

Festival Legitimacy and Resource Acquisition: Strategies for Growth and Survival

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Abstract

This thesis explores legitimacy and legitimation strategies for resource acquisition using a life cycle approach in the festival and events context. A review of the extant festival and event's research, suggests this topic is significantly under-covered. For further theoretical development the thesis reviewed the literatures of resource acquisition, with particular attention to resource dependency theory, and institutional theory, with its sub-topic legitimacy. Using an exploratory qualitative case study method, the researcher investigated eight festivals and analyzed them in terms of their efforts to build legitimacy at different stages of their life cycle. The author confirmed earlier research on sources of legitimacy that include, regulatory, pragmatic, normative, and cognitive types, and that four general strategies, conformance, selection, manipulation, and creation are used to achieve legitimacy from these sources. The data in this thesis also suggests that the stage of the festival's life cycle serves as an important extension to the literature's previously established process model of resource acquisition and legitimacy, including a legitimacy threshold. The thesis concludes with a summary of the findings, limitations of the study, and by suggesting possibilities for future research.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Overview

The following thesis investigates legitimacy and legitimation strategies as they relate to resource acquisition over the life cycle of festival organizations. This work adapts and extends Zimmerman and Zeitz' (2002) model for legitimation and resource acquisition of new ventures to the festivals and events context. This thesis broadly reviews the festivals and events literature, with particular attention to Festival Management. The thesis investigates the broader management literature on resource acquisition, especially resource dependency theory and life cycle stages, and the relevance of these works to the research topic. The thesis reviews previous work on legitimacy and the role it has in resource acquisition, and the likely relevance it has in the festivals context. This previous scholarship draws from a variety of business and organizational environments, but special attention to resource acquisition and legitimacy has not been forthcoming in the chosen context.

Overview

The current chapter provides an introduction and overview to the research. First the research phenomenon and rationale for research are discussed. Second, the scope and approach to the research are described, followed by a chapter on methodology. Next, the findings and their contributions to the literature are outlined. In conclusion, an outline of the subsequent chapters in this thesis is presented.

The Research Phenomenon and Rationale for the Research

Defining Legitimacy and Resource Acquisition

Legitimacy can be defined as a social judgement or generalized perception of approval, acceptance, or desirability of another entity and its actions (Suchman, 1995). While, resource acquisition for present purposes is the process through which an organization comes to use physical or nonphysical resources for its own purposes. Legitimacy has been argued to be necessary to acquire resources for a venture by numerous scholars (Rutherford and Buller, 2007; Zimmerman and Zeitz, 2002; Suchman, 1995). Neither legitimacy nor resource acquisition has been extensively investigated in the festival literature and relatively recent work has called for more research in this topic (Getz 2008, 2010).

Festivals provide many benefits to a region, or community such as economic development and the reproduction of culture (Dwyer et al., 2000; Getz, 2008). Festivals have been noted, “As a source of innovation, education, creativity and enjoyment, festivals...nurture an environment that is attractive to investors and contributes to the economic wealth and health of a community. They forge a crossroads that intersects with industry, trade and commerce as well as welfare and education... communities engage in meaningful and memorable experiences that strengthen the ties that bind: our identity, our sense of self, and our connection to the place in which we prosper” (Hoda Al Khamis-Kanoo, 2014, p.1).

The world's largest annual music festival in North America is Summerfest, which is held for eleven days in Milwaukee, Wisconsin; each year, it attracts between 800,000 and 1,000,000 spectators (Summerfest, n.d.). The infamous Woodstock Festival in 1969 drew nearly 500,000 attendees (Street, 2004), and the Polish spin-off “*Przystanek Woodstock*” also drew about

500,000 in 2010 (Hajduczenia et al., 2010). The oldest continuous annual Pop and Rock Music Festival in the world is Pinkpop Festival founded in 1970 in the Netherlands (Leenders et al., 2005).

To acquire a sense of the scope of festivals, in 2007, researchers estimated that there were 485 music festivals in the United Kingdom, not including free festival, and a 38% growth in the number of paid festivals in just seven years (Intel, 2008). In spending research, a survey of 5000 festival attendees of independent festivals found the average attendee spent £382 in 2012 (Parry, 2013). Similar data is not yet available in Canada, nor is the exact number of festivals, but some estimates indicate approximately 200 major festivals and many more minor festivals (Sawyer, 2009).

While quantitative economic research on Canadian festivals is scant, the data available indicates that festivals have significant economic impacts for communities. Canada's largest festivals are represented by the Festivals and Major Events Canada (FAME), formed in 2010 to lobby the federal government for support in funding, tax incentives, regulations, and marketing (FAME, 2011). The lobby group claims that just the top 15 festivals in Canada attract 12.6 million attendees every year and contribute \$650 million in GDP to their local economies. Additionally, the top 15 Canadian festivals support the equivalent of 15600 full-time jobs (FAME, 2011).

To facilitate the current study, this research draws on previous work, especially Zimmerman and Zeitz' (2002) process model of legitimacy and resource acquisition. This model is combined with a life cycle approach to investigate legitimacy, legitimation strategies, and their focus and challenges at different stages of the organizational life cycle. Thus the thesis explores if festivals follow the same general strategies and legitimacy sources present in the process model of

legitimacy and resource acquisition. Furthermore, following work by Jawahar and McLaughlin (2001), on the challenges and strategies that organizations employ in operations and resource acquisition through changing life cycle stages, the thesis also explores how this life cycle approach would apply to festivals with respect to legitimacy and resource acquisition.

These ideas are summarized in the following research questions:

- *Extending existing models, how do festivals acquire legitimacy in order to acquire resources?*
- *How does the focus of this activity change depending on the life cycle stage?*

The Scope and Approach of the Research

The lack of prior research on legitimacy and resource acquisition in festivals and lack of scale development for measuring legitimacy and legitimacy strategies in practice indicates that an exploratory qualitative research method is appropriate for investigating the topic (Yin, 2009).

The thesis draws on data from semi-structured interviews and publically available secondary sources focussed on eight rural music festivals in Canada. Although the small sample limits the generalizability of the results, this approach allows investigation of the under-explored concept of legitimacy and resource acquisition in festivals. By utilizing an established process model of legitimacy, the research provides qualitative empirical support for its propositions and components, and adapts the model to include life cycle stages of festival organizations.

The thesis purposively sampled festivals from a variety life cycle stages. All of the festivals were rural, although one was held in the centre of a village. Data was obtained on two festivals in the early Start-Up Stage, which have yet to launch an official event open to the public. There

were three festivals in the Growth and Development Stage-- two of which were forced to change communities. Three festivals were in the Mature Stage, with one in decline and experiencing some difficulties at revival.

Attendance estimates or economic factors of the local or national region were not controlled because the researcher wanted to obtain a broad understanding of legitimation strategies in festivals. This research seeks to extend an existing model that has not been extensively replicated in practice and develop propositions from this extension. Furthermore, festival legitimacy and resource acquisition research may also provide useful insight for other businesses and NGOs. However, the scope of the findings do not necessarily apply to all types of organizations as festivals are characterized by their episodic nature, mix of paid and volunteer resources, involvement of a range of stakeholders and the government, and are in some way cultural celebrations. These important elements make them distinct from other types of organizations.

Overview of Findings

This study found support for the sources of legitimacy (regulatory, pragmatic, normative, and cognitive) and developed propositions about legitimacy strategies (conformance, selection, manipulation, and conformance) from Suchman (1995) and Zimmerman and Zeitz (2002). It employed a life cycle stage approach and found that the focus of legitimacy and the qualities of the basic strategies utilized are determined in part by the stage.

In the beginning festival entrepreneurs are attempting to establish initial legitimacy with key stakeholders, and this relies in large part on their team's personal characteristics and reputation.

In the case of an entrepreneurial organization, the reputation or existing legitimacy of the organization reflects on the developing festival. Initial community and site selection are

considered as key factors in establishing future legitimacy. The organizers of the initial event may have no vision of how large the festival may be in the future, often launching their festival as an experimental “one-off” event. Other festivals from the study are utilizing the event as a platform to create and diffuse new norms and ideas, or create economic and social development for the geographic community.

In the Developing or Growth Stage, the festival organizers are focussed on developing new legitimacy with broader audiences as they expand, while at the same time maintaining legitimacy with local stakeholders who can become mobilized to oppose or support the festival. Problems with regulatory legitimacy can occur if the site reaches capacity or the impact on neighbours is severe. Festival organizations will often attempt to conform to resource holder pressures, while at the same time as making public the positive economic impact of their organization through attendee spending in the community and charitable donations—a manipulation strategy.

In the Mature Stage the festival has stabilized its attendance and growth. The focus is more on refining their model and maintaining legitimacy. They have developed relationships with local stakeholders and outside attendees over time which facilitates resource acquisition. They may experiment with new ideas at this stage, and innovation is important for continued legitimacy in the face of competing festivals. Mature festivals who fail to maintain legitimacy with audiences may slip into decline.

Based on these findings the thesis confirms Zimmerman and Zeitz’ (2002) propositions that organizations engage in four basic legitimation strategies—conformance, selection, manipulation and creation, to obtain legitimacy from normative, regulatory, cognitive sources, along with Suchman’s (1995) pragmatic sources. The thesis extends this model by adding the influence of

life cycle stage on the focus of legitimacy and legitimation strategies. The research finds that the different life cycle stages have different consequences for festival legitimacy and resource acquisition. Finally, while the thesis finds support for the idea of a survival threshold of legitimacy for festivals, the thesis also advances the notion that every time a festival makes a major change or expansion in attendance, the festival has the unfortunate chance to fall below the threshold.

Contribution

Researching legitimacy in the festival context will add to both the festival management and entrepreneurial strategy literatures. Models of legitimation for resource acquisition have yet to be engaged by event and festival scholars, and the theoretical model adapted here has few empirical replications. Moreover, landmark work in this field has called for more study into the processes that festival managers use to acquire resources, grow, and survive (Getz, 2008 & 2010). This thesis attempts to address these research gaps.

Organization of the Thesis

To frame the research and present the method and findings, the thesis is divided into six separate chapters. The first chapter was an introduction and overview of the thesis. The second chapter is a review of the events and festival research with specific attention on the festival management literature. The third chapter is a review of the literature on resource acquisition, legitimacy, lifecycle stages and their intersection. Here the researcher also describes a model of legitimacy and resource acquisition from the literature, and extend it and its propositions to the festival context. The fourth chapter describes and justifies the research methodology utilized to study

legitimacy in festivals. The fifth chapter presents the biographic and demographic attributes of the cases. The sixth chapter presents findings on legitimacy through different stages of the life cycle, drawing data from eight case studies, as well as some additional findings uncovered in this exploratory work. To close, the seventh chapter provides a summary of the research, the limitations of the study, and discusses future research directions.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Overview

This chapter will review the literature on events and distinguish between the types of events.

Next a review of the festival literature, outlines the major discourses, and describes the festival management discourse in greater detail.

Event Studies

The study of events has long existed within several disciplines and accompanying journals, including: anthropology (Cultural Anthropology; Southwestern Journal of Anthropology; Practical Anthropology; Visual Anthropology, geography (Annals of the Association of American Geographers; Progress in Human Geography), sociology (British Journal of Sociology; Research in Urban Sociology), political science (Rural Society; Review of Political Science), management (Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly; Rutgers Computer and Technology Law Journal; Journal of Business Research; Journal of Advertising; Corporate Governance: An International Review), economics of events, tourism and hospitality (Tourism Economics; Sport Marketing Quarterly; Journal of Sport Tourism; Journal of Travel Research). These varied journals and associated disciplines give a sense of the diverse interdisciplinary concern given to the areas of events and festivals.

Despite the array of views, the thesis finds that events all have some common general features.

Two main elements seem to make up their definition is that all events involve one or more special purposes and are limited in duration (Getz, 2000). However, each event is unique in its

blend of management, program, setting, and upstream and downstream and internal stakeholders, as well as attendee demographics.

The term 'event studies' appears to have been coined for scholarly use in 2000, by Donald Getz at the ``Events Beyond 2000`` conference in Sydney (Getz, 2000). Although, in his earlier work (Getz, 1989) he uses the term "special events," and goes on to describe a conceptual model that featured the unique issues germane to events-- which could be argued as the beginnings of ``event studies`` as a discrete discipline.

Event management is the applied field of study and area of professional practice devoted to the design, production and management of planned events, encompassing festivals and other celebrations, entertainment, recreation, political and state, scientific, sport and arts events, those in the domain of business and corporate affairs, including: meetings, conventions, fairs, and exhibitions, and those in the private domain, including: rites of passage such as weddings and parties, and social events for affinity groups (Getz, 2008).

There are a large number of similarities between events despite their diverse purposes, settings and stakeholders. For instance, professional associations and clubs hold regular meetings, but also have national conventions that involve education and entertainment programs. Sporting events can have an added carnival-like atmosphere with socializing in parking lots like the American experience of "tailgating" at football games. Festivals may be sports, music, or culturally themed, with crowd participation, and education among other included elements.

Non-profits put on events, sometimes as "one-offs" to address a prescient issue, or often on an annual basis, to raise money for their various causes. The event may be for charity but also include elements indistinguishable from a for-profit event. Large corporations plan company-

wide retreats to build morale through providing a reward-- possibly involving entertainment, but also to facilitate brainstorming among employees and cultivating group identity, a function similar to festivals. Other corporations might use ``job fairs`` to recruit potential employees-- performing a resource acquisition function.

As described in the opening paragraph, events and festivals, in the past, have been frequently included in the tourism and hospitality management field, among other disciplines. Publications dedicated specifically to festivals and events also exist and include:

- Event Tourism then Management Festival Management and Event Tourism now Event Management
- Journal of Event Management Research
- International Journal of Event Management Research
- International Journal of Event and Festival Management
- Journal of convention and Exhibition Management, now Journal of Convention and Event Tourism
- Event Organiser

Formica (1998) conducted a review of festival and special event research articles from the 1970s to 1996. This likely is the first attempt to review the festival and events literature. They identified that the main areas covered in that time frame were: economic and financial impacts, marketing, profiles of festival or events, sponsorship, management, trends and forecasts (Formica, 1998).

The major themes and categories covered in the events literature in order of most studied with the number of papers identified were:

Table I: Formica (1998) Themes in Events Literature and Article Counts 1970-1998

Theme	#	Theme	#
Economic/financial impact	15	Sponsorship	10
Marketing	13	Management	10
Profile of festival/event	10	Trends and forecasts	4

Before his more comprehensive 2010 review of festival research (discussed later, see Festival Studies), Getz also produced reviews of the event management and event tourism literatures (Getz 2000a, 2008). Getz (2000a) reviewed the journal, “Event Management” from 1993 through 2000 at the Sydney conference for event research. Getz found after collapsing categories that “marketing” is the largest area of study within events research. This is if the categories of “motivations and sponsorship” are included within the marketing category, and have since been studied separately (Getz, 2008). Along with this, Getz also found that “economic impact and economic development from a policy perspective” studies seemed to be the main interests in events research.

Harris, Jago, Allen, and Huyskens (2001) at the same conference, reviewed Australian events scholarship; of the 143 articles, they found that “economic development and economic impacts of events” (27.3%), stakeholder consequences, were the most studied, followed by “other management topics” (10.5%), and “community impacts, resident attitudes and perceptions of the

event impacts, community development” (10%). Harris et al., (2001) compared these Australian numbers to “international” numbers, and the international data seems to depart from the Australian data. In this data-set “Sponsorship and event marketing from the corporate perspective” (17.5%), comes in at number one, followed by “economic development and economic impacts of events” (14.4%), and “fundraising” (10.3%) (Burkhardt & Harris, 1998).

In other review work, an analysis completed by Getz (2000a) revealed some major themes and categories covered in the events literature in order of most studied to least studied:

Table II: Getz (2000a) Themes From Event Literature and Article Counts

Theme	#	Theme	#
Economic development and economic impacts of events to different stakeholders and tourism	26	Descriptive analysis of the festival sector	5
Sponsorship and event marketing from the corporate perspective	14	Attendance estimates and forecasts	5
Marketing of events including segmentation, advertising	11	Volunteers and staffing	4
Other management topics	9	Politics, policy and planning	4
Visitor motives for attending	7	Renewal and sustainability	2
Education, training, accreditation, research, professionalism	7	Law and regulations	1
Community impact, resident’s attitudes and evaluations of events	6	Benefits to event consumers	1

Furthermore, based on his research, Getz (2000a) indicated that the “event management field” involves:

- Fundamentals of management and how they apply to events
- Unique aspects of events, especially their commonalities
- Specific types of events and event settings (facilities, grounds and organizations)

In other important work, Getz (2008) formulated “three big, generic research questions” that seem useful from a practical perspective, and are the types of questions that event planners, city councils, tourism bureaus, corporate investors, etc. would have. They are:

- What are events worth?
- What do we need to know to market events more effectively?
- What are the critical success factors for event management?

Types of Events

Although all types of planned events have significant collective economic impacts, including the aggregate activity of small weddings and family reunions. Larger events with significant individual economic impacts, especially on tourism, permeate the event literature. In this section a brief overview is given to the four event types that are most frequently discussed in the literature. They come in the main forms, sporting, business, festivals and mega events according to Getz (2008). Festival studies are discussed more in depth in the next sections

Business Events

Interest in the economic value of business events, including meetings, conventions, and exhibitions (including trade and consumer shows) has been so prevalent that almost all major cities now possess significant convention and exhibition facilities, and networks of organizations supporting these events through selling space, bidding on events, catering, and other related activity (Getz, 2008). The first convention bureau in the USA was established as far back as 1896 and the International Association of Convention Bureaus was founded in 1914 (Spiller, 2002). Weber and Ladkin (2004) explored trends in the convention industry including government's increasing awareness of economic benefits of meetings, incentives, conventions and events/exhibitions. Two review articles cover convention tourism research (Yoo & Weber, 2005) and convention and meeting management research (Lee & Back, 2005). These reviews contain literature pertaining to business events including association, corporate and interest group meetings, site selection criteria and processes, and the economic impacts of these events.

Sport Events

Gibson (1998) provided the first assessment of sport tourism research and Weed (2006) reviewed the literature from 2000 to 2004. In addition to an ongoing discourse on what exactly sport tourism is, and its place in academia, as well as the commonplace economic impact assessments, a number of other important themes can be identified. Sports as 'big business' is an enduring theme. For example, Carlsen and Taylor (2003) looked at the ways in which Manchester used the Commonwealth Games to heighten the city's profile, give impetus to urban renewal through sport and commercial developments, and create a social legacy through cultural and educational programming. Rozin (2000) described Indianapolis as a 'classic case' of how sports can generate

economic activity. Sports Business Market Research Inc. (2000, p. 167) observed that in the 1980s and 1990s American cities “put heavy emphasis on sports, entertainment and tourism as a source of revenue for the cities.” Gratton and Kokolakis (1997) argued that in the UK, sports events had become the main platform for economic regeneration in many cities.

Olympics and Mega-Events

The magnitude, political and economic importance, prominence in the media and frequent controversy surrounding them make mega-events popular subjects for research, with the Olympics having the most attention. Roche (2000, 2006) has studied both the Olympics and mega events in the context of globalization. Carlsen and Taylor (2003) looked at mega events and urban renewal. World’s fairs and their economic connections have been examined by Mendell, MacBeth, and Solomon (1983), Dimanche (1996), and de Groote (2005).

A variety of themes are covered in the Olympics literature, including their economic costs and impacts (Cicarelli & Kowarsky, 1973; Preuss, 2004; Kasimati, 2003; Taylor & Gratton, 1988). Marketing of the Olympics was studied by Leibold and van Zyl (1994). Other topics include Olympic bids and politics (Hiller, 2000); identity and legacy (Ritchie, 2000); host stakeholder perceptions of the event (Mihalik, 2001; Ritchie & Smith, 1991); sponsorship (Brown, 2002) and business leveraging supporting the event (O’Brien, 2006).

Festivals

Festivals and other cultural celebrations, including music festivals, carnivals, religious events and the arts and entertainment in general (mainly concerts and theatrical productions) are often subsumed in the literature on cultural tourism (McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Richards, 1996, 2007). Festivals in particular have been examined in the context of place marketing, local

development and social change (Picard and Robinson, 2006). Festival institutionalization has been discussed in cultural studies (Quinn, 2006). Prentice and Andersen (2003) examined festivals in Scotland, looking at their actions in creating identity and economic generation for a region.

Researchers have studied the marketing orientation of festivals (Mayfield & Crompton, 1995; Mehmetoglu & Ellingsen, 2005; Tomljenovic & Weber, 2004). Carlsen and Getz (2006) provided a strategic planning approach for enhancing the tourism orientation of a regional wine festival. Festival tourism has been the subject of quite a few research papers (for examples see, Anwar & Sohail, 2004; Robinson, Picard, & Long, 2004; McKercher, Mei, & Tse, 2006).

Festival Studies

Within this broad domain of ``event studies``, a sub area, “festival studies” a type of “cultural celebration” has been identified and extensively researched from various perspectives (Getz, 2010). Many scholars have helped to conceptualize the boundary and scope of festival studies. Pieper (1965) believed only religious rituals and celebrations could be called festivals. Pieper (1965) further argued that numerous forms and themes for festivals are present, and the term” festival “is often misapplied and “commercialised.” Following an anthropological perspective, Falassi (1987) wrote, that festivals are “...a sacred or profane time of celebration, marked by special observances” (p.2). These observances, celebrate community values, ideologies, identity and continuity, possess identifiable themes, and are at least partially open to the public (Getz, 2005). Getz (2005, p.21), defined them as “themed, public celebrations”. Because of this varied nature, expansive “catch all” taxonomy might be difficult, and no widely accepted typology has emerged (Getz, 2010). However, it seems clear that festivals are constructs that change

depending on time, place, and people, which indicates that cross contextual comparisons are needed to advance academic understanding in festivals (Getz, Andersson, & Carlsen, 2010).

Getz, Andersson, & Carlsen (2010) identified two main ways by which festivals are distinguished from other events. They have a "celebratory core" or theme that incorporates cultural elements and social models of behavior. In other words there is an expression of human celebration. Also, festivals are tied to policy, as well as economic development programs involving tourism. By operating at such a high public profile, multiple and significant stakeholders outside of the organization may be involved extensively in operations and decision-making, quite unlike the inward-looking archetypical "corporate retreat." Because of this involvement of multiple stakeholders in different situations and for different purposes, festivals have varied governance structures. Some are for-profit, government, NGO, or a mix of the forms (Andersson and Getz, 2009).

Festivals have been identified by Waterman, (1998) as being time limited. This Waterman suggests, is a common thread "they are all ephemeral" (1998, p.58). All festivals have to do with space, and people gathering somewhere, but they are not bound by any particular place, as a festival organization can move from location to another (Connell & Gibson, 2004). The same authors also found that festivals establish a temporary community as another characteristic. These communities may also continue on in some way after the festival performance and operations have ceased, in virtual or online form (Connell & Gibson, 2004). These characteristics are likely present in both commercial and non-profit festivals in general.

The second characteristic is that they create and maintain cultural meaning and social structure (Connell & Gibson, 2004). Additionally, Artists playing at festivals, along with their marketing

teams, may consciously use festivals to reinforce their brand image (Shuker, 2006). Festival organizers attendees and other stakeholders create novel myths (Cohen, 2007). Festivals are connected to cultures and to places, giving each identity and helping bind people to their communities (Chau, 2008; Morgan, 2008). Similarly, festivals and other planned events can foster and reinforce group identity (Getz, 2010). De Bres and Davis (2001) studied how festivals built identities for local community residents. Derrett (2003) and Elias-Vavotsis (2006) considered the effects of festivals on the cultural identity and norms of specific communities. Harcup (2000), and Boo and Busser (2006) examined how festivals are created to intentionally manipulate public perceptions of communities.

Getz (2010) conducted a large-scale literature review of festivals, and compiled and analyzed 423 research articles published in English. Festival studies are very well established within Anthropology and Sociology, while Festival Management and Festival Tourism are much more recent and relatively immature. Getz categorized the literature into three major themes, centered on the main academic discourses in festivals: Discourse on the Roles, Meanings and Impacts of Festivals in Society and Culture; Discourse on Festival Tourism and Discourse on Festival Management (Getz, 2010). The first two will be described briefly, followed by a more in-depth examination of the discourse on festival management, the focus.

Discourse on the Roles, Meanings and Impacts of Festivals in Society and Culture

This topic covering festivals in society and culture, pertains to the roles, meanings and impacts of festivals, and is the oldest and most developed discourse (Getz, 2010). There are notable foundational works by Van Gennep (1909), Manning (1983) and Falassi (1987), in this area. Other contemporary studies of specific cultural celebrations have been published in the literature outside events and tourism (for example, Cavalcanti, 2001). In other work Long and Robinson (2004) and Picard and Robinson (2006) published books that contain investigations of tourism and the cultural dimensions of festivals.

Some of the work in this area has relevance to the current thesis. For instance, Frost (2008) in interesting work studied “film-induced festivals,” involving a case-study of two American festivals started on outdoor film-sets and the implications for tourism and local community identity. In other work Foley et al. (2006) studied how global consumer images are fused with local ideas at festival sites in Singapore with implications for identity and economic aspects of tourism policy.

Another relevant theme in this area is community and place identity. Quinn (2005) studied the changing perceptions of identity of a festival in Ireland, including the connection that outside attendees had to the festival; Wood and Thomas (2006) measured the attitudes of local stakeholders toward a festival, while Jeong and Santos (2004) investigated festivals and changing regional identities in South Korea.

Discourse on Festival Tourism

The “Event tourism” literature has been reviewed by Getz (2008). The roles of festivals in tourism include attracting tourists, contributing to place marketing (including image formation and destination branding), animating attractions and places, and acting as catalysts for other forms of development (Getz, 2008). This discourse is mainly populated with assessments of economic impacts of festivals and festival tourism, planning and marketing festival tourism from the community’s perspective, and studies of festival-tourism motivation and various segmentation approaches. The negative impacts of festivals and festival tourism is a more recent line of research (Getz, 2008).

“Festival tourism” is an important element in “event tourism”, so much so that the term “festivalization” has been coined to suggest the commercialization of festivals for tourism and place marketers; scholars note a trend toward treating festivals as commodities has emerged (Quinn, 2006; Richards, 2007). Also in the Festival Tourism field, researchers rely heavily upon consumer behavior and other marketing concepts, motivations for attending festivals have been studied, and more recently the links between quality, satisfaction, and behavior or future intentions have been modeled (Uysal, Gahan & Martin, 1993; Backman et al., 1995; Nicholson & Pearce, 2000, 2001).

Discourse on Festival Management

Festival Management is the most recent discourse to develop in the research literature. Numerous books have been published from the event practitioner’s viewpoint, and there are many texts on specific elements of events management including human resources, risks, logistics, and marketing (including Goldblatt, 2007 and Getz, 1991). There has been a lack of

books published specifically and exclusively on festival management, with notable exceptions being Hall and Sharples (2008) on food and wine festivals, and Long and Robinson (2004) with festivals and tourism. Getz (2012) gives festivals a significant amount of attention; however events in general are the main focus.

Much of the literature pertaining to consumer motivation and evaluation of events is of direct interest to festival managers. As well, the literature on event and festival impacts is relevant, because managers will seek methods of assessing performance and incorporate these measures into strategic planning. In general, the Festival management field is populated by generic management concepts and methods, mostly from US-based scholarship. These studies will be outlined next in order of most studied to least studied.

Main Topics in Festival Management

Marketing

Marketing is the dominant theme in the Festival Management literature. Festival marketing research has the general sub-themes of: marketing or consumer orientation, segmentation for target marketing purposes, place marketing with festivals, developing new markets, market area and market potential studies, branding and image-making with festivals.

For example, several researchers have sought to determine the marketing orientation of festivals (Mayfield & Crompton, 1995; Tomljenovic & Weber, 2004; Mehmetoglu & Ellingsen, 2005).

One of the main findings from this group of authors is that arts festivals generally display a lack of concern for revenue generation and take a management orientation that often fails to address attendee needs and financial resource limits. Wicks and Fesenmaier (1995) determined the market potential for events in Midwestern US, while Faulkner, et al. (1999) studied the

motivation of residents and tourists for attending festivals and how marketing could be augmented. Yoon et al. (2000) profiled and described Michigan's festival and event tourism market and Barlow and Shibli (2007) studied festival audience development. Shanka and Taylor (2004) focused on sources of information used by festival attendees on their selection criteria. Smith (2007a, 2007b, 2008) has studied distribution channels for festivals. Co-branding events and destinations is a related researched topic (Chalip & Costa, 2006; Jago et al., 2003).

The image construction of events in marketing and their media coverage, including how this might generate tourism demand for the destination is a fairly well-covered topic (e.g. Hede, 2005; Li & Vogelsong, 2005; Ritchie, Sanders, & Mules, 2006).

Planning

Most of these articles look at strategies of developing festivals. Using case studies, Frisby and Getz (1989), examined the organization and life cycles of community-based festivals and their strategic options for increasing local tourism. Getz (1993) considered organizational culture and stakeholders as applied to festivals. Getz also assessed reasons why festivals fail, including reliance on a single source of funding, poor marketing, bad weather, among others (Getz, 2000). Andersson and Getz (2007a) studied stakeholder management strategies of festivals and examined their growth and survival. Earl and Van der Heide (2001) studied strategic health planning for outdoor music festivals. The principal author also looked at risks and emergency planning at festivals (Earl et al., 2004). O'Sullivan and Jackson (2002) researched festival tourism and sustainable local economic development. Also, Getz and Anderson (2008) looked at how festivals can eventually become institutionalized in communities.

Ensor, Robertson and Ali-Knight (2007) examined festival success, with attention to factors that may contribute to innovation and creativity. Hede (2007) argued that the triple-bottom-line approach should be introduced and consider and involve a wide range of audiences. Jones, Scot and Khaled (2006) researched how climate change could impact festivals in Canada. O'Brien (2007) discussed how to leverage festivals for maximum local social and economic benefit. Regarding nascent planning, Frost (2001) compared the planning and execution of celebrations in Australia and California.

Evaluation

The bulk of this research concentrates on assessments of quality and satisfaction. For example, Bourdreau, DeCoster and Paradis (2001) examined satisfaction levels at a music festival comparing residents and tourists. K. Kim (2008) identified segments of attendees based on motivations at a cultural festival using factor-cluster analysis, then evaluated satisfaction levels. In other scholarship a structural-equation model was developed to investigate relationships between perceived festival service quality, perceived value and behavioural intentions (Lee, Petrick & Crompton, 2007). While the subject is underdeveloped, Getz and Frisby (1991) and Williams and Bowdin (2007) researched the evaluation of the effectiveness and efficiency of event operations and the strategies they used.

Stakeholders

Stakeholders are a secondary topic when discussing planning and the strategic environmental forces affecting festivals. However, a number of studies have concentrated on stakeholder theory to examine festival politics and strategies, the festival organizational environment, types and roles of stakeholders and stakeholder management (Getz, 2010). Articles on partnerships and

collaborations also involve stakeholders, for instance Long (2000) who examined partnerships between organizations in the management of a festival sample.

Getz, Andersson and Larson (2007) compared case studies in different countries to identify key stakeholders, their roles, and how festival organizers managed them. Larson (2002, 2008) and Larson and Wikstrom (2001) employed the concept of a “political market square” to examine stakeholder dynamics at festivals. Johnson, Glover and Yuen (2009) focused on the role of community representatives in the creation of an event. Crespi-Vallbona and Richards (2007) studied the meaning of cultural festivals from the perspective of different stakeholders. Also of note, the stakeholder orientation of event tourism strategy makers was addressed by Stokes (2008).

Human resources

The main subjects include staffing, volunteers, professionalization, accreditation and ethical practices, and volunteers. Some examples of this topic include Slaughter and Home (2004) who looked at long-term volunteers and what motivates them. Also, Elstad (2003) examined volunteer commitment, while Bendle and Patterson (2008) looked at volunteers at arts events.

Risk, health, safety, law, crowding and security

Barker, Page and Meyer (2000) considered event impacts and visitors perceptions of safety. Earl, Parker and Capra (2005) and Earl (2008) investigated crowd behaviour and mentioned site characteristics for safety planning for festivals. Mowen, Vogel song and Graefe (2003) researched perceptions of crowding along with attitudes towards crowd management strategies.

Economics and financing

Crompton and Love (1994) inferred reactions of visitors to a price increase at a festival. Also, the perspective of pricing and revenue was taken by Wanhill (2006) at opera festivals. Clarke and Hoaas (2007) examined revenue sources from concession sales at an arts festival. Anderson and Getz (2007b) examined reliance on single sources of funding. Frey (1994) examined the economics and ownership of music festivals. Tomljenovic and Weber (2004) documented reasons why festival organizers thought they should be funded by government initiatives. Barbato and Mio (2007) focused on accounting and management control. Studies of festivals being economically viable can be also be found in O'Sullivan & Jackson, (2002) and in Connell and Gibson, (2004).

Sponsorship

Crompton (1993) focused on why a business may engage in event sponsorship and later examined factors that stimulated the growth of event sponsorship (Crompton, 1995). Alexandris et al. (2008) examined the influence of attendee's opinions on sponsorship at three events, including a festival.

Programming

Andersson and Getz (2009) studied how ownership of festivals influenced their programming. Leenders et al. (2005) examined growth and performance in music festivals by looking at programming and related variables. Finkel (2006) performed a case study to investigate the disparity between artistic objectives and revenue goals in developing programming standardization.

Attendance estimates and forecasts

Tyrell and Ismail (2005) reviewed methods for obtaining attendance and economic impact estimates at festivals that do not pre-sell tickets. Bothers and Brantley (1993), Raybould et al. (2000), and Denton and Furse (1993) all described different methods for estimating attendance at open admission festivals.

Organizing and Coordinating

Lexhagen et al. (2005) looked at the use of on-site communications in coordinating festivals, and Beaven and Laws (2007) examined service quality in the context of operations management. Robbins, Dickinson and Calver (2007) studied resource transportation, while Smith and Xiao (2008) concentrated on the logistics challenges of organizing for food festivals.

Ownership

Getz and Anderson (2009) compared private, not-for-profit and for-profit festival and concentrated on whether privately owned, not-for-profit, or government ownership of festivals had differences in organization, resource and stakeholder management. Also, Acheson et al. (1996) and Frey (1994) studied the problems facing non-profit festivals along with their revenues and costs of maintenance and growth.

Gaps in Research

As outlined above, management functions applied to festivals have been studied; however the following appear under-covered: festival financing and other resource acquisition, innovation, site planning, volunteer development, or branding and identity building. Resource acquisition research has had some development, and those studies will be outlined in the next chapter.

While success factors and failure (Getz, 2002) and the life cycle (Walle, 1994) have been addressed by festival researchers, little has been done to examine festival growth or sustainability strategies, nor to identify legitimacy's role in survival and resource acquisition.

With many disparate objectives to meet, and audiences to consider, festivals present particular challenges for management and strategy. Key stakeholders and their support or opposition will play major factors in determining survival and resource acquisition of festivals. At what point or threshold will their survival become more assured? The notion of building legitimacy with stakeholders has been mentioned (Andersson & Getz, 2008) but remains under-covered. How legitimacy is built initially and how might this change over time is also scantily mentioned. Also, with sustained active support, enduring festivals may eventually achieve an institutional status (Getz & Andersson, 2008), but this has also been given little attention.

Having reviewed the literature on festivals and events, with particular attention to the literature on festivals, especially Festival Management, the thesis turns now to literature outside of this area to assist in the study of legitimacy and resource acquisition in festivals.

Chapter 3: Theory and Constructs

Overview

As mentioned in the previous section, the strategies festivals use to acquire resources, especially at different stages of their life cycle are under-covered in the literature. In addition, academics in other fields have argued for the importance of legitimacy in acquiring resources (Suchman, 1995; Zimmerman and Zeitz, 2002), another notably less researched topic in festival management. Legitimacy and strategies to acquire it have yet to be studied in the festival context specifically. Furthermore, Zimmerman and Zeitz' (2002) strategy and legitimacy process model has yet to be empirically replicated in the festival and event context.

In this chapter a review of the literature on resource acquisition, including dependency theory is provided. The thesis then discusses the life cycle stage model, and reviews research in this area. Next the literature on institutional theory and legitimacy is covered, paying close attention to the sources of legitimacy and strategies to achieve legitimacy from these sources. This area is summarized in the working legitimacy process model.

Resource Acquisition

An overarching assumption in management literature is that firms need resources for their activity. Festival entrepreneurs, like any entrepreneurs, are interested in acquiring a range of resources including equipment, land, social assets, financial assets, human resources, among others in order to facilitate their pre-organizational plans and later organizational purposes (Coleman, 1988). Resources may then be recombined for their output to be utilized or sold (Shane, 2003). Resource acquisition is then the process through which an individual,

organization, network, or industry comes into use of resources for their own purposes (Shane, 2003).

Resource Acquisition in the Festival Context

Resource acquisition in the festival context comes in two forms, resource acquisition for individual festivals--or the event itself, and resource acquisition for festival organizations, which endure past the single event. The entrepreneur has beginning resources, but still needs to coordinate those resources and acquire more before launching a festival, the first time or the 50th time. The entrepreneur may have land, contacts, money, experience, or accounts receivable at the planning and pre-planning stages of the venture. The entrepreneur will need to manage and recombine these existing resources in order to acquire the additional resources needed to launch the venture, and in the case of festivals, re-launching the venture on a continuing basis. When any venture grows and becomes more stable and predictable, it will require different resources to fuel its routines and processes past start-up (Shane, 2003).

Resource Acquisition in the festival and event context has been investigated, but the distinct theoretical literature is underdeveloped, and the empirical research mostly exploratory (Getz et al., 2010) or single case-studies (for instance, Arellano, 2011; Hiscock & Hojman, 2004).

Rigorous instrument development--complete with reliability and validity checks are absent, panel testing and pilot testing of scales have not been widely practiced, nor has much comparative research using larger samples been conducted—with the exception of a few works (Getz, 2002; Getz et al., 2010).

While sparse, some work has studied resource acquisition in the festival field. Frost (2001) looked at start-up planning of events, and Frisby and Getz (1989) studied the tourism impacts of

community festivals from a lifecycle perspective using case studies. Anderson and Getz (2008) also investigated stakeholder roles and sustainability with some reference to strategies that impact on resource acquisition. Getz (2002) further studied the reasons for festival failure, among them some resource variables such as reliance on one source of financing/sponsorship; weather and venue problems; poor deployment of advertising resources. The logistical side of resource acquisition was discussed in Robbins, Dickinson and Calver (2007) on transport planning, and Smith and Xiao (2008) studied the resource logistics of festival, farm and market mixed operation. Other scholars looked at novel resource implementation of mobile devices and human resource coordination (Lexhagen, Nysveen, & Hem, 2005). Human resources studies in this context have included staffing, professionalism and professionalization (Stadler, Fullagar, & Reid, 2014), and particular attention to volunteers (Elstad, 2003; Slaughter & Home, 2004; Barron & Rihova, 2011; Peaslee, El-Koury, & Liles, 2013).

Important perspectives in resource acquisition are resource dependency theory and resource-based views of competitive advantage. The following section introduces the two theories from various foundational scholarship. Next the thesis elaborates how resources are acquired through social transactions. Afterward, the thesis covers how resource acquisition is theorized to unfold over an organization's life cycle.

Resource Dependency Theory

Resource dependency theory holds that an organization depends upon its environment for the resources needed to survive (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). The extent to which an organization is dependent upon a given stakeholder group in its environment can be determined by the organization's reliance on the resource controlled by that stakeholder group (Frooman, 1999;

Mitchell, Agle & Wood, 1997). This dependency constrains the strategic choices that a firm can make to varying degrees, and in general, the smaller and newer the organization, the more constrained they are strategically (Hrebiniak & Joyce, 1985; Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002). For the small firm, the implication of this condition are that it must display value to customers and funders because it is these groups that control the firm's most scarce resource— money (Dodge & Robbins, 1992; Jawahar & McLaughlin, 2001).

A central premise of resource dependency views, as articulated by Donaldson (1996), is that organizations compete for resources and those that survive do so by finding an appropriate niche and “fit” that assures them of continued resources. According to Donaldson (1996), organizations that “fit,” adapt to accommodate environmental conditions such as regulations, customers, and other organizations, among other factors. Failures might arise from a poor “fit” with the environment (Donaldson, 1996), as in the case where a festival is not able to attract interest or support from its host community because of normative cultural differences, a lack of perceived economic benefit, or failure to meet regulatory obligations.

The resource dependency approach espouses that organizations facing uncertain environments will establish partnerships as a means of reducing uncertainty and spreading risk (Pfeffer & Nowak, 1976). Other important variables that have been studied in resource acquisition from this view are: experience-- including the age and size of the organization, the management and international experience of the management, capital management capabilities and organizational slack (Bansal, 2005).

In addressing the question of why festivals fail, Getz (2002) concludes that festival organizers need to understand resource dependency theory as it pertains to their organizations. An

implication of this theory is that organizers must become skilled at managing resource provider relationships. This is so that they can generate support for their goals and resources for the event's growth and survival.

In summary, resource dependency theory indicates that "organizations must attend to the demands of those in its environment that provide resources necessary and important for its continued survival ... organizations will (and should) respond more to the demands of those organizations or groups in the environment that control critical resources" (Pfeffer, 1982, p. 193). Extending this theory to legitimacy seems to suggest that organizations will pay more attention and be more concerned with issues of resource holders who control resources critical to the survival of an organization (Kreiner & Bhambri, 1991; Agle, Mitchell, & Sonnenfeld, 1999). Clearly, given that organizations have limited resources in terms of time and money, organizations are unlikely to be able to proactively address issues and concerns of all audiences, all the time. Theory and research on resource dependence indicate that organizations will be more responsive to stakeholders who control resources critical to the organization than to stakeholders who do not control such critical resources (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978; Kreiner & Bhambri, 1991).

Resource-Based View of Competitive Advantage

Barney's (1991, 2001) work looks at how the resources of firms determine their competitive advantage; specifically, it is concerned with the characteristics of the resources the firm is using. Barney produced a typology, which establishes that successful firms must control resources that produce value, are rare, hard to imitate or substitute, and possess the organizational capabilities to effectively and efficiently use their resources (2001).

Similarly in this thread, the ability to effectively use resources in a changing environment is associated with “dynamic capabilities” (Teece, Pisano, & Shuen, 1997; Adner & Helfat, 2003). These capabilities are then employed in developing social and knowledge resources that firms possess to give them competitive advantage, as these are the resources that are difficult to source (Barney, 1991; Nahapiet & Ghosal, 1998). As a component of competitive advantage, Kogut and Zander (1992) argue that the resources that the firm possesses dictate costs of acquiring new resources and in turn the value that it can create with those resources.

In this view, resource acquisition strategies should be centered on obtaining inputs that can be recombined in a way that provides value over and above their competitors (Barney, 1991).

Applying this idea, events and festival organizers will view resource acquisition where they must obtain resources, develop capabilities, and compete with other events for resources. For instance, the music festival must compete with other concerts and festivals in the area for event equipment, construction crews, event staff, volunteers, dates, vendors, artists, media resources, sponsorship money and endorsements, among others. An entrepreneur may have a plan to obtain competitive advantage, and may choose to start a festival because they see it as a potentially profitable venture like any other, or, as a decision in a system of social exchange (Woolsey Biggart & Delbridge, 2004) with wider moral implications.

Having outlined resource-dependency theory and the resource-based view, and their key concepts, the focus turns now to the transactions that organizers use to obtain needed resources.

Social and Economic Transactions

While most new ventures start out in the context of complex social transactions while trying to secure resources (Starr & MacMillan, 1990; Newbert & Tornikoski, 2013), festivals rely to a

large extent on volunteer participation to set-up, operate and take-down the event. Starr and MacMillan, (1990), conceptualize new ventures as merely an experiment, better thought of as a set of hypotheses and assumptions that have yet to be tested in the real world. They argue that organizers seek 'asset parsimony', or to deploy the minimum assets needed to achieve the desired business results in securing the resources at minimum cost (Starr & MacMillan, 1990; Mainela & Puhakka, 2011). Organizers do this, as mentioned, in conditions of uncertainty about what resources they require and what capabilities they have, a ``trial and error`` process that happens to some degree with every new venture (Starr & MacMillan, 1990; Delmar & Shane, 2003).

Economic transactions are transactions which are objectively verifiable, reflect market-based utilities and preferences, and typically clearly priced (Starr and MacMillan, 1990). Social transactions, on the other hand, are less explicit, yet may still be articulated and agreed upon at some institutional levels (Starr and MacMillan, 1990; Martinez & Dacin, 1999). While social transactions involve elements of rational choice (Etzioni, 1987); they also involve emotional intuition or moral obligation to generate gratitude, trust, and unspecified future obligations, possibly of an economic nature (Blau, 1964). Thus, while economic transactions, and for that matter economic resources, are easily measured and traded, social transactions can be much more difficult to measure (Adler & Kwon, 2002). They involve nebulous competing trade-offs between incurring the future economic or social debt, and the immediate benefits of a social transaction that will provide resources at a lower-cost to the entrepreneur (Starr & MacMillan 1990; Adler & Kwon, 2002).

While many businesses seek to maximize economic transactions, given the scope of festivals, without volunteers and other social resources, their profitability or mere ability to break-even is

doubtful. In the beginning especially, reliance on social transactions will be a factor for most festivals. Thus, network relationships and cooperative strategies employing both economic and social transactions are used to acquire resources (Starr & MacMillan, 1990; Semrau & Sigmund, 2012).

There is most often a condition of scarce financial and knowledge resources at the beginning of ventures; that is, they require more social transactions in the beginning than they likely will at the mature phase of their venture's life cycle (Semrau & Sigmund, 2012). New and small organizations, through the mobilization of extra-organizational members, involving informal and multifunctional social ties can acquire resources for the firm's goals (Maidique, 1980; Hutt, Reingen, & Ronchetto, 1988) Also of interest, research has found that community connections with recreation or clubs, and previous school peers and co-workers have been found to be sources of resources through social transactions (Low & MacMillan, 1988; Ostgaard & Birley, 1996). Social transactions for resources have not been extensively studied in the festival literature; however, they are likely to play a major role, especially in the founding of festivals.

The thesis turns now to resource acquisition and life cycle stage view of organizations.

Life Cycle View of Resource Acquisition

Academics have developed models of life cycle stages of organizations with early work by Chandler (1962). Chandler further observed that as stages changed, so did firms' strategies and structures (Chandler, 1962). In general, the life cycle of most organizations consists of four identifiable, but overlapping stages of: start-up, emerging growth, maturity, and decline/revival (Miller & Freisen, 1980; Jawahar & McLaughlin, 2001). Theory and research suggest that the challenges and opportunities for resource acquisition in the external environment of an

organization vary with the life cycle stages, although the characteristics present at each stage are sources of debate (Anderson & Zeithaml, 1984; Dodge, Fullerton, and Robbins, 1994; Dodge and Robbins, 1992).

The contribution of life cycle theory research resides in the idea that organizations develop through discrete stages and in examining how firms move through these stages and manage a new paradigm of challenges and opportunities (Covin & Slevin, 1997). For instance, Smith, Mitchell, and Summer (1985) found that priorities of top management varied with an organizations' life cycle stages. In a study involving 105 firms, Kazanjian (1988) found that the dominant problems of resource acquisition and management varied with the life cycle stage of the organization. Also, Dodge and Robbins (1992) analyzed 364 small business case reports to identify the major issues faced by businesses over their life cycle and found that there are different problems of resource acquisition in the various stages of the organization. In another study Dodge et al. (1994) found that firms in the early stages of the life cycle were more focussed on the attainment of resource requirements than those in the later stages.

The life cycle or stage transitions of festivals as a theoretical construct has been studied occasionally (Frisby & Getz, 1989; Walle, 1994), but not through comparative or longitudinal studies (Anderson & Getz, 2008). Tikkanen (2008) examined the stages a festival went through as it expanded internationally. Driscoll (2008) looked at the decline of a festival over time, while Mules (2004) examined the changes in a festival's organizational members and bureaucracy. Richards and Ryan (2004) historically examined the founding and maturation of an indigenous festival in New Zealand. Beverland et al. (2001) applied the life cycle model to analysis of the founding and growth and marketing strategies of wine festivals. Festival institutionalization has

also contributed to the life cycle, informed by theories of resource dependency, stakeholders, agency, institutionalism and population ecology (Getz & Andersson, 2008).

Start-Up Stage

The early stage of any venture is faced with resource scarcity to some degree, and viability of the project is the focus (Miller & Friesen, 1984). While many well-funded start-ups exist, with very capable and qualified people behind them, there is bound to be some learning curve for any new organization. This is especially true in the time period before the organization is actually an organization, in the nascent or emerging stage. This pre-organizational stage is when resources are most scarce. Because of this acknowledged "liability of newness" (Singh, Tucker, & House, 1986) resulting from an under-developed beginning resource position and capabilities, the entrepreneurs at the pre-organizational and early-stages might engage in numerous unconventional behaviors in order to acquire the resources they need (Starr & Macmillan, 1990; Morrow et al., 2007).

The Start-up Stage is the period in which developing and implementing a business plan, obtaining initial financing, obtaining critical human resources, and entering the marketplace are dominant concerns (Rutherford, Buller, & McMullen, 2003). In this stage the most critical needs, which have the potential to threaten organizational survival, are start-up funds, cash flow, and customer acceptance (Dodge et al., 1994; Shane, 2003). New festival organizations often start with social resources and very limited financial or tangible resources. In the case of these emerging festivals, entrepreneurs will have to build social resources through their networks to recruit volunteers to set-up and assist with organizing resources, in addition to acquiring necessary financial resources (Anderson & Getz, 2008). Toward this end, they may form

partnerships and associations with resource holders to compensate for their lack of human and financial resources (Miller & Friesen, 1984)

Jawahar and McLaughlin (2001) argue that before the threshold stage is reached, entrepreneurs will be likely unable to completely satisfy all relevant stakeholders, due to constrained resources. The authors hold that the need to secure financial resources and gain customer acceptance is so severe at this stage that the organization will likely defend against or ignore other stakeholder groups (Jawahar & McLaughlin, 2001). That is, in many cases they will actively pursue only those stakeholders that can provide financial resources, and they will ignore or even actively defend against other stakeholders (ibid.). While perhaps this is seen as necessary by the organizers early on with strained resources (Rutherford & Buller, 2007), this may have negative implications for the organization in the future, as these stakeholders may play a larger role later on. Thus, scholars have argued that managers should commit initial resources in a way that won't be difficult to re-deploy when conditions change (Sirmon et al., 2011).

Growth Stage

The Growth Stage follows the Start-up stage. By this stage, the organization has achieved a degree of success and skill and the firm is actively seeking and engaged in expansion opportunities (Jawahar and McLaughlin, 2001). However a concern for survival has not always been surmounted and misallocation of resources can cause growth stage organizations to fail (Gilbert, McDougall, & Audretsch 2006). Many festivals fail even after several performances (Getz, 2002). Thus, developing festivals must continually meet new demands for legitimacy as the festival expands and has greater requirements for safety and neighbourhood/community impact.

The emerging Growth Stage is the period in which significant new investment is likely and the number of employees, volunteers, customers, and geographic reach is expanded (Jawahar & McLaughlin, 2001). For most firms these issues are unlikely to be critical enough to seriously threaten organizational survival (Jawahar & McLaughlin, 2001) However, for festivals, expansion of the site and volume of attendees can have serious implications for maintaining legitimacy with stakeholders such as neighbours, government, emergency services and the local community in general, as the infrastructure becomes strained. Other typical problems faced as volume increases are stabilizing production reliably, maintaining alignment with customers, maintaining cash flow, and formalizing or bureaucratizing organizational structure (Jawahar & McLaughlin, 2001; Dodge & Robbins, 1992). Hall (1992) noted that as events grow, they can lose their community identity, “therefore, event organizers have to find ways to guide growth while still maintaining the features of the event which made it popular in the first place” (p. 120).

Mature Stage

The Mature Stage is the relatively flat period that follows the growth period. The mature stage is often attended by strong cash flows, without particularly attractive investment opportunities (Jawahar and McLaughlin, 2001). As an organization enters the mature stage, managers often regard the company and themselves as successful, respected leaders and role models (Jawahar & McLaughlin, 2001). Community, trade association, government, environmental, and supplier stakeholders will also be engaged proactively because of the availability of financial resources and relationships built with the organizers over time (Jawahar & McLaughlin, 2001). However, the organizers must retain legitimacy with audiences to avoid stagnation, as well as engage in experimentation and innovation in order to compete with other organizations (Agarwal & Gort, 2002). Consequently, mature organizations attempt to identify new ways to diversify their

revenue streams and re-deploy existing resources to new uses (Sirmon et al., 2011), and also identify behaviours that impede innovation (Miller & Friesen, 1984). Wicks and Fesenmaier (1995) argued that many of the events and festivals that do not adapt are likely to go out of existence, and competing for event audiences whose expectations continue to rise will require new management strategies and an emphasis on service quality.

Decline/Transition Stage

As an organization begins to slip into decline, management is likely to reassess the strategies currently in use to deal with the different stakeholder groups (Jawahar & McLaughlin, 2001). In this stage the demand for an organization's traditional products and/or services will be reduced, prompting management to consider such strategies as partnerships, downsizing, divestment and layoffs to ensure organizational survival (Jawahar and McLaughlin, 2001; Nixon et al., 2004). Scholars have argued that production efficiency is important when the rate of growth slows (Adizes, 1979). In a field study Smith et al. (1985) found that regaining technical efficiency was an important concern of top-level managers. Similarly, Kazanjian (1988) and Agarwal & Gort (2002) found that firms in maturity and decline were especially concerned with developing next generation or new products and re-deploying resources to revive growth.

In the next main section we will review the literature on “legitimacy” and its implications for organizational resource acquisition.

Institutional Theory and Legitimacy

In understanding organizations and how they grow and survive, a salient concept, “organizational legitimacy” has been explored in the management literature through multiple theoretical lenses. These include institutional theory (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Ruef & Scott 1998; Zucker, 1987), organizational ecology (e.g., Aldrich & Fiol 1994; Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002), resource dependence theory (e.g., Dowling & Pfeffer, 1975; Pfeffer, 1981), and agency theory (e.g., Woodward et al., 1996). It is generally accepted that no organization can survive without receiving legitimacy from its stakeholders (Clarkson, 1995).

Consistent with previous research, especially that of institutional theory, the thesis views legitimacy as a social judgment of acceptance, appropriateness, or desirability (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). Institutional theory describes the processes of structural change that make organizations, fields of organizations, social groups of varying sizes, and individuals more similar (Powell & DiMaggio, 1983), but also how these processes make some units distinct, and initiate processes that change all entities in some observable way (Maguire & Hardy, 2009). Suchman, defines legitimacy as "...a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions" (1995, p. 574). Legitimacy is also defined as congruency between the values, norms, and expectations of society and the activities and outcomes of the organization (Ashforth & Gibbs, 1990; Dowling & Pfeffer, 1975). Scott argues that legitimacy is a resource that also represents "a condition reflecting cultural alignment, normative support, or consonance with relevant rules or laws" (1995a, p. 45).

There are two main approaches to legitimacy discussed in the institutional literature. From a traditional institutional approach, the organization (and its legitimacy) is influenced for the most part by the external environment. An organization's legitimacy reflects the set of beliefs, values, and norms in broader society, which influence and give meaning to existing and emerging organizational practices and identities (Suchman, 1995; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Scott, 1983). This approach mainly views the organization as a passive pawn of prevailing institutions that it has no choice to conform to if it desires legitimacy, and thus the ability to access resources (Reast et al., 2013).

The key point is that legitimacy is a relationship between the practices and signals of the organization and those that are contained within, approved of, and enforced by the social system in which the organization exists. Part of this social or cultural congruence is that the organization possesses a credible account or explanation for what it is doing and why it is useful (Jepperson, 1991). Meyer and Rowan (1991, p.50) comment on the absence of these accounts with, "Organizations that...lack acceptable legitimated accounts of their activities... are more vulnerable to claims they are negligent irrational or unnecessary."

On the other hand, the strategic approach instead assumes that legitimacy is "conferred when stakeholders—that is, internal and external audiences affected by organizational outcomes—endorse and support an organization's goals and activities" (Elsbach & Sutton 1992, p. 700).

This perspective acknowledges a greater organizational influence over its own legitimacy (Ashforth and Gibbs 1990; Heugens and Landler 2009; Kostova and Zaheer 1999), such that "actions...can be taken to legitimate an organization" (Dowling and Pfeffer 1975, p. 122).

Strategic approaches to legitimacy suggests that organizations can exercise strategic choice to alter the type and amount of legitimacy they possess (Reast et al., 2013; Deeds et al., 1997; Scott,

1995a; Suchman, 1995). According to Child (1972), strategic choice is the manipulation of the environment and the selection of performance standards within which one will operate. This approach is termed the "strategic legitimation" approach (Suchman, 1995). The term legitimation is used, rather than legitimacy, indicating that it is a process (i.e., one initiated by the new venture). The approach assumes this "managerial perspective and emphasizes the ways in which organizations instrumentally manipulate and deploy evocative symbols in order to garner societal support" to build legitimacy and thus gain resources (Suchman, 1995, p. 572).

Legitimacy improves chances of acquiring all of the various resources needed to survive and grow, such as capital, technology, managers, competent employees, customers, and networks (Aldrich & Fiol, 1994; Harman & Freeman, 1989; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Scott 1994a, 1995b; Zucker, 1987). The legitimacy resource-growth relationship is especially critical to new ventures seeking resources, since there is typically little past economic performance on which the holders of resources can rationally judge them. Furthermore, legitimacy leads to persistence because audiences are more likely to supply resources to organizations that appear desirable, proper and appropriate (Parsons, 1960).

A new venture must demonstrate its desirability by showing that it has or engages in those things considered legitimate. This includes abiding by rules and standards, seeking endorsements, espousing norms and values in its domain, building management team credentials, giving evidence of industry competence, and being a low-risk venture (MacMillan, Siegel, & Subba Narasimha, 1985; Muzyka, Birley, & Leleux, 1996; Shepherd, 1999a, 1999b). Thus, because a new venture has few resources, it needs to use activities that foster legitimacy and that cost little or no money (e.g., endorsements, certification, and network development). If it can do so, the new venture may cross a certain threshold whereby it is judged legitimate and, thus, receive

access to the capital and other resources it needs (e.g., Andrews, 1996; Deeds, Mang, & Frandsen, 1997).

New festivals generally do not have the track record of transactions with which to show customers, suppliers of inputs, vendors, or musical talent another entertainment. Because of this, their ability to acquire resources with pure economic transactions is impaired, in a temporary yet reoccurring organizational stage of "... the liability of newness." However, by appealing to the support of resource rich and influential entities, or "legitimacy", they can overcome this problem (Stinchcombe, 1965; Aldrich & Auster, 1986; Starr & MacMillan, 1990). Another view, Zimmerman and Zeitz (2002), makes the concept of legitimacy as a resource explicit. To them it's a resource that is necessary for acquiring other resources, and intermediary resource. For Suchman, legitimacy at its core involves a social judgment of appropriateness, acceptance, and desirability to transact with (1995).

As festivals mature and become greater established as institutions, which, in this context, often leads to becoming a permanent, legitimate, and valued component of a local community.

Institutional status can command sustained support and resources (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

To become an institution, or to find and sustain a permanent niche in the community, the festival organizers must develop a supportive resource network and competence in managing its different stakeholder relationships. This is achieved by using strategies to gain, maintain, and repair the legitimacy of the festival from multiple stakeholder perspectives (Suchman, 1995). The influence of a broad range of stakeholders in resource acquisition may also create conflicts and less than ideal situations from the firm's performance perspective (Margolis & Walsh, 2003)

Having defined legitimacy and its role in resource acquisition, the thesis discusses the concept of a legitimacy threshold next.

Legitimacy Threshold

In related work to the life cycle scholarship, Zimmerman and Zeitz (2002) and Rutherford and Buller (2007) argue for a legitimacy threshold; that is, a base level of legitimacy that involves “...the point below which the new venture struggles for existence and probably will perish and above which the new venture can achieve further gains in legitimacy and resources”

(Zimmerman and Zeitz, 2002, p. 414). This previous scholarship has treated the threshold as dichotomous in that the venture “either does or does not meet the threshold” (Zimmerman and Zeitz, 2002, p. 428). Additional work has argued that after meeting the threshold, a firm can slip back below the threshold if legitimacy is not maintained (Rutherford & Buller, 2007).

The pre-threshold stage is one that is greatly focussed around the entrepreneurial organizers and increasing their legitimacy from new external sources (Miller & Friesen, 1984; Mintzberg, 1980). The pre-threshold period is often a time of great uncertainty for entrepreneurs. They are attempting to obtain legitimacy from stakeholders who are unlikely to grant them legitimacy until legitimacy has been granted from another entity. In the case of festivals, the organizers will not have a track record of putting on successful events at that particular site—even if they have experience elsewhere. However, festival organizers may also lack any event experience to base legitimacy on. This situation is difficult to overcome and is a reason the failure rates of start-up or pre-legitimate firms are much higher than for firms past this point (Jawahar & McLaughlin, 2001; Singh, Tucker, & House, 1986; Stinchcombe, 1965).

With pre-threshold organizations, the entrepreneurs and the organization are often virtually indistinguishable from one another, and some of the legitimacy the entrepreneur has is transferred to the new venture (Rutherford & Buller, 2007). In the case of festivals, the key stakeholders at this stage are attendees and funders, or other sources of initial resources. When the organization is past the legitimacy threshold, the entrepreneur is forced to deal with the complexities of growth through expanding the organizing team (Kelley & Marram, 2004). Reaching the threshold is an antecedent to resource growth, but it does not necessitate growth (Rutherford & Buller, 2007). In fact, the organization may still fail, but acquired legitimacy makes this less likely.

In the early stages legitimacy granted by external stakeholders allows the firm the ability to launch and grow. Legitimacy cannot be taken, rather, it must be granted by influential stakeholders (for instance, financiers, employees, suppliers, consumers). Audiences want to have a feeling of stability from an organization— a feeling that it is not on the cusp of collapse (Aldrich & Fiol, 1994). These stakeholders, either analytically or unconsciously, decide that an organization has the necessary attributes to interest or placate them. Because of liabilities of newness and smallness, the pre-threshold period is a time filled with cash shortages, multiple negotiations with suppliers and resource holders, and gaps in evolving practical knowledge, as the entrepreneur attempts to convince others that the firm is valid and valuable even though it has not been legitimized (Jawahar & McLaughlin, 2001; Morris, 2001; Carroll & Delacroix, 1982).

These aforementioned studies demonstrate that the challenges and goals of resource acquisition and legitimacy relationships with resource providers vary with the life cycle stages of organizations. The figure in Zimmerman & Zeitz (2002) depicts the legitimacy threshold model. It depicts two trajectories for new organizations, one of growth and one of failure. The growing

venture crosses the threshold and makes continuous gains in legitimacy, whereas the failing venture temporarily crossed the threshold, then slipped back below over time.

Next the thesis provides an outline of the sources of legitimacy that organizers derive legitimacy from.

Sources of Legitimacy

Zimmerman and Zeitz (2002), worked to identify sources of legitimacy for organizations, based upon previous framework suggested by Hunt and Aldrich (1996), Suchman (1995) and Scott (1995a). The sources of legitimacy will be discussed in the next section.

Regulatory Legitimacy

Sociopolitical Regulatory Legitimacy or Regulatory Legitimacy: Involves legitimacy from following rules and standards, which professional bodies, organized consumer groups, NGOs, governments, and large organizations have established (Hunt & Aldrich, 1996; Scott, 1995).

Organizations are rewarded for following rules through enhanced legitimacy with audiences and are punished by sanction for not (Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002). Conforming to regulations may build legitimacy with a range of audiences (Deephouse, 1996; Scott, 1995; Singh, Tucker & Meinhard, 1991). By complying with regulations the organization signals a general sense that they are acting in accordance with good corporate citizenship (Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002).

Regulatory legitimacy is operationalized by documents indicating consistency with regulations and practices, obtaining permits and professional certifications (Hunt & Aldrich, 1996;

Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002).

While obtaining regulatory legitimacy is important for all organizations, new organizations are especially concerned because they may require some level of regulatory legitimacy to access resources. By obtaining this legitimacy they convey to audiences that the new venture is acceptable to the various agencies, even when it is unknown if the certifications and standards are meeting the demands of the audience (Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002).

While most festivals eventually seek to obtain a legal status of an organization, some start as small one-off events without “official” recognition. In this case the nascent festival may take efforts to reduce the scrutiny from outside officials by avoiding regulations. Instead they may plan to keep the event small, relying on personal networks rather than advertising for the event, and make personal contact with neighbours, explaining the expected disturbance and provide “normalizing” accounts (Bansal & Clelland, 2004) of the behaviour.

Normative Legitimacy

Socio-political normative legitimacy or normative legitimacy, is a multilevel legitimacy in effect within the organization, between organizations and stakeholder groups, and from macro level society (Suchman, 1995; Scott, 1995). This legitimacy is derived from the norms and values of a relevant group or society. The organization may have to address issues of performance, treatment of audiences, and use endorsements, and networks/associations to gain resources (Starr & MacMillan, 1990; Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002). At a broad level, normative legitimacy involves addressing the values and norms of a given culture, such as treating employees and patrons fairly, or not disrupting the day-to-day life of neighbours (Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002). A festival may also be subject to the norms of its particular industry (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983), in terms of norms for safety or the treatment of performers.

A critical factor for new ventures to gain resources is to address the norms and values of those who hold those resources (Zimmerman and Zeitz, 2002). One way to obtain this is through endorsements and associations. An endorsement is a favorable opinion given by one organization to another. When the legitimacy from the endorsing organization extends to the receiver, the organization can increase its legitimacy, which is especially important for new ventures (Deephouse, 1996; French & Raven, 1959; Rao, 1994; Starr & MacMillan, 1990; Stinchcombe, 1965; Van de Ven, 1993). An example of endorsement is positive press coverage (Abrahamson & Fombrun, 1992; Deeds et al., 1997; Elsbach, 1994; Fombrun & Shanley, 1990). Positive press coverage of the organization indicates that a reputable entity supports the new venture, and the legitimacy of the press spills over into it.

Through network associations, or ties between organizational members, other organizations, and entities outside the organization, a venture can acquire normative legitimacy (Aldrich & Fiol, 1994; D'Aveni, 1989, 1990; D'Aveni & Kesner, 1993; Deeds et al., 1997; Oliver, 1990; Useem, 1979; Zimmerman & Deeds, 1997). Associations assist the survival of the new venture by providing credibility, contact, and support for the entrepreneur, building a positive image of the new venture, and facilitating access to resources (Ostgaard & Birley, 1996; Westhead, 1995; Zhao & Aram, 1995). The new venture that is networked with established organizations is identified with them, and the networks contribute to the new venture's legitimacy (Starr & MacMillan, 1990; Deeds et al., 1997; Dowling & Pfeffer, 1975; Timmons & Bygrave, 1986).

The industry as a source of legitimacy was advanced by Zimmerman and Zeitz, (2002). They argue that distinct from the other three types of legitimacy, the industry may have be a source as well. This type of legitimacy or illegitimacy is at play at the industry level, often beyond the control of any one organization. It appears that sometimes legitimacy resources can be acquired

by going against the industry norms, yet other times in following them. However, it also seems that the industry is a model and involves normative associations, thus making it possible to be subsumed into “normative legitimacy”. Whichever way it is conceived, it can be operationalized by assessing the relative legitimacy of various industries as perceived by relevant stakeholders, and the degree to which organizations conform, change or challenge their industry.

Festival organizations can build normative legitimacy through signally conformance with widely held values or the values of a subculture via social media. They may also visibly signal endorsements and associations with network partners with existing legitimacy via this platform or through traditional press releases and print media. Normative legitimacy can be operationalized by studying the networks and identifiable endorsements.

Cognitive Legitimacy

Cognitive legitimacy can be derived from addressing "widely held beliefs and taken-for granted assumptions that provide a framework for everyday routines, as well as the more specialized, explicit and codified knowledge and belief systems promulgated by various professional and scientific bodies" (Scott, 1994b, p. 81). Through common routines, roles, models, judgments and beliefs -- some relevant to only a very specialized community, some to a broader community, a cognitive framework is constructed. By understanding this framework, entities within the context can gain legitimacy by making valid moves within the framework. Those within the cognitive regime learn both who they are (identities) and what is expected of them (roles) from contact with ongoing systems. (Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002). The identities and roles preselect the types of actions considered appropriate within the cognitive framework (Suchman, 1995). Cognitive frameworks prescribe how to view the world and what actions are effective. Although

institutional scholars conceptually differentiate between cognitive and normative legitimacy, it is difficult to empirically distinguish between the two types (Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002; Zeitz, Mittal, & McAulay, 1999).

In another sense, cognitive legitimacy indicates what the "game" is and, thus, socially constructs reality for the participants, termed "comprehensibility" (Suchman, 1995; Scott, 1991; Scott & Lyman, 1968). A new venture demonstrates that it is acceptable and comprehensible by signalling the implementation of methods, models, practices, assumptions, knowledge, ideas, realities, concepts, modes of thinking, and so on that are widely accepted and considered useful and desirable in one or more of the domains in which it operates (Aldrich & Fiol, 1994; Hunt & Aldrich, 1996; Scott, 1995a, 1995b; Suchman, 1995); in doing so, it can acquire resources. In a basic sense, the new venture conveys the impression that its identity is such that it provides what is needed or desired and will be successful in the domain it operates in (Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002).

Mature festivals may build "taken-for-grantedness" in that their existence becomes so commonplace, that the organization is thought of as a "given" (Zucker, 1983) Cognitive legitimacy is seemingly operationalized by entities that clearly espouse widely held beliefs, ideas, or models, or else seek to create their own sets of models. Another example of cognitive legitimacy is the assumption that a qualified founder and top management team will benefit the new venture, regardless of their actual effectiveness (Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002). Cognitive legitimacy is different than the regulatory legitimacy in that its conditions are often not made explicit. It seems even more subtle than normative legitimacy, in that cognitive assumptions may operate completely unnoticed.

Pragmatic Legitimacy

In addition, Suchman (1995) introduced pragmatic legitimacy as a source of legitimacy that managers and entrepreneurs can tap. This is legitimacy from pragmatic concerns of exchange, and rests on the self-interested calculations of an organization's most immediate audiences (Suchman, 1995). This includes immediate exchange partners in direct exchange as well as broader political, economic, or social interdependencies where the organization affects the stakeholder's well-being (Dowling and Pfeffer, 1975; Suchman, 1995). Legitimacy is bestowed when the organization is supported by its stakeholders, because the organization offers something valuable and thus gets something valuable in return. A subtype of pragmatic legitimacy is "influence legitimacy" where audiences support the organization not necessarily because they believe that it provides favorable exchanges, but that they see the organization's actions as part of their larger interests (Suchman, 1995).

Sources of Legitimacy Summary

The above discussion outlines the sources of legitimacy as mentioned in the literature and how they relate to festivals. As discussed in previous work, in practice these sources of legitimacy co-arise in different situations, and multiple sources of legitimacy will be present (Suchman, 1995). Together these observations suggest that although the various sources of legitimacy can be mutually supportive, they can also constrain and compete with each other. Also, that the legitimacy sources will be perceived, appraised or acted on differently by individual stakeholders. While pragmatic legitimacy depends on stakeholder self-interest, however normative and cognitive legitimacy depends on larger cultural conditions. Also of note is that

while the regulatory, cognitive and normative granting of legitimacy depends on stakeholder evaluations, cognitive legitimacy and its assumptions mostly go unnoticed by stakeholders.

How these sources of legitimacy are potentiated by strategies will be discussed in the next section.

Strategic Legitimacy

Scholarship mentions two types of strategic action used by organizations: (1) attempts to change itself, such as by creating a new structure, managerial team, or business model, and (2) attempts to change its environment and other organizations operating within its environment, such as the strategic use of issue advertising and lobbying for change in regulations (Suchman, 1995).

The new school of institutional theory, combined with the pragmatic nature of strategic management theory, sees organizations as more proactive with regards to their legitimacy (Deeds et al., 1997; Scott, 1995a; Suchman, 1995). This approach views legitimacy as a strategic process-- thought of as "legitimation" to better take into account its dynamic and changing nature over time and with some influence by the managers of the organization (Zimmerman and Zeist, 2002). These generic legitimation strategies fall into two categories in this model (Zimmerman & Zeist, 2002):

- Processes that change the organization: such as selecting a new management team, business model, or internal legitimacy (see Drori & Honig, 2013)
- Processes that change the organization's environment and other organizations in its environment: such as through lobbying and strategic advertising

During the distinct stages, festivals are predicted to engage in legitimation strategies to build legitimacy, and remain relevant to stakeholders, and thus acquire resources. As mentioned earlier, the effectiveness of strategic legitimation depends on the resources of the organization and the nature of its environment. Uncertainty, changes, innovations, and complexity in the environment provide opportunities for organizations to act strategically and emulate or develop practices or models that stakeholders find acceptable, thus conferring legitimacy (Hrebiniak & Joyce, 1985; Jepperson, 1991; DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; Oliver, 1991).

In this section the researcher considers how new ventures can acquire legitimacy in deliberate ways. Zimmerman and Zeitz (2002) and Suchman (1995) suggest there are basic legitimation strategies available to new ventures. The first three strategies-conformance, selection, and manipulation, were proposed by Suchman (1995). Zimmerman and Zeitz (2002) propose a fourth strategy: creation. These four strategies vary in terms of how much change is made by the organization in elements external to it. Conformance involves the least external change by the organizer, whereas creation involves the most.

Conformance

This strategy is followed by organizations who seek to abide by a pre-existing institutional framework (Suchman, 1995; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Conformist strategies signal compliance to the existing cultural order and do not seek to change incumbent institutional logics (Meyer & Rowan, 1991), or break out of existing cognitive frames (Oliver, 1990). Conformance is appropriate for ventures operating in domains where rules, norms, values and models and standards are already in common practice (Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002). It is also appropriate in many instances for new organizations to conform to the existing institutional framework because

they generally have a small resource base and lack substantial ability to manipulate the environment (Suchman, 1995).

An organization's chances of growth and survival are significantly improved by demonstrations of conformity to the norms and expectations of the institutional environment (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Meyer & Scott, 1992). Complying with government regulations clearly indicates this, but collaborations and network associations will also tend to impose conformity among festivals.

Obvious stakeholders in this process are likely to be government funding agencies and corporate sponsors who impose conditions (or expectations of compliance) on their endorsement and resource allocations to festivals.

For example, a festival organization may seek regulatory legitimacy by obtaining permits from local regulators. This allows the festival to progress with its event unhindered by authorities as well as being able to convey a symbolic level of safety to the local community and attendees.

Another way to build legitimacy is to conform to prevailing local values in the choice of musical genres and acts selected for the festival, or in other words, responding to local tastes. In the case of other festivals seeking a non-local audience, they may adopt the observable values of an existing subculture to attract these attendees.

Selection

Selection strategies are used by managers to choose between environments and audiences that are most likely to support their activities. Rather than merely conforming to a given environment or demand of a stakeholder, organizations can, to some degree, select these transactions (Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002). When the rules, norms, values, and models of the relevant environment are known and the festival organization has the opportunity and the resources to

select those most consistent with and advantageous to it, selection can be an effective strategy (Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002; Suchman, 1995). The festival organization may select environments and audiences that it is best able to conform to, or else, it may select environments in which it can more efficiently manipulate legitimacy (Suchman, 1995).

For instance, a festival can select a geographic region to locate its festival that would be advantageous to it in terms of proximity to attendees, congruence with local values, or less-stringent regulations. This strategy allows the festival to access resources and obtain them at lower costs. In addition it allows a festival to find a local community receptive to the organization's activities. A festival may also choose to select among potential audience segments according to demographics or musical genre preferences which are most suited to its chosen organizational identity and model (Suchman, 1995).

Manipulation

While most organizations will gain legitimacy primarily through conformance and selection, manipulation strategies involve changing a prior practice in terms of regulations, norms and values, relationships, or models in the environment (Aldrich & Fiol, 1994; Suchman, 1995). This involves changing making the environment or stakeholder audiences more consistent with the organization (Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002). In its most powerful manifestation it may involve the changing of the definition of legitimacy in a context (Dowling & Pfeffer, 1975). This process involves a significant amount of resources and existing legitimacy from previous actions, and is thus generally open to more mature organizations (Brint & Karabel, 1991; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002). However, it may also be practiced to an extent by new organizations in the form of coopting endorsements from stakeholders and advertising, or

through lobby efforts of combined organizations (Suchman, 1995). Oliver (1991) describes the strategy generally as "...the purposeful and opportunistic attempt to co-opt, influence, or control institutional pressures and evaluations" (p.157). Concrete examples of this strategy include lobbying, advertising, event sponsorship, litigation, and scientific research (Nielson & Rao, 1987; Suchman, 1995). However, strategic prescriptions for entrepreneurs and managers seeking to promote new myths is lacking in the literature (Suchman, 1995). Community engagement through social media may be one method to articulate myths through stories. Use of social media enables direct audience feedback and makes personal attention to stakeholders more efficient.

A festival may seek to lobby for changes in government regulations on festivals, and may align itself with other organizations that stand to benefit. For changes to alcohol licensing of events, the festival organization may be onside with bars and community fundraising groups. A festival may also use "image advertising" (Aldrich & Fiol, 1994) in its social media interactions to influence a shared common identity between audiences and the festival. It may also attempt to change popular evaluations of the festival as being detrimental to the local natural environment by communicating its recycling and remediation plans.

Creation

Rather than making changes to the institutional environment, a creation strategy involves making new structures that did not previously exist in the domain. These new structures include: values, norms, beliefs, expectations, identities, models, networks, economies, or patterns of behaviour that an organization creates in its domain (DiMaggio, 1988; Rao, 1994; Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002). A festival or other organization that is pioneering and successful with this new structure may establish the basis of legitimacy for festivals that are started afterward (Anderson &

Zeithaml, 1984; Miller & Dess, 1996). According to traditional views of legitimacy, organizations who violate the existing social order will fail to acquire resources efficiently (Powell & DiMaggio, 1983). However, organizations introduce new products, practices and models that often disrupt existing frameworks and replace them with new structures in attempts to gain resources in institutional entrepreneurship (Aldrich & Fiol, 1994; DiMaggio, 1988; Suchman, 1995).

A form of this strategy may involve creating new laws with authorities that benefit the festival organization, rather than wait for regulators to impose restrictions on the festival that the organization must lobby against later. The festival may also create a regional economy around the festival that was not previously established. This new network may contain direct suppliers and community groups that are created to meet the resource needs of the festival, as well as local businesses who benefit from economic spillovers from the festival. The festival may also create a new basis for shared identity through promulgating unique value systems and models derived from the festival organizers and attendees. Pfeffer (1981, p. 23) states that organizational members can increase the comprehensibility of a new structure "...through continually articulating stories which illustrate its reality."

Active Support vs. Passive Acquiescence

It is important for new ventures (and for all organizations) to be competent in transforming inputs into outputs that its stakeholders need and want. However, a distinction under acknowledged by Zimmerman and Zeitz' (2002) analysis is whether the organization seeks active support or passive acquiescence from its audiences (Reast et al., 2013; Suchman, 1995).

Acquiring active support for an organization from those audiences who can potentially supply

resources is likely to be a challenging process for new and small organizations. Resource providers face the potential for economic or reputational loss if the new venture doesn't meet expectations (Suchman, 1995; DiMaggio, 1988) That said, in most cases, if an organization wants a particular group to leave it alone, the threshold of legitimacy for these groups are typically quite low, and may involve attaining a bare-minimum of legality to avoid opposition (Suchman, 1995). However, festivals tend to have more pronounced effects on local stakeholders than typical businesses, and may to an extent be considered in similar ways to more controversial industries (Reast, et al. 2013) , thus possessing higher burdens to produce passive acquiescence.

Research Direction

The central assumptions of this thesis are (1) legitimacy is a resource important for acquiring other resources, such as top managers, quality employees, financial resources, technology, and government support; (2) such resources are crucial for new venture growth; (3) legitimacy can be enhanced by strategic actions taken by the festival organization.

Yet to be explored is the influence of different stages of the organizational life cycle on legitimacy and legitimation strategies. The important and unexplored question is how does the pursuit and maintenance of legitimacy by an organization change with its stage? Furthermore, resource acquisition, and especially legitimacy's role in this process has yet to be addressed in the festival and event context.

Zimmerman & Zeitz (2002) set forth the working model from the literature whose components have been described in the above literature review. In this model, strategic actions can lead to legitimacy from the indicated sources, and legitimacy generates other resources and makes

possible survival and growth. The subsequent steps in turn feedback on previous steps, in a dynamic process of changing their qualities and quantities.

Based on the above existing theory the expectations in general were:

- Festivals will achieve legitimacy via pragmatic, normative, cognitive, and regulatory sources
- Festivals will engage in basic strategies of conformance, selection, manipulation, and creation to acquire legitimacy in resource acquisition
- Festivals require active support and passive acquiesce from stakeholders to build legitimacy and acquire resources
- Festival organizers will rely heavily on social resources to form the festival
- The life cycle stage of the festival will influence legitimacy and resource acquisition

Summary of Chapter:

This chapter discussed the theoretical constructs of interest for this thesis. The thesis introduced resource dependency theory, life cycle approaches, Institutional theory, and legitimacy, including the idea of legitimacy thresholds, and introduced a process of model of legitimacy. The thesis also discussed ways that the aforementioned areas may be applied to festivals. In the next chapter, the thesis will discuss the research methodology.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Overview

The preceding literature review revealed that legitimacy is a critical component for resource acquisition and survival (Zimmerman and Zeitz, 2002). Due to their brief but noticeable impact on the way of life in a community, often coupled with a reliance on the community for resources, it is important for a festival to build legitimacy with resource holders. It is also important for many festivals to maintain legitimacy with audiences from outside the community, especially potential and past attendees and artists. The goal of this research is to investigate legitimacy, and its role in resource acquisition.

In general the research questions were:

- What legitimation strategies are used by festivals in approaching various stakeholder groups (potential attendees, local government, community organizations, business interests, neighbours, resource holders)?
- Are there differences in the process of legitimation with audiences throughout a festival's life cycle?

Given these two guiding research questions, the goals of this thesis were to:

- Identify legitimation strategies utilized by festivals over their life cycle
- Identify challenges and opportunities for gaining legitimacy

- Extend existing theory and propositions from the literature on resource acquisition and legitimacy to the festival context

Selection of Research Design

The research questions have not yet been specifically addressed in the festivals and events literature. Because of this, the goal was to conduct an exploratory analysis of these topics. Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007) emphasized the importance of formalizing a rationale for engaging in theory building. An acceptable rationale mentioned by these scholars is a gap in existing theory to explaining a particular phenomenon or unique context. This allows for developing grounded theory in qualitative research (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The appropriateness of qualitative case study research in previously under-explored fields is also suggested by this method's ability in building theory (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). Qualitative research designs can reveal the nature of complex or poorly understood social processes that often quantitative analysis cannot explain (Eisenhardt 1989; Yin 2009). Such designs elucidate the contextual meanings of events processes and structures (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Another reason why this method is appropriate is because the thesis is engaging in “theory elaboration” (Lee, Mitchell, & Sabylnski, 1999), where existing constructs and propositions are compared and contrasted with empirical data to extend theory. A similar application of this approach can be found in Greenwood and Suddaby (2006) in their study of an emerging organizational form in a mature institutional environment. The rationale for using qualitative case study methods in their study involved “theory elaboration” in a complex social context that is difficult to interpret using quantitative methods.

Following Yin (2009) the thesis used an inductive qualitative approach, which is suitable to an exploratory approach investigating multiple variables and using different theoretical lenses to explain phenomenon. This approach attempts to generate new theory by collecting data and comparing them to established theories and hypotheses in an iterative process (Walker, 1985). After the identification of a phenomenon, the approach starts with an initial set of research questions, background theoretical constructs and hypotheses to investigate some aspect of this phenomenon.

Qualitative data analysis, is greatly facilitated by using a pattern-matching logic, where observations are compared with a theory-based prediction (Yin, 2009). A pattern matching method is essentially a process involving “a theoretical pattern of expected outcomes, an observed pattern of effects, and an attempt to match the two” (Trochim, 1989, p. 360). In other words, based on hypotheses or propositions that have been extended from theory, the researchers are investigating the data for agreement with predictions (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). When established constructs are utilized to study patterns in data, there is less opportunity for obtaining false positives (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007).

In following this method, the initial data collection is conducted and the data are “reduced” (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The constructs and hypotheses are then modified to intend different facts, or the phenomenon is itself re-defined to exclude confounding cases (Eisenhardt, 1991). Further propositions are generated and initial constructs and propositions are re-examined and then re-formulated (Walker, 1985; Bansal & Roth, 2000). Another round of data collection ensues. This iterative process continues as long as practicable, ideally until a critical amount of understanding is achieved resulting in few discrepancies between theory and data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). However, more definitive conclusions may not appear until after all data are

collected (Miles & Huberman, 1994). By examining the themes, their quality, their relationships to other themes, and the frequency at which these are mentioned or present, more refined propositions can be developed and added to the creation of an adapted model of festival legitimacy and resource acquisition.

Based on the literature review, the concept of festival legitimacy is under-developed, and thus inductive theory development based on existing working models and emerging data is permitted (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). This is in accordance with past work on extending existing theory to novel contexts and using research questions derived from theory to build new theory (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Lee, Mitchell, & Sabylnski, 1999).

Multiple Case Designs

The research began with tentative expectations of what actions festival organizers take to acquire resources with legitimacy. These views were developed via Zimmerman and Zeitz' (2002) legitimacy process model, and Suchman (1995), among other work. Thus the researcher was able to apply existing constructs and propositions and look for evidence of their influence (Barratt, Choi, & Lee, 2011). Thus, a multiple case-study design was chosen where the researcher may observe different manifestations of the expected themes, suitable for this exploratory research (Yin, 2009). Comparing multiple cases allows researchers to ascertain if a potential finding is single-case specific or common across other cases (Eisenhardt, 1991). Additionally, in a qualitative research process, the use of secondary data also helps develop rich insights (Eisenhardt, 1989), thus the researcher adds richness to the data by utilizing information from websites, press releases, online articles, and other secondary sources to compare across the

selected cases. Finally, multiple-case studies typically provide a stronger base for theory building because they are more deeply grounded in empirical evidence (Yin, 1994).

In sum, the thesis utilized a multiple case study design following an inductive qualitative method to elaborate existing theory and generate theoretical propositions.

Issues with Validity and Reliability in Case Studies

A number of validity and reliability concerns were considered prior to conducting empirical research and data analysis. Addressing these issues increases the veracity of the propositions and models developed in this exploratory study. In addition, enhancing reliability and validity provides methodological rigour (Yin, 2009).

External validity refers to the plausibility that the researcher's observations on a phenomenon can be generalized to other settings, rather than only the immediate context of study (Yin, 1994). Case studies do not allow for inferences from individual observation to a specified population-- associated with a statistical generalization, but instead, the empirical data from case studies can be generalized to existing theory or theory emerging from the data, or an analytic generalization (Yin, 1994)

Using multiple (4-10) cases to compare and identify themes and propositions, have been suggested to enhance analytic generalizations, and the sample contains 8 cases, thus attaining this threshold (Eisenhardt, 1989). In this effort the researcher collected demographic material on the selected cases so that can be compared on common categories, thus allowing for patterns and generalizations to the group of cases sampled.

Another key aspect of validity in qualitative study is construct validity, which refers to the degree to which the procedure and operationalized abstract concepts obtain results that cohere with reality (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994) in this regard, using concepts and operationalization from previous research enhances construct validity, and reduces false positives (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). Furthermore, the more congruent emerging theory is with prior theory, the greater degree of external generalizability of this new theory (Baratt, Choi & Li, 2011).

The questions for these interviews were open-ended, and were asked in such a way to avoid leading the subjects, increasing the validity of the responses by reducing bias (Yin, 2009). Also, by employing a semi-structured interview format both the validity and the ability for researchers to replicate the study are increased. Furthermore, transcribing the interviews for later reference and the assistance of outside researcher to verify coding enhance construct validity and replication.

Another concern in the study was a reliance on a single interview with an organizer of the festival. This single source of interview data was mostly due to resource and time constraints, in more complex longitudinal designs, multiple interviews may be conducted at discrete timeframes. Also, the contacted organizers were either board members, founders, or those who worked directly in organizing and strategic management. This variability in respondent types suggests multiple perspectives on legitimacy, with potential issues with validity. However, for an exploratory study with speculative conclusions for generating more research, this was deemed acceptable.

The researcher engaged in additional procedures recommended by theorists to enhance the veracity of the results. Specifically efforts were made to visit and attend all festivals in the

sample, or “prolonged engagement,”(Guba, 1981) and this was possible for 5 of the 8 festivals studied which assisted with triangulation. The researcher also able to triangulate some of the interview data with secondary sources and social media entries, increasing validity (Guba, 1981). Lastly, emerging theories and findings were presented verbally and in written form to an additional experienced researcher on multiple occasions to check for accuracy and plausibility, also enhancing validity (see, “peer debriefing”, Guba, 1981); Finally, the same interviewer conducted all the interviews to reduce the potential for bias (Strauss & Corbin, 1998)

Internal validity, or logical validity, is concerned with proposed causal relationships between data and abstract variables, and is more relevant to explanatory research than exploratory research (Yin, 1994). That said, by using a theoretical framework derived from the literature, and pattern matching with predicted outcomes, internal validity is enhanced in the study (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 1994)

Reliability refers to the degree to which a study can be repeated with similar results by other researchers. A number of ways have been suggested to improve the reliability of qualitative case-studies. Silverman (2005) recommends that to specifically improve reliability with interview-based research, investigators ought to record the interview (with consent), immediately transcribe the raw data, include a large amount of transcribed data in the final report as examples, use inter-coder comparisons when using an open-ended questionnaire, and finally the study protocol should be described. Note, these are the same procedures that were mentioned to enhance validity, as they perform both functions.

All of these recommendations were followed, however only the principal researcher and one other inter-coder were employed. Furthermore, rather than checking all raw data, the alternate

coder only checked a selection of 72 passages (included in Appendix I and II). That said, a high-level of agreement was obtained. As mentioned, a study protocol was used to facilitate replication of the study. This protocol is described in the next sections.

Background Prior to Study

An extensive literature review was performed prior to conducting the interviews. These areas included the festival and events literature, resource-dependency theory, resource-based-view of competitive advantage, institutional theory, legitimacy and entrepreneurship literatures. The literature review led to the legitimacy process model and life cycle stage analysis of legitimacy and resource acquisition in festivals. Before beginning the empirical research process, the researcher applied to the University of Manitoba's ethics board for research ethics approval. This application can be viewed in Appendix IV. After the application process, the researcher was granted approval to commence research.

Question Development

Typical sources of data for case studies are archives, interviews, questionnaires and observations (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2009). Yin (2009) notes that a pre-structured interview design reduces the volume of data to be analysed. Furthermore, Yin adds, the semi-structured interview is useful for making comparisons in multiple-case study designs (2009). Given this suggestion, the researcher chose to construct a semi-structured set of questions to adopt a more standardized approach and enhance the ability to compare cases.

The questions were selected to attempt to cover broadly, the beginning stages of the festival's formation, including reasons for founding the festival and how initial resources were acquired,

the development of how this resource acquisition changed over time, the expansion in resources over time, the stakeholders or audiences critical to the organization and which strategies they use over time to manage them. Once these questions were outlined, the questions were then refined with the assistance of another researcher over several correspondences.

The semi-structured format was used to generate that the maximum amount of exploratory data could be obtained from the interview while remaining reasonably standardized across the cases. Additional follow-up questions were used to clarify certain observations of subjects or expand on ideas relevant to legitimacy and resource acquisition as they emerged. The interview protocol is contained in the Appendix V.

Method of Sampling

Sampling, or choosing potential cases for study in inductive case-studies, is typically conducted via reference to an existing or emerging theory (Eisenhardt, 1989). In this study they are chosen to fulfill "...theoretical categories and provide examples of polar types"(Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 537), that are "transparently observable" (Pettigrew, 1990, p. 275). This "theoretical sampling" is preferred over statistical sampling given the small number of cases used in most qualitative studies, as such a small random sample makes it unlikely that a diverse amount of polar types from theory will be selected for study (Eisenhardt, 1989), which would inhibit theory extension given the study`s purposes.

Thus, given the research questions, the researcher chose cases that corresponded to stages of the life cycle. The individual selections were highly influenced by the prior-knowledge of the researcher, but also facilitated by searching for high-profile cases publicised in the online news

media. Where necessary, participant anonymity was maintained by using pseudonyms to describe the cases.

Nascent Blues and Pemberton Music Festival were classified as Start-Up Stage festivals. Nascent Blues was not open to the public, which is part of the criteria for festival classification, although the organizers have organized four previous annual events and have plans to formalize the organization and expand in the future. Pemberton Music Festival, under the organization Hukka Entertainment, has yet to launch its first event, but it is planned for summer 2014.

Growing Farming, Growing EDM and Boonstock were classified as members of the Growing or Developing Stage because their attendance numbers have not stabilized. Furthermore, despite their ages, Growing EDM in its 5th year, Boonstock in its 10th year, they have not yet stabilized in resource acquisition and legitimacy, and both festivals have recently moved to new communities.

Mature Country and Mature EDM were categorized as mature stage because their attendance has generally stabilized, and the threat from community opposition is low. Both festivals have little threat from failure to achieve regulatory legitimacy as they have developed relationships with regulatory stakeholders and are able to meet their demands consistently over many iterations of the festival.

Declining Cultural is the single post-Mature Stage case. This festival once had attendance levels around 8000 people, yet now draws less than 3500. It has made attempts at revival but has been until now unsuccessful at attracting more attendees and is seeing incremental decline in numbers every year.

Source of the Sample

While the interviews sought to obtain information for resource acquisition in general, along with legitimacy in relationships with resource holders, secondary data sources were used to complement the primary data. Thus, in addition to semi-structured qualitative interviews, social media communications, and traditional media communications of the cases in question were sought. Information from conventional media as well as information obtained from a festival's website and social media revealed legitimacy strategies, signals, and challenges.

The criteria for case sampling were given by the life cycle approach to the firm. Conceptualizing a firm this way means that at different stages of the venture's development, it will behave in different ways with regard to strategy and operations. Jawahar and McLaughlin (2001) break down the life cycle of a firm into the following discrete steps: "formation, growth, maturity, and decline/revival." However, as the data were collected, the Mature and Decline Stages were combined in the analysis, as only a single case of a declining festival was available for interview. The researcher did not include urban festivals or festivals started by a government to keep the sample within comparable entrepreneurial contexts.

Festival organizations meeting the criteria for position on venture life cycle were contacted. The researcher attempted to sample across various genres and geographical locations. This was accomplished through cold calling via email. A sample of the approach letter is contained in the Appendix IV. The other way that the organizations were contacted was through a personal network with those who had contacts within festival organizations or with other resource holders.

In all, 20 requests for interviews with festival organizers were made via email. The organizers were either board members, founders, or those who worked directly in organizing and strategic

management. A total of six festival subjects responded. Three interviews were conducted over the phone and two in person. One respondent preferred to answer questions via email. Two cases who did not respond to requests for interviews were compiled using secondary data and social media. The number of cases, eight, meets the recommendation of Eisenhardt (1989) of at least four cases in order to adequately generate theory with an acceptable level of complexity.

As mentioned, the organizers of the festivals, Pemberton Music Festival, and Boonstock Music Festival, were contacted, but did not respond. These cases are interesting to this topic because Pemberton involves a nascent festival without a performance yet. Furthermore, it is to be launched by a large entertainment company and is expected to attract 30 000+ attendees for its first event, a unique situation amongst the sample. The other case, Boonstock is interesting because it is a developing festival of relatively large size and was forced to move location to a new community because of stakeholder opposition. This case provided insights into how new sites for festivals are selected. There existed a large amount of secondary data from online media, traditional media, press releases, and social media, as both Pemberton and Boonstock's events are expected to be large and are already well-publicized. This secondary data was useful in developing a deeper understanding of how festivals select a new location, build legitimacy for a large festival in a new location, and how they present their previous track record to stakeholders publically.

In addition to festival organizers, the researcher also sought interview data from key resource holders to add contextual background. This is to further explore the process of resource acquisition and the relationship between festival organizers and resource holders, which increase the validity of the findings in general. Using multiple interviews of resource holders corroborates and verifies the information provided by festival organizers. Three additional interviews were

conducted: an owner/operator of a sound services company; a club owner and festival promoter; a volunteer of several festivals. These respondents were acquired through personal connections. Even though these respondents are not all within the same case, they provide multiple views on the process of resource acquisition in different contexts. A total of nine respondents gave information relevant to this project.

Procedure Prior to the Interview

The first step in gathering data was to make contact with the organizers. The subjects were first contacted via email with a standard form and greeting letter. A copy of the approach is included in Appendix IV. From there, an interview time and place was agreed on and scheduled.

Procedure for the Interview

Interviews were either conducted in-person or via telephone. There was an initial period of greeting and meeting to establish a friendly and candid connection between interviewer and interviewee. After this, the interviewer provided a brief description of the study as well as future dissemination of the material. Following this, the consent form was offered and protections for confidentiality were explained in detail. Also, consent to record the interview was asked for and permitted in all interviews. The participants were informed that they may leave the study at any time they wished, both verbally and on the consent form.

The interview subjects then signed a consent form, and were queried for any remaining questions or comments relevant to the interview procedure. The questions that were developed prior to the study were then directed to the subjects (included in Appendix V), along with follow-up questions where applicable. Due to time constraints and applicability/suitability of the questions

to the study participants, some questions were augmented. For instance, if the festival organizer was not present at the time of initial start-up, they were asked what they knew of that time period, in addition to the periods of time they had direct experience with. Follow-up questions were included to allow the session to uncover a maximum number and quality of themes. Each interview was 45 minutes to 90 minutes in duration.

It should be noted, one of the cases, Growing EDM, was not available for an interview and preferred to respond to questions via email.

Data Handling Procedures

As mentioned earlier, each interview was recorded and the digital file of each interview was transcribed as soon as practicable. To protect the confidentiality of study subjects, a code was assigned to each case and used in arranging the data. A coding sheet was stored separately from notes to identify cases later if need be. Both are kept in separate locked cabinets. The interview data and notes will be kept for 2 years after this study is completed and then deleted/disposed of.

Method of Data Analysis

Qualitative theorists have often noted that analysis and data collection in this type of research is rarely a rigid step-by-step process (Guba, 1981; Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2009; Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006). That said the researcher followed procedures established by these prior theorists. The first phase of analysis involved replaying the interview and taking notes to identify key areas of the interview. The researcher moved back and forth between theories of interest, and the interview data and derived initial theoretical categories and sub-categories (Yin, 2009). Each interview transcript was analyzed to gain a richer understanding of the type of legitimacy-

seeking strategies employed and their sources. Themes were then considered and modified in an iterative process.

The approach relied on constant comparative analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). After every few interviews, further theoretical memos were written as part of the theory-building process (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) and research questions were refined to develop a theoretical focus for subsequent interviews (Reast et al., 2012).

Specific parts of the interview transcripts were read and examined to identify similarities and differences. Each interview part was classified according to a general coding scheme: nascent or start-up phase legitimacy, development/growth phase legitimacy, mature/decline phase legitimacy, legitimacy types (pragmatic, cognitive, normative, industry, regulatory), legitimacy with different stakeholder/resource holders, strategies for legitimation (conformance, selection, manipulation, creation), and critical factors for resource acquisition and survival. To enhance reliability and validity, a colleague verified the coding categories and passages. Examples of this procedure are contained in the Appendix I and II.

In the final phases, the data was reviewed again in order to ensure no concepts were missed. Finally, the researcher applied selective coding by integrating existing theory and information emerging from the data, compiling them into themes. As mentioned in previous sections, throughout the study, multiple methods served to improve the quality of the research.

Summary

The study investigated legitimacy in resource acquisition in the festival context. The sample was selected from rural, non-government music festivals at different stages of the organizational life cycle. The researcher extended existing theory and used inductive methods, conducting interviews over the phone or in person with festival organizers. The thesis also used publicly available data from websites social media, press releases, print media. The researcher used purposive sampling (Yin, 2009) and contacted subjects through personal connections or using publicly available means through telephone or e-mail. The objective was to elaborate and elucidate resource acquisition and legitimacy in festivals, extend existing theory, and generate new propositions.

Chapter 5: Case Summaries

Overview

In this chapter the thesis elucidates the demographic and biographical characteristics of the cases in the sample. These cases are categorized into Start-up, Growth/Development, Mature, and Declining stages. Key information from the cases is summarized in Table 3.

Case Summaries

The festivals in the sample were started in several different ways:

Growing EDM, Boonstock, and Nascent Blues were started by individuals with pre-existing social connections with an organization subsequently formed to launch the festival/event.

Growing Farming and Declining Cultural were set up by existing non-profit organizations for purposes of social development and cultural reproduction, respectively. They both heavily relied on pre-existing social networks and endorsement from key community stakeholders in their founding.

Nascent Blues has not created a formal organization yet, but has put on several events, and is contemplating future plans of becoming a larger festival open to the public. Whereas, Pemberton Music Festival was formed by a professional festival organization and will launch summer 2014. This case is the only example of an existing corporation founding a for-profit festival.

Mature Country was set up by individuals and organizations within a common community who then formed a subsequent non-profit festival. The goals of this organization are to promote the town, support citizen sector organizations and provide economic and social benefits to the community.

Finally, Mature EDM was started by a family in collaboration with their existing networks of friends and colleagues. They possessed a site dedicated to the family farm which was also suitable for a 10 000+ attendee festival. Despite being a private organization, the event was, and remains, free of corporate sponsorship.

Start-Up Stage

Pemberton Music festival (Pember)

This first-time festival has yet to launch a single event. Its organizers are Hukka Entertainment, an American company with previous professional experience launching festivals and events in the US, but not in Canada. This proposed festival has been established as a for-profit business with major national corporate sponsors. Also the local governments, affiliated organizations, and large businesses in the area provided initial endorsement of the proposed festival (Noel, 2014).

The local government and other key stakeholders believe the organization has the ability to conform to its demands despite the festival not having launched yet, and has granted permits as well as official endorsements (Noel, 2014). These include associations or endorsements from the Village of Pemberton, the local tourism bureau and chamber of commerce, in addition to the Lilwat Nation and Whistler Blackcomb resort (Pemberton Music Festival, n.d.)

Pemberton Music Festival, will be located in Pemberton, BC at the former location of a festival put on by Live Nation in 2008. Previous logistical issues with traffic and site capacity were cited as reasons for Live Nation's divestment from the location after just one performance (Lederman, 2014). Hukka has reportedly made improvements to the site to remedy these prior issues (Lederman, 2014).

They are expected to utilize top headliners from a variety of genres to attract a large audience from outside the local area. The festival is expected by its organizers to be large-scale with 30 000+ attendees (Lederman, 2014). Being an established organization with experience putting on multiple festivals in the US, Hukka has experience with managing large scale events, and is attempting to launch a large festival.

This festival's representatives did not respond to interview requests however, a considerable amount of secondary data was available from press releases, journalistic accounts, and social media.

Nascent Blues (NB)

This event started in 2009 on private land was started by a group of musicians with the intention of creating a festival for local musicians by local musicians. The site is located 40km outside of a major city, and 10 km from a smaller town. In addition, the festival is 5km from a folk festival site that attracts a cumulative attendance of 80 000 people.

The event is still semi-private and not yet a festival open to the public, nor has a formal legal organization been formed. It is a re-occurring event of around 200 attendees with 10 bands. One of the features of the event is to facilitate musical collaborations between artists, as musicians

who don't normally perform or practice together get a chance to listen to each other's music. The contact reported that multiple joint-projects have arisen after the festival.

In the event's third year, the main founder and property owner became ill and was hospitalized a few months before the event. At the time this individual was largely responsible for organizing all of the operational functions of the event, and his absence represented a major change to how the event was organized. The event continued, however this forced significant changes into how the event was managed. The other members of the board were forced to take larger roles in organizing the musicians, sound and lighting, food, and washroom facilities. Unfortunately the founder died after the third annual event, and the expanded roles of the board members were thus maintained.

The beginning resources and reoccurring setup costs are borne by informal board of festival organizer/participants personal funds. In addition, donations are collected at the front gate to the property but not strictly enforced. "Some people give nothing...Some give \$40. We suggest about \$10 but it all works out just about" (Nascent Blues)

The event is given some assistance from local businesses from volunteer labour and equipment loans to operate the festival, but no formal sponsorship agreements. However, the eight event organizers and their friends and family volunteer to staff the event.

The festival organizers have aspirations of scaling their concept to facilitate public attendance via open ticket sales and advertising. However this will require fundraising and obtaining regulatory approval. Thus, the organizer acknowledged that they are looking to expand to a new location in order to increase capacity and become a fully-fledged festival.

Growth/Development Stage

Growing EDM

Growing EDM was started in 2009 by two organizers with experience in organizing arts and music events. The first event drew around 500 attendees. The pair are well-connected to existing music/art network in the region; thus, they were able to facilitate the founding of Growing EDM.

The festival primarily features local regional artists, but also includes national and international musical and artistic performances. While created as a private corporation, Growing EDM foregoes corporate sponsorship to avoid conflicts with its core-identity of showcasing local talent. The focus is instead on the patron experience and building a socially and environmentally sustainable growth and operations model. Although musical performances are the main theme, informational workshops, yoga sessions, and art exhibits feature prominently. The organizers take a community-building approach, despite being a private non-charitable organization.

They selected the initial site strategically in a relatively remote location on Aboriginal land. The site was adjacent to a community of 17 000, and one hour from a major metropolitan area. This site possessed several advantages, including: proximity to communities to draw audiences, as well as a favorable regulatory environment.

The festival grew to 4000 in 2012 and this presented logistical issues with crowd capacity. In addition, the organizers received information that nearby neighbours were applying for zoning restrictions on the festival. The organizers decided to move the festival to a new community at a site previously zoned for large festivals. They utilized their new location in summer 2013 and drew 2500 attendees.

This contact preferred to correspond via email.

Boonstock

Boonstock was started in 2004 as a one-off event on private land held by the organizer.

Boonstock was located 2 km outside of Gibbons, Alberta. The first event was attended by approximately 200, and this festival grew exponentially to over 14 000 attendees per day in its 8th year (Mertz, 2013).

The festival showcases an international lineup of popular artists from Rock and EDM genres.

Boonstock draws attendees primarily from Alberta and BC. Corporate sponsorship from national companies are featured in the promotion of Boonstock as well as onsite.

In 2012, due to increased demand for the festival, the organizers opened up more space and added an extra day to the festival (Metro Edmonton, 2012). This change was made less than two weeks before the festival was set to open that year (Metro Edmonton, 2012), and pushed the festival beyond its attendee management infrastructure. This growth caused various regulatory infractions (Griwkowsky, 2013), and frustration among neighbours over trash, vandalism and crime had expanded over the past decade (CBC, 2013).

The final year in Alberta, 2013, a home invasion occurred, in addition to more littering and highway problems (CBC, 2013). The negative externalities of the festival also sparked a local resident to start a petition, and with only 107 signatures, the country conducted an investigation (Griwkowsky, 2013). Over the years, emergency services had been giving repeated recommendations to the organizers about issues of safety and highway control, which official representatives claimed were not adequately met (Griwkowsky, 2013). As a result, the council voted to ban the festival (CBC, 2013).

Over the years the festival had received complaints from neighbour and authorities about noise, littering, parking and highway control (Griwkowsky, 2013). This culminated in a regulatory action taken against the festival by the regional government, banning it from its old location near Gibbons Alberta (Griwkowsky, 2013). Boonstock is looking to re-launch in a new community, Penticton, BC, in summer 2014 (ibid.).

This festival did not respond to interview requests however, a considerable amount of secondary data was available from press releases, journalistic accounts, and social media.

Growing Farming

The festival was started by a non-profit organization in 2001. The festival was designed to celebrate this organization and to act as a meeting place and celebration for those concerned with local food. The festival creates an environment where ideas of local food and sustainable farming initiatives can be facilitated and expanded and educational workshops are held during the weekend. The festival has a definite music focus, with two stages showcasing folk music during the weekend.

Due to the festival's location in the village, the community is fully integrated into the community and all residents participate. The festival welcomes around 2000 people to the community and is growing 200-300 attendees per year.

As a supplemental source of revenue in addition to ticket sales, the non-profit festival partially operates on provincial and federal grants. The festival is a source of revenue for the parent organization, and also has become a main economic and cultural anchor for the village. The festival pays expenses for the local café and store, important community meeting places.

Furthermore, the parent organization purchased the building and property of a former primary

school, and converted it into an education centre for local food and farming. Revenues from the festival cover the expenses for this facility.

Mature Stage

Mature EDM

Mature EDM has its roots in a one-off event. The initial event in 1998 on land privately held by the organizers attracted around 200 people. Based on this initial experience, later that summer, the organizers chose to increase the scope of the event. The next event became a multi-day festival attracting around 500 people. Through mainly word of mouth, the festival increased in size every year. The organizers expanded to include six stages with music playing 24 hours over three days, with limited programming on a fourth day.

Through mainly word of mouth, the festival increased in size every year. The organizers expanded to include six stages with music playing 24 hours over three days, with limited programming on a fourth day. The site's attendance capacity is capped at around 10000. The site is a 500-acre working farm, and the executive organizers are siblings, making this a family-run festival.

During its history, the event has dealt with some community opposition. The event draws mainly on people from outside the area for attendance and represents musical genres that are becoming mainstream, but are still very much a subculture for the region. Concerns over crime, safety, and morality have been expressed over the years. The festival organizers have continually worked to address these concerns with the community through engagement and dialogue.

The organizers have also invested back into the community through spending extensively on community social development. The organization funded a large part of a theatre at a local college and the building was named after them. Mature EDM also donated significant sums to medical CT scanners, the local skate park, food bank, and library.

The festival is notable in its use of harm reduction initiatives including banning the sale and possession of alcohol, employing hierarchies of volunteer and professional security, having 40+ doctors and nurses volunteering at the onsite health facility, free drug analysis services and crisis counselling.

Mature Country

This long running festival is into its 25th year. It was formed by local community organizers who sought to establish a professional festival that represented the community from its inception. The initial investment for the festival came from two rounds of loans from individual community members and businesses.

Previous organizers attempted a for-profit festival the year before the festival was founded, however this project was unable to generate sufficient revenue for the organizers to continue. In its place, a new association of network partners formed a non-profit festival, which despite failing to generate sufficient revenue to cover expenses in its first two years, since its third year, the festival has been financially sustainable.

Moreover, the festival represents a significant source of economic and social benefit to its community. The festival enlists volunteer groups to run its onsite attendee services such as beverage and litter disposal/recycling, and donates extensively to these organizations. In addition, the festival opened a film theatre in the town, which carries its namesake.

The festival is a non-profit, but unlike most non-profit festivals, it is self-sustaining without government funds. While it does receive some provincial government funds as well as federal assistance for site improvements, it does not rely on these sources of income.

The festival steadily grew over the years with its largest festival in 2013, with 12,000. The site, according to one of the main organizers and founders, is at capacity.

Decline Stage

Declining Cultural

Declining Cultural is a long running ethnic cultural music and dance festival that started in 1965. Formerly held within the town limits, the festival moved to a permanent site in 1989. The festival site is located a few kilometers from a small city, and depends significantly on local resource providers for attendees and volunteers. The site is leased from a cultural organization who also co-founded the festival.

The festival organization is non-profit, and has a Board of Directors, executive director and a staff member. The festival is culturally matched well with the local community, and its demographics. However, the main demographic is being replaced as the population is aging. Transitioning roles within this festival are also an issue, as the festival is having a difficult time finding new people to take on the volunteer and board positions being vacated by older members.

The festival site upgrade was heavily subsidized by the government and in collaboration with Mature Country. Continued improvements to the site are subsidized by the government. The festival receives grants from the government which are necessary to maintain operations.

The festival provides social benefit to the community where the cultural group is present. About 50% of the attendees come from outside of the local area, and this is a national cultural music festival. Focuses on preserving the relevant culture

The festival has institutional status due to its age and relevance to cultural community. Little has been done to maintain this institutional relevance over time. Community engagement is low in both social media and conventional media, as well as community involvement. The festival has networks built over many years of operation.

Attendance varies from year to year from 3000-5000, and is below site capacity and on a declining trend. Declining Cultural loses attendees year over year, from a high of 8000 attendees and faces competition from festivals of the same cultural-type in other regions. The site is shared with Mature Country and thus serves as useful comparison.

The following Table III depicts summary demographic information from the cases:

Table III: Summary of Cases

Case	MC	DC	MEDM	GF	Boon	GEDM	Pember	NB
Coded Name	Mature Country	Decline Cultural	Mature EDM	Growing Farming	Boonstock	Growing EDM	Pemberton Music Festival	Nascent Blues Rock
Position of interviewee	President	Board Member	Consultant	Board Member	no response; extensive secondary data	Co-founder; email exchange	no response, extensive secondary data	co-founder; site owner
Form	Non-profit	Non-profit	Private Corporation	Non-Profit	Private Corporation	Private Corporation	Private Corporation	Informal
Approximate Attendance	12 000+	Variable 3000-5000	10 000+	2000	16000+ per day old site; expecting 8500 2014	4000 in 2012; 2500 2013 new site	30 000+ expected	200
First year Attendance	3000	1965 was first event	500	200	200-500	450	expecting 30-40000	200
Distance from local communities	Within 5 km of minor city; 350 km of major city	Within 5 km of minor city; 350 km of major city	Within 15 km of small town and 40 km of city	within village	2km first year, adjacent new site	3 hours from major centres, dedicated zoned festival site; nearby small city	adjacent small city	Within 40km of major city; 10 km of
Age	25	50	17	12	10	5	0	4 years informal organization
Sought initial official Endorsements	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No, second site Yes	No	Yes	No
Start-up funds	Loans from community members	Non-profit parent organization	Personal funds	Non-Profit parent organization	Personal funds	Personal funds	For-profit parent organization	Personal Funds
External Funding	Government grants, not dependent	Government grants, parent non-profit funds required	No	Government grants	No	No	No	No
Sponsorship	Local and National	Local	No	No	National	No	National	No
Moved Sites	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Not-applicable	No

In the subsequent chapter, the findings based on the organizational life cycle are discussed.

Chapter 6: Findings

Overview

The chapter begins with the revised model of legitimacy and resource acquisition to include the life cycle stages, and propositions generated from this analysis. The thesis then discusses the findings on the life cycle stages, divided into Start-Up, Growth, and Maturity/Decline. Finally, the researcher presents the findings on the legitimacy threshold of festivals.

Legitimacy Theory Elaboration

Based on the findings and extended theories from the literature, the researcher generated the following table: This table depicts how a particular generic strategy can be deployed to obtain legitimacy from different sources. An example of a corresponding theoretical strategy is also provided. This Table IV represents an extension of existing legitimacy theory (in particular, Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002; Suchman, 1995).

Table IV: Strategy x Legitimacy Source x Examples of Legitimation Strategies

Strategy	Type of Legitimacy	Examples of Legitimation Strategies
Conformance	Regulatory Normative Cognitive Pragmatic	Following local government and industry association rules and directions Following societal norms such as safety and treating neighbours fairly Complying with ideas, models, and practices such as holding consultations with authorities Offering tickets at prices similar to other festivals
Selection	Regulatory Normative Cognitive Pragmatic	Selecting a geographic location with favorable regulations like an area zoned for festivals or Aboriginal land Selecting artists who are aligned with the norms and values of the festival audience Selecting communities that desire tourism model development and thus accepting of a new festival Selecting areas close to population centres from which to draw

		attendees
Manipulation	Regulatory Normative Cognitive Pragmatic	Lobbying for changes in existing liquor regulations on festivals Changing existing values by educating attendees on different genres Changing existing models with alcohol free events and harm reduction policies Increasing the revenue from tickets by releasing multiple tiers that escalate in price closer to the event (e.g. regular and VIP admission)
Creation	Regulatory Normative Cognitive Pragmatic	Creating new rules that benefit the festival with the local government Developing new norms and values through creating a sense of belonging or original shared value system generated at the festival Creating new operating practices, ideas and models such as a model for economic development for local businesses where a festival didn't exist before/New shared Identity Creating a common space where a subculture can consolidate and develop

The following tables were also generated by this research through extension of life cycle and legitimacy theories. The first table depicts how the sources of legitimacy vary with the life cycle stage. Examples are provided.

Table V: Legitimacy Source x Life Cycle

Source of Legitimacy	Nascent	Developing	Mature	Decline
Regulatory	Building initial compliance with regulations	Maintaining compliance with regulations in the face of growth	Compliance with regulations are met and now facilitated by relationships	Compliance with regulations are met; falling below a threshold of attendees may threaten funding (suggested by organizers but confirmed)
Normative	Seeking associations and endorsements; Developing initial programming to attract attendees	Staying in line with local values/or changing those values as the festival grows; appealing to the values of more diverse types of attendees and stakeholders	Maintaining legitimacy with core audience and selecting new demographics	Attempt at building value with new demographics and retain old constituencies

Cognitive	Appearing to be a comprehensible organization; Sense of shared identity among friends	Developing a unique sense of identity; Creating new models of programming	Making existing developed models more efficient; introducing new models within scope; internal legitimacy	Repairing or re-inventing declining models
Pragmatic	Developing initial programming to attract attendees; Getting the word out about the festival	Making changes to pricing; making site upgrades; moving site if capacity is reached	Making the revenue model more efficient; maintaining practical value; succession	Regaining pragmatic value to attendees

The second table depicts how the focus of the legitimation strategy varies with the life cycle stage. Examples of these varying strategies are provided.

Table VI: Strategy x Legitimacy Source x Examples of Legitimation Strategies

Strategy	Nascent	Developing	Mature	Decline
Conformance	Make initial contacts; conform to local values and regulations	More formalization and accepted practices; join industry associations	Move with cultural forces; develop taken for granted-ness	Move with cultural and demographic forces and trends
Select	Select site to handle future needs; Select initial stakeholders and audiences	Move site if needed; select and expand to different demographics/audiences	Select new demographics	Select new organizational members
Manipulation	Find ways to circumvent some regulations; Use personal charisma to build legitimacy; use past success/reputation to build legitimacy	Display awards and achievements and professional structures to manipulate opposition and perception; lobby for changes	Refine existing ID; Change relationships; educate audiences; change values	Obfuscate attendee numbers to funders; revive current image
Creation	Create new festival and supporting industry; very unlikely to create new rules without existing organization reputation; attempt to create new initial rules	Develop emerging industry around the festival; Build a unique identity	Create new models to remain legitimate	Re-invent current identity

Revised Legitimacy Process Model

Based on the analysis of the findings and with reference to the legitimacy model, the researcher finds support for the proposition that the Life Cycle Stage of the organization is subsequent to Growth and has influence on determining the strategies used to achieve legitimacy in the festival context. Following from this, the growth of the festival's revenue and attendance feeds into determining the life cycle stage of the festival. Also, reaching the critical Survival Threshold will determine if the festival can survive start-up and early growth, and move onto maturity.

Furthermore, the resources the festival acquires including legitimacy, and the changing sources that legitimacy is derived from via strategies, are influenced and partially determined by the life cycle stage of the festival. This occurs as the legitimacy of the festival increases, and the organization moves from development into maturity, and later into decline. The researcher also added Suchman's (1995) "pragmatic legitimacy". Furthermore, "industry legitimacy" is omitted as this concept is subsumed into "normative legitimacy". The revised model is depicted below.

The blue arrows and the Life Cycle Stage box depict the revisions:

Start-Up Stage

Focus and Challenges of Legitimacy

The initial stage of the festival involves forming the organization, acquiring resources, and building initial legitimacy with key stakeholders and potential attendees. Starting small, often as a one-off event or test event, relies heavily on the use of social resources to launch the festival. These social resources are utilized to procure necessary elements for start-up including donated equipment, heavy use of volunteer labour by friends of the organizers, pro bono or below market price performances by artists, among others. Due to scarce resources for these types of start-ups, the ability to select favorable environments to operate in and selecting ideal audiences to build legitimacy with is severely constrained.

However, two types of initial arrangements can overcome these liabilities of newness and smallness. Organizations created with the purpose of benefitting a widely accepted cause such as community economic development or social reproduction/preservation (typically non-profit festival organizations) are able to facilitate resource acquisition due to their high level of normative conformance with target audiences. Also, in the case of existing professional organizations starting a festival, because of their beginning base of financial resources, industry contacts, reputation and experience, they do not experience initial difficulties with a lack of legitimacy in the same way faced by new start-up entrepreneurs. Their position is enhanced by the fact that these resource-endowed organizations are able to better utilize selection strategies in choosing, sites, communities, target attendees, and artists that best suit their goals and value structures to acquire legitimacy

Founding Organizational Type

In the past, most festivals started small and grew gradually, unless put on by a government department and open to the public free of charge. Seven of eight of the festivals in the sample grew gradually, partially due to the FOs testing the model and building legitimacy over time, overcoming the liability of newness with repeat performances and acquired resources. These festivals in the sample started small, with 80-1500 people and worked their way up to current attendance levels.

Declining Cultural, Mature Country, and Boonstock had no musical performance organizing experience before their first event, thus indicating a lack of experience for many start-up festivals. This was expressed by Mature Country, *The really amazing thing was that none of us had a clue what we were doing. That's the amazing thing. I read lots of books and entertainment books. ... We had people on our board who had never been to a concert before (Mature Country).*

However, there is a trend toward private corporations running festivals for profit with expectations of a large event at the first performance. *I was talking to a venue organizer years ago ...Then he said well the festival business is really difficult, and if it really made any money people like Live Nation would be involved, and maybe 4 or 5 years ago we had this conversation and now Live Nation is involved, so that just shows you how far its came (Mature Country).*

Expressing this trend, Pemberton Festival was formed by a US-based professional entertainment corporation, Hukka, and will be launching summer 2014. The organization has yet to launch its first event in Canada. Hukka is using its pre-launch phase to build legitimacy with the local community and potential attendees. Rather than start as a small festival and working its way up

incrementally for attendance, Hukka is planning a large initial festival of 30 000+ (Lederman, 2014). By utilizing top popular headliners, the festival is building legitimacy by normative association, and by conforming to popular demands of audiences.

A pre-existing organization has existing legitimacy derived from a reputation and existing resource base. This resource base enables Pemberton to attempt to launch a large scale +30 000 attendee show-- something rarely attempted by smaller organizations (Woodstock, 1969 being a notable exception). The local government and other key stakeholders believe the organization has the ability to conform to its demands despite the festival not having launched yet, and has granted permits as well as official endorsements (Noel, 2014). These include associations or endorsements from the Village of Pemberton, the local tourism bureau and chamber of commerce, in addition to the Lilwat Nation and Whistler Blackcomb resort (Pemberton Music Festival, n.d.). This is likely partly based on its existing legitimacy as an experienced organization that has launched festivals before, and also the ability of the professional organizers to present a compelling preliminary plan to regulators. That said, the regulators are still somewhat cautious, as they granted the festival a one-time use permit, with the option of renewal, rather than a potential three year use permit, based on their preliminary plans (Noel, 2014).

The above analysis indicates the first proposition from the data.

P1: Festival organizations starting with professional structures, established reputations and resource bases (which convey legitimacy) can launch a large scale event without relying on incremental growth.

Starting with Social Resources

As mentioned in the literature review, festival managers are likely to gain legitimacy through conformance of their organizations to the existing institutional norms, values, and models present in their operating environments (Suchman, 1995). They can change their internal structure and plan their strategies to signal congruence with the relevant culture and its rules to achieve legitimacy (Suchman, 1995). Conformance is also advantageous because it does not require organizations to adjust cognitive models of action already in operation (Oliver, 1990).

New festival organizations often start with social resources and very limited financial and other tangible resources. This was observed in Nascent Blues, Growing EDM, Mature EDM, Boonstock (original location), and Growing Farming. Nascent Blues provides an example of this feature, *It was all donations to cover the cost ...we had to cover the porta-potty and a few other things, and then the 2nd year we paid artists so it was worth their trouble (Nascent Blues)*. The resources they require for the festival are built over successive performances or iterations of the festival. For these festivals, low beginning resources, especially financial, leads to reliance on social resources/networks in the community for initial resource endowments. This notion is evident in the following quote from Nascent Blues: *The reason we are able to have all those bands is because they are our friends, so they play for cheap. Everyone was playing for each other...All the construction for the stage was done by friends, just friends getting together to build it, they finished the weekend after building it and had a festival the next weekend (Nascent Blues)*. Even at the early stages, it is clear that by signing well-known local bands, mostly through personal networks, other artists are more likely to sign on, as well as people are more likely to attend the festival due to these early normative associations. Building initial legitimacy is of critical importance, Mature EDM, commented on new festivals in general using social

transactions that ... *(for some festivals) you may need to give half the admissions away to attract people (Mature, EDM).*

Conformance to the immediate group's norms and models of operation is high with festivals started with social resources. *This is truly a community event, with so many people coming together in love and friendship to put this together... It was the community itself that is important to the musicians... The event is truly a community thing and we just all do what needs to be done (Nascent Blues).*

Possible attempts at manipulation of attendee practices are only marginal, but present, at this stage. This quote from Nascent Blues depicts an example of the kind of incremental manipulation of legitimacy that is possible via social media in early situations: *we all love those 'Red Solo Cups'... but let's be nice to Mother Earth. Bring your own coffee mug for 'slurpees' this year (Nascent Blues)!*

Building legitimacy using personal legitimacy was evident in Nascent Blues' case. This type of legitimacy is seen as relatively transitory and idiosyncratic (Suchman, 1995) and rests on the charisma of individual organizational members (Suchman, 1995; Zucker 1991). It appears that charisma is likely to facilitate social transactions. For instance, in addition to calling upon social networks for attendees, the founder of Nascent Blues was able to recruit performers for a lower than market cost for his event with social transactions. ... *We had a big headliner and she agreed to play because she was a friend. She agreed to play for \$200 because he (the founder) sweet talked her... a lot of people agreed to play for next to nothing (Nascent Blues).*

The Start-Up Stage is unstable, and many emerging festivals may never expand past this stage. Nascent Blues is debating whether it should remain a small event or plan to grow into a more

open festival. *We are in this transition phase where it's like do we continue? Is this something that everyone wants to do? But everyone is in it that we get excited for it...I think if it got too big we...for it to grow it would have to be moved (Nascent Blues).*

The above findings lead to the next propositions:

P2a: Festivals with constrained financial resources will rely on social transactions/resources to start the festival.

P2b: These festivals will start small in terms of attendance

Vision and Identity

Respondents mentioned the need to develop a vision and model of what the festival is about, *you need to set up structures. Festivals need to know what they are about even before they launch. ... Key success factors for a new festival. You need to engage volunteers. They need to believe in something...Understanding what motivates the patrons or what gives him that sense of belonging. What makes them want to be connected to that festival is really critical or key (Mature EDM).*

By creating this identity model, the festival organizers can better select audiences to build legitimacy through conformance strategies. By knowing what their vision and values are, they can better select audiences that conform to this vision. However, because festivals often start off small with uncertain growth predictions and lack of festival experience of founders, they may not have this vision of identity and values at start-up. This is evident in Mature Country, *We had no particular perspective on this thing at all (in the beginning) no idea we would make it to 14 000.*

From that perspective you would have to have been in industry to know how big it would get. We just tried to make the model work (Mature Country).

Festivals are used to diffuse new normative values and cognitive models. Growing Farming is part of a natural and local food movement, while at the same time economically sustaining the small community where it's located, this vision was present from the beginning according to the respondent, also adding, *The goals are the practical ones of keeping the school running. But also supporting the local sustainable farmers. But we need to connect urban and local cultures. Breaking down barriers between urban rural (Growing Farming).* The festival also keeps the local coffee shop, a central meeting place of the community, operational via its event revenues.

The above indicates the following proposition:

P3: Festivals will facilitate legitimacy by articulating identity at the start-up stage.

Community Involvement and Conformance

Initial involvement by the community confers legitimacy—cognitive models of doing good work for the community conferring legitimacy on the new festival. Festivals must achieve a threshold of legitimacy in order to acquire resources and launch the festival

Involving the local community, organized groups, and businesses at start-up in formal and informal partnerships (normative legitimacy), and possessing a top management team (cognitive legitimacy) enable legitimation strategies. As argued in previous research, the current study confirms that normative associations are sought to build legitimacy with a range of stakeholders (Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002). Also, associating with reputable entities contains a cognitive element for obtaining legitimacy (Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002). Festivals can use these

arrangements to boost their beginning resource base, and launch a larger festival than if community organizations and individuals involved did not participate. Pemberton Music Festival, for instance, sought partnerships with the local government and tourism bureau, along with local ski resorts (Pemberton, n.d.a). In addition, they started a job fair for local residents (Pemberton, n.d.b), in an effort to build initial pragmatic legitimacy by hiring residents and making them dependent exchange partners with the festival.

In another instance, Mature Country involved local stakeholders from the beginning, and was able to receive significant loans from individuals. Loans were obtained from community members in an organized drive as well as from local businesses and other community groups.

“There were two rounds of initial investments the first year it came from local businessmen and the organization... Then we went around town and gathered \$100 000 from individuals. The deal was these were loans to a not for profit. They were \$500, and if we made money then they would make 20% on their money (Mature Country).

Initial alignment with community socioeconomic development was most obvious in Mature Country, Mature Cultural, and Growing Farming festivals. In these cases, the local community and key community stakeholders were extensively involved in the initial funding and development of the festival. For instance with Declining Cultural’s start-up, *The idea for a Cultural Festival in *\$)(*)\$ was suggested at a meeting of the ^%&^%*&* Chamber of Commerce and from there a founding group was established in 1965... The ^%&^^&^ Rural Municipality offices not only became the meeting place, but were also a valuable source of historical information about the surrounding rural areas. The provincial government Department of Tourism supported this project and gave us valuable guidance (Decline Cultural).*

Growing Farming was founded by and funded initially by a parent organization, a non-profit local food organization. This organization had earlier purchased an unused school in the shrinking community. With sanction of the local government and residents, the festival was to be held in the middle of the village. Festivals act as economic anchors to local and regional economies. In some rural communities, they may be the main revenue generator.

The town, the festival, and the society are all wrapped up in a common social and economic development project. People wear different hats the guy setting up the site..... the festival and the town are very intertwined. .. The festival builds relationships with the town's local organizations and neighbours so there is always a consensus with everyone. There is a regional government. There is a development corporation that writes letters of support. Everyone is very integrated (Growing Farming).

Legitimacy built with the sanction and association of official and influential stakeholders is durable (Zimmerman and Zeitz, 2002). Despite failures to acquire sufficient resources/revenues from the festival, festivals with high legitimacy and community partnerships can still raise money from interested stakeholders. This is evident in the following passage from Mature Country, *The first year we actually lost \$50 000, but people thought that was progress and we went around the next year and collected another \$50 000. And then we started making money and paying everyone back (Mature Country).* This shows that some festivals attain a high level of initial legitimacy if they are community derived, and despite not achieving sufficient revenue the first year, had obtained a level of threshold legitimacy to obtain additional investment from these stakeholders, and survive.

All of the non-profit festivals in the sample sought initial endorsement from official stakeholders in the local community. The local board of tourism and chamber of commerce were involved in Mature Country and Cultural, which are from the same community. Both began partially as economic and social development projects by local individuals.

This leads to the following proposition on initial community stakeholder involvement:

P4: Festival's that involve official community groups in initial organizing (normative association) will build higher levels of legitimacy with local stakeholders and acquire resources more effectively.

Site Selection

Many of the festivals sampled followed a site selection strategy. A site selected can act as a legitimization strategy where organizers select an ideal environment for their venture. In order to attract attendees, organizers rely on pragmatic considerations of program offerings, ticket prices and locations. Locating in areas close to population centres to draw upon for attendees allows them to build pragmatic legitimacy with potential attendees in those areas.

Some communities may be advantageous to locate in, or just happen to be where the festival organizers reside. Initial site selection can be a matter of being the best location from limited choices. *It started as people jamming together and then we wanted to do something a little bigger... originally intended for another place, but the house burnt down ... people had a vision for it in a few other spots that were owned by friends (Nascent Blues).* Even when starting in a state of constrained resources, founders attempt to strategically select the best sites for their event, but may ultimately satisfice. *There was more of circumstances of going with what was*

available rather than picking the best festival site; it wasn't just set up for a festival (Nascent Blues).

However, once festival organizers have chosen an acceptable community, they may also take further strategic action in selecting a site. A lack of conformance to established local cultural values and norms in terms of festival theme and/or musical genres can be compensated for in various ways. The organizers of one-off informal events often select a site that is remote enough from neighbours and keep attendance numbers low, as was the case for Nascent Blues, and Boonstock at their initial sites. Another option is to select an area zoned for festivals or with a regulatory system the festival can meet the obligations of as was the case with Growing EDM, Pemberton and Boonstock for their 2014 locations.

A lack of similarity with prevailing local norms was observed in Boonstock, Growing EDM, and Mature EDM, who represent musical genres and cultural themes (or normative and cognitive frameworks) that would be generally accepted to be classified as subcultures in their geographic regions. Mature Cultural and Mature Country, located at the same site, are also a significant distance from the community. Mature Country represents a mainstream musical genre and culture but, also is a significant distance away from the community and neighbours to contain disturbances.

Three of the festivals did not choose from an array of potential sites, but began the festival on property owned by the organizers. Three festivals started by members of a local community were able to act semi-strategically, but were constrained in that they were required to locate near or in that community.

However, the initial site may be insufficient for various reasons, including capacity. *There's a space issue at the current site...I'm ok with it moving to another property if we want to expand capacity and make it a festival it can be different and still be the same (Nascent Blues).* The issue of site selection is discussed more in the next findings section, Growth/Development.

The new organizers are attempting to manipulate current perceptions of the festival site to build legitimacy, by explaining what they have augmented and improved over the past organizers, *To alleviate traffic snarls, people will be able to camp as early as the Wednesday night. Further, there will be no on-site parking for day-pass holders, who will have to park in Whistler and use a shuttle service. That is really going to alleviate a lot of the headaches...There is also a completely revamped traffic management plan for on-site parking. At 121 hectares, the footprint is a little more than twice the size of the 2008 event...Washroom facilities will be tented – to improve sight lines, and contain any odours (Lederman, 2014).*

These observations indicate the following propositions:

P5a: Festivals will follow a site selection strategy that is most advantageous to building legitimacy and thus acquiring resources.

P5b: If they possess significant beginning resources, they can act more strategically, while those with constrained resources will have fewer selection options.

Regulations

If the nascent start-up does not have the resources to launch an officially sanctioned first event due to inexperience with obtaining regulatory approval, they may attempt to use strategies to manipulate this requirement through circumvention of rules. *We needed to change the type of*

Facebook page to an event instead of a like page, like pages are parked publicly and all information is accessible by anyone at any time. Due to the fact that Nascent Blues is on private property and is not insured or staffed as a public venue, we need to keep it private and manageable in order to maintain the integrity of the event and venue...In the 2nd year we were talking about applying for permits and having things in place to stop drinking and driving... but the founder was so disheartened by that line of questions...so that never happened 1st, 2nd, or 3rd year. We didn't serve or sell alcohol though...there was thought put into it, and it was in a heavily populated area, and we played till 4 am, but no neighbours complained...no cops came by...that's something we did we went and talked to the neighbours (Nascent Blues).

The initial phase of a new festival is partially characterized by attempts to build toward a threshold of legitimacy with local authorities and potential groups who may support or oppose it. This typically means obtaining legitimacy from conforming to regulations dictated by these decision makers and stakeholders with influential power over decision makers. At the same time, festivals must also convey to potential attendees that they are legitimate, and conforming to these regulations partially signals this.

For festivals derived out of community development projects, achieving high levels of local legitimacy with respect to regulations and cognitive comprehensibility with authorities is facilitated. A non-profit and well-networked organization being “of” the community “for” the community signals normative congruence, building cognitive and normative legitimacy with local audiences such as authorities and community organizations and facilitating resource acquisition. This is evident with Growing Farming, *The festival builds relationships with the town's local organizations and neighbours so there is always a consensus with everyone. There*

is a regional government. There is a development corporation that writes letters of support. Everyone is very integrated (Growing Farming).

If the geographic community where the festival is located does not have a long history of experience with major events, the rules for regulating festivals in terms of safety and crowd management requirements, zoning permits, may not have been considered by these authorities before. This was the case for Mature Country, *“Regulations haven’t changed much over the years for us... (now) they have these regulations and criteria you have to meet and so on. In our case we started before any of that. We started and the county didn’t even insist on building permits (Mature Country).*

Frequent meetings between the organizers and regulators are a way new festivals make get a sense of the demands of these stakeholders. This is suggested by Mature EDM, *“Play a leadership role. Bring the authorities together to a committee that will work to support that festivals development. The police, the fire, the ambulance, transportation, etc. bring them all together to talk about the festival. They need to get outside just the relationships with patrons and suppliers and partners and sponsors (Mature EDM).*

Scholars (Suchman, 1995; Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002) argue that new organizations are unlikely to be able to manipulate or create the regulatory environment. However, contrary to this, one respondent suggests that new festivals be involved in creating new laws, *Lots of festivals will say, you know one of the threats is new by-laws and changes and you we are regulated. Well come on, play a leadership role. Emerging and new festivals should be--hey, if you don’t they will dictate to you what the laws are. Bring those people together, like the mayor and have the conversation. Look its bringing money to the community and we want the community to be safe.*

.... *We believe we are taking a leadership role, why not do it this way then wait 10 years and they (regulators) are imposing this and that on us. ...you know you can take a reactive or a proactive role.... Festivals should take that step and formulate the by-law. Be the leader (Mature EDM).*

Other communities with a longer history of festivals may have a developed infrastructure for liaising and attracting new festivals to their community, thus conformance to regulations, rather than creation of regulations is better facilitated. *If the community has experience with festivals, and there are many festivals located there, the city, like in Ottawa, may develop structures and procedures to facilitate the consultation process between festivals and authorities and other stakeholders (Mature EDM).*

The above findings indicate the propositions:

P6a: New events without formal organization may attempt to manipulate regulations by circumventing regulations

P6b: New festival organizations will attempt to obtain legitimacy by conformance. If existing regulations do not exist, they will attempt to create them with local authorities

Building Initial Legitimacy with Outside Stakeholders

The festivals that began as one-off events, Boonstock, Mature EDM, and Growing Farming did not initially seek official endorsement. At four years running as a small semi-private event, Nascent Blues has not sought endorsements. Pemberton and Boonstock (Boonstock festival acquired sponsors after initial start-up at their old site) both have large corporate sponsors for their new sites, they have been extensively engaged with seeking endorsements. Major alcohol

sponsors, consumer products sponsors, local organizations and government, as well as radio stations have been engaged for endorsement by Mature Country, Boonstock, and Pemberton Music Festival. An interesting finding here is that Growing EDM, Mature EDM, and Growing Farming all make a point of communicating their lack of corporate sponsorship, using it as an apparent strategy for building legitimacy with some of their audiences.

All festivals sampled rely heavily on attendees from outside the community, but not necessarily initially. Mature EDM, Nascent Blues, Mature Farming, and Boonstock began as small events for locals. Effectively communicating with potential outside attendees, through advertising, conventional media reports, and social media was mentioned as ways to build legitimacy in early stages. *We had to convince people that we had working showers and security without Internet in online social media, but we had to wait people got home and told others...We had to convince people that we had showers and port-a-potties and that we cleaned them regularly. And that there's some security there, and they aren't just driving in the bush and it takes a while for that to happen (Mature Country).* The above quote indicates that prior to social media, legitimacy building among potential attendees was a much slower and difficult process. Communications by previous attendees to others, or word-of-mouth advertising is still a main way of building legitimacy with attendees, but this is difficult to develop initially, and generally occurs for festivals with a track record.

Social media allows for personal attention between the organizers and individuals to be facilitated, but also displayed for the benefit of other resource holders. Evidence of this idea comes from Growing Farming, *...but the social media is only for certain people. The farmers aren't on Twitter. Some don't even have cell phones. But there are some people from the city who use it. But it creates a buzz to our funders, and people in the music industry check...Our*

fundlers check our Facebook activity. It kind of sets our status as a festival... even with a local festival we need social media (Growing Farming).

In another case, Pemberton Music Festival is seeking to attract a fair number of people from outside the community for its 2014 summer show, so they ally themselves with Movember, a national men's health campaign (Pemberton, n.d.b). This name recognition is high with all types of extra-local attendees in their target demographic. Allying/associating themselves with local organizations may build legitimacy within the community, but may have less relevance with outside attendees. The legitimacy of the non-profit partnered organization will likely convey legitimacy to local stakeholders as well. The pre-start-up festival has the endorsement of other influential stakeholders as well; the chamber of commerce, tourism bureau, and several resorts are prominently featured on their website as endorsing organizations (Pemberton, n.d.). In this way, they manipulate the perceptions of other stakeholders that the festival is an outsider to the community, making the organization appearing more familiar and cognitively comprehensible.

Larger festivals that are remote, but are nearby small communities, depend upon outside attendees and other resource holders, especially talent. These rural "destination festivals" must build and maintain legitimacy with virtual non-local communities to produce resource acquisition for the event. The issue often becomes one of site selection for the event, in a location that doesn't infringe upon the personal rights of landowners. Festivals, especially large ones bring a lot of extra activity for local residents. Noise complaints may be an issue in some cases and highway control in others. These issues can affect the regulatory and normative legitimacy of festivals with locals.

The apparent disparity in the legitimacy demands of local and outside attendees indicates that:

P7: Festivals will use different legitimation strategies for local and non-local stakeholders.

Endorsements

According to Suchman (1995) seeking out of endorsements is a normative manipulation strategy that organizations use to build legitimacy. This is also observed when symbolic association is signalled with respected stakeholders in an organization's environment who are not necessarily direct exchange partners (Pfeffer, 1981; Suchman, 1995). Through endorsements from powerful entities, their legitimacy can be transferred to the new organization.

One way to build legitimacy with local stakeholders is to partner with influential local stakeholders. Even symbolic relations, such as endorsement, without any additional resources being exchanged, will be established. These relationships make it easier to obtain licenses and zoning permits with local governments, because it appeals to normative and cognitive legitimacy. It gives the impression that the festival organizers "know what they are doing", because other reputable stakeholders have visibly endorsed the organization, and since those organizations are perceived as competent—the festival organizers must be competent as well.

As mentioned, large organizations have several advantages over new organizations in starting a festival. They have an existing resource pool and network to draw upon, in addition to a reputation for other successful past performances. This allows them to avoid, to a degree, the liability of smallness and newness. However, if a festival was forced to move due to community opposition, and begin in a new location, they carry a reputation that may inspire reticence with authorities and stakeholders, who may not be willing to grant them normative association.

In Boonstock's new location, they have been encountering some hurdles in obtaining this threshold. Developing provisional plans must be followed up on because seeking organizational

legitimacy inappropriately can trigger the “possibility of dangerous feedback loops” (Suchman 1995, p. 599). Boonstock signalled endorsement by the Aboriginal group who control their site in addition to the local government, but this was done prior their approval (Patton, 2013). The Boonstock website stated they had the support of both the city council and the Penticton Indian Band, where it is hoping to host the event August 1 to 3 2014 (Patton, 2013). *“I told him that on his website it says it is supported by the City of Penticton and I said to get that off the website because it is not supported by the city. He agreed to remove that,” ...Penticton Indian Band Chief Jonathan Kruger also said Kobza’s event does not have the backing of the PIB council just yet and called the festival announcement of moving to Penticton “premature” (Patton, 2013).* Boonstock, was attempting to manipulate the comprehensibility of the venture, a cognitive dimension by signaling endorsement by powerful stakeholders before they actually granted their endorsement, as mentioned, a form of cooptation (Starr and MacMillan, 1990).

Pemberton has the official sanction of the board of tourism, the local government councils, and resort developers. Another respondent mentions the importance of initial congruency with sponsors. *You need to pump up sponsors into what your purpose is. If they buy into that purpose than they will support it. You need to substantiate the vision. They need to have a strategic relationship. Sponsors aren’t just going to throw money at you without a benefit. That’s naïve. You have to engage them. If all those pieces are in place you can launch that festival (Mature EDM).*

The data on endorsements by influential and legitimate entities indicate the following proposition:

P8: Festivals will seek endorsements from legitimate entities to coopt their legitimacy

In summary, the overall observations and case comparisons on the start-up stage of festival organizations support the proposition:

P9: At start-up festivals are focussed on building initial legitimacy with stakeholders. They do so primarily with selection and conformance.

Having presented the findings on the Start-Up Stage, the focus moves next to the Growth/Development Stage.

Growth/Development Stage

Focus and Challenges of Legitimacy

Developing organizations are focussed on growing attendance and revenues, refining and making more efficient structures that are effective. In order to accomplish this, they must increase their legitimacy with a larger audience, at the same time as remaining legitimate to critical local stakeholders that the festival is dependent on for support or at least passive acquiescence. After a single performance and subsequent repetitions, the festival makes changes to its program offerings, services, and legitimation strategies and evaluates what is working. After the threshold of legitimacy is reached after the first and early subsequent events, the festival must maintain that threshold, while at the same time building legitimacy with a greater portion of the pool of potential attendees to expand resources, revenue, and influence.

During this time, they must conform to the demands of critical stakeholders and attempt to manipulate legitimacy with attendees with activities such as advertising, press releases, and social media. Also, because of greater management and operational complexities due to growth, expanded legitimacy requirements, unanticipated at the beginning, may arise. *Your responsibility*

increases with changes with larger attendance. The scope and the magnitude changes and you have to grow and become more proactive with community engagement (Mature EDM).

Festivals may also be faced with inadequacies of their site to accommodate expansion of attendees and may choose to select a new site. However, because of a greater pool of resources established over time, the next time around, these organizations have a greater ability to engage in selection strategies than they did initially. When moving to a new site these organizations do not start from scratch in terms of legitimacy, although they must build initial legitimacy with a new set of audiences in a new community.

At some point in the growth stage, a festival reaches its legitimacy threshold for survival, although it may also occur at start-up in some cases. This topic is still under-researched despite some case studies (legitimacy seeking in controversial industries). With a festival and other organizations it is unknown when this point actually occurs. However, one possible test seems to be if the festival can survive a major breakdown or if community opposition/stakeholder dissatisfaction is so high that the festival must move site. If the festival can successfully mitigate these issues or select a new site and survive there, then it is likely that this indicates that the festival organization has reached the threshold of legitimacy.

At the same time a unique emerging culture of norms and cognitive assumptions are built around the festival. These ideas may be only emerging and may not start to become widely practiced by attendees until after the festival has reached maturity.

Growth Pattern

Developing festivals must continually meet new legitimacy demands as the festival expands and have greater requirements for safety and neighbourhood/community legitimacy because of the

increased impact on their day-to-day lives. Festivals that grow incrementally seem to have better outcomes for legitimacy with local stakeholders than festivals that grow exponentially. This tenuous state of legitimacy in the Development/Growth stage is susceptible to community opposition. *If they start with 500 people first year. They grow with word of mouth ...they are volunteers. The operation grows outside their realm. They need to have an infrastructure plan for the number of people that are coming in and using toilets. Security and all these...now the festival grows to 6000. And now that road to travel in on its not safe. But now there's greater responsibility to transportation. Or now the lineup for the festival is way out on the highway (Mature EDM).*

There are negative aspects to very large increase in population for a community during a festival weekend. Especially in rural communities, the demands on public services may increase substantially, as will disturbances in the normal course of life for neighbours living near the festival site. Community opposition, that is opposition from community stakeholders can be sourced in normative and regulatory legitimacy violations—a failure to conform to these demands of stakeholders. Common complaints of immediate neighbours are noise, littering and garbage on adjacent property, traffic distribution problems and accidents, and crime. Other complaints of stakeholders may be similar, even if not directly affecting them. Authorities may become officially opposed to an organization for not following safety and traffic recommendations as was the case with Boonstock (Patton, 2013).

There are also very positive aspects of festivals bringing large amounts of people to an area, with benefits to the local economy. Festival organizers who emphasize these elements through symbolic announcements of the positive consequences of the festival may develop legitimacy.

They may also donate money to community groups or interests to symbolically even the balance of perceived social costs of the festival.

Some organizers in this stage had the idea to build legitimacy with the wider community from the beginning. Other festivals are only focused on the resource acquisition and attendees for the event, and neglect to build community support initially. Growing too large too fast without the proper structures in place for communication and acting without local community sanction can result in threats to the organization's survival, as is observed in the case with Boonstock.

Mature EDM and Mature Country used incremental resource acquisition/revenue generation to procure larger audiences by being able to fulfill pragmatic legitimacy by obtaining more popular acts. Building attendance incrementally in turn allows them and being able to manage the operation without loss of legitimacy. This observed with the stable mature festivals during the Growth/Development stage, *We kept incrementally adding seating, going from 3000 to 7000, and then just kept adding. Every time we do that we are able to receive more people (Mature Country).*

The above discussion indicates the following proposition:

P10: Incremental growth and attendance is more sustainable than rapid or exponential growth in the Development/Growth stage with respect to legitimacy

Threats to Survival After Initial Threshold is Reached

A failure to build legitimacy with stakeholders in a balanced way was most clearly presented in the Boonstock case. Boonstock was located 2 km outside of Gibbons, Alberta. Despite being a distance outside the community, its growth still impacted neighbours. Growing from 1500 to 14

000 per day in 8 years (Mertz, 2013) caused unanticipated impacts to surrounding neighbours. Boonstock was able to build high levels of legitimacy with outside attendees due to the A-list musicians performing at the festival. The festival attracted popular mainstream Rock and EDM artists. In this way the festival sourced normative legitimacy through association with a legitimate entity, artists in this case. By conforming to their attendee audience's values and preferences in entertainment (relying heavily on attendees from outside the community), the festival quickly gained popularity and grew exponentially.

In 2012, due to increased demand for the festival, the organizers opened up more space and added an extra day to the festival (Metro Edmonton, 2012). This change was made less than two weeks before the festival was set to open that year (Metro Edmonton, 2012), pushing the festival beyond its attendee management infrastructure. This growth caused various regulatory infractions (Griwkowsky, 2013), and frustration among neighbours over trash, vandalism and crime had piled up over the past decade (CBC, 2013).

The final year in Alberta, 2013, a home invasion occurred, in addition to more littering and highway problems (CBC, 2013). The negative externalities of the festival also sparked a local resident to start a petition, and with only 107 signatures, the country conducted an investigation (Griwkowsky, 2013). Over the years, emergency services had been giving repeated recommendations to the organizers about issues of safety and highway control, which official representatives claimed were not adequately met (Griwkowsky, 2013). As a result, the council voted to ban the festival (CBC, 2013).

A counter petition was attempted by the festival, and received many more signatures in support the first hour than the original petition (Edmonton Journal, 2013). Despite this counter-attempt to

manipulate the regulatory process, the county council retained their original decision (CBC, 2013). The petition ended up being an ultimately successful action of manipulation of the regulatory environment by an external entity to the festival. The organizer claimed the vote was “political” and due to posturing from an upcoming election (Griwkowsky, 2013). The result was a failure to achieve regulatory legitimacy and a failure to conform to the models of highway and crowd control utilized by the local authorities and demanded by local residents.

As mentioned, rapid growth without conformance can result in loss of legitimacy or inability to build legitimacy at a site and community. Foregoing local legitimacy concerns might occur in order to satisfy external stakeholders. Some attendees from outside the community might be interested in a loud raucous party with little interference from security authorities; demanding bigger, louder and longer shows. This can create a potential conflict with local stakeholders, especially those with nearby properties that absorb most of the negative externalities of the festival. However, it seems failures in local legitimacy are most often unintentional, and the result of unanticipated consequences of a large influx of people, and failure to effectively manage them. A lack of organizing experience and may have played a role in this local legitimacy failure as Boonstock was started as a “...backyard bush party of 80 attendees” (Boonstock, n.d.).

Mature EDM contact offers a suggestion that may have assisted Boonstock in this situation: *You need to open up a way of listening. You still may agree to disagree. But by listening there may be something you can do to offset that...I think engagement. Engagement of patrons, engagement of suppliers, all the different levels of stakeholders...And that every level of stakeholder has different needs and expectations to satisfy that engagement... You have to stay in tune. Listening to the noise. This is what separates the successful from unsuccessful. You need to listen to*

signals from people from the environment and take care of them in advance. A critical success factor. What noise is out there (Mature EDM)

The above implies that limited resources can cause imbalance in legitimacy building activities. For example, festival organizations may build high levels of legitimacy with attendees without effectively maintaining legitimacy with local stakeholders. This data leads us to the following proposition:

P11: Obtaining legitimacy in a balanced way enhances the festival's long-term survival.

Revenue Generation and Legitimacy

Mature Country recognized early the importance of developing revenue streams due to its initial difficulty at making revenue efficient and substantial. *We know what our obligations are and we have excellent directors...everyone involved gets it. We have to have these revenue streams to make our budget or else we won't make it. We shoot for something to put in reserve at the end of each festival (Mature Country).* The organizers also saw potential opportunities to maximize revenue by making their business model more efficient. Despite potentially threatening their relationship and legitimacy with a key partner, the land holder, the organizers sought to gain greater control over revenues to make the festival viable. *Year one and year two the owner of the site ran the bar. And we looked at that and said this has to stop...we need to have that control. We can't make money unless we do. Now we pay them to operate a single hall (Mature Country).*

Revenue generation through increased attendance and/or funding can lead to more resources available to acquire more expensive talent and thus growing the attendance. This may in turn lead to greater legitimacy. Thus revenue generation and legitimacy are not a direct trade-off, but can be effectively balanced. For example *...when we started getting to pay our artists better.*

Before we were getting artists who are our friends, and not with huge names. Now we can get a bit bigger names and pay people what they are worth since we've gotten the grants (Growing Farming).

Other data suggests that focus on revenue generation to the exclusion of conforming to the normative and cognitive identity of attendees will be detrimental. *Maybe initially it is all about the revenues but over time it's not going to work. They may be getting 40-50% of new patrons every year. But I've seen over a cycle of 20 years it's not the same, and they aren't attracting a new base. And they are going, what's wrong? Not focussing on the experience of the festival rather than just revenues (Mature EDM).*

Festivals appear to try to build a sense of belonging and shared identity in the growth phase to enhance legitimacy. *That's what I find for differentiation factor for a number of festivals. That sense of belonging, a unique experience. Then those are the ones that usually have a stronger patron base (Mature EDM).*

These responses imply the following proposition:

P12: While focussing on revenue generation and increasing attendance levels are critical during the growth stage, a failure to maintain legitimacy with audiences by conforming to a common identity or creating a new shared identity can threaten the long-term survival of the festival

Earning Legitimacy

Festivals must attempt to conform to both local stakeholders and external audiences—fulfilling at least some of their critical legitimacy demands. Some festivals appear to be more focussed on satisfying one constituency over another. Many growing festivals focussed on expanding

attendance and revenue to the exclusion of conforming to local norms of stakeholders. This quote from Mature EDM expresses this view, *when you are managing a festival you are not just managing your suppliers and customer relationships. And any festival executive producer who thinks they only need to worry about these two things is sadly misguided...local community engagement is key (Mature EDM)*

As long as a festival is small and non-conforming and network density is low, in the beginning the festival may survive. However, over time, the outcomes of the festival may begin to infringe on local stakeholders, and stakeholders might start to formulate resistance and influence against the festival, which was not initially apparent. This might happen if the festival reaches a certain large size in attendance, or in the case of Boonstock, through the work of a few influential dissatisfied local neighbours (CBC News, 2013). An important action mentioned in this regard may have averted this, *Develop a listening strategy. Even if the city supports you, you need to build relationships with anyone that can potentially be negative to you and agree to disagree (Mature EDM)*

Earning legitimacy as a strategy relates to the use of initiatives and activities that reflect the social conscience of the organization (Reast et al. 2013) and includes charitable donations, attempts to build cognitive legitimacy of taken-for-grantedness, green initiatives, donations to volunteer groups, harm reduction measures, and safety measures, for example. The strategy blends elements of conformance and manipulation, *Mature EDM started to contribute to community initiatives that would build the art community. So they donated a lot of money and the college build a performing art theatre. It's named after them...so giving back to the community is important. You share that success because the community is a part of it (Mature EDM).*

Giving back to community through donations to charity and building up the economy is advantageous to legitimacy. This deliberate action can overcome lack of normative congruency and corresponding lack of conformance to local values. The organization may conform to regulations and basic norms of safety and highway control, while at the same time being divergent from other prevailing social norms such as conservatism and traditional values; this was noted in Mature EDM, Growing EDM. Boonstock was also normatively divergent from its local community, but failed to uphold regulatory legitimacy at its initial site.

Despite lack of initial normative congruency, if the festival gradually shows normative and pragmatic value to the community through cash donations, social development, and economic development to local audiences, they may still build legitimacy. With regard to attendees, Building a sense of shared identity between the festival and audiences enhances legitimacy. Festivals appear to try to build a sense of belonging and shared identity in the growth phase. This is observed from the cases, *...that's what I find for differentiation factor for a number of festivals. That sense of belonging, a unique experience. Then those are the ones that usually have a stronger patron base (Mature EDM).*

One tactic suggested is to set up ways to enable conformance or manipulation of neighbouring stakeholders by appealing to pragmatic or instrumental legitimacy. *You need to open up a way of listening. You still may agree to disagree. But by listening there may be something you can do to offset that. I've had festivals that have agreed to pay property taxes of neighbours in certain areas. I mean what gesture is going to make a difference (Mature EDM)?* These meetings with stakeholders create cognitive comprehensibility of the festival, with the potential to achieve sustained passive acquiescence, or active support if the festival is successful in this strategy. Even informal meetings can mitigate threats and build legitimacy; *we've had one complaint*

about people walking on lawns. So we just put up more signage. Then someone (from the festival) went to talk to them and smoothed things over with that family (Growing Farming).

The above observations indicate the following proposition:

P13: Festivals can earn legitimacy through deliberate actions (manipulation) such as charitable spending and other actions that portray their pragmatic or normative benefit to stakeholders.

Endorsements and Associations

In order to build legitimacy, festivals ally themselves with industry advocates and coalitions. By instituting standard practices for safety, hiring and operating policies developed by industry, the organization is able to gain legitimacy from the industry via endorsement or association. *We are members of the Canadian fairs and festivals organization, a member of the Canadian country music association we always send people to breakout west. We got to the international buyers conference and then down to Vegas for the festival conference there. We try to learn what is happening with rules and new trends (Mature Country).*

Selection of industry associations and involvement of different funders and sponsors produce conformity on the organization, yet this conformance also grants greater legitimacy (Andersson & Getz, 2008). One clear indication of conformance with industry associations are awards and accreditations bestowed on the organization. For instance, with Mature Country, *All of the agents and managers and organizers are all part of the same organization, the international buyers association...one of our talent buyers won their award, and that just represents the quality of the relationships that he has down in Nashville... We are members of the Canadian fairs and festivals organization, a member of the Canadian country music association (Mature Country).*

Growing EDM has developed a framework to facilitate normative association, ... *to the Council, Chamber of Commerce, Art Associations, First Nations Leaders, the District, RCMP, Fire, Hospital, and Forestry representatives... we strive to involve each of these agencies in our planning process and work with each group to ensure their questions and concerns are addressed (Growing, EDM).*

As mentioned previously festivals will also obtain endorsement and associations with powerful stakeholders to build legitimacy with attendees, often using their experience to facilitate this. The local venue manager of the proposed new site of Boonstock performed this role, *“This is not a bunch of sleazy promoters coming in to run a concert and turn around and leave. They are moving their families here and will be here for the next five years and they want to make sure they give back to the community. This is a professional company coming to put this on that has been doing this for nine years, not some fly-by-night promoter...We are going to fill the hotels and restaurants in the City of Penticton and they haven’t been the kindest, I guess you can say. But, we can’t apologize for filling their pockets with money and I am sure once it is a success they will be more than happy to be in the picture with us,” (Patton, 2014).*

P14: In the Growth phase, festival organizers will join industry associations to gain legitimacy

Initial Site Selection in the Growth Stage

Growing EDM experienced rapid growth in its first four years — going from 400 patrons in 2009 to 4000 in 2012. During this time, the festival was located on Aboriginal land, where regulatory legitimacy was easier to achieve as the land providers had an economic interest in developing their land. However, while they had the sanction of the landowners, the festival also had neighbours on adjacent properties. As the festival grew, the frequency of complaints of noise

and road infrastructure strain increased. After the 2012 festival, area residents banded together to change the area's noise by-laws, and as a consequence, the festival would have needed to make major changes to its scheduling (which was 24 hours of music all weekend), and decibel levels. *Residents around the site actually banded together to make changes to the area's zoning, limiting traffic and capping acceptable decibel levels. Had we wished to stay in our original location, we would have had to change our scheduling, cut attendance and turn the music down drastically. Growing EDM would not have been the same experience (Growing EDM).*

Challenges with the site's location and choice of programming may sometimes make it difficult to conform to local standards and expectations. *There are 200 private residences within a 5-kilometer radius of the site and the sound and road traffic associated with our festival was having a negative impact on people in the neighbourhood. People's living rooms were vibrating, rural roads were taking a beating and horses and livestock were spooked. We were being bad neighbours (Growing EDM).* The festival had already reached capacity at previous performances, and worked proactively before an official public deliberation threatened their festival. The festival had the opportunity to make serious adjustments to sound levels, but rather than conform or manipulate the local neighbours and stakeholders, Growing EDM decided to change sites as a selection strategy, to find a location more appropriate for their organizational goals and more advantageous for building legitimacy.

Opposition to a festival that starts small is generally low. The neighbours however may be infringed upon. FOs attempting to start new festivals of a determined size, or else starting the festival in the public eye, may face a degree of opposition to their project. Local citizens concerned with crime, pollution, and traffic delays may oppose any major festival development

in their area, regardless of the FOs values. *Growing EDM is about love and community and we felt it wasn't right promoting these values while upsetting locals (Growing EDM).*

However, just being opposed to the idea is not enough to seriously disrupt many festivals unless there are regulatory violations. A growing festival who does not address these regulatory thresholds may give justification to groups that oppose the festival, and push other stakeholders from passive acquiescence to becoming opposed to the festival.

If a festival is unable to conform to local expectations, it may be forced to select a different site where conformance is better facilitated. In this Growth stage they may have yet established sufficient legitimacy to engage in manipulation. For instance, Growing EDM festival was forced to move because, *...residents were applying for zoning to regulate our sound output and limit the festival to shut off the stages at midnight. That wouldn't work for the 24/hour festival programming that we are committed to (Growing EDM).* Growing EDM acknowledged that the current model of the festival could not conform to the existing normative environment, and organizers would have to select a new site.

Enduring at a site that does not have the capacity for the show will result in negative legitimacy among some key stakeholders. However, the site may also be a key source of legitimacy for the festival, for instance, being located near large population bases where pragmatic legitimacy due to ease of site access is high. *How big of a critical success factor is there old site? Why are you moving? Its risk management it depends on how key the venue is... If they go over to a new site they may lose patrons because they don't want to travel to the new venue. They may be going to the old site because of the land and the experience that they had there... Why are they moving?*

Are they moving because their site is at capacity? I would look at the uniqueness of their venue. Is the venue a differentiating characteristic of their festival (Mature EDM)?

P15: In the Growth stage, festivals may encounter site capacity, a challenge to local legitimacy

Selection Strategy for New Sites

Organizations that seek to avoid being “remade in the image of the environment” (Suchman, 1995, p. 589) may be required to select new environments in which their activities are seen as more appropriate in the Growth Stage. Growing EDM, Pemberton, and Boonstock acted strategically when selecting their new sites. In one case, Growing EDM acted pre-emptively in moving due to community opposition that was organized against it, but had not yet taken formal action. In another case, Boonstock was actually officially banned by the local government.

Mature EDM offers a perspective on this, *When a festival is forced to move, you have to ask what relationships they didn't nurture? They didn't do their homework. Organizing a festival is not a party. You need to strategize where you need to be. Building relationships with different levels of government is needed (Mature EDM). This respondent indicates that festivals being forced to move can be avoided with early planning as well as consultation with local stakeholders.*

During the analysis criteria for selecting new site were revealed. Boonstock expressed their difficulty with selecting a new site publically, *“We looked at going North from our site, we were already North. Then thought it'd be too remote. Then (we looked) central but it looked like it would be a similar (regional) council that we dealt with” (Kobza & Lee, 2013).* This indicates that festival organizers, especially after their previous experience, are conscious of the need to build legitimacy with local officials.

Growing EDM used the following criteria for their new location, *We selected the new site after first exhausting all local options and after visiting many different areas of the province to find a home that fulfilled our criteria: 1. Within 5 hours of Vancouver 2. Within 1 hour of a hospital 3. Within 2 hours of a medium size airport 4. Min 150 Acres 5. Water, Flat camping land, shade 6. NATURAL BEAUTY and a unique environment 7. No Neighbours OR a community that WANTS the festival there. 8. Good Roads 9. IT MUST FEEL GOOD (Growing EDM).* Notably, these criteria indicate interest in developing pragmatic legitimacy with attendees (geographic proximity to population), as well as normative considerations of neighbours and local stakeholders.

These observations lead us to the following proposition:

P16: Initial site selection may be insufficient for Growth stage needs, festivals will select new sites strategically to achieve legitimacy

The overall observations indicate the following proposition about the Growth stage of festivals:

P17: Developing festivals are primarily focussed on growing attendance and revenues while keeping local opposition passive or supportive.

Having covered the Growth/Development Stage, next the thesis discusses the findings on the Maturity and Decline Stages.

Maturity/ Decline Stage

Focus and Challenges of Legitimacy

As mentioned earlier, the researcher organized the findings to correspond to the life cycle stages, as this was the part focus of the analysis. Due to the data-set, the researcher combined the decline stage and attempt at revival into the maturity stage. Only one case, Declining Cultural, can be characterized as, in decline.

In the mature phase, the organization may have plateaued in attendance due to site restrictions, or resource availability. This situation is different than when encountered in the growth phase by Boonstock and Growing EDM, because the festival isn't under significant threat of losing legitimacy, compromising its values and identity or changing its operations. Mature Country is at this stage, *We've maxed out our site, we have an amphitheatre and two upper stages and those stages run full time, the main show is packed at night, we've added camping 4 times now, everything is pretty much maxed out... we've sold out first day pretty much 4 years in a row.....Well we could sell more tickets, but we are 200 miles from a major centre, and we max out our volunteers and the amount of resources the community can offer us (Mature Country).*

In maturity, building legitimacy is no longer a focus, and maintaining and repairing legitimacy become much more important. The festival has developed a reputation for fulfilled commitments with resource holders and displayed responsible enough behaviour, perhaps learned over time. It has a degree of normative legitimacy with the local community.

The festival faces little threat from local opposition to the festival or failure to meet regulatory legitimacy, and has established stable relationships and structures for managing legitimacy with audiences. Threats that can come from adverse incidents can be mitigated and repaired with

appeals to a record of successful performances. Mature festivals may develop institutional status and be considered by many stakeholders as an important part of the community, and become taken for granted. However, “taken-for-grantedness” (Suchman, 1995), may threaten the long-term survival of the organization if it pushes supporters into passive acquiescence.

Changing demographics and competition from other festivals may result in a relative loss of pragmatic legitimacy for attendees, causing them to look for alternative experiences. Innovation will likely play a role in maintaining pragmatic legitimacy and adapting new conceptions of identity. However, innovating outside the scope can cause problems with legitimacy and threaten future resource acquisition potential. Additionally, festivals have the opportunity to diffuse new structures as they grow, developing ideas that were conceived in the earlier stages due to more slack resources available.

However, if the festival is facing a decline, they may need to build legitimacy with new constituencies or repair their legitimacy with existing ones to launch a revival. They also face threats with succession planning as original members depart. The loss of critical staff/organizers with personal legitimacy and tacit knowledge may threaten the organizations ability to maintain legitimacy, especially if this legitimacy was of a personal nature (personal legitimacy).

Increased bureaucratization helps succession and internal legitimacy in the maturity phase.

The following proposition is implied by the above:

P18: Mature festivals focus on institutionalizing, innovation, and maintaining internal legitimacy to avoid decline.

Institutionalizing

The festival becomes a source of legitimacy for the community when mature festivals develop “taken-for-grantedness” and comprehensibility. Popularization involves promoting comprehensibility by explicating new cultural formulations; while standardization describes promoting taken-for-grantedness by encouraging isomorphism (Suchman, 1995). Over time, organizations are able to convey comprehensibility and taken-for-grantedness (Suchman, 1995). This can lead to the organization becoming institutionalized, as the local stakeholders become dependent on the organization, thus conveying a cognitively comprehensible reason for its existence. Over time the festival may become taken-for-granted, and seen as necessary or at least valued for its overall contribution to the well-being of the community. *The town, the festival, and the society are all wrapped up in a common social and economic development project. People wear different hats... the festival and the town are very intertwined (Growing Farming).*

Mature festivals can develop institutional status and become pillars of the community. Both Mature EDM and Mature Country have local theatres bearing their names. The “simple prevalence of a form tends to give it legitimacy” (Freeman, 1982, p.132), and over time, organizations are able to convey comprehensibility and taken-for-grantedness (Suchman, 1995). Festivals who survive and manage to build high levels of legitimacy may eventually become the standard by which other festivals are judged, a concept described in Suchman (1995) and explained earlier. For example, *Then 10 years later other people will want to start a festival and they (media and potential attendees) will be it won't be like Mature Country, Mature Country's got everything under control. You know in the free press they start mentioning us an example (in comparison of new festivals to Mature Country) and then you know that we are the model (Mature Country).*

The festivals that follow triple bottom line goals of social, economic development and environmental sustainability with the community in mind, as well consistent communications/signals of legitimacy will build legitimacy with them and may become a central feature of the region or community. This will increase their survival through taken-for-grantedness, as the community stakeholders see that they are more or less depending on the festival for economic and social benefits. This should also increase their ability to acquire resources as their overall legitimacy increases.

P19: Mature festivals that develop high levels of legitimacy can become institutionalized.

Sustained Relationships and Normative Association

For the most part, scholars depict the task of maintaining legitimacy as easier than gaining initial legitimacy (Suchman, 1995). Moreover, as maturity sets in, legitimation activities become increasingly routinized (Suchman, 1995). The following quote from Mature Country depicts this assertion during maturity. *Everything is in the contract book. We have probably 50 service providers, and usually about 50 bands, and 50 concession people, and 30-40 sponsors. We fill up our ring binders with all of these contracts in the off season. Then we execute and do it all over again (Mature Country).*

These sustained relationships and the mature festival's acquired legitimacy allows it to obtain practical benefits in resource acquisition. *It allows us to get some funds up front and we could use it for that, but we don't need to. The usual deal is 50% down on signatures and 50% 30 days out but once you get a working relationship it tends to be more loopy goosey, sometimes they don't even sign it and send it back, or they don't even ask for us a deposit and we pay the whole*

thing (Mature Country). An interesting implication is that contracts and relationships may become less formalized over time.

This quote from the Mature EDM contact expresses the idea that in the mature stage, festivals have built sustained relationships, rather than the Maturity stage merely be obtained by survival.

Maturity is not based on years. It's based on a lot of other aspects. The development of relationships, not necessarily its age (Mature EDM). Part of this legitimacy from relationships may have to do with common pragmatic or other benefit—by other organizations becoming dependent on the festival, the festival sustains legitimacy. *Over a period of years we built a relationship with them...The government makes more money off of booze at the festival than we do. Plus the liquor commission is a sponsor. So that's not an issue."* (Mature Country)

Thus a focus of legitimation strategies in maturity is the maintenance of many of these key relationships with authorities, politicians, community groups, and yearly attendees, among others. This legitimacy is found to be somewhat durable for festivals, and can help the festival overcome resource shortfalls, at least temporarily. However this acquired legitimacy does not guarantee survival, and pragmatic commitments need to be upheld for the festival to be sustainable. *In theory things work out by building relationships over time. But there are festivals that have gone under, like that one in BC that went tits up twice and they stiffed one of the big names from the US and some bands even came back to play the next year (Mature Country).*

Mature Country uses volunteer groups from local NGOs exclusively. In addition to having a stable resource pool and simplicity of communication, the groups can build a continuing stable, mutually beneficial arrangement. Rather than having to spend time and resources recruiting individuals, the festival makes fewer connections, and thus expends less searching time, and the

partnering NGO must find out. *Many of the things we do, we pay community groups to do. We pay the lions club to hand over liquor tokens. And the air cadets there's a whole crew of them and their families that come up. We have them working at an on-going recycling depot...And then their directors work with our people and coordinate. And they do this year after year (Mature Country).*

Hiring individual volunteers also has a potential to create lasting individual legitimacy. Perhaps they volunteer multiple years, or else they may volunteer one year and become lifetime attendees and ambassadors of goodwill for the organization. Mature EDM, Growing EDM and Growing Farming follow this model.

Moreover, utilizing volunteers organized by NGOs also signals and builds legitimacy with other stakeholders. The intention of this strategy is that the organization is viewed as giving back to the community by supporting local charities. If regulators, authorities, or media sought to infringe on the festival, these groups may be called upon in their defence. Over time these local organizations may become dependent on the festival to fund their groups.

P20a: Hiring local charities as volunteers may push potential opposition for the festival into passive acquiescence at the same time as building durable support.

P20b: Mature Festivals will maintain legitimacy through normative associations

Changes in Legitimacy with Attendees and Stakeholders

There is evidence indicating that festival organizations will engage in more strategic manipulation and selection in the maturity phase from the cases. With reliable attendance they may engage in efforts to manipulate the constituencies who attend, selecting those groups who

most exhibit their values, rather than seeking to conform to the values of any and all potential attendee stakeholders. For example, one of the manipulation strategies organizers of Mature EDM are looking at implementing in the future is memberships. Scalpers are buying bulk tickets and re-selling them, and this constrains the festival's control over attendees. *If we do a membership where everyone is a citizen of ^\$%# we feel we might have less of these people who come just for the sake of the party and not for the sake of participating in the community (Mature EDM).*

As the festival has acquired a significant amount of legitimacy by this stage, it may engage in more proactive manipulation of attendee values and tastes. In the past, organizers may have lacked the requisite legitimacy, knowledge, or other resources to take such actions. *In the future, we discussed this internally. We want to increase client participation in our roots music offerings. Expand their musical horizons...we have a festival app this year to see the program and check out the bands YouTube. Because most of the patrons don't know the music, so we want to develop a music appreciation (Mature Country).*

Mature Country also sought ways to manipulate their programming contracts in order to advance their promotional goals. Finding innovative ways to solve problems in order to promote programming and thus build pragmatic legitimacy with potential attendees. *So one of our headliners is doing our festival and another venue nearby a few months earlier. So those organizers are upset. So we had to cut a deal where we couldn't advertise in the other city she was playing. Which is bizarre, because we can run all the social media we want. But we did a press conference and her picture took up a quarter of the local paper anyway and all the radio announcers. We don't buy ads but the radio will play a song and say she's coming to our festival (Mature Country).*

P21: With a larger base of resources and legitimacy, festivals in maturity are more likely to attempt to manipulate audiences.

Routines and Professional Structures

Festivals will use professional organized structures at the festival to legitimate with attendees and external decision makers and the community. Symbolic codified policies convey legitimacy to external stakeholders, whether or not the policies are actually effective (Zott & Huy, 2007).

Taking action on safety shows conformance with normative values. Mature EDM makes symbolic use of its safety procedures, publicizing them on its website. Mature EDM and Growing EDM try to build a greater sense of community through harm reduction approaches to drugs and safety. *You can't control everything that happens. But you need to be diligent in what you do (Mature EDM).*

In response to adverse events, festivals use normalizing accounts to mitigate the potential threats to legitimacy and signal conformance with prevailing models and norms in a strategic way. At Mature EDM, a security guard unintentionally consumed drugs allegedly passed surreptitiously to the individual in a sealed water bottle. In response to this incident, Mature EDM's social media person responded, *No one should be unknowingly drugged... As someone who's been going for 11 years, the love is constantly present. This incident is in no way representative of the overall Mature EDM crowd (Mature EDM).* Threats that can come from adverse incidents can be mitigated and repaired with appeals to a record of successful performances, routines, and sustained relationships.

Mature Country has apparently achieved a threshold level of legitimacy and is now fine-tuning its legitimization strategies. *As far as operating the festival things aren't an issue. It's just little*

niggling things (Mature Country). However, contrary to general theoretical findings (Suchman, 1995) mature festivals with high levels of local legitimacy may not necessarily routinize procedures for all aspects of legitimation. Our community involvement is sort of ad hoc. Our involvement with a theatre was a partnership we thought we'd jump on. I think we need to do a better job with having a community relations program, but we do a lot. We do lots of it, but we want more of a sustained program in that respect (Mature Country).

The following proposition was generated from these observations:

P22: Festivals in Mature stages will tend to develop routines and professional structures, which will enhance their legitimacy. However, they may not develop routines for every legitimating function they perform.

Changing with the Times and Maintaining Legitimacy

Several of the cases identified the importance of conforming to the tastes and values of changing demographics. *Festivals that are around will move with cultural forces (Mature EDM). This can also lead to threats when the demographics change and the original constituency with common values is being over taken. Furthermore, conforming to different audiences may cause conflict, and bring the organization outside of its core values. What we're finding is that this mainstreaming of electronic events is also mainstreaming the attendees that are coming and with that you are getting club bar stars and this whole un-Mature EDM element coming into the show which has caused some problems for us this year (Mature EDM).*

Challenging issues with conformance strategies are evident with attendees and other stakeholders, such as artists. *Say there are certain aspects associated with certain bands and the followers they bring with them. Social implications. So then you need to make sure you have*

structures in place to handle that (Mature EDM). This respondent emphasized how selection and conformance strategies blend for choosing talent, as a misstep may offend the normative values of the target attendees. *“As a family orientated festival, are you going to have a group on stage that isn’t with your values? So it always comes back to who you are...what did you expect when you have someone delivering a message outside you values?”* (Mature EDM) The researcher concurred with past scholarship on organizations and stakeholders (Suchman, 1995) that legitimacy with attendees is highly influenced by a sense of belonging and identity alignment with the festival.

Actions can also be taken with attempts to gauge the level of legitimacy via conformance and other strategies with local stakeholders, especially when the festival is established and has disposable or slack resources to perform these tasks. Surveys can be deployed to this task, and have been utilized by both Mature EDM and Mature Country. *It was great to hear the community is willing to work with us closer on a tourism and destination management platform...It sounds like many businesses and organizations want to develop better partnerships, but there is still a segment of the population that thinks something should be done about Mature EDM* (Mature EDM). This passage indicates that rather than allowing legitimacy assessments to become perfunctory and legitimacy of the organization to be assumed in these later stages (suggested by Suchman, 1995), at least some organizations will take proactive steps to re-assess their legitimacy standing in maturity.

Research has stated that in order to perceive emerging pragmatic demands of audiences in maintaining legitimacy, organizations may co-opt audiences into organizational decision making in a meaningful way (Pfeffer, 1981). However, the researcher found in at least one case that obtaining meaningful participation from stakeholders may be challenging. *They never come up*

to the annual meeting (members who loaned money to the organization and who are entitled to attend the AGM). We have something like 1600 members and none come up to the meeting (Mature Country).

The above observations indicate the following:

P23: Festivals in Maturity with an expanded resource-base will attempt to monitor their legitimacy with stakeholders

Innovation and Creation

It is evident from the cases that for mature festivals to sustain their legitimacy and resource plateau, that innovation is necessary. *Innovation and change and creativity need to be introduced. Every festival should introduce innovation at least 25% annually. At least. If not you are going to go out of style pretty fast. And 25% is nothing (Mature EDM).* Despite risks of creeping outside their scope of their resources, entropy is a pervasive element of social systems (Zucker, 1988). Innovation must be attempted to maintain legitimacy with attendees and build legitimacy with new audiences.

In addition to changes in programming, mature festivals will experiment and create new ways to build pragmatic and normative legitimacy with attendees, this may also have practical benefits of increasing revenue from the festivals operations. A clear example of this is mentioned in Mature Country, *The whole economy behind events is up charging people. Whether its VIP or club seats, whatever you can invent to create different categories of income to enhance the patrons experience adds to income (Mature Country).*

However, adding structures that generate revenue for the festival, may bring attendees from outside the festival's values, and eventually threaten its overall legitimacy and move the festival into decline. *In another music festival they have a privately contracted group and they work with a local government board which makes it easier to get a liquor license. They also operate a gambling license too. They get one of their arenas and put 80 VLT machines in and play poker and Roulette and all that. That goes on at the same time as the festival. These people wouldn't know if they were on Mars (Mature Country).*

The researcher also found empirical data supporting Suchman's (1995) claim that organizations must "guard against becoming so enamoured with their own legitimating myths that they lose sight of external developments that might bring those myths into question" (p. 595). *With every failure there is some ego that goes with it. We are great or grand, and they lose themselves. I've experienced where festivals feel the need to do more, and they create a new initiative that's totally different than their values. And they invest in them and resources change (Mature EDM).*

With an amount of material success over the years, the organizers may fall into this common trap and make drastic moves that threaten their legitimacy, and move the festival into the decline stage. *Some festivals what brought them to their success, they start going outside their core or they fail to engage certain stakeholders... Major sponsors may pull out. Say a major tragedy happens. And that initiative crashes, and that now stops the festival from being able to invest (Mature EDM).*

Thus the data strongly implicates moving outside of scope as a major threat to legitimacy, especially in maturity. A finding stated plainly by one respondent, *Festivals that move outside their scope my run into problems... Sometimes when festivals take another road, they put*

something new into product development, but then some patrons lose a sense of what the festival meant to them before (Mature EDM).

These observations on innovation indicate:

P24: Mature festivals will innovate and create new structures to maintain legitimacy, but they must do so within the scope of their established identity or risk losing legitimacy

Unfortunately the researcher was only able to locate one case that qualified as being in a Decline stage. Regardless, the study revealed some interesting data on this stage, which is turned to next.

Decline

Declining Cultural has institutional status due to its age and relevance to the cultural community. However, little has been done to maintain this institutional relevance over time. Community engagement is low in social media and conventional media, as well as community involvement through charity. The festival has relationships built over many years of operation, but is failing to build this with new audiences. This indicates that local stakeholders who were integral in sustaining the venture may become passive in their support and fail to attend or actively promote the festival, a potentially negative aspect of becoming cognitively taken-for-granted. *It's kind of at a standstill and try to attract different people and different crowd. There isn't as many locals coming to the festival anymore. ..We want to bring locals back, advertise more maybe (Declining Cultural).* With Declining Cultural, cognitive legitimacy is high, the festival is taken for granted because of its age. However, demographic shifts and the addition of additional cultural festivals of the same type in other places in Canada have made it difficult to continue to increase attendance. *Other long-running festivals think they may have gone stale. But they haven't gone*

stale. They just failed to connect with the level of satisfaction and sense of belonging of the patrons. The level of engagement has gone stale (Mature, EDM).

The contact from Declining Cultural also communicated to the researcher that the attendance numbers that the president announced on the local radio did not reflect the much lower numbers communicated to board members at later dates. This indicates that either initial estimates of attendance were displaced by more accurate measurements, or intentional obfuscation was practiced, a manipulation strategy.

Some innovation and cross-cultural sharing has been attempted, but innovation attempts are generally low for this organization. The innovation in programming they did attempt fell short and failed to receive acceptance according to the respondent. *All the old-timers didn't get it, they complained to us that it wasn't the place for these performers. (Declining Cultural)* This data confirms other findings by scholars, that attempts to alter entrenched cognitive assumptions of comprehensibility will be met with resistance (Suchman, 1995).

Festivals who perceive an unintentional decline in attendance may be experiencing a number of difficulties with legitimacy. The findings reveal some of these issues. First, the festival itself may still possess the pragmatic and normative attributes to convey legitimacy, but due to technological and demographic changes, they lack the ability to adequately communicate these attributes... *It's not that the festival has gone stale. It's the way that they're signaling has. The way they have connected with their patrons hasn't changed meanwhile we've gone through digital media. So how you engage in how you give patrons a sense of belonging and connection to the festival needs to be developed in re-strategized (Mature EDM).*

The problem surrounding succession and maintaining external legitimacy with audiences were also mentioned in the interviews, *Sometimes maturity or age of festival works against the festival without succession planning and bringing new organizational members in, they lose that ability to engage with stakeholders (Mature EDM).*

Transitions for roles within Declining Cultural are an issue. The festival is having a difficult time finding new people to take on the roles of those who have occupied them for years. *The festival has been around a long time. The people that do the liquor sales have been doing it for 20 years. This can be a problem in the future because they are getting old. Who are you going to find that dedicated (Declining Cultural) ?*

P25a: Festivals in maturity will move into decline if they do not maintain legitimacy with stakeholders

P25b: Succession planning can mitigate issues with legitimacy in maturity

In closing this section, the observations taken as a whole indicate the following propositions:

P26: Mature festivals are focussed on refining their model, repairing legitimacy, and changing their structure to better facilitate normative, cognitive and pragmatic legitimacy of changing demographics

P27: Festivals in Decline may have lost the ability to change with environment and signal legitimacy effectively with stakeholders.

In the next section the thesis turns to the findings on the legitimacy threshold.

Legitimacy Threshold Findings

Zimmerman and Zeitz (2002) state that they ``...freely admit what constitutes a threshold is difficult to identify and probably unique to each venture; nonetheless, we feel that such a phenomenon exists`` (p.428). They add that for some new ventures reaching the threshold may be a key endorsement, or as simple as achieving regulatory legitimacy through formalizing the organization through incorporation (ibid.). Furthermore, Zimmerman and Zeitz (2002) tentatively maintain that the threshold is idiosyncratic to each organization, whereas other scholarship suggests that there may be commonalities within, and general differences between, industries and types of organizations (Rutherford & Buller, 2007).

Zimmerman and Zeitz (2002) also theorize that the threshold concept can be conceived of as dichotomous, presenting as pre-threshold and post-threshold configurations; yet, they maintain, legitimacy is continuous, and can be increased or lost (Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002). This also implies that organizations may be ranked against each other as having higher or lower legitimacy. As the organization builds higher levels of legitimacy it has a greater amount of resources and developed networks to act strategically in its environment. On the other hand, if the organization loses legitimacy it may slip into decline and potentially fall under the threshold, threatening their survival. This theoretical information, combined with the empirical data suggests two potential instances when the legitimacy threshold was reached in the festival context.

The data suggest festivals are likely to experience the threshold for legitimacy whenever they expand their attendance; as major attendance increases can result in a significant change in the impact on local stakeholder's lives. The main survival threshold may have apparently been

reached at an earlier time, but the festival will have to meet the threshold again over the course of its life cycle in order to grow and survive. Due to the episodic and most often annual performances of festivals, they experience this threshold in a punctuated way.

The other option is to settle for lower attendance levels or else significantly conforming the festival to the normative values of local non-attendee stakeholders; these options were both seen as unacceptable for Growing EDM's organizers, thus they decided to move to another location. However, doing so brought them close-to the survival threshold again, because survival in the new location is not certain.

It would also appear that as Declining Cultural loses attendees year over year, from a high of 8000 attendees, down to less than 3500, and faces competing festivals of the same cultural-type in other regions, it may face the survival threshold again. Thus it would appear, as legitimacy can be lost in later stages, the legitimacy threshold is not just an early survival threat as it is generally depicted by Zimmerman and Zeitz (2002) and Rutherford and Buller (2007). Falling below the threshold of survival can occur at any time in a festival's life cycle.

The findings indicate two potential tests of the threshold of legitimacy of a festival organization. The first potential test involves a festival changing location, as mentioned above. If a festival is forced to move site locations or move to a new community (for example due to local opposition), and in turn, is able to re-launch elsewhere, it seems the organization may have reached the survival threshold. This was the case with Growing EDM and Boonstock. However, with Growing EDM having only completed a single performance at the new site, and Boonstock yet to re-launch, whether these festivals have actually passed the threshold is still to be seen. The second test appears to be if the festival fails in its first years to generate sufficient revenue or

funding, and other stakeholders and funders are willing to re-invest in the struggling organization. Re-investment at this early stage of apparent failure, seems to indicate that the festival has established significant legitimacy with critical stakeholders. This situation was experienced by Mature Country.

P28: Due to their episodic nature, the findings suggest festivals are likely to experience the threshold for legitimacy at performances when attendance is increased, until a stable level is reached. This may occur multiple times in the Start-up and Growth stages.

P29: Festivals in Maturity may lose significant legitimacy due to lack of innovation or adaptation and encounter the legitimacy threshold for survival again.

Summary of Propositions

The thesis developed propositions from the synthesis of the life cycle stages model, Zimmerman and Zeitz' model and the empirical data. The following tables summarize the propositions using a method of presenting case comparison data adapted from Christensen and Bower (1996). These tables indicate which cases literally replicated each proposition, and are indicated by an "L". Those cases which support the proposition through being theoretically consistent, but not an exemplar of the proposition are indicated by "T". Those entries left blank indicate that no support for that proposition was identified by the specific case. Note that three of the festivals sampled moved location (those were, Declining Cultural, Boon, Growing EDM). Entries for these cases may be indicated with "2nd location" indicating the proposition pertains to the second location only. Also note that the festivals not currently in the Maturity or Growth stages are not included in those tables. That said, Nascent Blues, while not yet a full-fledged festival, has been

hosted as a small event for a number of years and thus exhibits relevance to some of the propositions of the Growth Stage.

Table VII: Start-up Stage Propositions

Start-up Propositions	MC	DC	MEDM	GF	Boon	GEDM	Pember	NB
P1: Festival organizations starting with professional structures, established reputations and resource bases (which convey legitimacy) can launch a large scale event.	L	L	T	T	L(2nd location)	L(2nd location)	L	T
P2a: Festivals with constrained financial resources will rely on social transactions/resources to start the festival	T	T	L	L	L, T (2nd location)	L, T (2nd location)	T	L
P2b: These festivals will start small in terms of attendance	T	T	L	L	L	L	T	L
P3: Festivals will facilitate legitimacy by articulating identity at the start-up stage.		L	L	L	L	L		L
P4: Festival's that involve the official community groups in initial organizing (normative association) will build higher levels of legitimacy with local stakeholders and acquire resources more effectively	L	L	T	L	T	T; L (2nd location)	L	T
P5a: Festivals will follow an initial site selection strategy that is most advantageous to building legitimacy and thus acquiring resources.	L	L		L	L (2nd location)	L (2nd location)	L	
P5b: If they possess significant beginning resources, they can act more strategically, while those with constrained resources will have fewer selection options.			L	L	L	L	L	L
P6a: New events without formal organization may attempt to manipulate regulations by circumventing regulations	T	T			L	L	T	L
P6b: New festival organizations will attempt to obtain legitimacy by regulatory conformance. If existing regulations do not exist, they will attempt to create them with local authorities	L	L	L	L	L (2nd location)	L	L	
P7: Festivals will use different legitimation strategies for local and non-local stakeholders.	L		L	L	L	L	L	
P8: Festivals will seek endorsements from legitimate entities to coopt their legitimacy	L	L	L	L	L		L	
P9: At start-up festivals are focussed on building initial legitimacy with stakeholders. They do so primarily with selection and conformance.	L	L	L	L	L(2nd location)	L(2nd location)	L	L

Table VIII: Growth/Development Propositions

Growth Stage Propositions	MC	DC	MEDM	GF	Boon	GEDM	NB
P10: Incremental growth and attendance is more sustainable than rapid or exponential growth in the Development/Growth stage with respect to legitimacy	L	L	L	L	T	L	NA
P11: Obtaining legitimacy in a balanced way enhances the festival's long-term survival	L	L	L	L	T	L	NA
P12: While focussing on revenue generation is critical during the Growth Stage, conforming to a common identity or creating a new shared identity can enhance the long-term survival of the festival	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
P13: Festivals can earn legitimacy through deliberate actions such as charitable spending to portray pragmatic and normative benefit to stakeholders	L	L	L	L	T		L
P14: In the Growth phase, festival organizers will join industry associations to gain legitimacy	L	L	L	L	L	L	NA
P15: In the Growth stage, festivals may encounter site capacity, a challenge to legitimacy			L	L	L	L	L
P16: Initial site selection may be insufficient for Growth stage needs, festivals will select new sites to achieve legitimacy if they cannot conform to local stakeholders or resource needs	T	T	T	T	L	L	L
P17: Developing festivals are primarily focussed on growing attendance and revenues while keeping local opposition passive or supportive.	L	L	L	L	T	L	L
P28: Due to their episodic nature, our findings suggest festivals are likely to experience the threshold for legitimacy at performances when attendance is increased, until a stable level is reached. This may occur multiple times in the Start-up and Growth stages.	L		L		L	L	L

Table IX: Mature/Decline Propositions

Mature Stage Propositions	MC	MEDM	DC
P18: Mature festivals focus on institutionalizing, innovation and internal legitimacy to avoid decline.	L	L	T
P19: Mature festivals that develop high levels of legitimacy can become institutionalized.	L	L	L
P20a: Hiring local charities as volunteers may push potential opposition for the festival into passive acquiescence at the same time as building durable support.	L	L	L
P20b: Mature Festivals will maintain legitimacy through normative associations	L	L	L
P21: With a larger base of resources and legitimacy, festivals in maturity are more likely to attempt to manipulate audiences.	L	L	T
P22: Festivals in maturity will tend to develop routines and professional structures, which will enhance their legitimacy. However, they may not develop routines for every legitimating function they perform.	L	L	L
P23: Festival in maturity with an expanded resource-base will attempt to monitor their legitimacy with stakeholders	L	L	T
P24: Mature festivals will innovate and create new structures to maintain legitimacy, but they must do so within the scope of their established identity or risk losing legitimacy	L	L	L
P25a: Festivals in maturity will move into decline if they do not maintain legitimacy with stakeholders	T	T	L
P25b: Succession planning can mitigate issues with legitimacy in maturity	L		T
P26: Mature festivals are focussed on refining their model, repairing legitimacy, and changing their structure to better facilitate normative, cognitive and pragmatic legitimacy of changing demographics	L	L	L
P27: Festivals in decline may have lost the ability to change with environment and signal legitimacy effectively with stakeholders.	T	T	L
P29: Festivals in maturity may lose significant legitimacy due to lack of innovation or adaptation and encounter the legitimacy threshold for survival again	T	T	L

The final chapter summarizes conclusions, the study limitations, and provides suggestions for future research.

Chapter 7: Conclusions and Future Research

Overview

In this chapter, the conclusions and implications from this exploratory study into legitimacy, legitimation strategies and the life cycle of the festival organization are summarized. The thesis then discusses the limits of the findings of this project. The thesis ends with a discussion of potential avenues for future research.

Conclusions and Implications

This thesis focussed on the importance of legitimacy and its related strategies. These strategies have implications for festival resource acquisition. Past research has looked at how organizations build legitimacy as a new venture through sources of legitimacy and strategies (Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002) and how older organizations strategically maintain and repair their legitimacy (Suchman, 1995). This scholarship also emphasizes legitimacy's importance in resource acquisition. Other important work has looked at resource acquisition and organizational challenges from stakeholders at different stages of the venture (Jawahar & McLaughlin, 2001). Based on the organizational and entrepreneurship research, and the empirical findings, the researcher confirms that legitimacy with critical resource holders and audiences are necessary for the growth and survival of festivals. Another contribution of this thesis is in amending the model provided by Zimmerman and Zeitz (2002). Analysis using the legitimacy process model combined with the life cycle concept elucidates the elements of legitimacy and its role in resource acquisition in the festival context. The exploratory findings suggest that the life cycle

stage of a festival will, at least in part, determine the legitimation strategy of the festival. For example, new festivals are concerned with building initial regulatory legitimacy through conformance with laws and regulations; whereas mature festivals, having developed key relationships with stakeholders capable of granting regulatory legitimacy, may focus on manipulating existing rules with lobbying these stakeholders. While not all legitimization strategies will result in resource acquisition, however, initial and subsequent resource acquisition for festivals does depend on obtaining some level of legitimacy. The researcher notes that overall, while building legitimacy with stakeholders is important for all organizations, the influence of local stakeholders and their pragmatic needs (such as economic development), along with the prevailing normative, cognitive, and regulatory structures are much more important with festivals, especially before they reach maturity. The consequences of large-scale events tend to impact the day-to-day lives of these stakeholders in much more episodic and profound ways, and have the potential for invoking a significant normative or moral opposition to the organization, akin to the challenges faced by controversial industries like gambling (Reast et al., 2013). The researcher finds that for festivals to acquire resources effectively, legitimacy from a variety of affiliated organizations such as sponsors, the local government, and community stakeholders are required.

This exploratory study represents a partial empirical test of the concepts and model developed by Zimmerman and Zeitz (2002). The researcher has described different types of legitimacy from regulative, normative and industry, cognitive, pragmatic sources, which were defined in the literature and identified in the case analysis. The thesis described the focus of legitimation strategies at different life cycle stages of the festival, and how these foci present differently in

disparate contexts. These general strategies, conformance, selection, manipulation, and creation were defined from existing literature and applied to the festival context.

Life Cycle Stages

Rather than fully re-iterate the main findings from the previous chapter, the thesis will mention briefly the general focus of each of the stages. In general, start-up festivals are concerned with building initial legitimacy with stakeholders, and this is often the most critical time for the survival of the festival. However, festivals started by existing organizations may have an advantage in building legitimacy over inexperienced entrepreneurs, due to the reputation of their organization and people, along with their existing pool of resources (especially financial) and management capability. Similarly, those festivals started for the purpose of local community development, and founded by individuals and organizations with high levels of legitimacy, especially non-profit organizations, may also transfer this legitimacy to a new festival organization. That said, new festival organizations lacking significant experience and financial resources can overcome this deficit with social transactions, especially in the early stages.

Furthermore, developing festivals must balance out creating new legitimacy with different audiences as they grow, while at the same time achieving support from the local community, or at least, passive acquiescence. This is a challenging prospect, as a large increase in attendance, the focus of many festival organizers, may also cause extra strain on local stakeholders, causing them to become opposed to the festival. However, festivals that implement ways of listening to input from multiple key stakeholders, such as government, local emergency services, local suppliers, neighbours, and land holders, through frequent meetings and surveys may be able to better build and maintain legitimacy with these entities.

Mature festivals will focus on maintaining relationships, while at the same time attempting to avoid falling into decline. They attempt to stay legitimate via innovation and adapting to changes in the preferences of attendees. This can be difficult, as significant changes to the programming may also threaten the festival's legitimacy with loyal attendees. Mature festivals have generally developed beneficial relationships with authorities and key stakeholders over time, and the threat to survival from community opposition is low. Their main threat is losing relevance with attendees if they are unable to adapt to change.

The findings indicate a number of factors which may enhance legitimacy, growth, and survival for festivals. First, initially selecting appropriate environments for the festival to conform to, or else moving sites if necessary to maintain legitimacy are salient. Organizations that possess significant beginning financial resources, networks and experience will have a greater ability to select environments. Also festivals that set up structures for facilitating communication with local stakeholders have been indicated as facilitating legitimacy, as were community organizations involved in early planning or as volunteer resource providers. Concentrating on the demands of multiple stakeholder groups, rather than just direct groups such as attendees and performers is important for long-term legitimacy, as was building active support among some groups and passive acquiescence in others. Finally, articulating a unique vision or identity of the festival, and getting beyond merely hiring "A-list" performers (a normative association, or a cognitive source of legitimacy similar to hiring a top manager, see Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002) will differentiate the festival from the competition, and make it difficult to emulate.

Legitimacy Threshold

Previous work has discussed the notion that the legitimacy threshold for survival, or the point at which the survival of an organization is not under threat (Zimmerman and Zeitz, 2002; Rutherford and Buller, 2007). While they indicate that the pre-threshold is one where survival is threatened, this threshold is a subjective, rather than an objective concept. Rutherford and Buller (2007) found that entrepreneurs generally describe the threshold as a subjective “made it” feeling, and more objective indicators of this threshold are still underexplored. In terms of the life cycle, the threshold is most pronounced at transitions during the nascent stage to the growth stages. Attainment of the threshold is accompanied by different resource demands and issues of maintaining legitimacy after the threshold is reached (Rutherford, 2007).

Due to their episodic nature, the findings suggest festivals are likely to experience new thresholds for legitimacy at every performance when attendance is increased, until a stable level is reached, a process that could take many years. The main survival threshold may be reached, but the festival may have to obtain smaller thresholds over the course of its life cycle in order to grow and survive. There are thus potentially multiple thresholds rather than just the single threshold, or else the threshold’s fulfillment requirements change with life cycle stage and situation.

The findings also indicate two potential tests of the threshold of legitimacy of a festival organization. The first appears to be if the festival fails in its first years to “break even”, if other stakeholders and funders are willing to re-invest in a struggling organization, this seems to indicate that the festival has established significant legitimacy with critical stakeholders; this was exhibited by Mature Country. The second test involves a festival changing location. If a festival

is forced to move locations or a community due to local opposition, and in turn, move sites and is able to re-launch, it seems the organization may have reached a threshold. This was the case with Growing EDM and Boonstock, however, with Growing EDM having only completed a single performance at the new site, and Boonstock yet to re-launch, whether these festivals have actually passed the threshold is still to be seen; although there are some indications that they have reached it.

Summary

This thesis is exploratory, yet it does provide empirical confirmation of concepts, models, and propositions developed in the literature on legitimacy and resource acquisition. This study provides support for the legitimacy sources and strategy constructs developed by Suchman (1995) and Zimmerman and Zeitz (2002). However, this thesis does raise the issue of the influence of the life cycle stage on the focus of legitimation strategies for resource acquisition, an addition to Zimmerman and Zeitz' model, and introduces novel propositions from this concept's application to the festival context.

In sum, the thesis argued that legitimacy is an important resource for festivals and events because it can be used to enhance growth and survival. The researcher also argued that the focus and manifestation of these strategies differ depending on the life cycle stage of the festival organization. This area of research can provide value to festival organizers by helping them better understand the role of legitimacy in their venture's growth and survival.

Limitations

This exploratory and qualitative case study, like similar studies, has methodological limits that preclude strong causal statements. Legitimacy is an abstract concept, and thus directly unobservable. It is important to note that the concepts of legitimacy sources and legitimation strategies contained in Suchman (1995) and Zimmerman and Zeitz (2002), while developed theoretically and operationalized in the literature, have not been incorporated into an investigative instrument that has been rigorously tested for reliability and validity. Until this has been completed and applied empirically, findings in this area will remain speculative and difficult to generalize to other populations (Yin, 2009).

Specifically, it is difficult to tease-out when organizations are following a specific legitimation strategy, or whether legitimacy is derived from a specific source. For instance, a strategy for obtaining legitimacy via conforming to the pragmatic and normative demands of attendees from outside the local community, may at the same time be an attempt to manipulate the norms of local stakeholders (for instance, what they will tolerate in terms of noise levels and traffic disturbances).

Similarly, when the festival organization signs an “A-list” performer, this can be viewed alternatively as a normative endorsement, a normative association, and a way of obtaining legitimacy from cognitive sources (similar to hiring top-managers with respected credentials, see Zimmerman & Zeitz, 2002). Thus a common challenge when utilizing a conceptual model that has not yet been employed directly in empirical study is that there are difficulties in ascertaining whether a concept belongs in one category or another, an issue of construct validity. Thus the researcher relied on operational definitions from peer-reviewed scholarship and inter-coder

comparisons when categorizing the results to combat these issues. Unfortunately, this only mitigates the problem. To add further rigour, multiple coders could have been used, but were unavailable due to research resource limits.

Also important, the study has a survivor bias in that the research did not investigate failed festivals, although these organizers may very well source their failure in issues related to inadequate levels of legitimacy with stakeholders. Efforts were made to draw data from a variety of cases, of varying sizes and from different geographic regions to obtain a representative sample. The question of whether the claims of this paper can be generalized to all festivals or other organizations in the US or other countries outside Canada naturally arises. Due to the inductive exploratory method, and without cross-country comparisons, the thesis makes no such claims of perfect generalizability to these contexts, although future comparative study of legitimacy in festivals should include different countries. As mentioned, some comparative work across countries with stakeholder and ownership comparisons have been conducted (Andersson, Getz, 2007a; Andersson and Getz, 2009), and would be valuable to include in future study.

While the sample did compare different types of festival start-ups, it did not include any festivals started by government initiatives, those with free admission, or those in urban areas. It is likely that these types of festivals will have different approaches and challenges to obtaining resources through legitimation strategies than the cases sampled. Thus, the representativeness of the sample is a potential issue.

Within the case study design, a serious limitation of the findings was the reliance on a single subject interview to develop the case study. Perhaps different organizing members will have different perspectives on legitimacy, and inter-respondent reliability checks for those

representing the same organization could be utilized in the future. Also, one of the respondents preferred to respond in written medium, and only two interviews were completed in person, the rest over the phone, which brings up issues of reliability and also common-method variance/bias.

The researcher was also forced to use secondary data sources to round out the cases and investigate legitimacy and resource acquisition more thoroughly. Two of the cases did not respond to interview requests, but their circumstances were particularly interesting, and they were included to add richness to the overall data. Relying on secondary data in this way leaves the study open to criticisms of method bias and lack of standardized data collection. However, due to the exploratory goals, this issue is excusable as the researcher was attempting to generate as much information about legitimacy and resource acquisition over as many instances as practical.

The sample was derived from three provinces in Canada, and geographic and over-arching normative value systems, laws, economic conditions and cognitive models may constrain the generalizability of the results. The festival industries of the UK and US are much more developed than Canada's in terms of volume and history of public events and corresponding regulations and networks. In these developed contexts, there may be a more established regulatory and normative value system for festivals, thus preventing a festival from easily obtaining regulatory legitimacy through sustained relationships. Other locations may have more advanced supplier network hubs, dedicated toward assisting the logistics of start-up and growing festivals, increasing efficiency in finding endorsements and associations with legitimate entities.

Future Research

For future scholarship, network analysis holds considerable potential for examining festivals within their policy, stakeholder and community environments. Cultural entrepreneurship research (Lounsbury & Glynn, 2001) on the founders of festivals must be considered a priority for the future, as this theme links directly to organizational identity, strategy, success and failure factors, and stakeholder management and has unique possibilities for insight on legitimacy and resource acquisition. Also, to what degree that festival organizers are aware they are following a specific strategy is a topic for further study. For example, are organizers aware if they have implemented a conformance strategy vs a manipulation strategy, or both contemporaneously?

Also, academics know very little about social and private entrepreneurship in festivals although some of their potential relative strengths and weaknesses were. The researcher observed that most of the festival organizers took a collaborative rather than competitive approach to other organizations and even other festivals, regardless of their organizational purpose. Further study of this phenomenon seems warranted. Also, the influence of festival founders and their purposes on organizational identity is a related question, as the core values in festivals may have important differences and similarities and bound to yield interesting findings on legitimacy. This theme links directly to strategies for legitimacy and resources, success and failure factors, and stakeholder management.

Evaluations of the effectiveness or efficiency of event operations and return on investment measures are also a fertile area for future work. In addition, the financing of festivals remains largely underdeveloped as a research topic. Moreover, the total economic impact of festivals in Canada, in terms of GDP and job creation, for instance, have yet to be adequately estimated.

Other topics of health, safety, law, crowding and security are major concerns to all event managers, and only a few research articles have been published (Earl, 2008; Mowen et al., 2003). This line of inquiry should also yield interesting findings in legitimacy and resource management including acquisition of resources.

The study also found that little is known about the role of charismatic leaders in festivals and events, and how this may impact resource acquisition processes and legitimacy, although the study touched on this issue somewhat. It would be intriguing to study how much one individual in control of acquiring resources can impact the process and eventually the festival's future success, or to what degree the organizing team and professional structures are more important (see, for instance, Nadler & Tushman, 1994).

Based on the findings and the existing scholarly work on legitimacy, it is advisable that future research focus on instruments to quantitatively assess legitimacy. Proxy measures such as amount of external funding and number of funders, stable attendance numbers over a period of time (or sustained growth in attendance), the number of repeat attendees over the years, and number of awards and accreditations by industry associations may hold promise. These proxies can then be used as benchmarks to rank and compare festivals on legitimacy. The general and idiosyncratic legitimation strategies used by festivals may then be compared qualitatively, and best practices and models can be emulated by other organizations aspiring to higher legitimacy.

Other qualitative case-study work has looked at the perceived legitimacy threshold of businesses in other industries (Rutherford & Buller, 2007). Building on this research and the current thesis, further future research may also investigate the legitimacy threshold for festivals specifically.

Proxy measures that can be used to measure if the festival has attained the threshold can also be developed.

In the future it would be interesting to look at the different legitimation strategies used by festivals for individual stakeholders. While stakeholder theory was mentioned briefly in this thesis, a full analysis of festival stakeholders and the unique strategies to obtain legitimacy with each of these groups should be conducted. Also, uncovering which strategies and tactics are best suited to obtaining active support vs. passive acquiescence is also a fruitful area for future research.

Also, comparing festivals across countries will also be interesting to reveal differences in legitimation strategies. Given the findings on the life cycle and the threshold of legitimacy for survival, how these strategies evolve over time, and how festivals in different country contexts experience the threshold, would also be of interest.

Finally, the study has touched on how festivals diffuse new norms and models (for instance, local food initiatives), but a study specifically focussed on this process is warranted. Festivals have the potential for introducing new and experimental technologies; novel forms of music, art and media; as well as social movements, as in the case of Woodstock, 1969. How these ideas are introduced at a festival, for what purpose, the strategies festivals use to diffuse these ideas, and the impact they have on stakeholders are interesting topics.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: TABLE X: Strategy x Definition x Examples x Example Quotes

Strategy	Definition	Examples	Example Quotes
Conformance	Involves following the rules of the social structure without change including regulations, values, beliefs, and models	Complying with regulations; Conforming to local values on noise disturbances; Conforming to expectations of safety	<p>if they don't know you, they're sort of by the book.-MC</p> <p>The festival builds relationships with the towns local organizations and neighbours so there is always a consensus with everyone-GF</p> <p>The town, the festival, and the society are all wrapped up in a common social and economic development project. People wear different hats the guy setting up the site...the festival and the town are very intertwined.-GF</p> <p>I think engagement. engagement of patrons, engagement of suppliers, all the different levels of stakeholders. .. And that every level of stakeholder has different needs and expectations to satisfy that engagement.-MEDM</p> <p>Festivals that are around will move with cultural forces. -MEDM</p> <p><i>You need to open up a way of listening. You still may agree to disagree. But by listening there may be something you can do to offset that-MEDM</i></p> <p>“Understanding what motivates the patrons or what gives him that sense of belonging. What makes them want to be connected to that festival is really critical or key.”-MEDM</p> <p><i>Residents around the ----- site actually banded together to make changes to the area’s zoning, limiting traffic and capping acceptable decibel levels. Had we wished to stay in our original location, we would have had to change our scheduling, cut attendance and turn the music down drastically. Growing EDM would not have been the same experience.-GEDM</i></p> <p>We seem to get treated better than other festivals because we are not for profit-MC</p> <p><i>We are committed to complete transparency. Growing EDM makes every effort to introduce ourselves to the community and to open lines of communication. Growing</i></p>

			<i>EDM is committed to hiring locally, integrating local artists into the festival, and connecting with the local first nation bands.-GEDM</i>
Selection	Selection involves locating in a favorable environment or choosing particular audiences	Selecting where to locate a festival with favorable regulations, similar values, or region dependent on tourism; Selecting advantageous resource holders and audiences	<p>If they go over to a new site they may lose patrons because they don't want to travel to the new venue. They may be going to the old site because of the land and the experience that they had there.-GEDM</p> <p>We work with the local media and first nation's bands to let locals know about the opportunities to get involved as an artist, staff member, supplier, or volunteer. Our marketing locally is directed towards including local people in the festival rather than selling tickets. -GEDM</p> <p>There are 200 private residences within a 5-kilometer radius of the Squamish site and the sound and road traffic associated with our festival was having a negative impact on people in the neighbourhood. People's living rooms were vibrating, rural roads were taking a beating and horses and livestock were spooked. We were being bad neighbours.-GEDM</p> <p>"We selected the new site after first exhausting all local options and after visiting many different areas of the province to find a home that fulfilled our criteria:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Within 5 hours of Vancouver 2. Within 1 hour of a hospital 3. Within 2 hours of a medium size airport 4. Min 150 Acres 5. Water, Flat camping land, shade 6. NATURAL BEAUTY and a unique environment 7. No Neighbours OR a community that WANTS the festival there. 8. Good Roads 9. IT MUST FEEL GOOD.-GEDM <p>we looked at going north from our site, we were already north. then thought it'd be too remote, then central but it looked like it would be a similar (regional) council that we dealt with.-Boon</p> <p>We moved because the residents were applying for zoning to regulate our sound output and limit the festival to shut off the stages at midnight. That wouldn't work for the 24/hour festival programming that we are committed to.-GEDM</p> <p>As a family orientated festival, are you going to have a group on stage that isn't with your values? So it always comes back to who you are... what did you expect when you have someone delivering a message outside you values?-MEDM</p>
Manipulation	Manipulation involves changing a prior practice in terms of regulations, norms and values, relationships, or	Changing expectations about information	<i>We've had one complaint about people walking on lawns. So we just put up more signage. Then someone (from the festival) went to talk to them and smoothed things over with that family.-GF</i>

	models in the environment	release or site procedures; Lobbying for changes in existing regulations; Making influential stakeholders dependent on the organization; coopting and seeking endorsements; advertising	<p>I told him that on his website it says it is supported by the City of Penticton and I said to get that off the website because it is not supported by the city. He agreed to remove that (in response to Boonstock attempt to coopt endorsement from the mayor where none was freely given)-Boon</p> <p><i>Lots of festivals will say, you know one of the threats is new by-laws and changes and you we are regulated. Well come on, play a leadership role. Emerging festivals should be ...hey, if you don't they will dictate to you what the laws are. So you play a leadership role.-MEDM</i></p> <p>Look its bringing money to the community and we want the community to be safe. We believe we are taking a leadership role, why not do it this way then wait 10 years and they (regulators) are imposing this and that on us...you know you can take a reactive or a proactive role-MEDM</p> <p><i>I've had festivals that have agreed to pay property taxes of neighbours in certain areas. I mean what gesture is going to make a difference?. -MEDM</i></p> <p><i>...we have a festival app this year to see the program and check out the bands YouTube. Because most of the patrons don't know the music, so we want to develop a music appreciation.-MC</i></p> <p>We want to increase client participation in our roots music offerings. Expand their musical horizons-MC</p> <p><i>So one of our headliners is doing our festival and another venue nearby a few months earlier. So those organizers are upset. So we had to cut a deal where we couldn't advertise in &^&%&^ . Which is bizarre, because we can run all the social media we want. But we did a press conference and her picture took up a quarter of the local paper anyway and all the radio announcers. We don't buy ads but the radio will play a song and say she's coming to our festival.-MC</i></p> <p>It was one of those things where we had options to roll out earlier but the lineup wasn't going to be as good as this...Even though we missed the deadline, I felt that what was more important than the deadline was putting together an amazing bill...there will be more announcements ahead.-Pember</p> <p>To alleviate traffic snarls, people will be able to camp as early as the Wednesday night. Further, there will be no on-site parking for day-pass holders, who will have to park in Whistler and use a shuttle service. (changing a prior practice)-Pember</p>
Creation	Creation involves creating new social context- rules, values, economic/social/sustainability	Creating new practices, models, regulations	<p>Festivals should take that step and formulate the by-law. Be the leader-MEDM</p> <p><i>Play a leadership role. Bring the authorities together to a</i></p>

	<p>models, especially with regions without a prior festival</p>	<p>and ideas; creating a new local industry that is supported by the festival; Creating a new shared value system or Identity associated with the festival</p>	<p><i>committee that will work to support that festivals development. The police, the fire, the ambulance, transportation, etc. bring them all together to talk about the festival. They need to get outside just the relationships with patrons and suppliers and partners and sponsors. (create a new communication framework)-MEDM</i></p> <p>The restaurant is really important as a meeting place...It's a non-profit with shares. So they need the festival to keep the restaurant going all the rest of the year (creating a new way to support a community restaurant the festival organizers contributed to building).-GF</p> <p>They built different things. The society built an interpretative trail. And a bridge with a viewing platform. And the restaurant which is ...they took apart a barn and made that. -GF</p> <p>People are seeing it as part of their identity now. People would say the town is known for it. And they are proud of it. There's some great music that happens. Its part of the identity. -GF</p> <p>Message to Artists: We encourage people to play what ever they want, to step outside the box a little...we aren't genre specific. Get weird, get stupid, get left field experimental avant garde, forget the real world (Mature EDM encouraging new forms of music to emerge)-MEDM</p> <p>That's what I find for differentiation factor for a number of festivals. That sense of belonging, a unique experience. Then those are the ones that usually have a stronger patron base.-MEDM</p> <p>There's one festival out in Ontario that runs two weekends, Rock one weekend and then country the next..this lets them meet a wider amount of patrons (new models for festivals)-MC</p> <p>We custom make our sponsorship packages. Getting a contract to sell beer is a lot different than someone selling skidoos (creating new models for practices)-MC</p> <p>If the community has experience with festivals, and there are many festivals located there, the city, like in Ottawa, may develop structures and procedures to facilitate the consultation process between festivals and authorities and other stakeholders (creating official hubs to support festivals)-MEDM</p> <p>It's like building a culture. Right and some are more defined... -MEDM</p>
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Appendix II: TABLE XI: Source of Legitimacy X Definition X Example Quotes

Source	Definition	Quotes
Regulatory	in line with laws and rules and transaction structures of government, associations, and powerful organizations	<p>“if they don't know you, they're sort of by the book.”-MC</p> <p><i>Ebbers said he grudgingly put up with similar incidents in the past. But this year, he claimed, two festival-goers broke into a home where a mother and her three children live...-Boon</i></p> <p><i>But it's the trash, trespassing and vandalism that irks Ron Ebbers, who owns the property next to the Boonstock site. He said this year, garbage was thrown onto his property and one of his gates smashed by a pickup truck.-Boon</i></p> <p><i>Lots of festivals will say, you know one of the threats is new by-laws and changes and you we are regulated. Well come on, play a leadership role. -MEDM</i></p> <p><i>After the festival, we request follow up meetings with each of the authorities involved in permitting or regulating the health and safety of the event. This is where we really listen for feedback and work together to create better solutions for the following year.-GEDM</i></p> <p><i>“Regulations haven't changed much over the years. In those cases in the US they have these regulations and criteria you have to meet and so on. In our case we started before any of that. We started and the county didn't even insist on building permits.—MC</i></p> <p><i>Where we get caught up in regulations is our liquor license so that's an issue, we have to satisfy them, but they don't have any written rules and kind of make it as they go along too. Over a period of years we built a relationship with them...The government makes more money off of booze at the festival then we do. Plus the liquor commission is a sponsor. So that's not an issue.”—MC</i></p> <p><i>“Residents around the ----- site actually banded together to make changes to the area's zoning, limiting traffic and capping acceptable decibel levels. -GEDM</i></p> <p><i>In the 2nd year we were talking about applying for permits and having things in place to stop drinking and driving... but the founder was so disheartened by that line of questions...so that never happened 1, 2, or 3rd year. We didn't serve or sell alcohol thou...there was thought put into it, and it was in a heavily populated area, and we played till 4am, but no neighbours complained...no cops came by..that's something we did we went and talked to the neighbours.... NB</i></p> <p><i>Because of regulations we had to do this in the least riskiest way without getting permits-NB</i></p> <p><i>The other is policing. We seem to get treated better than other festivals because</i></p>

		<p>we are not for profit. But the policing issue can be difficult for festivals. -MC</p> <p>We used to give money for RCMP. By the time they were all finished with some shakeup in policy they say now because we are non-profit they don't send us a bill-MC</p>
Normative	<p>— An organization demonstrating that it is appropriate and desirable-by addressing norms and values, such as profitability, fair treatment of employees, endorsements, and networks. It seeks associations and endorsements of ideas and entities</p>	<p>In another festival they have a privately contracted group and they work with a local government board which makes it easier to get a liquor license. They also operate a gambling license too. -MC</p> <p><i>One of the most important things for a festival is what its visions and its values are. Sometimes they don't have that articulated and they need us to facilitate that. Especially with the new festivals. With the well-established twenty-year festival they know that.-MEDM</i></p> <p><i>As a family orientated festival, are you going to have a group on stage that isn't with your values? So it always comes back to who you are... what did you expect when you have someone delivering a message outside you values? -MEDM</i></p> <p><i>We are committed to complete transparency. \$ makes every effort to introduce ourselves to the community and to open lines of communication. \$ is committed to hiring locally, integrating local artists into the festival, and connecting with the local first nation bands.-GEDM</i></p> <p><i>We really encourage people to buy responsibly and to support the town-GF</i></p> <p><i>is about love and community and we felt it wasn't right promoting these values while upsetting locals.-GEDM</i></p> <p><i>We aren't going to be able to do this if it isn't run like a business, and there's no tension at all or question about that from inside...I mean there is some tension in the sense that some people want to do it one way, others another way. There are some who don't care as much about how things cost, but everyone knows if we don't make a bottom line we're sunk.-MC</i></p> <p>We are members of the Canadian fairs and festivals organization, a member of the Canadian country music association we always send people to breakout west. We got to the international buyers conference and then down to Vegas for the festival conference there. We try to learn-MC</p> <p>There are festivals where the community wants them to defray the policing costs. But for some festivals it's a great economic development thing, and they (the tax payers) feel they should be picking up some of the costs.-MC</p>
Cognitive	widely held beliefs and taken-for granted	<p><i>Understanding what motivates the patrons or what gives him that sense of belonging. What makes them want to be connected to that festival is really</i></p>

	<p>assumptions that provide a framework for everyday routines (including identity), as well as the more specialized, explicit and codified knowledge and belief systems promulgated by various professional and scientific bodies</p>	<p><i>critical or key-MEDM</i></p> <p><i>It's like building a culture. Right and some are more defined... The level of connection for somebody going to its board event is their connection for that team or that sport or that brand or that prestige...MEDM</i></p> <p><i>We know what our obligations are and we have excellent directors...everyone involved gets it. We have to have these revenue streams to make our budget or else we won't make it. We shoot for something to put in reserve at the end of each festival. MC</i></p> <p><i>If we do a membership where everyone is a citizen of ^%&^&%, we feel we might have less of these people who come just for the sake of the party and not for the sake of participating in the community.-MEDM</i></p> <p><i>. Because most of the patrons don't know the music, so we want to develop a music appreciation.—MC</i></p> <p><i>You need to set up structures. Festivals need to know what they are about even before they launch-MEDM</i></p> <p><i>All of the agents and managers and organizers are all part of the same organization, the international buyers association...one of our talent buyers won their award, and that just represents the quality of the relationships that he has down in Nashville.-MC</i></p> <p><i>Had we wished to stay in our original location, we would have had to change our scheduling, cut attendance and turn the music down drastically. Growing EDM would not have been the same experience.”-GEDM</i></p> <p><i>They may be going to the old site because of the land and the experience that they had there.-MEDM</i></p>
<p>Pragmatic</p>	<p>Pragmatic legitimacy rests in the self-interested calculations of an organization's most immediate audiences (Suchman, 1995) This includes the calculations of direct exchange partners over instrumental items, but also has implications for more general economic, political, and social interdependencies between the organization and</p>	<p><i>We had to convince people that we had working showers and security without Internet in online social media, but we had to wait people got home and told others-MC</i></p> <p><i>... You may need to give half the admissions away to attract people. -MDM</i></p> <p><i>Kobza also argued that the festival is good for the community, providing jobs and pumping more than \$1 million since its inception into supplies from local businesses and donations to local charities-Boon</i></p> <p><i>They need to have an infrastructure plan for the number of people that are coming in and using toilets. Security and all these...now the festival grows to 6000. And now that road to travel in on its not safe. But now there's greater responsibility to transportation. Or now the lineup for the festival is way out on the highway-MEDM</i></p> <p><i>Why are they moving? Are they moving because their site is at capacity? I would look at the uniqueness of their venue. Is the venue a differentiating characteristic of their festival? If they go over to a new site they may lose patrons because they don't want to travel to the new venue. -MEDM</i></p>

	<p>its audiences (Suchman, 1995).</p>	<p>The expense and cost is one thing. The real thing you have to talk people out of is 4 days of their lives. That's a huge cost. -MC</p> <p><i>I was talking to a venue organizer years ago and he gives us so much credit for keeping our facilities up and he was basically slamming another local festival for not buying any showers or anything like that. And giving us credit for doing that-MC</i></p> <p><i>Year 1 and year two the owner of the site ran the bar. And we looked at that and said this has to stop..we need to have that control. We can't make money unless we do. Now we pay them to operate a single hall.-MC</i></p>
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Appendix III: Framework for Communication

The following is a framework developed by Growing EDM to facilitate the initial and subsequent early stages of a new festival. As a strategy to obtain legitimacy from multiple sources, a general framework of facilitating conformance with non-attendee stakeholders can be developed.

The first step is introducing ourselves and the concept of Bass Coast to the Council, Chamber of Commerce, Art Associations, First Nations Leaders, the District, RCMP, Fire, Hospital, and Forestry representatives. After the first introduction, we strive to involve each of these agencies in our planning process and work with each group to ensure their questions and concerns are addressed.

Once planning has started, we look to local businesses to source building materials and rental services such as toilets, machinery, power, waste removal, fencing, food, etc. We also work with the local chamber of commerce to create a guide on our website to educate attendees about where they can shop and what is available locally. We really encourage people to buy responsibly and to support the town.

Appendix IV: Ethics Protocol and Approach Letter

Ethics Protocol Submission Form

David Remillard May, 2012

Summary of Project

Festivals and events studies are still an emerging field (Getz 2010). Little is known about how festivals acquire the resources they need at various stages of their lifecycles (Getz, 2010). Using inductive qualitative methods, this exploratory study will investigate resource acquisition in the festival context. The intention is to further elucidate this process by investigating and uncovering themes and constructs that may assist in building propositions and a general model of resource acquisition for festivals and events.

Specifically I am interested in how festivals acquire the physical resources (like facilities and cash), intangible resources (like legitimacy and knowledge resources) and human resources they need prior to launching the first event. I am also interested in this process as it changes through time as the festival grows, matures and declines. My research questions have not yet been specifically addressed in the festivals and events literature. Because of this I want to conduct exploratory analysis of these topics. Following (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2002) I will use an inductive qualitative approach, which is suitable to an exploratory approach investigating multiple variables and using different theoretical lenses to explain phenomenon. The revealed themes and constructs will then be analysed and incorporated into individual cases involving different festival types including early stage, growth stage, maturity and decline. The information in the cases will then be compared in the final analysis.

In order to initiate this task, primary data specific to resource acquisition in festivals will be collected. I will utilize interviews as my main research tool. I plan to study multiple rural festivals in an in-depth case study format following the methods and guidance of Brush, Greene, Hart and Haller (2001), and Yin (2002). The potential respondents are current or former representatives of a festival and include the founders, board members, PR, Operations or Marketing managers. Ideally, multiple respondents) from each of the festivals will be contacted and interviewed. Festivals will be selected based on a theoretical sample. Initial contact will be made using publicly available means (telephone book or website) with an introductory e-mail and follow up phone call to the festival organizer will describe the study and ask if the festival is willing to participate in the study.

For festivals that agree to participate, the interview itself will involve open-ended questions that focus on festival resource acquisition. Participants will be asked to meet via Skype, telephone, or in-person to conduct a 1 hour interview. Participants will be given the informed consent letter and any questions about the form will be answered. Interviews will be recorded for subsequent analysis.

Confirmation and disconfirmation of constructs and theories from the literature will be recorded on a spreadsheet and used to develop and gain insight into the process of resource acquisition

and legitimacy in the events context. Multiple lines of questions will be utilized to avoid validity threats.

Research Instruments

Open ended questions in an interview. See attached for proposed interview protocol.

Participants:

Participants in the study will be current or former organizational members of a music or cultural festival. They will be representatives that the festival organization has provided. The number of respondents will be approximately 4-12.

I intend to make initial contact via email through the organization's public relations department. The email might read:

"Dear _____,

My name is David Remillard and I am an MSc student at the University of Manitoba. My thesis is on festivals and events and I was hoping that a representative from your organization could take some time to speak with me.

My research purpose is to explore, through case studies, resource acquisition and legitimacy in the festivals and events context. Scant work has been done to address these concepts specifically in this field to date. The broad research questions are: How do festivals and events successfully acquire resources? How do festivals and events obtain and convey legitimacy, and what constrains or potentiates this?

I would require only about an hour of time in person, via, telephone/Skype. In return, upon completion of my thesis, I will provide you a summary of my findings surrounding festival resource acquisition. Please let me know if you or another organizational member would be willing to help with this project.

Thank you,

David Remillard"

Appendix V: Interview Protocol

Interview Protocol

The following questions serve as a guide for potential questions to be asked during the interview. The flow and direction of responses will dictate which questions are focussed upon, not all questions will necessarily be asked. Not all questions will necessarily apply to you, please try to answer to the best of your ability within the capacity of the role involved.

1. What led to your involvement with the festival? What roles do you perform for the festival?
2. What was the original purpose of the festival? Why was it started? How was the organization formed?
3. What were the primary ways that the festival organizing team convinced stakeholders (investors, musicians, and volunteers) to initially participate? How were initial contacts for resources formed?
4. Did the festival begin in a state of limited resources? How do you view the resource environment for this festival today? Has this environment gone through changes over the years in terms of availability and cost of inputs, talent, licensing, staff, etc.?
5. What type of organizational expansion and investments did the festival make over time (land, buildings, equipment, new staff positions, etc.)? What factors go into determining these resource acquisition decisions? How are these decisions made?
6. Does the organization utilize a lot of formal planning, codified policies and clearly defined roles for obtaining resources? Or, are these roles and functions more often formulated in response to conditions at hand? How are these roles determined and organized?
7. How do you maintain and portray legitimacy with the persons/organizations that you receive resources from? Do you think festivals have more scrutiny from authorities, community, suppliers, and other stakeholders than other organizations?
8. Is the current emphasis on sustainability of the festival or growth? What resource acquisition strategy does the festival have for achieving this?
9. How do you view the festival in the future? (short term/ long term?)

Appendix VI: Informed Consent

Informed Consent



Department of Business Administration

642 Drake Centre

181 Freedman Crescent

Winnipeg, Manitoba

Title of Project:

ENTREPRENUERIAL RESOURCE ACQUISITION AND LEGITIMACY IN FESTIVALS

Researcher: David Remillard

Supervisor: Dr. Nathan Greidanus

This consent form, a copy of which you will receive for your records, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you a basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more information, please feel free to contact the researcher at the email address or phone number provided below. Please take the time to read this carefully.

By selecting "I agree" below, you are consenting to participate in the study "ENTREPRENUERIAL RESOURCE ACQUISITION AND LEGITIMACY IN FESTIVALS" which is being conducted by David Remillard as part of his Master thesis at the University of Manitoba. This study has been approved by the Joint Faculty Research Ethics Board.

Purpose of the Study:

I am conducting research into resource acquisition in festivals. This is an important area of research, as it will add to the body of knowledge surrounding entrepreneurial resource acquisition, legitimacy in nascent organizations and festivals and event management. This research will also lead to practical implications for current and future festival organizers.

What Will I Be Asked To Do?

You have been approached to participate in this research project because of your experience with festivals. Following your reading of this consent form I will conduct an interview with you to capture some of your experiences with starting and managing a festival, particularly factors surrounding acquiring resources to launch festivals. This interview should take no more than **1 hour**.

What Type of Personal Information Will Be Collected?

Should you agree to participate, you will be asked to provide your years of industry experience and the history of the festival you are currently involved with. If acceptable to you, I will record this interview for further analysis at a later time.

Are there Risks or Benefits if I Participate?

To the best of my knowledge there are no foreseeable risks to you if you choose to participate in this research. At the completion of my research I will send you a paper that provides a summary of my analysis of the data collected.

What Happens to the Information I Provide?

The confidentiality and anonymity of your responses will be safeguarded in the following manner.

1. The interviewer and the thesis supervisor will be the only persons who can associate you with your responses.
2. No one except the interviewer and his thesis supervisor will have access to the interview files.
3. The data files will be stored on a USB drive that when not in use will be stored in a locked filing cabinet. This data will be stored for a period of 5 years after the study has been published and then destroyed.

4. Some of your answers may be used as quotations to support the analysis planned. I will expunge the quotes of any word or information that has the potential to identify you before any publication. In the unexpected situation where this is not possible, we will seek your specific written consent before publishing the quote.

My ability to guarantee anonymity and confidentiality will be limited should any legal authorities request access to the data.

Questions/Concerns

If you have any further questions or want clarification regarding this research and/or your participation, please contact: Dave Remillard *****or Dr. Nathan Greidanus *****. If you have any concerns about this study, please contact Laurine Harmon at the Human Ethics Secretariat at the University of Manitoba at *****

By selecting “I agree”, you are indicating that you understand to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate, and that you are over 18 years of age. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from this study at any time and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

I AGREE (continue to interview) I DISAGREE

Deception:

NA

Feedback/Debriefing:

Subjects will be sent a summary of the findings of the study after the analysis is completed.

Risks:

To the best of my knowledge there are no foreseeable risks

Anonymity or Confidentiality:

The confidentiality and anonymity of responses will be safeguarded in the following manner.

1. The interviewer and the thesis supervisor will be the only persons who can associate subjects with their responses.
2. No one except the interviewer and his thesis supervisor will have access to the interview files.
3. The data files will be stored on a USB drive that when not in use will be stored in a locked filing cabinet. This data will be stored for a period of 5 years after the study has been published and then destroyed.
4. Some of the answers may be used as quotations to support the analysis planned. I will expunge the quotes of any word or information that has the potential to identify subjects before any publication. In the unexpected situation where this is not possible, we will seek specific written consent before publishing the quote.

Dissemination

The purpose of this study is for a master's thesis. The results of the study will be published through the University of Manitoba.

References

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