Interviewer: my next question was gonna be about that, the interactions with strangers, bumping into people, how do you interact with...

Denny: well, we do, we're friendly and everything. But it's not like we come here hoping to make some new friends....

Interviewer: so the situations are, like you said, you sit next to someone? Could you give me an example, like, describe...

Denny: well, you just chat...

Susan: last night we were sat next to a couple of women and ...

Denny: you were chatting (laughs)..

Susan: generally you went off to the bar or something...

Denny: yeah, I sat there with a pint...

Susan: yea. But generally like when you're stood next to somebody then you just naturally chat. Especially when you're having a terrible time, 'cause the weather's awful, so you've got a common, you're sort of sharing that with everybody else...

Denny: common enemy...

Susan: oh yeah, it's nice. I like that part of it. And I think the Social (tent) is very good for that. Because it's, the way it's designed, it's very good, the seating thing. Especially during the day, did you go there during the day? There's lots of little seating bits...

Denny: yea. But one thing was a big talking point with anyone else. For the first year they seemed to have security at the Social. I suppose they always had stewards but now..and they were sort of in there taking youngsters with cans and they were taking the cans off them And I thought, that's not a good idea, you're gonna do that with the wrong person and start some trouble...

Susan: yeah. They certainly changed it this year. We noticed that and thought, ok, its' always been very relaxed....

Denny: and I whether they did that, council had said you've got to do that, or drinks suppliers of that's where that came from, or whether they had any trouble, we'd never seen any! You see a few teenagers but no one causes any trouble, I think. And, but also, earlier on they were taking cans off teenagers but later on there were some older people and they sort of said, oh, you can't have that or go out with that. They were not taking it off them. You know, either you do it or don't do it!...

Interviewer: right, I suppose, underage drinking as opposed to consuming your own..

Denny: yeah, but they were not, I don't think it was underage drinking, because they were not asking for any proof of identity and they could have been 18...(I talk about the incident I saw with the security and some kids at the Social)...

Susan: yeah, but we've never known that, It's always been very low key. There's not been any real security as such, more steward...

Denny: no. And letting, later on in the evening, it was sort of letting people in one in one out sort of thing. Which, you know, it was not really packed...(complains about how he had to queue up after he had to leave the Social and come back to his wife)...

Interviewer: do you think that's something that could potentially put you off? If it became controlled...

Denny: well, if it became, yea...

Susan: although I think that's also weather dependent. If it is a nice balmy evening, then we'd say, oh we'll just go out and wonder around. But if you really want your seat inside, and it's raining, which last night was just horrendous, ehm, then yeah, that would potentially be a problem....

Denny: yeah, but it's the Social, it's not an independent thing, it's part of the whole thing. So they just make you go outside the Social and don't care what you do out there which is a bit strange, isn't it, it's still part of the festival...

Susan: yeah. It would be a shame if it got tied down a little bit more, a bit more attention to the rules...

Denny: yes, it's the rules, isn't it, that says that you can't have underage drinking, you can't buy alcohol under 18, so we were not breaking the rule...

Interviewer: see, you mentioned the rules, I was trying to find out whether there are any implicit social rules and norms at festivals, and what they are. Like for instance, you're here at the Family Camping so presumably you must be prepared for kids running around screaming. I'm just trying to see how tolerant people are towards each other, what are the rules of engagement?...

Denny: yea yeah...the reason we're here is because it's closest to the car park. But yea, equally, you're in the family area so you know there could likely be screaming kids. You just, fingers crossed. And it hasn't been at all...

Susan: well, it's never been a problem...

Denny: no no, not at all. Well, we did think that it is a very middle-class festival, we came to that, didn't

we...

Susan: yea...

Denny: you know, it's all...

Susan: very well behaved...

Interviewer: tell me a little bit more about that...

Denny: well...(hesitates)...there seems to be...

Susan: it's very well behaved...

Interviewer: polite?...

Susan: yeah...

Denny: we haven't (in a hushed voice) heard anyone screaming at their kids, which isn't to say that middle-class people don't do that, but (laughs)...

Susan: it's sort of more genteel. And that's not good or bad, it's just an observation rather than...

Denny: yes. Like last year, there was lots of kids from a posh school around here...(interruption as S comments on the hundreds of tiny spiders plaguing the campsite)

Denny: yeah, it's, well middle class is not always very cocky, but yeah, and everyone is, well you're right. It's things like, what we, well very antisocial. I was trying to sort of, we have a little bit of a walkway there and I was trying to put out the ties across to perhaps stop it being a walkway, which is, hehe, it's very antisocial...And people sort of walk by and I go (makes a grumpy face)...

Interviewer: it's strange, isn't it, 'cause you're in the middle of a field, and no one has any claim on any plots...

Denny: no no, it's like personal space, isn't it, you think you have that round your tent...

Interviewer: it's really weird...

Susan: yeah, it's a natural thing isn't it, make a home and then part of that is your space. And...

Interviewer: yeah, even for me, just walking around here and crossing those guy ropes it feels like I should be knocking, saying 'excuse me', like I'm going into their back yea..S+

Denny: yea yea...

Susan: you don't become a completely different person just because you're in a tent in a field. You sort of bring your same sort of mentality as you're at home. And you're front door or your personal space, or whether that's personal or property space, you bring that with you. You have not changed your personality because you're in a tent in a field

Interviewer: that's really fascinating. I'm not a regular festival goer but I thought festivals were very much about people developing sort of a sense of equality, no class, gender...

Susan: that's rubbish.

Denny: yeah...yeah. There's a bit up there where they've got almost a picket fence around. And you sort of think, although, that's a real double standard, you think that's a really good idea. But then you go, oh, well they can't do that, it's not their field! So it's exactly, if I had thought..haha. So it is a double...

Interviewer: see, so I am trying to think how this translates into people's social behaviours. You said you don't go out of your way to socialise...

Susan: yeah and that's exactly how we are at home, isn't it...

Interviewer: yea?...

Denny: yeah...

Interviewer: So is it any different when you are here?...

Susan: no, well, if we're on sort of normal holidays, we tend to be quite happy with each other's company. I know that we've got some friends coming, but they're friends. We wouldn't make friends with those people over there....

Denny: well, yeah, we would not be unfriendly, but we would not go out of our way...There's another couple our age, we could have a chat with them, we would do that, but equally, we would not avoid talking to them...

Interviewer: right, so you're still open to it...

Denny: yeah, definitely. Like I said, we're pretty sociable. But part of the reason to come isn't, like we said, to make new friends, definitely, it's to have a laugh with the people we camp with and enjoy the vibe and that sort of thing. But not particularly to, necessarily interact with other people.

Interviewer: it's just the fact that you are among other people, the social atmosphere that makes it slightly different?...

Susan: yeah...

Denny: yeah. And I mean, you do feel a bit of a, you do have a bit of a community spirit, especially in this weather everyone's down, you getting out, going out and you see someone else doing to same, bloody hell, getting wet, that sort of thing...

Interviewer: I was waiting to see if there was gonna be any of this Dunkirk spirit, you know, oh right, it's awful but let's get on with it...we can do it!

Denny: yeah, well, if you are that sort who likes sitting around being miserable you would not come in here. When you come, you go and get wet, you get wet, you know, you're not gonna die. There is a bit it that, when it's pissing down, 'whose idea was this', you know (both laugh)...

Susan: last night was one of the worst under canvas nights we've had. Yesterday, it started about midday and didn't stop...

Interviewer: yeah, at least 6 hours straight...

Susan: and it got heavier and heavier. So yeah, that was, that sort of tested me a bit. I don't think I want another day like that. I want to stay here, 'cause I don't wanna miss anything, but then again...hmmm. so that progression from being a little pop-up tent at Glastonbury or WOMAD to sort of thinking, right, now, and then next being a B&B...

Denny: yeah, it's a bit far the other way, isn't it. We thought her parents might like it, but the stepdad does not like camping. But then, you can't do a B&B, say, you want to have a drink and then you get caught...and it would just get very expensive...

Susan: yeah. And part of it is being in it, rather than keeping on coming back into it. I think that would, might not be such a good experience, to just go away, you would not, it would not belong to you at all, it would just be like going to a National Trust House or something.

Interviewer: I suppose, yea, you kind of get the best of both, 'cause you're here..

Susan: yeah, you're part of it, everyone else is part of it, so everyone else is caked in mud. So turning up in your sort of pristine plastic stuff...

Denny: oooh, you're shunned! (both laugh) You're not a proper camper!...

Susan: yea...if you haven't got mud splattered up your trousers...(mimicking a posh accent) 'jolly, you must be B&B-ing!' (laughs)

Interviewer: I don't know if you saw the comedy night last night, they kept picking up on that, they were saying, oh, you're posh and clean, I bet you're staying in a B&B. And they said 'yea, we've paid for it, we're gonna get through it'...

Denny: yes, well, that's it exactly, that's part of what makes you turn up, you paid a better part of 400 quid, you've gotta go! But, logic is telling you, 'why are you going, why are you going, it's horrendous, you know, you're gonna get soaked'...but, ah, yeah...

Susan: yea. And we've got one son in (incomprehensible – festival in another location). Looks like he's made the best decision here...

Denny: yeah. And we have another one who is at Cheltenham festival just now, so I imagine it's pretty bad in here as well but we have not heard from him...

Interviewer: that's the thing, at least we can be consoled by the idea that it's the same everywhere else...

Susan: yea yea...

Interviewer: I was also interested in, whether the physical layout of the festival, how conducive that is to people socialising with each other, and if there are places where specifically people congregate. I mean, apart from the...because obviously, yesterday it was raining so people seek shelter...

Denny: yea...

Interviewer: but since you have been here before...

Denny: I think it's generally set up quite well, because, you know, yea, everyone just, there's loads of places to just sit down and have a drink. Like all, when it's wet everyone just goes inside, but generally round the garden and the woods, there's always people sat down. And they have this little camp, there's people very organised, they carry their chairs and have a little picnic there...

Susan: and it's a very small site as well so you can just sort of potter around and yeah, I would say, it was set out really nicely. And it's a beautiful garden as well. So you really feel like this is a lovely place to be, from a point of view it's just beautiful. So you can just hang around in the gardens, making it quite social. 'Cause it's small spaces, little sort of pockets of space, they're nice a very social garden.

Interviewer: Do you know, the sheltered areas, the food areas and that, has that always been here?...

Susan: since we have been coming, yes...

Interviewer: I thought that was great, with the weather being as it is you really need that...

Denny: yea..

Susan: yea, 'cause again you want somewhere to sit, not get water in your food...

Denny: and the tea bus is really good

Interviewer: last question, one of my supervisors is really interested in the role of technology at festivals, phones specifically and smart phones....

Denny: ah, right, yea...

Interviewer: but obviously, you've got your radio, all the mod-cons, but how do you feel about that? Because I thought that a lot of people would want to get away from that?...

Denny: well, it is a sort of double-edged sword. On the one hand, if you did not have your mobile, well before they came on people managed, but I sort of...well, one, we've got them because we need to be in contact with our friends. And I have mine as well partly for work...

Interviewer: right, so you do stay connected...

Denny: yes, there's a few things I have to...but I mean, again, it's only five days, could do without on the whole I think but it's obviously...we use it for clock as well. And trying to work out how to take photographs with them. Yeah, so...we manage, yeah. It's useful...

Susan: yea. We don't need them apart from when our friends turn up, they'll probably let us know when they're here, I guess. (again, interruption due to small spiders)...

Denny: I think with the, all this technology, they create a need, don't they. Sell it, anyway. So I think, we, well it's a first year with the radio thing...

Susan: yeah, just a radio, it's just nice when we're not listening to the music to just sit and listen to the radio (giggles)...

Denny: but again, we're sort of thinking, do you think that's a bit too loud? We don't wanna piss anyone off...I don't know, does that answer your question?

Interviewer: yeah, as I said, I just wanted to see if people want to stay connected or not. It does seem like people here try and get away from it, treat it as a bit of escapism, maybe at some other types of festivals it would be much more prominent that people would really just get away...

Susan: yea, switch off from what's outside the festival. We haven't experienced one of those, have we...

Denny: yea, but I mean, the thing though as well is, and that's what we like as well about this one, it's not this big corporate festival. Glastonbury has become O2 or Orange and then it just becomes really corporate, and then it all gets on telly and so, BBC probably start dictating about, and it sort of loses control....

Susan: hmmm and with this one, it never seems to completely sell out of tickets. Ehm, which is how Glastonbury used to be, never seemed to, well people jumped the fence, you did not always have to buy a ticket. But now, the tickets go on sale and sell out in five minutes. It's this ridiculous game you have to play, all the hoops you have to jump through to get to something you don't wanna go to any more, anyway. Whereas here, it's a bit more, the whole thing is relaxed. Because it's not sponsored by British Gas. And it's not on the telly or on the radio, it feels like you can remove yourself, you know, you're mum's not gonna see you doing...(all laugh)...

Interviewer: I suppose for a lot of them that's the point, to get on the telly...

Susan: yea yea...

Susan: but yea, that is quite a nice thing, not to have all this corporate stuff thrown at you all the time. You know, you gotta accept it, it's everywhere, but it's...and I think that means, because it's not advertised, it's not getting a big draw. Which is lovely, it would be nice if it stayed like this...

Interviewer: yeah, I suppose it would not be sustainable as they need to keep the site...

Susan: yea, it's quite a small site. I suppose it's like that with anything...but it would be nice if it stayed like this..

Interviewer: thank you so much...

(INTERVIEW CONCLUDES)

Appendix 8 Initial 'broad-brush' coding

Code name	Code description	Coded in x number of sources	Number of citations coded
Before and after festival	References to the social context and interactions that take place outside immediate festival social situation (e.g. arriving at and leaving the festival, but also ongoing social communities that go beyond the immediate consumption situation).	50	110
Campsite	References to the physical context of a campsite and its characteristics	61	306
Comparisons with other contexts	Participants' discourse and comparisons with other festival contexts and experiences (but also other general non-festival contexts).	53	286
Festival arena	References to the physical context of the festival arena, its characteristics and contents	48	202
Festival feedback	Feedback for festival organisers - what do people say about the festival, e.g. location, programming features, service, facilities	66	357
Festival programming	References to festival content and programming features that indicate how co-creation may already be facilitated or supported by organiser	62	284
Personal factors in co-creation	Mentions of person-specific aspects that affect interactions, including motivation of a person, their social skills and role they adopt as a co-creator (e.g. festival type)	61	516
Situational rules	References to both explicit and implicit rules and norms present in the festival context. In particular eluding to the liminoid nature of the context in which co-creation takes place.	65	490
Social atmosphere	Evaluative references to the character, feeling or mood of a place or situation.	52	149
Social practices	References to the 'doings', routine actions and behaviours that describe what the different types of social co-creation units (families, groups of friends, tribes) actually do at the festival, the ways in which actions are performed and the tools/images associated with these.	76	1291
Stranger interactions	References to incidents and interactions between strangers and the conditions under which people interact/do not interact with strangers.	57	362
Weather	References to the weather and how it may impact on attendees' practices and interactions	48	172

Appendix 9 Organising codes into categories and sub-categories

Coding category	Level 1 sub-codes	Level 2 sub-codes	Level 3 sub-codes
contextual factors in co-creation			
	physical context		
		campsite	
			<i>festival programming at campsite</i>
			<i>food facilities at campsite</i>
		festival arena	
			<i>festival programming</i>
			<i>food area</i>
			<i>vendors and shopping</i>
		festivity	
			<i>bunting</i>
			<i>costumes</i>
			<i>enjoyment</i>
			<i>flags</i>
			<i>holiday</i>
			<i>lack of festivity symbols</i>
		weather	
			<i>being outside tents</i>
	rule and norm structures		
		explicit rules	
			<i>campsite regulations & safety</i>
		liminality	
			<i>altered sense of time</i>
			<i>different</i>
			<i>escapism</i>
			<i>no chores</i>
			<i>no obligations</i>
			<i>no worries</i>
			<i>relaxing</i>
			<i>respect for others</i>

Coding category	Level 1 sub-codes	Level 2 sub-codes	Level 3 sub-codes
			<i>sense of equality</i>
personal factors in co-creation			
	common factors		
		<i>curiosity</i>	
		<i>dogs</i>	
		<i>food</i>	
	interaction goals		
	like-mindedness		
	motivation		
		<i>importance of social aspect</i>	
	social skills		
	type of visitor		
		<i>camping type</i>	
		<i>day visitors</i>	
			<i>bumping into friends</i>
			<i>day out</i>
			<i>lack of immersion</i>
		<i>festival type</i>	
		<i>perceived class differences</i>	
		<i>regular visitors</i>	
social atmosphere			
	friendly atmosphere		
	party atmosphere		
	relaxed atmosphere		
	safe atmosphere		
	threatening atmosphere		
	tired atmosphere		
	unsettled atmosphere		
social practices			
	Temporary Communitas		
		<i>dancing</i>	
		<i>following suit</i>	

Coding category	Level 1 sub-codes	Level 2 sub-codes	Level 3 sub-codes
		<i>hedonism</i>	
			<i>drugs</i>
			<i>use of alcohol</i>
		<i>helping</i>	
		<i>meeting same people regularly</i>	
		<i>obligations around children</i>	
		<i>recognising familiar faces</i>	
		<i>sharing bad aspects</i>	
		<i>sharing food and drinks</i>	
		<i>sharing know-how</i>	
		<i>sharing resources</i>	
		<i>showing interest</i>	
		<i>showing solidarity</i>	
	Detached Customers		
		<i>escaping from usual social circles</i>	
		<i>insulation</i>	
		<i>listening to music</i>	
		<i>organising private parties</i>	
		<i>putting up physical barriers</i>	
		<i>space appropriation</i>	
	Ongoing Neo-tribes		
		<i>extending social networks</i>	
		<i>setting up communal areas</i>	
		<i>tribal practices</i>	
			<i>campervan tribe</i>
			<i>collecting memorabilia</i>
			<i>forming cliques</i>
			<i>motorhome tribe</i>
			<i>open to strangers</i>
			<i>self-governance</i>
			<i>sense of belonging</i>
			<i>tribe coming together</i>
	other		

Coding category	Level 1 sub-codes	Level 2 sub-codes	Level 3 sub-codes
		<i>camping</i>	
			<i>arranging space</i>
			<i>basicness of camping</i>
			<i>being outdoors</i>
			<i>close to nature</i>
			<i>cooking</i>
			<i>freedom of camping</i>
			<i>immersion</i>
			<i>material possessions</i>
		<i>use of technology & social media</i>	
			<i>using phone</i>
	Social Bubble		
		<i>being outside tents</i>	
		<i>bringing own drinks</i>	
		<i>bumping into friends</i>	
		<i>catching up with friends</i>	
		<i>coming together with friends</i>	
		<i>drinking together</i>	
		<i>eating together</i>	
		<i>experiencing with friends</i>	
		<i>family time</i>	
		<i>getting to festival</i>	
		<i>going for walks</i>	
		<i>going with the flow</i>	
		<i>interactions during interviews [formerly banter]</i>	
		<i>learning about festival WOM</i>	
		<i>playing</i>	
		<i>sharing tasks</i>	
		<i>spending time together</i>	
		<i>splitting up</i>	
		<i>tent arrangements</i>	
		<i>turning up together</i>	
		<i>unpacking tensions</i>	

Coding category	Level 1 sub-codes	Level 2 sub-codes	Level 3 sub-codes
		<i>visiting together</i>	
	Stranger Encounters		
		<i>co-creation facilitators</i>	
			<i>artefacts in the festival landscape</i>
			<i>congregation point</i>
			<i>surprises</i>
		<i>exchanging festival feedback</i>	
		<i>finding common ground</i>	
		<i>lack of socialising</i>	
			<i>awkwardness</i>
			<i>barriers to interactions</i>
			<i>difficulty approaching strangers</i>
			<i>hard to socialise</i>
		<i>meeting new people</i>	
other themes			
	comparisons with other [festival] contexts		
	festival feedback		
		<i>facilities</i>	
		<i>festival target market</i>	
		<i>location</i>	
		<i>organisers providing choice of activities</i>	
		<i>value for money</i>	
	outside the festival context		

Appendix 10 Coding-on and refining categories and sub-categories

Theme	Level 1 codes	Level 2 sub-codes	Level 3 sub-codes	Level 4 sub-codes	
Co-creation practices	Inward orientation	<i>belongingness</i>	conforming	drinking ale	
				engaging in tribal discourse	
				wearing tribal clothes	
				displaying memorabilia	
				exchanging (genre-specific) knowledge and interests	jamming
				initiating	
			<i>bonding, cohesion [togetherness]</i>	coming together at festival, reuniting	bumping into friends
				communicating	catching up
					passing on values
					sharing jokes, bantering
					sharing opinions and insights
					showing off
					telling stories
					consuming together
					cooking together
					drinking alcohol together
					eating together
					escaping, relaxing together
					dancing together
					listening to music
					playing together
					sex and sensual
					sharing (extraordinary, special) experience
					looking after each other
					working together
					deciding on pitch
					organising and planning activities on site
			task distribution		
			unpacking tensions		
		<i>insularity, detachment</i>	keeping to themselves, staying together	closing off to outsiders	
				extending own social networks	
				keeping within comfort zone	
				seeking physical distance from others	
			territoriality	appropriating, pushing for space	
				'circling the wagons'	

Theme	Level 1 codes	Level 2 sub-codes	Level 3 sub-codes	Level 4 sub-codes
				creating (symbolic) barriers
				marking out own space
	Outward orientation	connection [establishing connection with strangers - connecting]	empathising [relating to others] (or is this kinship)	bearing discomfort together
				externalising privacy
				sharing specific experiences, incidents
			finding out about each other	getting to know neighbours
			helping	lending, sharing resources (camping)
				offering lifts
				offering physical help
				sharing consumables
		friendliness [perfunctory, superficial encounters - encountering]	advising and informing	
			chit-chatting	exchanging (festival) feedback
				greeting
			interaction aids	using alcohol as an interaction tool
				using humour as an ice-breaker
			recognising familiar faces	
		kinship (communing)	caring [looking out for each other]	apologising
				being responsible
				decorating, creating
				trusting
			confiding, sharing intimacy	
			equalising	including, welcoming strangers
				gravitating together
			fun making	hedonism
				playfulness
			rekindling, reconnecting	
Servicescape	Festival content	catering and facilities		
		programming and sequencing	genre focus	mainstream genres
				mixed genre
				specialist genre
	Festival scale	large festivals		
		small festivals		
	Location and accessibility			

Theme	Level 1 codes	Level 2 sub-codes	Level 3 sub-codes	Level 4 sub-codes
	Marketing and pricing	<i>commercialisation and sponsorship</i>		
		<i>grassroots marketing</i>		
		<i>pricing strategies</i>		
	Service and staff			
	Target audience	<i>age</i>	<i>middle-aged</i>	
			<i>mixed ages (family friendly)</i>	
			<i>young</i>	
		<i>alternative, ethnic minorities</i>		
		<i>social class</i>	<i>middle class</i>	
			<i>mixed</i>	
			<i>underclass</i>	
			<i>working class</i>	
Subject-specific practice elements	Festival experience	<i>inexperienced, first-time visitors</i>		
		<i>regular visitors</i>		
	Immersion	<i>campers (fully immersed)</i>		
		<i>day visitors (transient)</i>		
	Motivation	<i>camping and social</i>		
		<i>combined social atmosphere and programming</i>		
		<i>new experience</i>		
		<i>programme and music</i>		
		<i>utilitarian</i>		
	Social skills and personality	<i>confident</i>		
		<i>easygoing</i>		
		<i>emphatic</i>		
		<i>insulatory</i>		
		<i>judgemental</i>		
		<i>outgoing, talkative</i>		
		<i>shy, reserved</i>		
		<i>tolerant, just</i>		
	Social unit size	<i>family</i>		
		<i>large group</i>		
		<i>small group</i>		
		<i>visiting alone</i>		
	Specialisation and fandom	<i>fan, band follower</i>		
		<i>genre enthusiast</i>		
		<i>novice</i>		
Situation-specific practice elements	Festivity	<i>fairground programme elements</i>		

Theme	Level 1 codes	Level 2 sub-codes	Level 3 sub-codes	Level 4 sub-codes
		<i>festivity artefacts</i>	art installations	
			bunting	
			circus artefacts	
			fairy lights	
			flags	
	Physical context	<i>campsite</i>	congregation places	
			facilities	
			festival programming at campsite	
			glamping	
		<i>festival arena</i>	catering seating areas	
			'third spaces'	
			vendors and shopping areas	
			venues and performances	
			workshops	
	Rule and norm structure	<i>explicit rules</i>	campsite regulations	
			festival regulations	
		<i>implicit norms</i>	holiday space norms	altered sense of time
				away from usual social circles
				close to nature
				on holiday
				free from pressures
				lack of rigid structure
			liminoid space norms	alternative cultures acceptable
				ludic behaviours acceptable
				non-standard look acceptable
				role reversal acceptable
				lack of pretentiousness
				lack of social barriers (melting pot)
				expectation of openness
				friendliness ethos
				intimacy
				solidarity, common features, attributes
				shared experience
				shared interest
				shared values and ethos
				absence of overt security
				caring ethos

Theme	Level 1 codes	Level 2 sub-codes	Level 3 sub-codes	Level 4 sub-codes
				perceived safety [safe atmosphere]
				respectfulness
				self-governance
				trustworthiness
			non-limnoid space norms	lack of festivity symbols
				peer pressure
				presence of everyday pressures
				mistrust
				selfishness
				violence and threat
				cliquiness
				pretentiousness
				visitor segregation
	Situational goals	<i>altruistic goals (gessellschaft)</i>	autotelic socialisation	
			companionship with like-minded people	
			enjoyment for everyone	
			getting along	
			sharing special experience [genre celebration]	
		<i>self-centred goals (gemeinschaft)</i>	nurturing personal relationships and network building	
			party	
			relaxation	
			rite of passage	
			satisfying sexual motives	
			self-development	
	Weather	<i>bad weather conditions</i>		
		<i>being practical</i>		
		<i>good weather</i>		

Appendix 11 Reduction and abstraction of coding categories

Theme	Level 1 categories	Level 2 sub-categories	Level 3 sub-categories	Coded in x number of sources	Number of citations coded	
Value orientation	Private domain	<i>Belonging</i>		42	123	
			Conforming			
			Initiating			
		Trading				
		<i>Bonding</i>		50	318	
			Collaborating			
			Communicating			
			Sharing			
		<i>Detaching</i>		53	188	
			Insulating			
			Non-conforming			
			Territoriality			
		Public domain	<i>Amiability</i>		52	261
	Acknowledging					
	Advising					
Conversing						
<i>Communing</i>			52	276		
		Embracing				
		Fun-making				
		Rekindling				
		Trusting				
		<i>Connecting</i>		44	178	
		Confiding				
		Helping				
		Relating				
Situation-specific practice elements	Extrinsic rule structures					
		<i>Contrived</i>		31	62	
		<i>Genuine</i>		18	30	
	Intrinsic rule structures	<i>Holiday-like rules</i>		50	168	
			Altered sense of time			
		Being away				

Theme	Level 1 categories	Level 2 sub-categories	Level 3 sub-categories	Coded in x number of sources	Number of citations coded
			Lack of rigid structure		
		<i>Liminoid rules</i>		58	384
			Acceptance		
			Friendliness and openness		
			Respect and trust		
			Social equality		
	Social density				
		<i>High social density</i>		20	29
		<i>Lower social density</i>		23	33
	Space designation and layout				
		<i>Private spaces</i>		36	81
			Appropriated spaces		
			Campsite segregation		
			Inside tents		
			Third spaces in festivalscape		
		<i>Public spaces</i>		43	229
			Bars and catering seating areas		
			Congregation places at campsite		
			In performances		
			Open spaces		
			Vendors and shopping areas		
		<i>Semi-public spaces</i>		58	215
			Campsite porches and fires		
			Facilities		
			Social relax spaces		
			Venue at campsite		
			Workshops		
Subject-specific practice elements	Level of immersion				
		<i>Immersed visitors</i>		54	2450
		<i>Transient visitors</i>		19	77
	Level of specialisation				
		<i>Committed visitors</i>		32	68
		<i>Interested visitors</i>		45	1353
		<i>Novice visitors</i>		17	404
	Skills and experience				
		<i>High level skills</i>		36	135
		<i>Low level skills</i>		17	29

Theme	Level 1 categories	Level 2 sub-categories	Level 3 sub-categories	Coded in x number of sources	Number of citations coded
	Social class identity				
		<i>Mixed class identity</i>		23	30
		<i>Older middle class</i>		51	2310
		<i>Predominantly working class</i>		50	1900
		<i>Younger middle-class</i>		45	1652
	Social unit size and make-up				
		<i>Larger size - close-knit groupings</i>		16	394
		<i>Larger size - looser groupings</i>		16	540
		<i>Smaller size - looser groupings</i>		29	1119
		<i>Smaller size - close-knit groupings</i>		16	47

Appendix 12 List of publications

Journal Articles:

Rihova, I., Buhalis, D., Moital, M., Gouthro, M-B. (2013) Social layers of customer-to-customer value co-creation. *Journal of Service Management*, 24 (5), 553-566

Book Chapters:

Rihova, I., Buhalis, D., Moital, M., Gouthro, M-B. (in preparation) Social constructions of value: marketing considerations for the context of events and festival visitation. *In: Moufakkir, O. and Pernecky, T. (eds.) Ideological, Social and Cultural Aspects of Events.* (Accepted 11th June 2013)

Conference Proceedings:

Rihova, I., Buhalis, D., Moital, M. and Gouthro, M.-B., 2012. Social constructions of value: considerations for the context of festival participation. *In: Mykletun, R. J. ed. Proceedings of the Global Events Congress V: Advances in Event Management Research & Practice*, 13th - 15th June 2012, Stavanger, Norway: University of Stavanger, 107-118.

Appendix 13 Fieldwork risk assessment

Type of risk (Level)	Solution strategy
Bad weather results in event cancellation or makes data collection on site difficult (Medium)	Have alternative festivals in mind for July/August; attend some festivals with indoor venues and accommodation
Access to festival and/or festival visitors denied by festival organisers (Low)	Contact organisers through email using BU email address, offer to send letter of recommendation from BU; follow up with phone calls; keep in touch with organisers on a regular basis
Participants refuse to be observed (Low)	Avoid being too obtrusive when taking notes; photograph from a distance or back view of people close-up; ask permission if close-up photographs of people needed
Participants refuse to be interviewed (Medium)	Avoid looking too formal and try to fit in with the festival style of clothing/ attire; carry BU badge/business cards; approach with a friendly demeanour/smile; start with an informal chat; ask for help and keep explanation about project simple
Personal safety at the festivals (Low)	Stay alert; do not force/push participants for answers in any way, do not approach potential participants if they appear drunk or dangerous; carry personal possessions and equipment/valuables at all times; find out who to approach in case of trouble; make detailed schedule of movements and leave with family/colleagues;
Researcher falls sick (Medium)	Take care of personal health; have alternative festival dates in mind
Observations carried out from one site only (Low)	Assess how many different locations within the festival site and carry out observations on a variety of locations
Observations stereotypical with respect to actors and behaviours (Low)	Be reflexive; based on observation schedule choose a wide variety of actors and social behaviours to observe, targeting different ages, group types/sizes
Selection of potential interviewees biased toward specific demographic (Low)	Identify what the characteristics of festival attendees are based on marketing materials, communication with organisers and observations on site and devise a criteria-based screening sheet that will be used to target a variety of interviewees
Difficulty finding quiet/relatively private locations for conducting interviews (Medium)	Arrange for interviews to be conducted in quieter locations at the festival sites; carry quality recording equipment with sound filters

Appendix 14 Ethics form



Initial Research Ethics Checklist

Note: All researchers must complete this brief checklist to identify any ethical issues associated with their research. Before completing, please refer to the BU Research Ethics Code of Practice which can be found www.bournemouth.ac.uk/researchethics. School Research Ethics Representatives (or Supervisors in the case of students) can advise on appropriate professional judgement in this review. A list of Representatives can be found at the aforementioned webpage.

Sections 1-5 must be completed by the researcher and Section 6 by School Ethics Representative/ Supervisor prior to the commencement of any research.

1 RESEARCHER DETAILS					
Name	Ivana Rihova				
Email					
Status	<input type="checkbox"/> Undergraduate	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Postgraduate		<input type="checkbox"/> Staff	
School	<input type="checkbox"/> BS	<input type="checkbox"/> CS	<input type="checkbox"/> DEC	<input type="checkbox"/> HSC	<input type="checkbox"/> MS <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ST
Degree Framework & Programme	John Kent Institute in Tourism				
2 PROJECT DETAILS					
Project Title	Consumers as producers: customer-to-customer co-creation in the context of festival experiences				
Project Summary <i>Sufficient detail is needed; include methodology, sample, outcomes etc</i>	<p>Approached from the S-D logic perspective, the research project aims to provide an understanding of customer-to-customer co-creation in the socially dense context of festivals. The research will contribute to theory by expanding on the traditional individualist, subjective and phenomenological view of consumer value in services research. Contribution to practice will be made by proposing a customer-to-customer co-creation framework, which can be used to create value propositions that facilitate more valuable social experiences.</p> <p>Constructivist and interpretivist principles guide the research, with data collection and analysis emphasising the contextual and socially co-created nature of value. Pilot interviews will be undertaken with 6 participants to gain initial insights about the setting and the theoretical constructs in play. Through participant observation and interviews in a number of festival settings the researcher will then explore the customers' co-creation processes, and gain an understanding of the complex social structures present in the setting.</p> <p>Participant observation will be undertaken in four to five purposefully selected festival settings, so that customers' co-creation processes can be assessed reflexively. The researcher will adopt an overt observer role; a variety of social practices, behaviours, actors and situations will be observed unobtrusively in different places within the festival settings. During observations a sample of approximately 10 participants will be identified and approached both for opportunistic, conversational interviewing, and for more formal, recorded semi-structured interviews (a total of approximately 50 both conversational and formal interviews over the five settings). These will help illuminate participants' value co-creation processes from an emic perspective, allowing for a more rigorous data collection procedure.</p> <p>It is envisaged that distance photographs will be taken to help illustrate the research setting and specific artefacts within it (provided permission is given by festival organisers). Data will be managed using nVivo 9 and analysed using qualitative content analysis.</p>				

Proposed Start & End Dates	September 2011 – August 2012 (proposed data collection)		
Project Supervisor	Professor Dimitrios Buhalis, Dr. Miguel Moital, Dr. Mary-Beth Gouthro		
Framework Project Co-ordinator			
3 ETHICS REVIEW CHECKLIST – PART A			
I	Is approval from an external Research Ethics Committee (e.g. Local Research Ethics Committee (REC), NHS REC) required/sought?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
II	Is the research solely literature-based?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
III	Does the research involve the use of any dangerous substances, including radioactive materials?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
IV	Does the research involve the use of any potentially dangerous equipment?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
V	Could conflicts of interest arise between the source of funding and the potential outcomes of the research? (see section 8 of BU Research Ethics Code of Practice).	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
VI	Is it likely that the research will put any of the following at risk:	Living creatures?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
		Stakeholders?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
		Researchers?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
		Participants?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
		The environment?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
		The economy?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
VII	Does the research involve experimentation on any of the following:	Animals?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
		Animal tissues?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
	Human tissues (including blood, fluid, skin, cell lines)?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
	Genetically modified organisms?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
VIII	Will the research involve prolonged or repetitive testing, or the collection of audio, photographic or video materials?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
IX	Could the research induce psychological stress or anxiety, cause harm or have negative consequences for the participants or researcher (beyond the risks encountered in normal life)?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
X	Will the study involve discussion of sensitive topics (e.g. sexual activity, drug use, criminal activity)?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
XI	Will financial inducements be offered (other than reasonable expenses/ compensation for time)?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
XII	Will it be necessary for the participants to take part in the study without their knowledge / consent at the time?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
XIII	Are there problems with the participant's right to remain anonymous?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
XIV	Does the research <i>specifically</i> involve participants who may be vulnerable?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
XV	Might the research involve participants who may lack the capacity to decide or to give informed consent to their involvement?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
4 ETHICS REVIEW CHECKLIST – PART B			

Ethical Issue: Participant observation	Action: The researcher will be attending public events, therefore participant observation is not considered to be particularly disruptive or intrusive. Consent from festival organisers will be obtained. The research will adopt the overt participant observer role. Observation will be undertaken in an unobtrusive way and the researcher will disclose her purpose/role once participants have been engaged in a prolonged conversation.		
Obtaining illustrative photographic evidence to be used to complement observational data	Consent will be obtained from festival organisers to obtain distance photographs and back view of people close-up will be pursued. Where front view close-up photographs are needed permission will be sought from participants.		
Obtaining potentially sensitive personal information during interviews (both pilot and main stage)	Informed consent will be obtained from all study participants prior to them being interviewed. Personal data will be kept safe and full anonymity of participants will be ensured by using pseudonyms and not disclosing personal details that could be linked back to interviewees.		
Other – personal safety	A risk assessment has been carried out considering researcher's personal safety while conducting fieldwork		
5 RESEARCHER STATEMENT			
I believe the information I have given is correct. I have read and understood the BU Research Ethics Code of Practice, discussed relevant insurance issues, performed a health & safety evaluation/ risk assessment and discussed any issues/ concerns with a School Ethics Representative/ Supervisor. I understand that if any substantial changes are made to the research (including methodology, sample etc), then I must notify my School Research Ethics Representative/ Supervisor and may need to submit a revised Initial Research Ethics Checklist. By submitting this form electronically I am confirming the information is accurate to my best knowledge.			
Signed	Ivana Rihova	Date	29/02/12
6 AFFIRMATION BY SCHOOL RESEARCH ETHICS REPRESENTATIVE/ SUPERVISOR			
Satisfied with the accuracy of the research project ethical statement, I believe that the appropriate action is:			
The research project proceeds in its present form		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
The research project proposal needs further assessment under the School Ethics procedure*		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
The research project needs to be returned to the applicant for modification prior to further action*		<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
<i>* The School is reminded that it is their responsibility to ensure that no project proceeds without appropriate assessment of ethical issues. In extreme cases, this can require processing by the School or University's Research Ethics Committee or by relevant external bodies.</i>			
Reviewer Signature	S. Beer	Date	29/02/12
Additional Comments	I had some discussion with Ivana about the potential subject matter related to participants' co-creation. It was not thought that this could be controversial, controversy or the discussion of sensitive subjects was not being sought, and Ivana had reflected on how she might address such issues should they arise and also how she might deal with them in terms of writing up data. Signed by Sean Beer on 29/02/2012		

Appendix 15 Information sheet and Informed consent form

Bournemouth University Festivals Research Project

Dear Festival Guest,

Thank you for your interest in this research project entitled “Co-creation of experiences in socially dense festival contexts”.

The research is being conducted as part of a PhD degree at the School of Tourism, Bournemouth University. The project is led by me, with the assistance of three senior members of Bournemouth University’s staff including Professor Dimitrios Buhalis, Deputy Director of the International Centre for Tourism Research. The organisers of this festival have given permission for the research to be undertaken.

I am interviewing festival attendees with the aim of finding out more about the social experiences and practices that relate to festival environments. What you tell me could help contribute to social policy development in the area of leisure, events and festivals, and also help festival organisers develop better management and marketing strategies for future events.

Your participation would involve a semi-structured, open-ended interview that will last for approx. 20 – 40 minutes and will be audio-recorded for later analysis. Strict ethical standards are being maintained throughout the project. Any material you provide will be treated confidentially and published in a format that does not identify individuals. The digitally recorded interview data will be stored securely and not passed on to anyone not connected with the project. Any personal and contact information you give me will be destroyed at the end of the research project. Although should you decide at any point following the interview that you would prefer me to destroy any of your details, please let me know and I will immediately comply with your request.

Thank you in advance for your help with this research project. If you would like to know more about it, I or Prof. Buhalis can be contacted at BU School of Tourism at the address provided.

(Researcher contact details)

BU FESTIVALS RESEARCH PROJECT INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Thank you for agreeing to take part in the research project entitled “Co-creation of experiences in socially dense festival contexts”. This form explains your rights as an interviewee.

I understand that:

1. My participation is entirely voluntary and I am free to withdraw from the research at any time without any disadvantage.
2. I am free to refuse to answer any questions.
3. My name or contact details will not be passed on to any third party and raw data I will provide will be kept safe from anyone not directly connected with the project.
4. Digital audio-recording of the interview will be kept secure and destroyed upon the conclusion of the research project.
5. Excerpts from the interview may be made part of the final research report, which will be accessible to public. However, every attempt will be made to preserve anonymity.

I agree / disagree to the use of audio-recording during the interview.

(Please delete as appropriate.)

I have read and understand my rights and consent to participate in the project.

Signature: _____

Name: _____

Date: _____