‘From mosh pit to posh pit’: Festival imagery in the context of the boutique festival

Marjana Johansson (corresponding author)

Essex Business School, University of Essex

Wivenhoe Park

Colchester CO4 3SQ

Phone: +44 1206 874462

Email: mjohana@essex.ac.uk

Maria Laura Toraldo

Grenoble Ecole de Management

Department of People Organizations and Society

Grenoble

France

Email: Maria-laura.TORALDO@grenoble-em.com

Abstract

This paper addresses market-based cultural production in the context of the UK festival field, with a focus on the framing of the festival experience through anticipation. In particular, boutique festivals are discussed as examples of a contemporary cultural 'product category' which has emerged and proliferated in the last decade. Through discourse analysis of media representations of boutique festivals we situate the boutique festival in a broader sociocultural discourse of agency and choice, which makes it meaningful and desirable, and outline the type of consumer it is meant to attract. For the contemporary consumer the boutique festival is presented as an anticipated experience based on countercultural festival imagery, whilst simultaneously framing cultural participation through consumption. The paper contributes to a wider debate on the construction of the consumer in the cultural economy.

Keywords: cultural production; anticipation; aesthetic experiences; boutique festivals; discourse analysis

Introduction

> *Once the exclusive preserve of the student, the crusty and the semi-pro psychonaut, festivals are now an enshrined element of the cultural calendar.* (Lawrence 2007: 100)

In this paper, we examine market-based cultural production in the context of the UK festival field. Festivals have gained a prominent position in the cultural production sphere. They are seen as important mediators of cultural meaning-making, attributed significant economic importance, and constitute a popular form of cultural organization (Oliver 2014; Sassatelli 2011; Watson, Jenner and McCormick 2009). The central role of festivals in the cultural economy has been related to a general trend of 'festivalization', denoting how festivals and events have become important tools for tourism development and place marketing (Andersson and Getz 2008), and how they are primary meaning-making vehicles for performing identities and lifestyles (Bennett, Taylor and Woodward 2014) through combining consumption with education and entertainment (Richards and Palmer 2010). Rather than simply providing a format for the dissemination of cultural products, the festival itself constitutes the product. The positioning of festivals as an important growth industry in the UK (Jacobs 2011) is indicative of the increasing attribution of economic importance to festivals, concomitant with a strategic significance afforded to the cultural industries as a key sector of innovation and growth. Such framings position the production of cultural goods as taking place in a market, meaning they are for example subject to competition. This is also true for festivals, which are positioned as competing in an increasingly saturated culture and leisure market (Jenner, Barr and Eyre 2013). In this paper we discuss the

role and meaning of festivals in the contemporary cultural economy by examining discursive representations of a particular type of festival, the so-called *boutique festival*, in the UK. The label entered popular discourse in the last decade and has since become an established format category. It can be noted that festivals that are attributed with the boutique label vary in terms of scope, content and organizational features, and we do not claim that there is a particular type of festival that can unambiguously be placed in this category Instead, we are interested in analysing how the category is discursively constituted by examining commonly occurring characteristics and underlying tensions in descriptions of it.

Boutique festivals are generally described as small-scale events with a music or combined arts profile, as having a commerce-free positioning[1], and as offering a range of participatory activities (Yeganegy 2012). Examples include craft activities, music and dance workshops, and spiritual workshops (e.g. Dibbitts, 2008; McFarland 2012; The Guardian Magazine 2011). To varying degrees, such activities encompass a philosophy of participation whereby the festival audience is positioned as a participatory agent in the production of the event (Yeganegy 2012). The benefits of accepting such a participatory disposition need to be made culturally available and meaningful to the potential festival reveller. Echoing Pratt and Jeffcutt (2009: 266), any cultural product needs a 'structure of differentiation and taste making' and 'audience preparation' to find its place in the market – that is, its cultural value and meaning need to be contextually situated. Part of imbuing a cultural product such as a festival with value is creating *anticipation* regarding the type of experience that is to be expected. Consumer anticipation is rooted in what Campbell (1987: 77) terms modern hedonism, that is, 'being pulled along by desire for the anticipated quality of pleasure which an experience

[1] It can be said that all festivals include a degree of commercialization, for example related to ticket and other sales, but descriptions of the boutique festival, to varying degrees, frame it in terms of non-commercialism.

promises to yield'. Anticipation draws on the construction of imagery that indicates the type of pleasurable experience that will be had, and imagination and the imaginary constitute key resources of contemporary consumption with its focus on 'fantasies, feelings and fun' (Holbrook and Hirschman, 1982; see also Addis and Holbrook 2011). Festivals are often characterized as 'time out of time' (Falassi 1987) and as such can be said to be imbued with imagery associated with intensified sensations, escape and communality. In effect, all products of the entertainment industry, and representations of such products, are imbued with cultural meaning and value, including providing consumers with imagery regarding the ordering of social relations (Rhodes and Pullen 2012). Festivals are no exceptions in that descriptions thereof not only describe their programming content, but also attribute value to particular aesthetic sensibilities. They also outline particular social relations, such as between producer and audience, and between members of the audience.

In order to explore meanings attributed to festivals, we examine *how anticipation of the festival experience is discursively constructed in media texts*. As such, we are first looking to examine the sociocultural characteristics which render a category such as the boutique festival intelligible and desirable. Further, we critically discuss the subject positions and social relations that are constructed through discursive representations of the boutique festival. In so doing, we highlight an instance of the commodification of cultural production, contributing to a wider debate on the value of culture. Finally, we aim to place festivals more firmly within critical research on culture and organizations.

In what follows, we first describe the emergence of the boutique festival, and situate it within the contemporary UK festival sector. We then conceptualize this empirical phenomenon through a framework of aesthetic experience production, after

which we outline our methodological approach of critical discourse analysis of media texts. In the subsequent findings and discussion sections we present the key themes that emerged in the empirical material, first outlining the sociocultural context within which the boutique festival is framed and then focusing on the notion of creating anticipation of the experience on offer in relation to identities and social relations indicated in the texts. In the concluding section we discuss the contributions of the paper and propose some directions for further research.

The emergence of the boutique festival in the UK festival field

From the late 1960s onwards pop and rock festivals grew rapidly in the UK and elsewhere. They were associated with the developing youth counterculture (Roszak 1969) and as such were often met with scepticism or outright hostility by local communities that found themselves as the chosen sites of such events (Clarke 1982). The festivals were framed as socially dangerous, anti-authoritarian sites of sexual promiscuity and illicit drug-taking, as well as causing general nuisance and noise. Although such associations may to some extent still be made, festivals now have a very broad social and cultural appeal. Clarke's (1982: 1) count of 'at least 24 festivals' being held in the UK in 1979 now seems very modest compared to 981 listed on a major festival hub website, eFestivals, for 2014. The varied offering of the contemporary festival field is usually classified according to factors such as size, timescale, geographical scope, genre, degree of professionalism and commercialism (profit or non-profit, sponsorship), degree of establishment in the field (history and breadth of stakeholder relations), and innovativeness (see Bowdin et al. 2001; Paleo and Wijnberg 2006; Stone 2009; Rüling and Strandgaard Pedersen 2010). Most festivals are no longer emblematic of a radical counterculture, but have become a major cultural fixture with a

mainstream appeal. An estimated 6.5 million people attended a festival or other live music event in the UK in 2012, generating a total spend of £2.2 billion (UK Music 2013). Positioned within the so-called soft knowledge intensive cultural industries (du Gay and Pryke 2002), festivals are afforded an important role for generating economic value. The value potential of cultural products has been reinforced through a public discourse which frames the cultural industries as a major driver of economic growth (Hutter 2011). Festivals constitute a significant part of the UK leisure economy, and are seen as an important part of the creative sector (British Arts Festivals Association 2008). The increased number of specialist festivals advertised on UK listings sites (Stone 2009) and in the media has amplified the marketability of such events. However, due to its saturation, the UK festival market is also characterized by increasing competition (Jenner, Barr and Eyre 2013).

In any market, competitors need to be distinguishable by carving out a niche or promoting some form of offering which is meaningful and attractive to the prospective consumer. There are recurring media reports on the 'middle-classness' of contemporary festivals (e.g. BBC News Suffolk 2014; Dahlgreen 2014; Duffin 2014), in demographic terms commonly defined as the ABC1 social group (non-manual workers). A recent UK Festival Census survey (Drury 2013) further showed that 60 per cent of surveyed festival-goers were aged under 30, meaning that they constitute a core demographic. However, a non-negligible proportion of 20 per cent were aged 45-65, a category that generally can be assumed to have more spending power than the former. About a fourth (27%) reported that they had children, indicating a potential demand for family-oriented programming. Surveys such as this indicate the kind of consumer that organizers might choose to target with a particular type of 'festival product'. It has been suggested that of festival visitors, an estimated 80 per cent frequent so-called boutique festivals (Quill

2009). The term 'boutique' carries connotations of a specialized, upscale retail environment (Christersdotter 2005), and characteristics which refer to a limited size[2] are often present in descriptions of the boutique festival. For example, Stone (2009: 220) depicts boutique festivals as 'small scale, intimate, elegant, and stylish … niche-type events [which] prioritize quality over quantity' and for which 'the music often tends to take a back seat'. Contrary to the latter it is nevertheless mainly music-based festivals that are accorded the boutique label, a contradiction that can be seen as an indication of variations in its signification. However, festivals described as boutique often have a degree of combined arts content including for instance poetry, drama and film, as well as comedy, features which are mobilized to distinguish them from more mainstream-oriented music festivals.

In the thus far sparse literature on the boutique festival it is conceptualized as a highly participative event format (Seffrin 2006, 2007; Yeganegy 2012). Seffrin (2006) traces the proposed participatory philosophy to the 1960s boutiques in London: small-scale, independent shops that were in close dialogue with their fashion-conscious customers, whose input shaped the boutiques' offerings. Seffrin relates this dialogical practice to the contemporary boutique festival, defining it as an event 'in which audiences have been actively involved in either the creation or direction of programming, and in which events are highly interactive' (Seffrin 2006: 181). This suggests a particular form of participation, which consists of active input into the shaping of the production. However, 'extreme participation' (Yeganegy 2012) of this kind is not the case for all boutique festivals. Conceptualizations of different forms and degrees of collaboration between producer and consumer constitute a strong current area of research in marketing and consumption studies, framed as the co-creation of

[2] Size definitions range between 2,000–5,000 (Croughton 2008) and 10,000–20,000 participants (Masson 2011).

value (see Pongsakornrungsilp and Schroeder 2011). In short, the proposition is that value is jointly created through interaction between informed and empowered producers and consumers (Prahalad and Ramaswamy 2004). As such, value co-creation is inscribed in a relationship between autonomous agents who deploy their skills for mutual benefit; features commonly associated with the type of agency furthered by neoliberal discourses (Gershon 2011). While consumers are afforded an active role following a co-creative approach, views differ on whether it is an expression of creative agency in their own interest, or ultimately exploitation in the form of free labour through the expropriation of knowledge, creativity and communication (e.g. Cova, Dalli and Zwick 2011; Zwick, Bonsu and Darmody 2008). Although we do not aim to explicitly contribute to this debate, the value co-creation paradigm presents a noteworthy context for our study. That a key characteristic attributed to the boutique festival, participation, is concurrent with broader consumption discourses is a partial clue to the emergence and perceived appeal of this festival format. Contrasted with traditional concert-model festivals, which commonly rely on star quality acts and mass-audience performances, the boutique festival is said to 'idealize participation and resist spectatorship' (Yeganegy 2012: 7). The positioning of festivals as mediators of relationships between producers and consumers is in itself not new (e.g. Paleo and Wijnberg 2006), however, in the case of the boutique festival the proposed aim is also to 'position audiences themselves as significant agents of cultural production' (Seffrin 2007: 68). Such discursive framings create expectations regarding the types and qualities of artistic performances, as well as the types of participants that the festival might attract (Cremona 2007). While the actual practices of participation vary between boutique festivals it can be argued that, following Yeganegy (2012), an overall *idealization* of participation is presented as a key aspect of the boutique festival.

Discursive representations indicate the kind of pleasure one can attain by experiencing a particular cultural product (Hesmondhalgh 2007). Subsequently, a given type of cultural product becomes associated with particular uses and pleasures, and its discursive framing produces anticipations regarding the emotional, aesthetic and sensory experiences that the participant might expect (Author, 2013). The desire to seek anticipated experiential pleasure is the basis of hedonism (Campbell 1987). It is regarded as a key driving force of contemporary consumption, the aim of which is therefore to provide aesthetic experiences for the consumer (Addis and Holbrook 2011). As part and parcel of the cultural production field, festivals provide an important site at which to explore the ways in which practices of aesthetic experiential production shape consumer subject positions. In the next section we therefore position our study within a framework of aesthetic experience production, and lay the premise for our methodological approach.

Aesthetic experience production in the cultural economy

The contemporary economy is said to be characterized by aestheticization (e.g. Böhme 2003; du Gay and Pryke 2002). In the aesthetic economy value is constituted by attributing aesthetic qualities to commodities, that is, 'the production of values for staging and display' (Böhme 2003: 72). The value created through aestheticization is further conceptualized by Beckert and Aspers (2011) as imaginative value, stemming from the qualities of artefacts that 'evoke fantasies based on symbolic associations with desired events' (Beckert and Aspers 2011: 110). In other words, the attribution of value is based on representations of ideals and pleasures, which stem from consumers' desires. However, drawing on Campbell (1987), Beckert and Aspers also underline the risk of disillusionment, when the fantasized imagery is confronted with the reality of the

object of consumption. The value of an artefact, including cultural goods, therefore not only emerges in the actual consumption of the goods, but also in the anticipation of a desired experience.

The importance afforded to aesthetic experiences can be further understood in terms of constituting an important part of the formation of consumer identities (Venkatesh and Meamber 2008). A consequence of the introduction of, and emphasis on experiential consumption is that the consumer is positioned as a feeling, sensing being for whom 'intense, positive experiences crystallize selfhood, [and] provide life meaning and perspective' (Arnould and Price 1993: 41). In the context of this paper, an aesthetic approach to understanding experience-based engagement is a potentially fruitful approach for examining the proposed attractiveness of the boutique festival. The arts and cultural sector presents a key site for the staging and consumption of experiences, and festivals have to some extent been the focus of exploring aesthetic consumption and experience design for commercial purposes (e.g. Gursoy et al. 2006; Matheson 2008).

Given the above, cultural production must be understood in relation to the marketing and consumption of aesthetics. Venkatesh and Meamber (2008) describe the cultural production circuit as being epitomized by the complex interplay of producers, intermediaries and consumers. In particular, the role of intermediaries is considered pivotal for conveying meaningful consumption experiences. In other words, the 'cultural intermediary occupations' (Lash and Urry 1994: 222) play a significant role in the cultural economy. Here, we consider the media as a key site through which anticipated pleasurable experiences are discursively constructed. Media narratives of boutique festivals steer consumers' anticipation of pleasurable experiences by suggesting, among other things, the idea of novelty. To follow Hutter (2011: 203), '[t]he

experience of newness comes with the emotion of surprise'. Surprise creates positive experiential engagement and, from a market-based perspective, is therefore seen as a primary means of generating value for cultural products. In particular, surprise generation lies in framing a product as an alternative to what is already available on the market.

In sum, a framework of aesthetic experiential production enables us to understand processes of value creation for cultural products, and to subsequently tie such practices to the making and shaping of consumption dispositions. We argue that examining the type of imagery mobilized, the pleasures indicated, and the type of experiencing subject subsequently propagated is important for understanding the status afforded to festivals as significant economic and cultural drivers, and for critically discussing the emergence and meanings of the boutique festival category.

Methodology

We view the emergence of the boutique festival as an instance of circulation of social imaginaries (Valaskivi and Sumiala 2014) and we employ discourse analysis to explore the resources mobilized in textual representations of the boutique festival. We approach discourse as language in action (Phillips and Jørgensen 2002), that is, communicative practices that produce objects and subjects. In this case we particularly examine discursive representations of the boutique festival offered by a particular cultural intermediary: the print media. As stated above, the media are key actors in the circuits of cultural production (Lash and Urry 1994) and as such media text analysis is suited for our research aim. Texts produced by, and circulated through, the media are characterized by a dialectical relationship to culture and society (Fairclough 1995) in that they constitute, and are constituted by the sociocultural context. Media texts do not

merely describe a phenomenon; they draw on and reinforce, or possibly destabilize, social and cultural imagery. As such, texts are part of the production, reproduction and potential transformation of social relations.

Analysing the material, we consider texts as 'providing the conditions which enable subjects to experience the world of objects, words and practices' (Howarth and Stavrakakis 2000: 4). In other words, they point to the range and quality of experiences made possible in a given setting. Moreover, we are interested in representations of social actors, specifically 'how participant identities and relations are constructed' (Fairclough 1995: 39), and the roles that they are accorded, for example whether they are active or passive (van Leeuwen 1996). Here, we are particularly interested in the agency attributed to the experiential consumer. Texts commonly make references to other texts, forming an intertextual web of discursive production and dissemination where discourses interlink (Fairclough and Wodak 1997). As such, representations of the boutique festival gain meaning from drawing on other existing discourses related to cultural production and consumption practices, for example.

Our data is drawn from publicly available material in mainstream UK media. Media articles were retrieved from the Nexis database, which holds UK national, regional and local newspapers (including web-based publications), magazines and industry trade press, including their Irish editions where applicable. A search in September 2012 yielded 290 items excluding duplicates with the search terms 'boutique festival/s'; the search spanned 20 years. The earliest item featured in the results dated from 2003. To gain a sense of the type and range of festivals organized under the boutique label, a search was also conducted on two popular festival hub websites: eFestivals and Virtual Festivals. A search for boutique festivals on eFestivals yielded a list of ten festivals for the 2014 season. In most cases, however, the boutique label was

used to describe the camping rather than the festival itself, which led us not to consider them as having been labelled boutique festivals per se. Virtual Festivals supplied a list of Top Ten Boutique Festivals (Perry 2013). In addition, lists of boutique festivals were found in The Observer (Turner 2007), The Guardian (2008), The Guardian Magazine (2011), The Sunday Times (Croughton 2008) and Time Out London (2014). In our analysis we do not consider the extent to which a particular festival could be said to fit the label description, nor whether the organizers of a particular festival do, or indeed would, self-describe as a boutique festival. These questions fall outside the scope of this paper, but present viable issues for further exploration.

We started by organizing the items following Fairclough's (1995) tripartite classification of the main performative aspects of texts: representations, identities and relationships. In other words, how did the texts establish the boutique festival as a category within existing discursive frames, what types of individuals and groups were described, and what relationships were indicated? Overlapping, tensions and contradictions within and between the three aspects were then outlined. Further, following Fairclough (1995) we considered whether the texts, as communicative events, could be said to discursively reproduce or challenge existing sociocultural ideals and relationships. In relation to this, we were specifically interested in any stereotypical or iconic imagery that the texts relied on, and the purpose of their deployment. Finally, our guiding question throughout the analysis was how the texts may be seen to create an experiential anticipation. We consider descriptions of particular festivals, whether past or future, as contributing to the discursive production of the overall boutique festival phenomenon and that they therefore, as well as texts describing general characteristics of boutique festivals, contribute to the building of anticipation of the type of experience on offer.

Textual renditions of the boutique festival in the media

In what follows, we present the findings of our analysis in two sections. In the first section we outline some commonly occurring descriptions of the attributes of a boutique festival and consider the wider context within which the boutique festival is discursively placed. In the second section we discuss the boutique festival in terms of social identities and relationships.

Festival imagery

In this section we discuss how an 'imaginative anticipation' (Campbell 1987: 83) may be mobilized through textual representations of the boutique festival, while also pointing to some key tensions that underlie the label.

The first mention of boutique festivals in the data occurs as part of a 'hot list' for the 2003 summer season:

> The place to be summer season 2003 is the 'boutique' festival, a more compact, stylish and intimate version of its well-established elder siblings. As this new breed of festival nestles itself more firmly in the summer's social calendar, so the events become increasingly diverse. (Knight et al. 2003: 22)

This extract serves as a useful starting point in that it includes several aspects that are relevant for our analysis. The text states that the boutique festival is a 'new breed of festival', thus pointing to an existing cultural field in which a new entrant has appeared, with a labelled identity. It establishes the category as a factual occurrence while emphasizing its novelty, making it a fashionable phenomenon. The boutique festival is

further designated as ‘the place to be’, which carries connotations of a trend-conscious audience in the know, possibly including the reader. In order for such descriptions to be meaningful there is an assumption that the reader has knowledge of festivals, whether actual prior experiences or familiarity with popular representations of them, to enable the placing of this new category into an existing discursive frame. The ‘elder siblings’ which denote the established field represent the opposite of being ‘compact, stylish and intimate’, which suggests the type of experience that may be expected. Such descriptions carve out a niche for the boutique festival through differentiation from the existing field. The use of ready-made stereotypical festival imagery recurs in several texts:

> Think festivals and mud, horrendous toilets and smelly tents spring to mind. But, thankfully, there is a new breed of posh summer parties, aimed at those who don't want to rough it – and at families, too. (Tyler 2010, n.p.)

Along the same lines, the boutique festival experience is described elsewhere as ‘two days of music, arts, movies, workshops, flushing loos and hot showers’ (McDonagh 2009: 6). A crucial part of the festival experience is made up of the physical and sensory realities of thousands of people setting up temporary camp. The contrast between potential less palatable consequences, and the ways in which more upmarket amenities improve the stereotypical festival experience draws on a common shared imagery to establish an alternative. The issue of novelty is also raised in the example by Tyler (2010) above, regardless of it appearing several years after the initial mention of boutique festivals in 2003. This can be interpreted as the wider establishment of the label only having happened some years later[3], as well as being indicative of a market

[3] The hot list constituted the only item found in the database for 2003, while the peak occurred in 2008.

discourse which hinges on novelty as a key part of the attraction. A particular framing is also presented by referring to the boutique festival as 'posh', which invokes connotations of social status and class that diverge from traditional festival imagery and promise an upmarket experience – a shift 'from mosh pit to posh pit' (Atkinson 2010).

A key characteristic of classification is establishing difference, that is, establishing what the object is not, and descriptions of boutique festivals often contrast them to large, corporate, mainstream festivals as in the following example:

> Enough with festivals the size of the Falklands. Enough of the endless marketing and the toilets in association with T-Mobile. And enough with the mass-produced botulism burgers you wouldn't feed to a dying dictator. Instead, here are a dozen of the UK's finest boutique festivals – all catering to no more than 5,000 people, all with a considerable nod towards green and ethical living, and all a lot more fun than that Glasto [Glastonbury Festival] lark. (The Sunday Times 2008: 20)

Glastonbury's unrivalled size makes it a convenient discursive antithesis of the boutique festival. Being a well-established cultural reference the festival will also be known to many, which makes it a powerful counter-example. The references to corporate sponsorship and mass-produced catering frame the festival as a commercial event for a mass audience. In contrast, the boutique festival is presented as the informed consumer's choice; one who appreciates, and has the means to adhere to, a green and ethical lifestyle as part of leading a sustainable and responsible existence. Stylistically, the text adopts the tone of a manifesto, urging the reader to join in saying 'enough', thus rhetorically offering a collective stand against the dominant existing formats. The

implication is that by choosing the boutique experience, the consumer also performs an active choice of separation from the mainstream.

Some discursive framings of festivals in general refer to an original ethos, which has been lost, but which will perhaps be reclaimed. References to nostalgic imagery include evoking 'festival days of yore' when describing the overcrowding of the contemporary market (Sherwin 2006: 14) and lamenting the changing of Glastonbury from a 'countercultural hippie gathering' to becoming 'middle aged and respectable' (Coyle 2007: 11). Meanwhile, a return to the festival core idea is exemplified by 'disheartened music fans taking matters into their own hands' and organizing a boutique festival based on an ethos of 'pure, unadulterated' music programming (Knight et al. 2003: 22). Such framings draw on an implicit sense of authenticity of a countercultural ethos in which the modern festival is seen to be rooted (Hetherington 1998). This is one of the key tensions through which the boutique festival is placed in a broader discursive context.

At the same time there are indications that the boutique festival is perhaps not 'the real deal' but a sanitized version, an appropriation of what is implicitly considered an authentic festival. This notion of authenticity is presented in tension with current dominant ideas of festivals operating in a market and forming part of an economic discourse:

> For all the village fête trimmings, pancake-tossing, egg-and-spoon races, and pictures of happy hippies on the programme, these are modern festivals replete with security, big fences and branding, and thus emphasise that the companies behind them are big corporate concerns and a little less cutesy than they'd have you believe. (Muggs 2008: 24)

The text refers to a sponsored festival described as ‘a civilised affair, designed for lazing in the sun reading the weekend supplements, sipping organic cider’ (ibid.). A disjuncture between the presented imagery of such festivals and their commercial foundations is pointed out in the text. Further, the hippy ideal alluded to in the excerpt evokes the iconography of festivals of the 1960s (Clarke 1982), to make the point that such countercultural ideational associations are not necessarily translated into an organizational reality. Contemporary festival organizing is regulated by licensing restrictions and health and safety procedures, which arguably make for a different experience to the festivals of the 60s and 70s. What the excerpt alludes to, however, is not just the realities of contemporary festival organizing, but also an implied loss of the hippy ethos associated with ‘original’ festivals. The excerpt draws on stereotypical festival imagery in line with previous examples; however, instead of indicating the types of pleasurable experiences that may be had, it aims to unmask the corporate reality of many boutique festivals, a revelation which potentially creates disillusionment (Hutter 2011).

The countercultural hippy association not only provides the means for deploying an anti-corporate discourse, but also mobilizes imagery related to the implied festival participant. How identities are constructed in the context of the boutique festival is discussed next.

Social differentiation

Descriptions of the boutique festival which include adjectives such as ‘posh’ link it to a particular social status. In some instances the issue of social differentiation is more explicitly stated, as in the following, arguably satirical, description of the now discontinued Hydro Connect Festival in Scotland:

> [T]wo distinct kinds of people cut a path to the boutique festival – those who came prepared for a "festival" (plastic bags over feet, feet inside wellies, and wellies inside more plastic bags); and those who came prepared for a "boutique" (high heels, blow dries and flight attendant baggage trolleys). (Dalgarno 2008: 19)

The description of the former group evokes well-rehearsed images of preparing for a potentially muddy experience, while the latter is evocative of a cosmopolitan, well-heeled traveller going for a weekend break. The satirical contrast may be an exaggeration, but it is indicative of a perceived clash between the 'original', down-and-dirty festival and its boutique reincarnation, and the type of festival participant associated therewith. The same text continues to present the festival in terms of its incongruities:

> The queue for the mussels was unbelievable. I couldn't help thinking that this was a bit weird for a festival. I guess, unlike other places, people here can get a real taste sensation, rather than simply a boozy one. [...] Tear yourself away from the food tent and there are other treats, such as the Rest And Be Thankful spa, where you can get a massage, a good hair wash or other, non-essential, pampering. (ibid.)

In this example the upscale connotations of the type of food served at the festival are drawn on to highlight the atypical quality of the festival experience described, counterposing it to an underlying idea of what might count as a more traditional festival experience. Food, commonly described as local and organic, is a key theme that is deployed to exemplify the special status of the boutique festival (e.g. Bristol Evening Post 2010; Croughton 2008; Lawrence 2007; Robinson 2008). Eating is an important

ritual activity that structures social relations, and the quality, origin, preparation and presentation of food is imbued with social symbolic meaning (Plester 2014). Taste refers both to the sensorium of ingesting food as well as the symbolic judgment of taste that the eater is exercising in her choice of food; it is a means of distinction (Bourdieu, 1984). The aesthetic economy is partly premised on satisfying the desire 'to stage oneself' (Böhme 2003: 81), that is, providing consumers with the means for presenting a valued self, which is seen by others. The consumption of high quality, non-processed, sustainable food is a marker of a particular taste and lifestyle and these representations provide vehicles for indicating the kind of aesthetic experiences and the social differentiation which can be expected at boutique festivals (cf. Campbell 1987).

The individual is at the centre of many descriptions of the festival, primarily framed as a consumer whose self-identity is validated through choosing from a diversity of performances and activities. The identities of boutique festival consumers are presented as revolving around a desire for refinement and upmarket consumption, represented by the availability of saunas and spa treatments, organic and locally grown food as mentioned above, and glamorous camping (glamping) arrangements including yurts, podpads and tipis. The hedonism implied in the consumption of such experiences is further constructed as a means to an anticipated greater release:

> A chance to escape the drudgery of our normal lives: Secret Garden Party is there to be playful, to break down barriers between people and create an environment where you have perfect freedom and perfect nourishment, intellectually and visually. (Quill 2009: 5)

The excerpt refers to an often mentioned boutique festival example, Secret Garden Party, instructively describing how it facilitates the means for participants to socialize

while simultaneously offering individual intellectual and aesthetic satisfaction. As such, texts like this suggest the nature of social relationships and forms of engagement available to boutique festival participants. The notion of escape is not surprising given the carnivalesque associations of the festival as a space for the temporary suspension of the mundane (Falassi 1987). However, representations of the boutique festival paradoxically allude to a possibility of escaping the mainstream by advocating a countercultural aspiration and anti-corporate sensibilities, while at the same reinforcing particular practices of consumption and by extension reproducing the very social position from which the alleged escape is to happen. A key tension in the resulting positioning of the boutique festival participant is on the one hand confirming an identity as a successful middle-class consumer, identified by specific consumption practices, while at the same time providing the means for a temporary release from this positioning. Festivals provide an ideal vehicle for the 'weekend hippy' (Clarke 1982), that is, a site for temporary countercultural identity performances. Cultural production is deployed as an economic resource, which attributes value to particular groups, and some cultural dispositions are utilized to 'enhance new middle-class selves' (Skeggs 2005: 60). Skeggs refers particularly to the appropriation of working-class culture by the resourced middle-class in their desire for a temporary experiencing of a 'downwardly' lifestyle (see also Brewis and Jack 2010). While the boutique festival does not reproduce that particular pattern it can still be understood through this lens. Skeggs (2005) explains that the appropriation of culture for the middle-class self is necessarily about selecting 'user-friendly' elements fit for consumption. By evoking selective parts of 'original, authentic' festival imagery discursive representations of the boutique festival present it as an escape made possible in a culturally familiar, safe space. The boutique festival paradoxically appears to allow for the maintaining of a middle-class

material existence while presenting an ideational proposition of returning to an authentic festival experience. This potential rift between the ideational and the material does not present a conflict to the consumer, as a feature of modern hedonism is to treat sensory data as 'real' while knowing it is 'false' (Campbell 1987), that is, the sense of having an 'authentic festival experience' is possible in an ordered, comfortable space. As such, there can be a sense of escape from everyday life while simultaneously retaining its material manifestations.

Discussion

Through our analysis we found that media texts deploy particular themes and tropes to frame boutique festivals, which we explore conceptually in relation to creating anticipation. The introduction and application of the boutique festival category produce ranking lists, evaluations and recommendations that position festivals in a value hierarchy within a market discourse and attribute a seemingly objective status to the label. Representations of desired forms of consumption and lifestyles draw on existing discourses to attach meanings and values to the boutique category and thereby also to educate the consumer regarding how to approach this particular category and the types of experiences it can deliver. While the artistic programme constitutes part of the descriptions, it is the emphasis on the material realities of the boutique festival that constitute a significant means of conveying its qualities and establishing its category characteristics. Anticipation is concomitantly constructed in several ways.

First, some texts deploy a discourse of authenticity through mobilizing a nostalgic imagery traditionally associated with pop and rock festivals (Anderton 2008). However, the implied authenticity of a counterculture is a construct, which rests on the assumption that there exists a choate mainstream (Desmond et al. 2000) against which an alternative position can be carved out. In this case, the mainstream is described in

terms of the massification and marketization of festivals – the commodification of cultural production – against which the boutique festival is positioned as offering a small-scale, genuine experience. However, there are also instances of texts framing this as a false impression, pointing behind the façade to draw attention to the corporate running of some boutique festivals. Such revelations may provoke a sense of disillusionment even before the cultural product has been experienced. However, the disillusionment is not necessarily effective in this context. In order for disillusionment to happen there has to be a negative discrepancy between the anticipated and the actual experience, or in this case between the 'false' and 'true' representations of the boutique festival. Yet, we may posit that for the primary target audience of this particular cultural product this discrepancy does not necessarily occur. In effect, dominant framings of the boutique festival do not denounce consumption; instead, it is the means by which an aesthetic countercultural position is achieved. Commodification is the proclaimed vice of the mainstream, but the boutique festival is framed as relying on the same mechanism. Further, in reference to Campbell (1987), the contemporary consumer is well versed in accepting something as real while knowing it is false; this may be another reason why revealing the boutique festival as a corporate affair does not necessarily produce a sense of disillusionment.

Second, representations of the active and participating consumer constitute a central motif associated with the boutique festival. The idealization of participation (Yeganegy 2012) indicates at least the possibility of an agential, empowered subject. As such, the values that are reinforced are that the opportunity, and also the responsibility to be enterprising and engaged rests with the individual. Contrary to what is claimed, the festival experience is not providing a means of escape to a space where an authentic self may be released as much as suggesting how an authentic self may be performed. In

order for representations of the self as reflexively performed to be desirable to cultural consumers, there needs to be a general acceptance of the imperative of being a self-knowing, self-directed individual. Representations of the reflexively performing self also affirm an entrepreneurial discourse, revalidating assumptions that individual entrepreneurialism is a valuable characteristic in contemporary society. Here, a link can be made to the paradigm of value co-creation which rests on the utilization of the creative skills of individuals (e.g. Prahalad and Ramaswamy 2004). Alternative to the view of the empowered participant outlined by Seffrin (2007), we interpret the affirmation of co-creative agency as a means whereby value is generated through the appropriation of the creative work of socially cooperative consumers (Zwick, Bonsu and Darmody 2008). Here, a link can be made to the notion of bio-power, where human bodies are inserted into the machinery of production present at every level of society, and utilized by institutions operating in the economic sphere (Foucault 1976/1998).

Third, anticipation of the boutique experience is created by associating the festival with the deployment of particular values and tastes, which represent and reproduce social ordering (cf. Rhodes and Pullen 2012). This can be framed in Böhme's (2003: 78) terms as the 'aesthetics of existence and the ethics of the good life' of affluent society. The spending power of the target category of consumer coupled with a contemporary propensity towards the commodified production of self-actualization (Rindfleisch 2005) in line with a consumer choice discourse provides a fertile ground for experiential consumption of this kind. The notion of choice, which is a fundamental contemporary market-based consumption discourse, also underpins the texts. Participants are discursively positioned as subjects that validate their self-identity by choosing; first, the boutique festival; and second, among consumption alternatives available at the festival. What is most interesting here is that the texts are not just

describing and promoting a new cultural form, they are also alluding to the constitution of 'valued subjects' in contemporary society. A particular type of individual is implied in the promotional texts; one who appreciates the small-scale, green and non-mainstream, but whose lifestyle choices are nevertheless carried out through consumption of predetermined options (Gershon 2011).

Finally, in relation to the above, anticipations of the boutique festival are premised upon an embodied, sensuous aesthetic, which ties in with the notion of the feeling subject. As Hesmondhalgh (2008) points out, we are supposed to have and be able to express emotions, thereby asserting our capability to engage with the world. The focus of the festival representations is on an embodied experience: of eating, being pampered, and undertaking physical, kinaesthetic activities. This is achieved by constructing a temporally and spatially bounded site specially designed to facilitate sensory experiences. We can, however, also see these as sensory regimes; as prescribed ways in which to experience intense sensations in order to reap the greatest benefit from the experience. There might no longer be an explicit radical agenda, but how festival experiences are designed and represented can nevertheless be read as having ideological underpinnings. The purpose might on the one hand be to deliver temporary enjoyment and the aforementioned escape, but on the other hand it has longer-lasting implications for how we understand what a 'good' experience is, and how the experiencing subject should behave.

Conclusion

In this paper we have examined how anticipation of the boutique festival experience is discursively constructed in media texts, conceptualized through a framework of aesthetic experience production. In so doing we contribute to debates surrounding the

current conditions of cultural production, which are increasingly framed through a market discourse. The emergence and proliferation of the boutique festival is one example of how a broader discourse of cultural commercialization is translated into particular products and practices. The emergence of the boutique label has reconfigured the festival market by articulating a form of specialization, which unlike traditional classifications of festivals is not primarily defined by genre. Instead, the boutique festival is primarily defined by modes of engagement. Experience design and delivery are important elements of the market-based approach to culture, and we suggest that an overlooked aspect of aesthetic experiential production is the creation of anticipation regarding the type of experience that may be expected. Significantly, the boutique festival experience is to a large extent framed in terms of the organizing of amenities and services, and by extension of lifestyles. Our study contributes to debates about the value of cultural production through shifting the site of value production from content to infrastructure and mode of delivery. Specifically, this paper provides an example of festivalization, foregrounding festivals as significant sites of economic and cultural production and consumption.

This paper also contributes to the literature on aesthetic experience production and consumption. Through our focus on subject construction in the context of experience-based cultural production our study contributes to the critical examination of the effects of what may be termed experiential regimes. The boutique festival category is associated with particular ideals and values, indicating the kind of individual or social group for whom the festival is suited. Discursive representations of this product include a romanticization and sanitization of what is termed an ‘original’ festival experience associated with a radical agenda. The appropriation and repackaging of cultural forms for consumption by affluent target groups raise important questions about social and

cultural inclusion, which have bearings outside the context of the boutique festival. Commodification creates boundaries of access aligned with for example financial resources and class attributes. One of the ways in which the boutique festival is presented as an exciting yet safe space is that the space is not only materially familiar but also implicitly socially familiar due to its lifestyle consumption profile being associated with homogeneity of class and ethnicity, for example. Taking our study as a starting point, we see it as important to further examine the social stratification consequences of cultural commodification mechanisms in the festival context.

Our study enables us to link discourses surrounding cultural production with the discursive production of valued subject positions. In order to have the anticipated lifestyle experience on offer, the consumer is positioned as an active agent in the production process through a philosophy of participation. As such, it ties in with wider dominant discourses on the value of the autonomous individual who exercises choice. Market-based consumption is based on the very notion of choice, and the purported empowerment that comes in its wake. It relies on a perpetual restlessness which, in accordance with a reflexive project of the self, is fuelled by a willingness to spend a considerable amount of time, effort and resources on personal renewal and transformation. An opportunity to work on the project of the self becomes part of what the boutique festival experience implicitly offers, which addresses a deeper contemporary desire. Consequently, where we see there is scope for further research is into articulations of aesthetic reflexivity, that is, an empirical focus on the lived experience of participating in these kinds of events; the meanings that are attached to them; and their anticipated and actual outcomes. This entails closer examination of the engagement with different forms of participation on offer, and the kind of sociality that it produces. As a manifestation of a broader sociocultural trend, the case of the boutique

festival raises questions regarding in whose interest it is to further and sustain a discourse of the imperative of participation and choice, and how such discourses are upheld. As such, we see there as being scope for critical organization studies of not only the consumption of festivals but also the organizing practices and forms of work that produce them.

References

Addis, M. and M. B. Holbrook. 2001. On the conceptual link between mass customisation and experiential consumption: an explosion of subjectivity. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour* 1, no. 1: 50-66.

Andersson, T. D. and D. Getz. 2008. Stakeholder management strategies of festivals. *Journal of Convention and Event Tourism* 9, no. 3: 199-220.

Anderton, C. 2011. Music festival sponsorship: between commerce and carnival. *Arts Marketing: An International Journal* 1, no. 2: 145-158.

Arnould, E.J. and L.L. Price. 1993. River Magic: Extraordinary Experience and the Extended Service Encounter. *Journal of Consumer Research* 20, no.1: June: 24-45.

Atkinson, S. 2010. Festival focus shifts from mosh pit to posh pit. *BBC News,* 8 June, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/10195020.

BBC News Suffolk. 2014. Yoga added to 'middle class' Latitude Festival, 10 June, http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-suffolk-27780521.

Beckert, J. and P. Aspers. 2011. *The Worth of Goods: Valuation and Pricing in the Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bennett, A., Taylor, J. and I. Woodward. 2014. *The festivalization of culture*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Böhme, G. 2003. Contribution to the critique of the aesthetic economy. *Thesis Eleven* 73: 71-82.

Bourdieu, P. 1984. *Distinction: A social critique of the judgment of taste*. London: Routledge.

Bowdin, G., W. O'Toole, J. Allen., R. Harris and I. McDonnell. 2001. *Events Management*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Brewis, J. and G. Jack. 2010. Consuming Chavs: The Ambiguous Politics of Gay Chavinism. *Sociology* 4, no. 2: 251-268

Bristol Evening Post. 2010. *The not-so-secret secret*, 18 June.

British Arts Festivals Association. 2008. *Festivals Mean Business. A survey of Arts Festivals in the UK*. London: Brighton: Sussex Arts Marketing and the University of Brighton.

Campbell, C. 1987. *The romantic ethic and the spirit of modern consumerism*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Christersdotter, M. 2005. Transformers: Hip Hotels and the Cultural Economics of Aura-production. In *Magic, Culture and the New Economy,* ed. O. Löfgren, and R. Willim, 73-85. Oxford: Berg.

Clarke, M. 1982. *The politics of pop festivals.* London: Junction Books.

Coyle, C. 2007. Hello brolly! *The Sunday Times*, 22 July.

Cremona, V. A. 2007. Introduction – The Festivalising Process. In *Festivalising! Theatrical Events, Politics, and Culture,* ed. T. Hauptfleisch, S. Lev-Alagdem, J. Martin, W. Sauter and H. Schoenmakers, 5-13. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi.

Croughton, Paul. 2008. Britain's 12 best boutique festivals. *The Sunday Times*, May 11, online edition.

http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/travel/holiday_type/music_and_travel/article3898696.ece

Cova, B., D. Dalli and D. Zwick. 2011. Critical Perspectives on Consumers' Role as 'Producers': Broadening the Debate on Value Co-Creation in Marketing Processes. *Marketing Theory* 11, no. 3: 231-241.

Dahlgreen, W. 2014. Glastonbury: a festival for the middle class? *YouGov UK*, 25 June, https://yougov.co.uk/news/2014/06/25/glastonbury-festival-middle-class.

Dalgarno, P. 2008. Fine Time; Bands, Beer…Burlesque. *Sunday Herald Magazine*, August, 17.

Desmond, J., P. McDonagh and S. O'Donohoe. 2000. Counter-culture and consumer society. *Consumption, Markets & Culture* 4, no. 3: 241-279.

Dibbits, K. 2008. Wychwood proves boutique festivals are the best. *The Bolton News*, June 5.

du Gay, P. and M. Pryke. 2002. *Cultural Economy*. London: Sage.

Duffin, C. 2014. Glastonbury Festival is too middle class, says Iron Maiden's Bruce Dickinson. *The Telegraph*, 18 June.

Drury, J. 2013. *UK Festival Market Report 2013*. Stockport: CGA Strategy.

Fairclough, N. 1995. *Media Discourse*. London: Arnold.

Fairclough, N. and R. Wodak. 1997. Critical discourse analysis. In *Discourse as social interaction: Volume 2*, ed. T.A. van Dijk, 258-284. London: Sage.

Falassi, A. 1987. *Time Out of Time. Essays on the Festival*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press

Foucault, M. 1976/1998. *The history of sexuality volume I: The will to knowledge*. London: Penguin Books.

Gershon, I. 2011. Neoliberal Agency. *Current Anthropology* 52, no. 4: 537-555.

Gursoy, D., E. Spangenberg and D. Rutherford. 2006. The hedonic and utilitarian dimensions of attendees' attitudes toward festivals. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Research* 30, no. 3: 279-294.

Hesmondhalgh, D. 2007. *The cultural industries.* London: Sage.

Hesmondhalgh, D. 2008. Towards a critical understanding of music, emotion and self-identity. *Consumption, Markets & Culture* 11, no. 4: 329-343.

Hetherington, K. 1998. *Expressions of identity: space, performance, politics*. London: Sage.

Holbrook, M. B. and E. C. Hirschman. 1982. The experiential aspects of consumption: Consumer fantasies, feelings and fun. *Journal of Consumer Research* 9 (September): 132-140.

Howarth, D. and Y. Stavrakakis. 2000. Introducing discourse theory and political analysis. In *Discourse theory and political analysis: Identities, hegemonies and social change*, ed. D. Howarth, A. J. Norval, and Y. Stavrakakis, 1-23. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Hutter, M. 2011. Infinite Surprises: On the Stabilization of Value in the Creative Industries. In *The Worth of Goods: Valuation and Pricing in the Economy,* ed. Beckert, J. and P. Aspers, 201-220. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jacobs, E. 2011. Lucrative Celebration: earning money from festivals. *Financial Times*, 24 March, http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/c2a7f5fa-4e56-11e0-a9fa 00144feab49a.html#axzz32uylxceF.

Jenner, S., U. Barr and A. Eyre. 2013. *The UK Festival Market Report 2012.* Stockport: CGA Strategy.

Knight, R., V. Miller, D. O'Connell, L. Siegle, I. Tucker and P. Vernon. 2003. The hot list: A to Z of summer: You know what you did last summer?: Do it better this

year, with our indispensible guide to the must-do, must-buy and must-see essentials of 2003's sunny season. *Observer Magazine*, June 8.

Lash, S. M. and J. Urry. 1994. *Economies of Signs and Space*. London: Sage.

Lawrence, E. 2007. Summer festivals 2007. *Time Out*, May 16.

Masson, G. 2011. Crimewave fear for boutique festivals. *Music Week*, February 5.

Matheson, C. 2008. Music, emotion and authenticity: a study of Celtic Music Festival Consumers. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 6, no. 1: 57–74.

McDonagh, R. 2009. We're kings of the Castle: Castle Palooza rocks with great atmosphere and no argy-bargy. *Metro (UK)*, August 4.

McFarland, J. 2012. Wilderness: a fashionable affair. *The Times*, August 17.

Muggs, J. 2008. Guillemots' Common touch. *London Lite*, July 28.

Oliver, M. 2014. *UK Music Concerts and Festivals*. London: Mintel Group Ltd.

Paleo, I. O. and N. M. Wijnberg. 2006. Classification of Popular Music Festivals: A Typology of Festivals and an Inquiry into Their Role in the Construction of Music Genres. *International Journal of Arts Management* 8, no. 2: 50-61.

Perry, F. 2013. VF's top ten boutique festivals: The battle of the boutique bashes., http://www.virtualfestivals.com/latest/news/13969.

Phillips, L. J. and M. W. Jørgensen. 2002. *Discourse analysis as theory and method*. London: Sage.

Plester, B. 2014. Ingesting the organization: The embodiment of organizational food rituals. *Culture and Organization*, DOI: 10.1080/14759551.2013.873798.

Pongsakornrungsilp, S. and J. E. Schroeder. 2011. Understanding value co-creation in a co-consuming brand community. *Marketing Theory* 11, no. 3: 303-324.

Prahalad, C.K. and V. Ramaswamy. 2004. Co-creation experiences: The next practice in value creation. *Journal of Interactive Marketing* 18, no. 3: 5-14.

Pratt, A. C. and P. Jeffcutt. 2009. Conclusion. In *Creativity, innovation and the cultural economy,* ed. A. C. Pratt and P. Jeffcutt, 265-276. Abingdon: Routledge.

Quill, K. 2009. Boutique festivals: a colourful escape. *The Times*, March 28.

Rhodes, C. and A. Pullen. 2012. Commercial gender: Fracturing masculinity in the case of OzRock. *Culture and Organization* 18, no. 1: 33-49.

Richards, G. and R. Palmer. 2010. *Eventful cities.* Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Rindfleisch, J. 2005. Consuming the self: New Age spirituality as a "social product" in consumer society. *Consumption, Markets & Culture* 8, no. 4: 343-360.

Robinson, J. 2008. Music: End of The Road Festival Salisbury. *The Guardian (The Guide)*, 6 September.

Roszak, T. 1969. *The making of a counter culture: Reflections on the technocratic society and its youthful opposition.* New York: Anchor Books.

Rüling, C. and J. Strandgaard Pedersen. 2010. Film festival research from an organizational studies perspective. *Scandinavian Journal of Management* 26: 318-323.

Sassatelli, M. 2011. Urban festivals and the cultural public sphere, In *Festivals and the Cultural Public Sphere,* ed. Giorgi, L., M. Sassatelli and G. Delanty. London: Routledge.

Seffrin, G. 2006. *Emerging trends in contemporary festival practice: Exemplifying the modern festival through the praxis of boutique festival initiation and management at the Queensland Performing Arts Centre*. PhD thesis, Queensland University of Technology.

Seffrin, G. K. 2007. The Out of the Box Festival of early childhood: fashioning the boutique festival for children, In *Festivalising! Theatrical Events, Politics, and*

Culture, ed. Hauptfleisch, T., S. Lev-Alagdem., J. Martin., W. Sauter and H. Schoenmakers, 67-78. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi

Sherwin, A. 2006. 2006: the year festivals killed the golden goose. *The Times,* August, 11.

Skeggs, B. 2005. The re-branding of class Propertising Culture, In Devine, F., M.Savage, J. Scott and R. Crompton, 46-68. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Stone, C. 2009. The British Pop Music Festival Phenomenon. In *International Perspectives of Festivals and Events*. ed. Ali-Knight K., M. Robertson., A. Fyall and A. Ladkin, 205-224. Oxford: Elsevier

The Guardian. 2008. *Boutique Festivals*. Online edition, May 31. http://www.guardian.co.uk/music/2008/may/31/festivals10.

The Guardian Magazine. 2011. *Festivals 2011: Boutique festivals*, May 21.

Time Out London. 2014. *The best boutique festivals this summer.* Online edition, http://www.timeout.com/london/music-festivals/the-best-boutique-festivals.

Turner. S. 2007. 20 great boutique festivals. *The Observer,* April 15, online edition. http://www.guardian.co.uk/travel/2007/apr/15/escape.festivals.uk.

Tyler, A. 2010. Speed Read: Boutique festivals. *Daily Mail,* July 29.

UK Music. 2013. *Wish you were here. Music tourism's contribution to the UK economy*. London: UK Music and Visit Britain.

Valaskivi K. and J. Sumiala. 2014. Circulating social imaginaries: Theoretical and methodological reflections. *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 17, no. 3: 229-243.

van Leeuwen, T. 1996. The Representation of Social Actors. In *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed. C.R. Caldas-Coulthard and M. Coulthard, 32–70. London and New York: Routledge.

Venkatesh, A. and L. A. Meamber. 2008. The aesthetics of consumption and the consumer as an aesthetic subject. *Consumption, Markets & Culture* 11, no. 1: 45-70.

Watson, K., S. Jenner and C. McCormick. 2009. *2009 UK Festival Market Report*. http://www.festivalinsights.com/wp-content/uploads/Festival-Market-Report-2009.pdf.

Yeganegy, R. 2012. *The politics of participation: Burning Man and British festival culture*. PhD thesis, University of Leeds.

Zwick, D., S. K. Bonsu and A. Darmody. 2008. Putting consumers to work. 'Co-creation' and new marketing govern-mentality. *Journal of Consumer Culture* 8, no. 2: 163-196.