

From Shock to Awe: The Awe of Organisation: How do Community-Based Festivals do Institutional Work?

An action research project based on work with Cape Town based festival organisations.

In partial fulfillment of an MPhil in Inclusive Innovation Studies at the University of Cape Town's Graduate School of Business.

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Abstract

How do community-based festival organisations do institutional work?

This thesis is based on an action research project with festival organisations and festival organising and is interested in key insights and practice models for changing meaning-making, routines, roles and resource flows and effectively doing what scholars of institutional theory call institutional work. The project is located in a central case study, the Muizenberg Festival, where I have played a role as a coordinator, and have co-designed the festival process and platform between 2014 and 2019. It is further bolstered by research with several social-purpose festivals, from local and international case studies. The present socio-economic development discourse and practice prevalent in South Africa, and the developing South more generally, has been bounded and constrained by strategies that fail to address a *milieu* of institutionalised issues. If people cannot exercise agency on underlying institutionalised issues, alternative vehicles for organising in order to do such work are necessary. Festivals exhibit large-scale participation around specific themes in a concentrated time frame. Festivals are known to produce an array of social and economic goods including, amongst others, sense of community and social capital. This study will explore new theoretical perspectives on organisations and institutional work through action research with community-based social-purpose festivals. The study aims to provide cogent theoretical and practical frameworks for the study and practice of festivals as organisations and social phenomena that are pertinent to the study of institutional work, offering a model of development with important learnings for addressing intractable socio-economic issues in innovative ways. The research is embedded with the backdrop of literature that specifically looks at, however not exclusively, institutional theory and festival studies. Three years of action research data, in the form of observation, dialogue interviews, working journals, meeting notes and reports will be used spanning from 2015 until 2017. From this learning, the case will be made for festival organising models as offering new insights for transformative development and provide strategies for deploying tactics of community-based festivals as compelling new approaches to institutional work, from the ground up.

Chapter 1. Introduction

In 2013, I joined a group of entrepreneurs, concerned residents and creative professionals in my hometown of Muizenberg, Cape Town, South Africa. We began the process of arranging a community-based festival that would activate the local economy, enhance social cohesion and nurture a more lively and sustainable Muizenberg. I was motivated and intrigued by the engaging conversations, intentional questions and activities hosted at Alive Cafe, a local creative cafe and venue in Muizenberg Cape Town, during the organising process. I was re-discovering a place I call home, and interacting with many people, organisations, and streams of everyday life that I had, until then, not been party to. The Muizenberg Festival project became a 2014 World Design Capital Cape Town project and as momentum grew in the context of the spotlight on the role of design in Cape Town so did the momentum of the organising committee and project teams that made up the amorphous Muizenberg Festival organisation.

As I became more involved I was asked to play a more formal part-time coordination role in order to organise and implement the vision of Muizenberg Festival as a new self-organised wave of community development projects and events from the ground up that would culminate in a week-long event. The organising committee and I became increasingly intrigued by the effects of festival organising as a means of achieving multiple social objectives. People who were practically neighbours, and who had never met in Muizenberg, were working together, building projects together. Initiatives and projects that had until then only been concepts, became realised during the organising process, and a sense of possibility and opportunity leading to enhanced economic activity and social cohesion became available as the festival's effects were felt - celebrating together and getting to know one another was the precursor and condition for deeper societal transformations and productive organisational interaction and exchange.

Furthermore, I was interested in the nature of festival organisations as vehicles for changing patterned behaviours, form & role traps, and establishing new meanings for civic responsibility and direct citizen engagement with community-led design. We had identified festivals as a powerful organising phenomena, albeit considerably less structured and centralised in structure. I

began to wonder how we could harness the opportunity of festivals and cultural events to build stronger local economies, more cohesive diverse neighborhoods, and activate initiatives from the ground up.

This interest led to my decision to apply and enroll in the MPhil in Inclusive Innovation Studies at the University of Cape Town's Graduate School of Business. My goal was to continue working with the Muizenberg Festival and explore how festivals like these, with socio-economic objectives and emancipatory ambitions, created long-term change in their host communities. I was grateful to be awarded a scholarship from the Bertha Centre for Social Innovation & Entrepreneurship that enabled me to undertake this study. The Bertha Centre also provided the platform of resources and networks with which to explore more broadly the field of social innovation.

This paper is the culmination of the three year action research project regarding the above mentioned Muizenberg Festival; as well as an ongoing investigation into festival organising best practice locally and globally. The project began as an action research project, however, can also be understood as a case study project; incorporating Muizenberg Festival as the primary case study and several analogous festivals as secondary sources.

The objective was to build on institutional/organisational knowledge, as to how festival organising as an organising practice provides us with new strategies and understandings of institutional work - the theory and implications for practice thereof. The project also offered a methodological exploration of participatory methods, and frameworks for doing change process work in complex and emerging organisational and systemic environments.

1.1. Roadmap

I began by outlining the research problem, the purpose underlying this research, pertinent background information and my primary research questions. I then present a comprehensive

literature review of key scholarship that I needed to acquaint myself with in order to dig deeper into the research questions.

As I began to develop a keener understanding of festival literature, as well as the scholarship pertaining to institutional theory, I was able to gain greater clarity regarding the research question - which has developed and been adapted since the beginning of this research project. The review is followed by a methodology section that provides a perspective on the process that was undertaken for this research project - which includes the detailing of the action research cycles as well as the case studies observed and worked with over the course of the project.

Next, I explored the findings of the action research cycles (Muizenberg Festival) by describing seventeen (17) open themes that had become most relevant through the work of the project. I then provided an analysis of these themes that distilled them into three separate core themes that had arisen chronologically mimicking the process of the action research project. I then concluded the findings section by triangulating the core themes with data that was contributed by the analogous case study festival organisations. This will provide an opportunity to build and contrast themes from the primary case with knowledge from analogous cases and test my case-specific preliminary findings with other festival organisations.

After this, I was able to describe the theoretical contributions of the discussion for institutional work, in particular, and agency-oriented institutional theory broadly. Following this are the practical contributions of the project as a whole; demonstrating the contribution of the work for institutional work and festival studies.

This is followed by a description of further research directions and work that can be done on the relationship between festivals and institutional work; and finally the conclusion that provides a broad sense of the impact of the project on its respective fields. The conclusion will circle back to the title of the research project, providing further illustration to its varied uses and meanings:
From Shock to Awe: The Awe of Organisation.

1.2. Research Problem

Pervasive socio-economic inequality, social division and insufficient local economic development present complex challenges to the institutions of state, civil society and the private sector in South Africa. Interventions from policy-makers, non-profit organisers, and the business community have in general had limited efficacy in tackling these intractable issues. This is in part because their efforts are undermined by their own dependence on the prevailing institutional logics and frameworks that are implicit in the root causes of broad issues. Without social cohesion and local economic resilience from the ground up, the strategies that organisations employ are often reactionary and disconnected from the fundamental systemic ingredients of the problems they address.

With that said, instances of economic and social crises enable and awaken latent capacities and extraordinary enterprising, productive and even creative work in organising groups; motivated by the imperative to survive the circumstances of imminent collapse and threatening events that in themselves create the instability and uncertainty that loosens the institutional fabrics; creating conditions whereby rules and routines become malleable. This study sees a need for new organisational models and practice models that take this impasse of our reliance on shock for change.

1.3. Research Purpose

My interest in festivals as organising vehicles for effecting change in our communities had its foundations in a broader recognition, I had held, of the intractable issues and crises faced by our social purpose organisations, spurred on by a curiosity about how to work more effectively towards systematic shifts in our societies. I have always had an interest in how groups of people organise themselves to achieve aims and overcome challenges or realise particular opportunities. Organising, as a phenomenon, is a difficult and even alchemical activity, often encountering ineffectiveness and inefficiency. Organising involves collaboration, communication, decisions about resource, leadership and the institutionalising of the patterns thereof in order to increase

the capacity of organising group and the achievement of the aims; for which the organising is purposed and the organisation is constituted.

Festivals, as organisational phenomena, provide a high energy participatory environment that is suspended from normal materiality of space and time in the sense that there is a temporary ambiguity and opportunity to bring about new customs and/or institutions into performance and into being. This thesis presents festivals as offering valuable insights for organisational models, and more pertinently, practical tools for organisations to enhance agency in institutional work that is transformational. As an organisational phenomenon, festivals are sites of impressive productivity, generativity and creativity showcasing the heights and potentials of human capacities. They often involve large production, coordination and logistic demands depending on the size and scope of the festival space. Festivals are expressions of exemplary production and organisational capacity; towards extraordinary events and periods of time. Festivals provide a celebratory framework of experience and practice whereby institutional work can have a greater effect in a shorter span of time, and on a broader array of participants. This study suggests that festivals can be “*carriers*” of *symbolic systems, relational systems, and routines that serve to disrupt, maintain, or create institutions,*” from the ground up (Scott 1993: 33).

Specifically, this study looks at festivals as unique organisational models that provide the possibility of new practices and understanding with regards to confronting the most challenging problems of our time, on the macro; and the grounded localised needs of the micro. During the project, I have studied and worked with several exemplary festival organisations to investigate their working models, value generating systems and impact on their particular contexts. From the local (Cape Town Carnival and Open Streets), to the regional (AfrikaBurn), to the international (Festivals Edinburgh) - the models that have been studied provided unique findings that provide fresh new understandings of the organising despite various and distinct conditions, and even challenges and confront dominant conceptions and presuppositions of system innovation and institutional work, amongst other scholarly domains.

The research project is the evolution of my understanding and capacity in relation to festival organising, as a practitioner and scholar, and aims to offer a unique contribution to theory and practice of festival organising. Additionally, it aims to provide value in understanding new dimensions of what we refer to as broadly institutional work - by investigating the organisational phenomena of festival events and how they may be able to affect, maintain, disrupt and create institutional fields.

1.4. Research Questions

The work with the Muizenberg Festival, and other regional social purpose festivals, provided further curiosity as to how festivals do affect their institutional environments and have an effect on institutional barriers embedded in cultural norms and organisational logics. This research project was undertaken with the following questions in mind.

1.4.1. Primary Question

Festivals and Institutions

How do community-based festival organisations do institutional work?

1.4.2. Secondary Questions

Festivals as Living Labs and Opportunity Windows for Change

What practice lessons do festivals have as organisational spaces towards systems work and systems entrepreneurship?

What do festivals have to offer as methodologies and petri dishes for new theoretical developments on scholarship and practitioner understanding of institutions; roles, routines and meaning making?

With these questions in mind I began by building a greater understanding of the scholarship and literature concerning festivals and institutions. Specifically, this involved becoming acquainted with literature and studies on festivals from several distinct literary backgrounds. In addition, as I wanted to understand the interplay of institutional work and festivals, I undertook to review institutional theory broadly in the literature review that follows.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

Festival organising processes and events provide a celebratory framework of experience and practice whereby people can enact and perform new roles, routines, meanings and resource allocation; that can have a greater effect in a shorter span of time, and on a broader array of participants in the host environment. This study suggests that community-based festivals can be “*carriers*” of symbolic systems, relational systems, and routines that serve to disrupt, maintain, or create institutions,” from the ground up (Scott 1993: 33).

Festivals can be described and theorised from multiple angles as will become clear in the context of the present literature review. In order to frame the question of festival organisations’ relationship to institutional work; a thorough theoretical description of the scholarly landscape that is involved is necessary; particularly as pertaining to:

- **Institutional Theory**

Institutional theory provides the foundational theoretical framing for this research, which includes organisational studies, institutional logics, and institutional work. The literature canvassed includes the theoretical framework of institutionalism to better understand how organisations do institutional work and create, maintain and disrupt their institutional fields or environments.

- **Festival Studies**

Festivals have received scholarly attention from a range of distinct fields including political science, social anthropology, events and management studies. The literature canvassed explores

the characteristics of festivals as well as the political and social implications that have been associated with festival spaces.

2.1. Theoretical Framework

I explore the literature of institutionalism and festival studies from the social constructivist point of view. The research project and methods that follow are undertaken with the interpretivist research paradigm in mind. Social constructivism puts an importance of interaction with others; and by extension culture and context; in understanding what occurs in society and constructing knowledge based on this understanding (Derry, 1999; McMahon, 1997).

Social constructivists believe that reality is constructed through human activity. Members of a society together invent the properties of the world (Kukla, 2000). For social constructivists, knowledge is a human product, and is constructed through social and cultural interaction and experience (Ernest, 1999; Gredler, 1997; Prat & Floden, 1994). Social constructivists view learning as a social process, in the sense that learning does not take place only within an individual, nor is it a passive development of behaviours that are shaped by external forces (McMahon, 1997).

With this perspective in mind, the current research project is concerned with the impact of festivals on changing patterns of routine behaviour, roles, meaning making and resource flows - proxies for what is referred to in this study as institutional work. The relationship(s) of these phenomena are analysed from the lense of institutional theory both because of the applicability of institutional theory to the field of inquiry as well as the explicit purpose of the research in determining structures and strategies in the primary case organisation that can do institutional work; create and maintain/institute the changes to proxies that the festival space enacts.

It is important to provide an explicit account of the main subject of this project:

- the phenomena of festival events and festivity,
- the organisational models that sustain their work, as well as

- the proxy indicators of routine change, role redefining, resource flows, and meaning making/changing - of which will be described generally as proxies for institutional work.

2.1.1. Research Assumptions

The relationship between festivals and the maintenance, disruption and/or creation of institution, is in this project, assumed to exist; and what is being studied is:

- the nature of this relationship,
- *how* this relationship is sustained, and
- *how* it can be harnessed in such a way that it shifts institutional logics of communities; the dynamics and processes of the festival organisation on institutional shifts.

Explicitly, the current research project is about exploring the conditions, festival organisational models, and practices that encourage socially purposive changes in the institutional field - or proxies for institutional work.

2.2. Institutional Theory

In order to describe the breadth of scholarship that is institutional theory, a description of organisations, institutional fields, logics, and entrepreneurship will be reviewed. In addition, the agency turn in institutional literature will be canvassed.

2.2.1. Organisations

Thomas (1987) defined an organisation as an entity that is linked to a specific environment and comprises multiple actors with a collective goal in mind. As with the social constructivist perspective of knowledge and learning, organisations are described as social constructions by scholars of organisation studies (Costler et al., 2010), and are vehicles for the production of social life. They can also bluntly be described as artefacts created by human beings; in order to serve specific and various ends and interests (Campbell, 2000).

Linstead (1997: 87) has argued that “organising any sort of activity, information or informal

group”, is an inherently social process; which involves “the negotiation and construction of meaning to get things done”. In this process he includes the recognition of thought and emotion, the deployment of symbolic artefacts, symbolic and rhetorical expressions of meaning, as well as the improvisational construction of identities.

Organisations, as social phenomena, follow processes that are shaped and affected by human purposes, and they are fundamentally not independent of human minds and actions. This is an important, and yet often forgotten, detail, concerning the nature of organisations. They are systems of human action in which means and ends are guided by values and intended outcomes, and are in effect, communities created by meaning with a rich tapestry of cultural rules, roles, and interactions (Van Maanen, 1979).

This is the operating definition of an organisation, for the purposes of the current project: “That an organisation exists as a collection/community of actors, as part of a larger environment, and exists on behalf of shared goals/interests” (Turner, Working Journal, Muizenberg Festival, 2014).

In exploring the phenomena of organisational life, Clegg and Bailey (2008) define organisation studies as the “examination of organisational structures, processes, and practices and how these, in turn, shape social relations and create institutions that will have a comprehensive influence on people/individual actors.” Clegg and Bailey (2008) go further to explore the question of how individuals bring organisations about, which cannot be described in isolation of the environments in which organisations come to exist. Organisations, existing in tandem, in defineable environments, and create as well as are sustained by what is called institutional fields (Scott, 2004).

2.2.2. Institutional Fields

It is useful when pursuing this question to recognise the role that institutions (or institutional fields) have on organisations; and by which organising emerges. If an individual/actor organises;

it is dependent in a large part to the institutional field wherein the individual inhabits (Scott, 2004), or as described earlier the “larger environment”.

DiMaggio & Powell (1983: 148), prominent scholars of institutional scholarship, define the institutional field as ‘sets of organisations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognised area of institutional life; key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organisations that produce similar services or products.’

In order to further understand the relationship of the individual with the organisation, and the institution, it is helpful to think of the metaphor of a soccer game: The soccer team is an organisation. Rules of the soccer game are an example of the institutional frame or field wherein the organisation exists. Organisations that are referred to as institutions are such that they exert sufficient influence on the field/rules so as to be described as institutions in and of themselves.

The referee acts as the enforcement system. If the institution is altered or changed the game is not soccer anymore. The same can happen if the referee is too weak or incapable to protect the team members’ rights. The rules-of-the-game as a phenomena has evolved before the advent of organisational activity for as Scott (2001: 71-72) pointed out, institutions of one type or another can be traced back to the earliest stages of history, whereas organisations as we know them are a relatively recent development.

In other words, institutions are the invisible rules and regularities that we replicate in order to continue playing the game of society - the legal system is an example of invisible agreements and discernments that together shape the interactions and exchanges of our social environments.

Organisations perpetuate, maintain, and depend on institutions in the same way that football teams rely on referees and rules of the game. Some organisations are even considered institutions themselves; as they may influence organisational life to the extent that they institute the very organisational practices, symbolisms, etcetera; that they enact.

“Institutions are the rules of the game in a society or, more formally, are the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction” (North, 1991: 3). “Institutions are human relationships

that structure opportunities via constraints and enablement. A constraint on one person is an opportunity for another. Institutions enable individuals to do what they cannot do alone” (Schmid, 2004: 1) Organised societies build formal institutions through legislation and other ways of rule making. However, even in most “organised” societies most rules are informal, based on cultural habits and behavioral norms. The institutions that enact structure for social interaction and construction are overwhelmingly informal, lived in the culture, traditions and norms of social groups.

Viewed from this holistic point of view institutional theory is, broadly speaking, concerned with the deeper, underlying and more consistent properties of social structure. It considers the processes by which structures exist, perpetuate, are disrupted and created - structures including schemes, rules, social and economic norms, as well as rituals and routines (Scott 2004). Scott, (2001), with perhaps the most simple description, contends that institutions are social structures that are characterised by a high degree of resilience.

More recently, scholars of institutional theory have clarified several arguments concerning the limitations of Institutional Theory. Munir (2019) argued that in institutional theory’s pursuit of smaller more manageable angles of agency at the individual level, theorists have missed the opportunity to identify and understand larger hegemonic structures of institutionalism, that necessarily challenges the emancipatory ambitions of institutional theory and scholars. As a result, theorists may risk becoming complicit in the reification and legitimation of structures of domination and power.

Furthermore, Ramirez, Vélez-Zapat & Maduro (2018) have observed that, when faced by unsafe and uncertain institutional logics, greater ambidexterity in roles, organising, and decision making can be critically valuable to institutional stability. Ramirez’s work highlights the relevance of informal institutions in uncertainty; representing a useful reflection of the role of temporary organisations/festivals in terms of institutional work in uncertain environments.

Alvesson, Hallett, Spicer (2019) claim that institutional theory 'stands at a precipice', challenged by its own breadth and capacity, echoing Van der Voet (2014: 129) who noted that "that the development of institutional theory has shifted from 'enlightening the masses' to 'preaching to the choir'" (van der Voet, 2014: 129).

Similarly, scholars like Haveman and David (2008: 588) & David and Bitekine (2009) have critiqued the field as dispersing its focus to the extent that 'institution' has become a 'vapid umbrella term', which means everything and nothing.

Alvesson, Hallett, Spicer (2019: 20) go on to encourage further reflection and a defence of institutional theory and practice or, alternatively, some basic rethinking and redevelopment, possibly along radical routes.

This research project positions its theoretical inquiry with these valuable and timely critiques in mind; that new institutionalism provides an entry point for inquiring into how institutionalism formulates social structures; and the behaviour that comes with it. The breadth of this definition will be applied as the working definition by Scott (1995: 33):

"Institutions are social structures that are composed of cultural-cognitive, normative, and regulative elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life. Institutions are transmitted by various types of carriers, including symbolic systems, relational systems, routines, and artifacts. Institutions operate at different levels of jurisdiction, from the world system to localized interpersonal relationships. Institutions by definition connote stability but are subject to change processes, both incremental and discontinuous."

2.2.3. Institutional Work

The concept of institutional work describes "the purposive action of individuals and organisations aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions" (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006: 215). Institutional work represents an exciting direction for institutional studies of

organisation, because it connects a set of previously disparate ideas.

In doing so the so-called agency turn in institutional theory points to new questions and opens up space for new conversations. Institutional approaches to organisation theory have traditionally focused attention on the relationships among organisations and the fields in which they operate, providing strong accounts of the processes through which institutions tend to govern and/or influence action.

The study of institutional work reorients these traditional concerns, shifting the focus to understanding how action affects institutions. Connecting, bridging, and extending work on institutional entrepreneurship, institutional change and innovation, and deinstitutionalisation, the study of institutional work is concerned with the practical actions through which institutions are created, maintained and disrupted.

Scholarship concerning institutional work highlights the intentional actions taken in relation to institutions, some highly visible and dramatic, but much of it nearly invisible and often mundane, as in the day-to-day adjustments, adaptations and distinct yet often camouflaged compromises of actors attempting to maintain institutional arrangements. Thus, a significant part of the promise of institutional work as a research area is to establish a broader vision of agency in relationship to institutions - one that avoids depicting actors either as "cultural dopes" trapped by institutional arrangements, or as hyper-muscular institutional entrepreneurs (Lawrence, Leca & Zilber, 2013).

Although institutional theory has become a standard point of reference in contemporary textbooks of organisation theory (Greenwood, Oliver, Sahlin & Suddaby, 2008), it has largely failed to affect the practical discussions of organisational managers and members outside the academy (Miner, 2003). In contrast, the study of institutional work has the potential not only to positively affect scholarly discussions within the institutional scholarship community, but also to generate conversations which might bridge the interests of those who study institutions and organisations, and those who work in them.

By emphasising the role of agency in institutionalism and organisations; truly by entering a bolder anticipation of agency and creativity in the realm of previously analysed stuck traditions and patterns that shape social and economic relationships; the literature is itself agentic in nature.

The institutional perspective has brought to organisation theory a sophisticated understanding of symbols and language, of myths and ceremony, of decoupling, of the interplay of social and cognitive processes, of the impact of organisational fields, of the potential for individuals and groups to shape their environments, and of the processes through which those environments shape individual and collective behavior and belief. These are critically important issues for those working in organisations to understand, and yet these issues have for the most part remained trapped within the confines of academic text and talk.

In order to further unpack institutional theory (and institutional work as a lens in particular), I will provide a theoretical account of a supposed organisation interacting in institutional fields; whereby the organisation might maintain, create and disrupt the preeminent institutional logics. This analysis is reflective of an agency oriented view of organisations, and their role in institutional fields.

Agency is inextricably linked with the relationship that the organisation may have and how it relates within the broader field. In institutional approaches to organisation studies the relationships among organisations and the institutional fields, in which they operate, is a key focus of attention of the scholarship (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

2.2.4. Institutional Field: Maintenance, Disruption and Entrepreneurship

Broadly speaking, according to scholars of institutional work, and its constituent theories, there are three ways by which organisations can interact and affect in institutional fields (Scott & Meyer, 2008). Of course, there are plenty of hybrid activities that could be described, however,

for the purposes of this review, the researcher will analyse the literature on institutional theory as such.

2.2.4.1. Organising as Maintenance

In order to survive, organisations tend to conform to the rules and belief systems prevailing in the institutional environment wherein they exist (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977), institutional isomorphism is the tendency for a similarity of the processes and/or structures of one organisation to those of another, due to imitation or development under similar constraints (Dacin, 1997; Deephouse, 1996). Isomorphism, the tendency for actors to acquire the identity, frameworks and dynamics of the prevailing institutional field, can be further understood by reference to the scholarship on the normative and/or cognitive aspects of institutionalism. DiMaggio and Powell (1991:67) outlined processes – “*coercive, normative and mimetic*” – which were further elaborated upon by Scott (2002) when he differentiated between the regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive elements of institutionalism (Dacin et al., 2002; Scott, 2008).

Regulative elements explore how rule-setting, monitoring and sanctioning activities take place; normative elements focus on the ‘prescriptive, evaluative and obligatory dimension’ of social life (Scott, 2008: 54); and cultural-cognitive elements emphasise the “*shared conceptions that constitute the nature of social reality and the frames through which meaning is made*” (Scott, 2008: 57).

An organisation’s capacity to be similar and fit in with the prevailing institutional environment will earn that organisation legitimacy (Suchman, 1995). This is why organisations are usually understood as the subjects of institutions, and why as Scott (2001) explains, institutions are characterised by resilience over time. That is to say that they can be likened to the board upon which the chess pieces are moved. Institutions are the board as well as the rules of the game. Organisations and individual actors are the pieces. The role of institutions in shaping

organisational life has been a central concern of organisational studies (Lawrence, Leca & Zilber, 2013: 1024).

Institutional order, so to speak, is informed and created by cognitive and normative interpretation, from legal laws and the explicit sanctions for violating them, to societal rules perpetuated by myths and fairy tales (Rowe, 1979), which consistently and comprehensively justify the current state of institutional affairs and the field wherein organisations and presiding institutions exist. These institutional processes and constructions form the basis of the social construction of reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

Mainstream scholarship of institutionalism has been criticised for its emphasis on continuity and conformity (Mutch, 2007) almost entirely eliminating the potential for the individual “to transcend the cognitive influence” of that institution (Lawrence et al., 2011: 54). Institutional studies have tended to focus on certain institutional work strategies and practices, as explored above, but there has not been extensive consideration of the micro-level processes by which intersecting identities of people play out in and on institutions.

There are a number of scholars who are attempting to conceptually and to an extent pragmatically reintegrate individual agency within institutional spaces (Creed, DeJordy & Lok, 2010; Lawrence et al., 2011; Mutch, 2007). Understanding this has caused a fundamental shift in institutional theory because individuals are seen as agents rather than accomplices to social processes of institutionalisation. Therefore, institutional work embodies “complex forms of agency – the efforts to cope with, keep up with, tear down, tinker with, transform, or create the institutional structures within which they live” (Lawrence et al., 2011: 52). Individual agency is an important lens through which institutional change can be affected, sustained or blocked (Creed et al., 2010).

2.2.4.2. Organising as Disruption & Institutional Entrepreneurship

Each organisation has its own institutional logic or set of “material practices and symbolic constructions” (Cloutier & Langley, 2013: 361). However, as a central contribution to institutional theory focuses on the ways that institutions govern actions (Lawrence, Suddaby, and Leca 2009: 1). This position, however, assumes to a significant degree, that there is generally a compliance of actors in institutions. This is not categorically accurate, as it is often the case that actors facilitate changes in institutions (Battilana 2009: 31), concurring with Scott’s (1995: 33) broad definition that institutions are ‘subject to change processes.’ As such, institutions as a theoretical construct, represents a paradox; in flux. Adding to this uncertainty, Battilana, Leca, and Boxenbaum (2009) defined institutional actors, operating within institutions, as ‘reflexive, goal-oriented and capable,’ focusing on actors’ actions as the centre of institutional dynamics.

Institutional work is described as “the purposive actions of individuals and organisations aimed at creating, maintaining, and disrupting institutions” (Lawrence and Suddaby 2006: 215). An elaboration on this definition is made by the same authors, Lawrence, Suddaby, and Leca (2009: 1), who define ‘institutional work’ to be a synthesizing of ideas in the institutional studies of organisations. It may be a synthesis in the sense that the approach exists as a confluence of several disciplines, including practice theory, institutional theory, change theory, amongst others. In particular they expand the theories, and scope, of institutional agency by applying the lens of practice to institutional creation, maintenance, and disruption. This perspective is further explored and expressed in Lawrence, Suddaby, and Leca (2009); Lawrence et al. (2011); and Lawrence and Suddaby (2006).

Institutional work differs from conventional institutional approaches to organisation studies in that it seeks to provide an account of the processes through which actions affect institutions (Lawrence, Suddaby, and Leca 2009: 1). This is echoed in the emergent body of literature that

explores ‘institutional entrepreneurship.’ Maguire, Hardy, and Lawrence (2004: 657) define these institutional entrepreneurs as intrepid actors ‘who leverage resources to create new institutions or to transform existing ones.’ By resources is meant a general appraisal of financial, human, and social assets and capital. It is a broad definition that allows thinking of the ways in which entrepreneurship might include paradigmatic emergence.

2.2.5. Positive Institutional Work

Institutional entrepreneurs, and organisations or individuals who participate in institutional work, are involved in the practice of changing and creating new institutions through the utilisation and innovation of present resources (Garud, Hardy, & Maguire, 2007). This definition is only marginally different from that of institutional work, however the research on institutional entrepreneurship does draw from the concept of institutional work peripherally (Lawrence, Leca, and Zilber, 2013: 1025).

Although this field of study stresses the role of actors’ agency in changing institutions, other scholars explain that this isn’t necessarily significant, as institutions are by their own nature, in flux (Zucker, 1988). Zucker (1988) argued that institutions are entropic and institutional persistence is the exception, not the norm. Scott’s (2001) definition of institutions implies this similarly.

Nilsson (2014), along with Lawrence, Leca, and Zilber’s later work (2013: 1025), called for institutional work and institutional theory ‘to engage beyond the academic community, where it was initially developed, and to connect to practical issues so that such research would increase its practical relevance,’ where the study of institutional work, with its focus on actors and their day-to-day efforts, can be ‘especially fitting and potentially fruitful.’

This reference to day-to-day, experiential institutional work can be supplemented by what Nilsson (2014) calls positive institutional work. Nilsson (2014: 1) presented a critique of institutional work arguing that “despite its emancipatory ambitions and its rich portraits of agency” the literature has limited engagement with questions of ‘normative social purpose.’ Nilsson (2014) cites Selznick (1992: 310), arguing that ‘what counts is how people experience

the everyday life of the institution.’

Nilsson (2014: 1) proposed the synthesis of literature on institutional work and Positive Organizational Scholarship in order to delineate the concept positive institutional work as ‘the creation or maintenance of institutional patterns that express mutually constitutive experiential and social goods.’

An organisational field is composed of sets of institutions and networks of organisations that together constitute a recognisable area of life (DiMaggio & Powell, 2000) and “*whose participants interact more frequently and fatefully with one another than with actors outside the field*” (Scott, 2008).

Institutional work theory suggests that the openness of fields to collaboration and engagement also depends on the complexity of the issue (Dorado, 2005) and how relatively new or ‘emergent’ they are (Garud et al., 2002; Maguire et al., 2004; Rao et al., 2000). Institutional workers/entrepreneurs exercise agency from within organisations that operate within a plurality of institutions. This study is interesting, at a basic level, in the way that an individual and/or organisation manages to facilitate agency in order to transform institutions as well as create and maintain new ones. In the scholarship on institutions, this is referred to as institutional entrepreneurialism and institutional work, and is broadly referring to work, entrepreneurial by nature, that facilitates deeper disruptions of social structures and belief systems. The theoretical framework, therefore, can be segmented into institutional work, institutional entrepreneurship, and positive institutional work; all components of institutional theory.

2.2.6. Conclusion

Individuals and groups exercise agency from within organisations that operate within a plurality of institutions. This study is interested in, at a basic level, in the way that an individual and/or organisation manages to facilitate agency in order to transform institutions as well as create and maintain new ones. This is referred to as institutional entrepreneurialism and institutional work,

and is broadly referring to work, entrepreneurial by nature, that facilitates deeper disruptions of social structures and belief systems. The theoretical framework can be segmented into institutional work, institutional entrepreneurship, and positive institutional work; all components of institutional theory.

Social purpose in organisation studies refers to reconnecting with the issues of values and social issues. Social purpose describes institutions that have an orientation towards “*pursuing meaningful, long-term social goods; such as freedom, justice and equality; with a collaborative spirit*” (Nilsson, 2015: 13). Social purpose is central to the institutional work, identity work and patterns of behaviour of an organisation and its embedded individuals.

Other institutional work strategies and practices for collaborative arrangements include mobilising (Hargrave & de Ven, 2006; Wijen & Ansari, 2007), bricolage and breakthrough (Garud & Karnøe, 2003), activation and catalytic communication (Oldfield, 2012), resistance (Marti & Fernandez, 2013) and bridging (Maguire et al., 2004; Tracey, Phillips, & Jarvis, 2011). This research aims to engage some of the critiques through challenging notions of who is powerful, what is social purpose and what kinds of collaborative arrangements are possible in institutional fields.

Institutions are essentially prevailing constructs of social, political, and economic life; they are represented in the performances of adherents and rebellions alike. It is then the quality of resilience, legitimacy and power that identifies a particular ritual, routine or set of actions as institutionalised. They can only be considered institutions if they have accrued a measure of power and legitimacy whereby they are resilient to change.

With this in mind, I return to the subject of the present study of festivals, as social phenomena, events, and cultural carriers. I will circle back to the institutional theory literature, and the framework that it represents, as it offers a useful in-road for the analysis of festivals.

2.3. Festivals

This research project is concerned with Institutional work, based in institutional theory broadly; applied to the analysis of festivals, their organisational culture and models in particular; that can serve as vehicles for the collective community objectives of economic and social well-being and resilience and moreover changes in roles, routines, resource flows, and meaning making patterns that affect socio-economic well-being and social goods and value for hosting communities.

The festival organisation as a concept and site; is the target operating subject of this study. Festivals have been studied by a variety of academic and practice-based disciplines. For the purposes of this project, I will provide an overview of particular dimensions; and then tie them up in a conclusion that links the overall festival space back to the theoretical framework.

In an extensive literature review on the subject, Getz (2010) provides a framework for understanding festivals by illuminating various central themes in festival studies from distinct fields of scholarship. Getz's (2010: 1) study is an attempt at pulling together, and defining, the scope of festival studies, with consideration to the breadth of literature from diverse disciplines and perspectives.

Getz (2005) analysed the content regarding themes and public participation of festivals. In his review of literature concerning festivals, Getz (1997: 8) references Falassi's (1987) eloquent definition of festivals indicating the myriad of dimensions that a festival may occupy. Falassi, an earlier scholar of festival phenomena, ritual and performance viewed the festival as "a sacred or profane time of celebration marked by special observances." Reference to the 'sacred,' is indicative of the religious implications and associations of festivals in the past. Falassi's description echoes Pieper's (1965) perspective, that only religious rituals and celebrations could be called festivals. Throughout history, festivals have emulated cultural traditions or marked a religious or historical occasion associated with the community staging the festival (Arcodia & Robb, 2000).

Etymologically, the word 'festival' is derived from the latin root word, *festum*, which literally translates to mean 'joy' and/or 'merriment.' This concept and reference point can be accompanied by *feria*; a latin word often used to describe festivals, which refers to 'interval', and 'intermission.' It literally translates to mean a 'free day' in latin (Falassi, 1987), and was associated with a break in the ordinary day-to-day life; where identities and alternative narratives could be performed. Falassi (1987) maintained that the social function of a festival is closely related to the values that a community of people regards as essential to its common ideologies; such as social identity, continuity of historical narratives, as well as material and immaterial survival.

This is a critical observation, as the definition of what exactly is a festival, or what it means to be festive, is contested. No widely acceptable typology has emerged, and in the modern era festival has often come to signify in a non-religious, even non-cultural multi-faceted entertainment event. On the other hand, The South Australian Tourism Commission (1997: 2) provides a comprehensive, yet concise, definition of festival as an artefact - a definition closer to that of which this study has taken to work with:

A festival is a "celebration of something the local community wishes to share and which involves the public as participants in the experience. Festivals must have as a prime objective a maximum amount of people participating, which must be an experience that is different from or broader than day to day living."

Furthermore, according to Arcodia & Robb (2000), festivals are about marking special occasions and celebrating significant events. Usyal, Gahan, & Martin (1993: 5) regard festivals as "the cultural resources of an area that makes possible the successful hosting of visitors."

The definitions above describe the tangible characteristics of the 'festival' as an artefact and phenomenon simultaneously; whilst highlighting key characteristics:

- celebration of a specified or set of values, narratives or occasion;
- locality, taking place in a definable space and time;
- participation by members of community; and
- symbolic of a community's value and cultural resources.

These factors are taken, in the present study, as key defining components of a festival: to the extent that a particular event or organisation expresses several of these components, it is 'festive.' That is to say that for the purposes of this study, an organisation fits the research questions target subject (festival organisation) if it represents several of the above characteristics.

2.3.1. Celebration

Festivals are various in their explicit purposes, themes, and participants. However, it is possible to locate several consistent characteristics that are consistent across a variety of contexts. According to Pardy (1991), the origins of this type of public event/celebration, which has cultural meaning to the host community can be traced back to the 'carnival' culture of Europe. Davignaud (1987: 4) also notes that most cultures celebrate carnivalesque events such as festivals, market fairs, and harvest celebrations. The role of sacred rituals, which were often coordinated with the turning of the seasons, was to provide 'predictable, periodic opportunities to forgive and forget' (Lerro, 2005: 34). Events, despite being simpler in form, thus had a significant role in the life of people – stretching back in time to pre-industrial societal forms of organisation.

Moreover, it may be argued that throughout history, festivals have emulated, fostered and even been complicit in the evolution of cultural traditions or marked a religious or historical occasion (Arcodia & Robb 2000). Getz (1997: 8) quoted Falassi's (1987) summary of festivals as "*a sacred or profane time of celebration marked by special observances,*" pointing out the supra-material dimension of the festival space. Whichever angle of study one reviews, the act of celebrating and 'celebration' maintains as an almost obvious theme, and attribute of, festivals and the study thereof.

Amanatidis (1998: 127) claimed that the carnival/festive space is “*a creative space for multiple expressions and reflections on the everyday realm*” and has its own particular level of social reality.” Taking this angle further, Bakhtin (1984) goes on to argue that the ‘carnival space’ is a revolutionary space, in that it is a process in which people could confront issues pertaining to class, gender, and race, and where people from the lower classes could release pent-up frustration. In the sense that Bakhtin (1984) describes the revolutionary quality of the festive carnival space, the carnival is an interruption of the ordinary - a break from the status quo, where it is possible for groups to express issues in a constructive and impactful way; and perhaps build on minority constructs of society.

Celebration engenders community building and the production of social and other forms of capital, whilst the suspended conditions that festival spaces are do provide situations that are fluid and malleable, enabling the establishment of new belief systems and customs; ie. institutions (Szokolczai, 2009: 141). It has been underscored by other scholars that people’s need to celebrate is equally as important, if not more important, than our physical needs (Goldblatt, 1990).

2.3.2. Locality

Scholars of organisation studies have focused on liminality as a temporary suspension of organisational norms and conventions (Czarniawska and Mazza, 2003; Simpson et al., 2010) to allow members’ engagement in a range of creative, experimental and reflective activities prompting the redrawing of existing boundaries and the adoption of new behaviours.

Modern-day festivals, as sites of organising may thus be viewed as liminal phenomena - an opportunity for members of a community to act annually, reflexively and in coordination, leading in turn to changes in the ways in which they organise themselves – a form of annual renewal, in which they may incorporate or reject emerging practices and shed or retain continuing ones.

As with many subsequent studies, this echoes Bakhtin's (1984: 219) concept of carnival – a suspension of everyday working life to engage in “*ritual activities for the purpose of popular folk merriment*” – drawn from his historical examination of the European carnival tradition. In this study he elaborated several examples from historical records of symbolic behaviours and activities he described as ‘carnavalesque’ which imply that festivals are an opportunity for enacting practices of resistance. Costa (2001: 542), in assessing modernist sociological approaches, developed the concept of festive sociability to describe these distinctive behaviours, only evident amongst participants during festival times. These incorporate particular forms of ‘humour, play, communal eating, sociable work, satiric criticisms, parades etc.’, the combination of which symbolises the festival’s distance from the pattern of established, everyday community practices and some measure of cultural resistance.

2.3.3. Participation

Recently scholars within, and outside of, the traditional disciplines of academic and professional inquiry, have been examining festivals with regard to the increasing variety of themes and discourses. These include the festivals’ roles in establishing place and group identity (Arcodia and Whitford, 2007); the political meaning and impact of festival experiences and events (Marston, 1989; Manning, 1978; Jackson, 1992; Lavenda, 1980; Bankston and Henry, 2000); and the creation of social and cultural capital through festival production that fosters the arts and the preservation of cultures and traditions.

Returning to Getz’s review (2010), a variety of personal outcomes from participation in festivals that have been analysed, are almost always in tandem with one of the previously listed study angles (Matheson 2005; Costa 2002). In conclusion, Getz (2010) provides an essential channeling of a wide variety of literature concerning festivals; towards the common terms in the scholarship; as well as pointing out the gap in the scholarship – a need for coherence and deepened study that bridges rather than distinguishes the scholarship in different disciplines.

According to Getz's (2005) study, numerous forms and themes of festivals are possible, and the term festival is often misapplied and commercialised. In conclusion, Getz (2005:21) defines festivals simply as "themed, public celebrations". The simplicity of this definition belies a depth that is communicated by specifying the action as celebratory and the participants the public; what the particular theme is has a lot to do with how those celebratory actions are carried out; and by whom.

2.4. Theory of Festivals

The following revision, appreciates the dimensions of political, sociological, social capital, and management related scholarship; regarding the phenomena of festivals. A brief revision of literature concerning these angles of study will provide relevant contributions to the overall understanding of festivals in light of the present project's central research question(s).

2.4.1. Political Dimension: Identity & space

Festivals involve public themes and mass participation. These themes, whilst not necessarily being explicitly political, almost always involve the maintenance, disruption, or creation of identities, beliefs, and traditions (Greenwood, 1972; Arcodia & Whitford, 2006; Turner, 1983). This has inherent political implications; as political theory, action and pragmatism has everything to do with identities and beliefs. Furthermore, that festivals involve a concentration of people, participating and/or spectating, implies collective action. Whether or not political discourse is at the core of a given theme, festivals represent spaces of cultural exchange, social change, and traditionally are politically-aligned concepts and practices. Another approach to the political aspect of festivals emphasises how they reflect and encourage disagreement and even disputes of the impacts and meanings of the themed festival space/event (Manning, 1978).

Examples include a study by Lavenda (1980), who evaluated the political evolution of the Caracas Carnival, Venezuela. Specifically, Lavenda (1980) analysed the power relationships in

the festival organisation as well as the role of traditional political elites; exemplifying political dimensions of festival organisation and representations.

In a very different setting, Bankston and Henry (2000) looked at how the *Cajun* Festivals in Louisiana, USA, which attract a broad variety of audiences across demographics, are ‘continually inventing and maintaining traditions’ that have contributed to the *Cajun* identity and its revival ever since the 1960s. These contributions to identity and tradition are instrumental in mobilising community and bringing a galvanising likeness to often fragmented settings. These examples, as well as the prevailing literature, provide evidence of festivals contributing towards political mobilisation and identities.

2.4.2. Sociological Dimensions: Social Cohesion and Communitas

Festivals, by way of their celebratory themes, as well as the mass participation they engender, generate community and a sense of belonging, whether it be toward an external place or towards internal sense-making (Pitts, 2004; Turner, 1983; Van Winkle & Woosnam, 2014). Festivals and rituals bring and bind people together in communities and cultures, making cohesion and association more achievable (Durkheim, 1976; Turner, 1983).

By celebrating themes and/or traditions; as well as building new spaces by way of collective participation. Costa (2002) described “festive sociability” at the *Fire Festival* in Valencia, Spain, as being central to the maintenance and communication of tradition(s). Matheson (2005) discussed festivals and sociability in the context of a *Celtic* music festival. The backstage space is the realm of authentic experiences and communitas. Hannam and Halewood (2006) determined that Viking themed festivals gave participants a sense of identity and reflected an authentic way of life. Goldblatt (1997) defines the sense of community and celebration engendered by an occasion, a public and freely accessed social gathering involving a variety of media as key characteristics. Acordia & Whitford (2007) argued that: ‘throughout history, festivals contributed to the overall well-being of communities.’ To varying degrees and

capacities, festivals as social phenomena and events do play a key social role in different societies and cultures (Alomes, 1985).

- **Sense of Community**

Sense of Community is a concept that denotes people's perception of their own experiences within their particular community. Chavis and Wandersman (1990) found that a sense of community mediated the perception of general problems resulting in a more positive impression of the neighbourhood by those who had a higher sense of community. A sense of community empowerment means the existence of mutual interdependence among members, having a sense of belonging, connectedness, spirit, faith and trust, possessing common expectations, shared values and goals. McMillan and Chavis (1986) argued that the individual members' willingness to conform to the group is an important part of the group's influence on the individual. In this way, conformity is able to serve as a force for closeness as well as an indicator of cohesiveness."

2.4.3. Event Management

Events are underpinned by ideologies, and are therefore by definition political; events are necessarily a part of societies, and are therefore social; events also speak of traditions, customs and meanings, and are therefore cultural. Events, as value-laden activities, tell our stories: they are mirrors that reveal who we are as a society, as a people, and who we would like to become as human beings.

Seen as such, the study of various aspects of events is then an invitation to explore the history of specific communities, and humanity at large, at different intersections throughout time. Interest in events within social and cultural settings is old and well established, particularly in the disciplines of anthropology and sociology (Getz, 2012). In other words, events are presented as agents of transformation – capable of facilitating ideological, social and cultural developments in a community and society at large.

Studies echoed the perspective of ideas in Picard & Robinson's (2006) collection of studies that

connect festivals with the processes of social change. In Picard & Robinson's (2006: 20) view:

"...the festival needs to be linked to the wider sociological, economic and political context of change, as a site to adapt, reconstruct and re-enact meaningful narrations of the collective being in the – globally enlarged – world."

The discourse on matters ideological, social and cultural together in one publication. Thus, rather than adopting a reductionist approach, we propose that the event is a vehicle for various fusions of these three aspects, which are often intertwined and mutually reinforcing. Events are permeated with meanings, and coloured by ideological thought, and they can also be seen as systems that structure societies.

Just as it has been recognised that festivals/events are 'channels for expressing and consolidating a sense of community' (Giorgi & Sassatelli, 2011: 1), it has also been widely accepted that events, in various shapes and forms, were often 'historically crucial to the social fabric of day-to-day life' (Shone & Parry, 2001: 4).

Put in other terms, festival events have contributed to the making and sustaining of societies and the complex socio-cultural and political worlds in which we coexist; or in institutional theory terms; the institutional fields, norms and resulting organisational milieu that is the formative construct of the social world.

In advocating much more criticality in the emerging 'event' literature, Quinn (2009: 490) notes 'there is now an increased interest in moving away from a preoccupation with the event as a discrete entity towards a much broader conceptualization of festivals and events as phenomena embedded in a multiplicity of spatial, socio-cultural, political and environmental contexts'.

In suggesting that 'events' are nowadays – under liquid modernity – the richest source of such within-culture notions of 'added value', Bauman advises that they owe that prominence (in contrast to the use of within-culture art galleries, museums and other auditoria) to their relatively risk-free form (Bauman, 2011: 112–113).

Events have the advantage that in a liquid modern world attuned to the capriciousness, fragility and transience of public memory... they don't need to count on the – under circumstances doubtful – loyalty of faithful clients: events, as well as other bona fide consumer products, are fitted with a sell-by-date. Their designers and operators can therefore remove long-term worries from their calculations, thereby curbing their expenses – and, what is more, gain in credibility and prestige thanks to a perceived resonance between their character and the spirit of the times.

This is critically relevant, as it points to the organisational apparatus that can too enjoy the benefits of the festival quality of liminality; and take on less risk if only because of the fleeting and cyclical nature of the festival as a ritual and an event alike.

By examining the participation of a specific village community group in the organization of the festival, Lucas (2014) explores the links between the practices of organizing and the culture of a community group engaged in them.

Linstead (1997) argued that ‘event studies could be investigated by immersion in the methods in order to pursue the ambiguous relationship between the symbolic and the concrete, and the meanings which members attribute to the events’”

Lucas (2014: 4), astutely and concisely sums up that:

“The self-organised, community festival offers an interesting example of such an event, allowing us to examine the practices of organising outside the confines of reified formal structures associated with bureaucratic organisations.”

This is centrally relevant to the current researcher's interest in identifying alternative/emergent structures (as well as strategies) that are present in a ‘self-organized community festival. Instead of focusing on organisations/organising from the perspective of post structured systems (that are included in this project's samples), we are able to focus on the ‘practical ordering of heterogeneous human, material and symbolic elements’ (Nicolini, 2009) by an organising group.

Some studies of contemporary festivals are based on the assumption that festival symbolises and

celebrates the informal, non-work aspects of community life – what might be termed community ‘disorganisation’ (Falassi, 1987; Lucas, 2010).

2.4.4. Social Capital

The concept of social capital is multi-faceted as it has been employed in various ways. However, as Portes (2000: 6) concluded, without dismissing the conceptual differences of varying conceptions of the phenomena, *“there is some consensus in the literature that the term is used to name the capacity of individuals to secure benefits by virtue of their membership in social structures.”*

Social capital is based on the relationship of human activity. Putnam (1993: 35-36) argued that it involves *“features of social organisation, such as networks, norms, and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit.”* Similarly, Ford (1999) describes social capital as signifying ‘a web of relationships, norms of behavior, values, obligations, and information channels.’ Social capital is conceptualized in this paper, not as a resource in itself but as a vehicle to acquire resources. Furthermore, when social capital is present, it is generally found in the social structures of society, allowing individuals to act more effectively within these structures (Coleman, 1990). As Portes (1998: 7) argued, *“whereas economic capital is in people’s bank accounts and human capital is inside their heads, social capital inheres in the structure of their relationships. To possess social capital, a person must be related to others, and it is others, not himself, who are the actual source of his or her advantage.”*

Social capital denotes the quality of relationship between members of a particular community, particularly in the sense that the extent of that quality enables individuals and organisations to secure benefits, economic or social. It orientates thinking of the mechanism by which strong communities and civic traditions exercise greater agency on systems and institutions, by means

of internal engagement, associational membership, as well as the creation and development of social networks (Cooke & Wills, 1999).

Social Capital is similar to other forms of capital in that it is regarded as a community asset which can be increased or decreased, but it is distinctive from other forms of capital in that it does not remain static and cannot be measured in time and space. Social capital is not material nor is it static, therefore as Hemingway (1999) explained, when social capital is used, it increases its stock for further use in other areas which may be unrelated. On the other hand, when social capital is not utilised a particular community will progressively lose its capacity to access it. In this sense it is energetic, and does not necessarily imply a zero sum game in terms of transactions. This aspect of social capital is reinforced by Putnam (1993: 37) who suggests that *“stocks of social capital, such as trust, norms, and networks tend to be self-reinforcing and cumulative.”* Successful collaboration in one endeavour builds connections and trust or social assets that facilitate future collaboration in other, unrelated tasks.

It is for good reason that Putnam’s (1993) ‘social capital’ has been used in so many various academic contexts and studies. The term provides academics with a new lens of evaluating gains in interventions/means of establishing a value on relationships. What is presented by social capital studies is an appreciation of relationship, that may only be distinct as a study in light of the distance we have travelled away from these concepts with a market based economy, emphasis on the individual, et cetera. Although there are growing efforts to measure social capital (Leeder & Dominello 1999), the concept is difficult to count, in a quantitative sense. This provides some explanation as to why a great deal of attention has been devoted to the economic, rather than the social, benefits of festival attendance. Although there are scholarly attempts at exploring the correlation between festival attendance and the development of social capital, an inherent danger brought about by the current economic rationalist environment may lie in attempts to measure social capital in economic terms, and potentially endanger its essential references and meanings (Pusey, 1992).

According to Acrodia and Whitford (2007), *“in contemporary society, festival attendance develops social capital by providing the community with specific opportunities for accessing and developing community resources, improving social cohesiveness, and providing a focus for celebration.”* Pardy (1991: 19) believed that contemporary festivals are not only vehicles for celebrating, ‘enhancing or preserving local culture and history,’ but arguably facilitate the development of social capital.

2.5. Conclusion: Festival Studies and Institutional Theory

Festival events usually have a theme, and they have potentially very diverse programs and styles, all in pursuit of fostering a specific kind of experience. The act of celebration embodies at once an intellectual, behavioural and emotional experience. Getz (2010: 7) argues that the emotional responses potentially lead to unexpected and undesired outcomes in both behavioural and political/attitudinal terms.

Festivals can be viewed as social constructs that vary from area to the next, as well as over time. So many meanings can be attached to the festival experience, at personal, social-group, and cultural or political levels. In this sense festivals can be institutions; as the current projects’ operating definition speaks of *“cultural-cognitive, normative, and regulative elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life. Institutions are transmitted by various types of carriers...”* (Scott 2001).

Festivals spaces, themes, and experiences can, over time, become institutions. If not institutions themselves, they can be carriers that ‘transmit institutions’, in the sense that Scott (2001) described. Meanings exist at personal, social, cultural, and economic levels. The festival, or festive, experience itself is at once personal and social, with each form of festival (e.g. music, traditional, arts, heritage, political) embodying different experience potential, and arguably practicing new traditions and/or beliefs which together can make up the kind of institutional work that Nilsson (2014); Selznick (1991) envisaged. Festivals provide a celebratory framework of experience and practice whereby institutional work can have a greater effect in a shorter span

of time, and on a broader array of participants). This study suggests that festivals can be “*carriers of symbolic systems, relational systems, and routines that serve to disrupt, maintain, or create institutions,*” from the ground up (Scott 2004: 33).

Falassi (1987) maintained that the social function of a festival is closely related to values that a community regards as essential to its ideology such as social identity, historical continuity, and physical survival. Alternatively a festival may be a representation of values that a community intentionally ushers in, leveraging heightened participation and sense of community in order to do so. Whichever way, scholars agree that festivals are by extension productive of social value, social structure, etcetera. If these values, relational practices, and socio-economic outputs maintain over time, a festival or carnival space can be said to have played a role as a mechanism towards institutional work; in the sense that the festival plays a role in maintaining, disrupting and/or creating practice, behaviour, narrative and norms; as well as providing a space wherein these usually static phenomena are subject to play.

Whilst acknowledging the work of the disciplinary forerunners who have made significant contributions to knowledge on festivals (for example, Geertz, 1973, 1980; Spencer, 1985; Ozouf, 1988; Turner, 1988, 1995; and many other scholars), the current project sees an opportunity in bringing festival studies/events studies in contact with practice and theory relating to institutional work, and systemic change.

Consequently, and perhaps as one of the most vital of all arguments to be reinforced, is the argument that events ought to be first and foremost understood as societal phenomena, having a great potential for transforming people and, eventually, societies themselves.

This emphasis is carried forward in the current project; where institutionalism provides the framework with which to examine the transformation of individuals, organisations and indeed the institutional field; in relation to the festival space. Specifically, what is the nature of the organisation and organisational model that can facilitate exactly this kind of work.

The initial interest in undertaking research with and about festivals had to do with my sense that

festivals had an intriguing and not yet articulated role to play in the maintenance and creativity of institutional fields. The literature review provided me with further clarity on what I'd be looking out for in the course of the fieldwork concerning festivals. This will be further elaborated in the data analysis section of the methodology.

With the literature in place, and the research question sufficiently fleshed out with the theoretical framework identified, and the variables explored, it is now time to investigate the relationship between festivals and institutional work by the study of action research case study, the Muizenberg Festival. The following chapter outlines the festival case studies before moving on to the methodology, detailing how I have utilised the organising work in festivals as a staging ground for the study's research question.

Chapter 3. Festival Case Studies

The following is an overview account, with contextual detail, of the festivals with which I have done work with, conducted interviews, and documented observations of, during the course of this research project. Primarily it is an account of the Muizenberg Festival as a site for the action research process, and secondly a presentation of the analogous case study festivals that I have worked with during the course of this project.

3.1. Community-Based Festivals

Festivals are compelling examples of creative and generative organisational phenomena. This study has assumed the broad definition of festivals as (Falassi, 1987): *"...a periodic celebration composed of a multiplicity of ritual forms and events, directly or indirectly affecting all members of a community and explicitly or implicitly showing the basic values, ideology and the worldviews that are shared by community members and are the basis of their social identity."*

Festival is a broad category that includes a multitude of experiences, and is as much a structure for social interaction and exchange as it is a site for ceremony and ritual that produces and disrupts identity, meaning-making and value performance. As they involve a broad variety of

experiences and interactions in the perspective of the participant externally, internally they can, and often do, involve a vast array of professions and capacities, from design to legal activity, to construction to process leadership and project management. As festivals are organised around creative impulse and cultural pursuits, whether rituals or carnival; they are by nature representative of ever-changing traditions and cultural developments; they are generally always subject to some degree of experimentalism due to the nature of broader participation.

As an organisational phenomenon, festivals are sites of impressive productivity, generativity and creativity showcasing the heights and potentials of human capacities and often involving large production and logistics demands depending on the size and scope of the festival space. Variable dependent, festivals are expressions of exemplary production and organisational capacity; towards extraordinary events and/or periods of time.

In contrast to organisational activity and innovation that may be directed in response or reaction to crises, warfare or production of other kinds, festivals are organised around cultural and creative production and pursuit that is expressive and dynamic; and can be contrary to circumstantial constraints; i.e. in 2008, despite the global economic crisis, the Edinburgh Festivals experienced a heightened participation and attendance. Given their extraordinary nature, from the perspective of organisation and enterprise, they have, for this study, provided an invaluable lens to the topics of, amongst others, institutionalism, organisational scholarship, entrepreneurship, sustainability and resilience. As Lucas (2014), describes: *“The self-organised, community festival offers an interesting example of such an event, allowing us to examine the practices of organising outside the confines of reified formal structures associated with bureaucratic organisations.”* In this, we are able to focus on the ‘practical ordering of heterogeneous human, material and symbolic elements’ (Nicolini, 2009) by an organising group.

I have studied several exemplary festival organisations to investigate their working models, value generating systems and impact on their particular contexts in keeping with the methods, data analysis protocols and key research questions of this project (see Chapter 4). From the local (*Cape Town Carnival, Open Streets Days* and the *African Hip Hop Indaba*), to the regional

(*AfrikaBurn*, *Wavescape Film Festival* and *Learning Clan*), to the international (*Festivals Edinburgh*, *Montreal Fringe* and the *Sun Deer Gathering*), the festivals - their organisational structures, strategies and programming - that have been studied provided unique findings. These provide fresh understandings of the organising principles despite various and distinct conditions. They even go on to challenge and confront dominant conceptions and presuppositions of organisational studies and institutional work, amongst other scholarly domains.

My colleagues and I have exercised our own agency and creative resilience experimenting, primarily, with a festival of our own collaborative creation – the Muizenberg Festival; where we have mobilised diverse stakeholders into a process of collectively discovering and celebrating our area and community; and by doing so participating in the development and creation of our community's future. The festival is still young, and in its fourth cycle of development; and has more recently further established itself with more formalised organisational characteristics in place as well as institutionalised practices and organising principles. The festival is a site for practice of the community enacting development from the inside out, by celebrating our diverse wealth of resources and values.

The Muizenberg Festival, a community-created event may be seen then as an important example of organisation as 'public ritual practice which enacts, without explicitly describing, the community it creates' (Swidler, 2001: 83). This allows us to view the development of practices of organising as part of a cultural process associated with the symbolic creation of community within a group.

Festival organisations have a distinct organisational 'style' – they are festive, innovative, and dynamic in the sense that they are at the intersection of cultural meaning(s), contrasting narratives, liminality, and 'Festivity.' Organisations that are festive have a public, participatory, experimental and celebratory quality. 'Festive' can be used to imply a set of conditions under which an organisation/collective does its work. This is one dimension of this project's hypothesis. The Muizenberg Festival was the key site and action research organisation. Various

other festivals were visited as auxiliary case studies; informing this studies understanding of festivals broadly and helping to generate valuable insight for the action research project.

3.2. Researcher's Role

It has been the explicit intention of the researcher to engage the present project as a parallel to the prototyping and experimenting/innovating within the festival organisation of the Muizenberg Festival. In this the researcher played a central role in coordinating and curating the festival and its process. It is the objective to generate actionable knowledge, and build on generalizable theory, of festivals more generally. As was discussed in the literature review, festival literature comes from diverse fields. The present study seeks to explore the intersection of these fields through the auspices of the action research project.

This approach guided the fieldwork and data analysis, as well as played a role in driving the discussion of the research question; which has two major objectives; overarching the sub-categories of interest. These objectives are:

- 1) The development of the organisation's capacity to do deep work that has a lasting effect.
- 2) The exploration of new theory on the institutional work of events, and festivals and festival organising; in particular regarding the effect that festivals can have on their host communities.

3.3. Action Research Site: Muizenberg Festival

The Muizenberg Festival is a community-driven collective impact process that celebrates the area's creative wealth and showcases the neighborhood's efforts to build a more inclusive, sustainable, and economically viable place. The festival is in its second year, and runs over the first week in October. This year it will take place between the 6th and 11th of October. The researcher was an employee of the festival committee last year, as a coordinator. As of 2015, the researcher is a volunteer, playing a role in facilitation of organisational processes and strategic direction.

3.3.1. Collaborations

The collaborative pool for the process of this project included various types of co-researcher/participants.

- **Partner Organisations and Co-Researchers**

The organisation, the Muizenberg Festival, is a collaboration of several key partners who have played a role in the organising of the festival, as well as the visioning processes for the area as a whole. These include, amongst others non-profit organisations working in the creative sector, local businesses, state operated agencies, ratepayers' organisations and tourism and business chambers

- **Secretariat**

In addition to the partners and organisations of the Muizenberg Festival ecosystem was the annual renewal of a coordinating secretariat, coordinated by the researcher, and made up of local and international volunteers and interns. Amongst the collaborators are the University of Western Cape, Breda Applied Sciences University, and the Danish-based KaosPilots. These participants provided invaluable experience of their practical learning journey in support of the organising of the Muizenberg Festival annually.

3.4. Analogous Festival Case Studies

These include, amongst others, *Festivals Edinburgh*, *AfrikaBurn*, *Open Streets* and the *Cape Town Carnival*. The field work undertaken with these organisations guided the interventions and interpretation of the action research process in regard to the Muizenberg Festival.

However, of these comparative festival organisations, the Festivals Edinburgh was the most prominent comparative organisation; from which much of the interventions were derived; and the themes interpreted. This did not form part of the action research strictly speaking, however, because the core participants and researcher embarked on the trip with the explicit goal of answering best practice questions, in the data analysis section. Due to the comprehensive impact

that the Festivals Edinburgh experience had on my understanding and lens for festival studies, and the core team's inquiry as a whole, the Festivals Edinburgh organisation has had a significant role in the development of practice during the course of the cycles of the subject organisation - Muizenberg Festival.

3.4.1. Edinburgh: Festivals Edinburgh

In August 2015 I accompanied a Cape Town Partnership programme, Creative Cape Town, with a team of Cape Town-based festival organisers, to Edinburgh; in order to explore best practices in festival management and build understanding of diverse festival business models, with the objective of bringing back skill sets and capacities to the Cape Town context. The opportunity provided a possibility of developing a broader experience and learning of the twelve distinct festivals that make up the Edinburgh Festival; as the delegates would be able to spend time with key managers and leading innovators at the Edinburgh Festival peak season; attending seminars, tours, etc. The delegation's commitment was to the exploration of these festivals with an eye on transformative ambitions for our context of Cape Town.

The Edinburgh Festival is a phenomenon that is made up of twelve distinct festivals that have independent themes and purposes. More recently, the festivals are coordinated by a unique arrangement that is an organisation called Festivals Edinburgh. Among the hosts at Edinburgh, hosting the various delegates from the varied regions, were James McVeigh and Faith Liddell (Head of Marketing & Innovation, and Director of Festivals Edinburgh, respectively).

The company Festivals Edinburgh is an umbrella entity that provides strategy, innovation, and collaborative facilitation of Edinburgh's twelve festivals. Each distinct festival is internationally renowned and until 2006 worked independently, in competition with one another. In 2006, the twelve directors formed Festivals Edinburgh. The independently staffed company is mandated to build cooperation and collaboration between the festivals, in order to foster greater innovation, collaborative advantage, and maintain Edinburgh's status as the 'festival city of the world.'

3.4.2. Open Streets Cape Town

Open Streets Cape Town is a citizen-driven initiative working to change how people use, perceive and experience streets. We do this via our programme of Open Streets Days, as well as advocacy campaigns. The Muizenberg Festival has been in regular contact, exchanging practice, and supporting one another's work.

The Muizenberg Festival team has worked in tandem with Open Streets, especially with the 2014 festival, where Open Streets played a participating role as a partner and project. The partnership did not succeed at this stage, due to numerous communication errors between the teams, however, it was an important learning curve for both teams at their early stages of development and pathfinding.

3.4.3. AfrikaBurn

AfrikaBurn is an official Burning Man regional event, held annually in the Tankwa Karoo National Park in South Africa since 2007. It is centred on the construction of temporary artworks in a semi-desert environment, some of which are burnt towards the end of the event. AfrikaBurn's aim is to be radically inclusive and accessible to anyone. The touchstone of value in the festival's culture will always be immediate. Specifically, this means that experience is prioritised before theory, moral relationships before politics, survival before services, roles before jobs, ritual before symbolism, work before vested interest, participant support before sponsorship.

It is useful to reflect on the fact that these statements concerning what AfrikaBurn's culture stands for versus what it does not stand for; is in itself a challenge to instituted trends in festival spaces specifically and across many other social segments more generally.

We, at the Muizenberg Festival, have had an indirect relationship with the AfrikaBurn organisation and have had ongoing exchange via various links. Many artists in and around Muizenberg frequent the Burn communities. Additionally, several projects in the Muizenberg Festival sphere, including. More recently, Project Ripple and Urban Resilience Initiative

received spark grants from the AfrikaBurn organisation to run their programmes. The Afrikaburn organisation represents an extraordinary experiment in the context of South Africa and is a valuable case as far as this project is concerned.

3.4.4. Cape Town Carnival

The Cape Town Carnival is a glamorous celebration of the transformative power of creativity and our African identity with its diverse array of communities and cultures. Every year, this festive occasion inspires our city and her people to create, build and play together – thousands of spectators converge annually on Green Point’s famous Fan Walk to join the extravagant parade of costumed performers, musicians and moving floats.

The Cape Town Carnival event is operated by a non-profit trust with the purpose of staging this world-class event, simultaneously creating jobs and benefiting Cape Town’s local creative economy. The Cape Town Carnival communicates its key objectives and values as the following:

- Provide opportunities for community participation in arts and culture and create a significant hub for the clothing, costume and set-building industries in the Western Cape.
- Create employment and training opportunities in costume, float design and production as well as large event logistics.
- Create an environment of social cohesion where tourists and locals can experience the glamour and creativity of the Cape Town Carnival throughout the year.

The references to social cohesion, generating employment opportunities via the creative economy, and engaging communities and nascent cultural industries as a hub - a platform for people to engage in these celebratory actions; is notable, as it speaks to the framing of the festival space as an open system that engages and seeks to facilitate wider development in with and alongside key institutions at sectors including tourism, economic development and the arts & culture. I was curious about how this was understood from the internal management team, as well as on the event day. I have since interviewed two members of the management team (Creative Director and Head of Floats); and the following denote key themes pertinent to this project. Cape Town Carnival staff are regular participants in the Muizenberg Festival process,

and I have worked with the Carnival in both 2017 and 2018 as part of their logistics and coordination team in lead up and on event day.

Chapter 4. Research Methodology

Identifying the opportunity to understand literature on festival studies in light of institutional theory and vice versa provided a clearer understanding of the research questions. It became clear that what I was looking to uncover was the intersection of festivals with the institutional field - how festivals as plural, temporary and dynamic social and organisational phenomenon interfaced with institutional norms, barriers and logics. Specifically, as I had originally become interested in festivals by way of a local festival that I was a participant of, I decided to focus on festivals that were organised with social objectives in mind, and with the participation of the community for whom the festival benefits. This relational focus would be in fine contrast to a commodified relationship with so-called festival-goers .

The simplified research question that provided the framing of this study was:

- How do community-based festivals do institutional work?

Secondary questions, amongst others, that became interesting after immersing in the literature of institutional theory and festival studies were:

- How do festival organisations become institutions in their host communities?
- What do festivals have to teach organisational theory and practice in terms of mobilising broad participation for intentional co-created events?

With this in mind I began formulating a method of inquiry through an action research case study process, incorporating primary and secondary case studies from Cape Town-based festivals. The following provides an overview of the process that was undertaken so as to follow and answer the research questions.

4.1. Research Design

This chapter consists of the research methodology that was explored from the initiation of the project through to the application of the fieldwork for this study, which entails appropriate procedures in gathering reliable and valuable data through a well defined research plan. This section contains the various procedures, stages, and uses in conducting this research as well as a discussion of the research paradigm employed.

4.1.1. Research Paradigm: Interpretivism

The project has been undertaken with the broad view of social constructivism and the research paradigm lends itself to interpretivism. Dash (2005) & Braun and Clarke (2013) explain that a paradigm is a set of beliefs, assumptions, values and practices that are shared by those who are involved in the research investigation. The current study has been undertaken as in the interpretive design paradigm, and is a qualitative research project, lending itself to specific ethnographic and participatory research methods. This is to say that the study is based on qualitative data instruments and methods; and that the work has been carried out in the context of a paradigm that allows for subjective interpretation and uncertainty in regards to both theory analysis and fieldwork.

4.1.2 The Interpretivist Tradition

This approach stresses the subjectivist perspective to studying social phenomena, attaching importance to a range of research techniques and focusing on qualitative analysis. These include interviews, participant observations, and individuals' own accounts on personal constructs (Dash, 2005). In addition, Neuman (2011: 101) views anti-positivism as interpretative, which refers to the study of how people interact and get along with each other. Neuman (2011) further emphasizes the meaningful aspects of social actions that are socially constructed, considering their meaning and value as relativistic, with a clear understanding containing more shared meaning. Interpretivism has many variations including hermeneutics, constructionism,

ethnomethodology, idealism, phenomenology, and subjectivism, which cover qualitative research methods that use symbols rather than numbers.

Qualitative research is usually associated with the social constructivist research paradigm, which emphasises the socially constructed nature of reality. Neville (2007: 3) argued that it is all about recording, analysing and attempting to uncover the deeper meaning and significance of human behaviour and experience. Additionally, the framing of a research project with the theoretical lens of institutional theory necessitates a constructivist and interpretivist approach as the scholarship concerned is itself nested in the tradition. Researchers are interested in gaining a rich and complex understanding of a person's experience, and not in obtaining information, which can be generalized to other larger groups of participants. According to Bahari (2010: 18), qualitative research is the type of approach that allows the making of claims of knowledge based on constructivist perspectives, and the application of strategies of certain designs which involve inquiries such as narratives, phenomenologies, ethnographies, grounded theory studies and case studies

4.1.3 Purpose of Research: Exploration and Emancipation

Research is conducted for various purposes and is concerned with uncovering 'truths,' with regards to specified and observable social phenomena (Robson, 2007: 20). In practice this means that the researcher works systematically, applies scepticism to his/her findings, and conducts the project with ethical concern for the participating parties and/or subjects of the research in question (Robson, 2007: 20).

The topic and research questions of this project are emergent areas of study and relatively new research fields. The broad purpose of the research, as I have maintained during the study, is then an exploration and emancipation rather than descriptive and/or explanatory purpose. The project is emancipatory in the sense that it seeks to find out new ways of modelling and practicing organisation and collective impact, in order to improve the capacity of people to exercise local democratic principles of organising and exchanging in an effective and disruptive way. It is

exploratory in the sense that the research questions explicitly guide the research towards the exploration and discovery of knowledge and action experience of organisational development arising specifically from experiential institutional work and practices in festival organisations.

4.1.4. Flexible Design

A research design is the overall strategy used to integrate the various components of a study, in such a way that it is logical and coherent. It is the blueprint architecture that supports and guides the collection, measurement and analysis of data; as well as the prospecting of findings. This thesis and research project is a flexible design, which best suited my approach to the fieldwork with festival organisations.

Flexible designs most often rely on the collection of qualitative data that informs and guides the research; and even permits the evolution of the research questions (Robson, 2007: 21). This project is a flexible design model, in contrast to a fixed model. Flexible design approaches to research imply that decisions regarding the proceeding of research method and data collection may be subject to change depending on the results of early data collection and action research findings (Robson, 2007: 21).

The project employs, chiefly the action research paradigm, however, also lends from the case study research methodology with regards to data analysis and theory building. This is especially true in regard to the analysis of the secondary data and data sets that came from comparative and analogous organisations. Case study research is a systematic research process that works to develop a process, action or an interaction about a substantive topic (Cresswell, 2012). Action research is by its nature ethnographic; in the sense that this type of research involved a group, organisation, culture and community.

4.2. Methodological Framework

The study is based on work with festival case studies, action research with a specific case study festival organisation, and rigorous desk research, whereby literature concerning festivals from a

variety of disciplines was covered and analysed through the theoretical framework of institutional theory. The theory lens used is institutional theory generally, and institutional work in particular. This provided a perspective for the project to apply itself to the fieldwork. The fieldwork and/or data collection was undertaken as an action research methodology with analogous festivals as case studies.

Methodology contains methods including systematic ways, standards, and principles that are applied by a researcher in order to guide the processes, choices, and structures; which depend on the research paradigm suitable for such research. It also varies from discipline to discipline depending on the particular research area (Ragin & Amoroso 2011: 116).

4.2.1. Action Research

The practical emphasis of the topic and the research questions involve action research methods. Action research stresses the involvement of the researcher in the situation of study (Robson, 2007: 23).

Action research is generally concerned with working out the value of a specific phenomenon in an organisation and finding new ways of working or delivering the service and increasing the value (Robson, 2007: 24). In the case of this research project, it is concerned with the value of practices and ways of doing things in festival organisations; to the benefit of the case study festivals as well as non-festival organisations.

Robson (2007: 24) describes the standard sequence of action research as a cyclical process that is about planning a new change in the situation, documenting what happens afterwards, reflecting on it, and planning further changes. The research may lead to new models of organisational practice and/or facilitation of collective impact. These possibilities cannot be strictly defined from the outset and so the research will involve generative learning and prototyping of interventions in the primary case study, and paying attention to working practices in secondary case study festivals. The approach of this project will hinge on action research as an approach with documentary analysis as a supportive source of data however. Additional influences that

may be incorporated into the data analysis will be the phenomenological approach that focuses on the experience of individuals and considers their point of view in determining what is happening. Phenomenological approaches will be critical in determining the underlying invisible processes, understood by the participants, and manifested in their behaviour, related to experiential institutional work.

Action research refers generally to research projects that involve learning through doing; and often relate to a specific organisation and/or participatory and collaborative phenomenon; where the researcher is both a researcher and a participant. It is often referred to as, interchangeably, participatory research, emancipatory research, action learning and contextual action research. They are all variants of a similar theme in research. What separates this type of research from general professional practices, consulting, or daily problem-solving is the emphasis on scientific study, which is to say the researcher studies the problem systematically and ensures the intervention is informed by theoretical considerations (O'Brien, 1998). Gilmore, Krantz, and Ramirez (1986: 161), provide a succinct yet comprehensive account of the approach; one which encompasses the present researcher's rationale for selecting this approach:

“Action research aims to contribute both to the practical concerns of people in an immediate problematic situation and to further the goals of social science simultaneously. Thus, there is a dual commitment in action research to study a system and concurrently to collaborate with members of the system in changing it in what is together regarded as a desirable direction. Accomplishing this twin goal requires the active collaboration of researcher and client, and thus it stresses the importance of co-learning as a primary aspect of the research process.”

The subject of the action research study is often a client system or organisation and a theory of change that is applied in order to affect that system and the character and results of particular actions and/or processes. Furthermore, the research project was undertaken from the perspective and rationale of the practitioner and researcher in the chief subject of the current study. Coghlan & Brannick (2010) refer to this approach as the 'insider approach', due to the fact that the

researcher is an insider of the subject or phenomena, which is being studied. Action research can also be considered to have more overt emancipatory characteristics, as Coghlan and Brannick note:

“Sharing the power of knowledge production with the researched subverts the normal practice of knowledge and policy development as being the primary domain of researchers and policy-makers...Action Researchers work on the epistemological assumption that the purpose of academic research and discourse is not just to describe, understand and explain the world, but also to change it. The issue is not so much the form of the knowledge produced or the methodology employed to gather data / evidence, but who decides the research agenda in the first place, and who benefits directly from it.”

4.2.1.1. Characteristics of Action Research

Two chief dimensions of the AR approach can be identified that contrast the approach from other research designs. Action research is both collaborative in character and cyclical in practice (Coghlan & Brannick, 2010). Whereas it can be said that other research methodologies approach research in order to generate knowledge only, AR collaborates with participants as co-researchers in a cyclical process of deliberate agency on a client system/organisation; of which the researcher and co-researchers are also a part.

- **Cyclical**

Action research is cyclical, and retrospectively it can be understood that the research took a similar trajectory. In contrast to standard research approaches, this collaborative and cyclical approach is lived and relies on the embeddedness of the researcher in the subject of research, as a part of it, experiencing the subject head on.

Members of the system or subject organisation participate actively in the cyclical process of actionable knowledge. The cycle can be understood as going through four stages that can re-iterate towards more knowledge and action. Essential to these stages is that they are conscious and deliberate:

- a. Assessing a situation which is calling for change
- b. Planning to take action
- c. Taking action
- d. Evaluating the action

A cycle that goes through these phases is likely to lead to further learning cycles. Lewin (1997: 146), a pioneer of what has come to be known as the action research paradigm said that the cyclical process is like ‘a spiral of steps, each of which is composed of a circle of planning, action, and fact-finding about the result of the action. Action research bridges scientific research and knowledge, which often aims to be generalizable and unspecific, with practical knowledge which is often spontaneous and case-specific. The value of this cooperation between theory and practice is well illustrated by the adage that ‘there is nothing as practical as a good theory’ (Lewin, 1997). Good theory, read in this sense must arise from practical experience and conversely serve such experiences and sites of practice.

- **Collaborative**

Action Research has its roots in social psychology, and Paulo Freire’s work on pedagogy and consciousness raising, as well as critical and pragmatic (Coghlan & Brannick, 2010: 45). Shani and Pasmore (2010) outline a complete theory of action research, in reference to the need to consider contextual factors; that are essential to the system that is being studied as well as necessary for a nuanced and deliberate respect for the participants. In effect, all research is dependent on the relationships inherent in a particular system/case study. Finally, the authors suggest that the outcomes of that action research project are directly related to/and dependent on the quality of the contextual sensitivity, relationships, and process. Recognising and accounting for these factors is key in any research design that follows an action research approach.

It is important to make clear the three audiences of an action research project – the researcher, the participants/client system, and the broader academic/practitioner audience. Although these audiences are important to consider with all research methodologies, in the action research approach it is a constant discipline that helps to check the relationships and power dynamics in the research endeavor; with the question ‘For whom is this research benefiting/what is it

achieving...?’ as a recurring interrogation in order to check for research biases.

Inclusive of collaborative and cyclical character of action research, the approach also has an inevitable political and personal dimension to it as the researcher is both invested in the project/organization and plays a power role in that space, in relation to other members/participants of the system. There is a balancing of practitioner role and researcher/inquirer role that needs to be balanced well.

- **Meta-Learning**

In action research projects there are two concurrent research cycles. There is the cycle that involves the practical act of assessment, planning, implementing and evaluating in the context of the organisation or team’s projects. The second cycle is the reflective cycle that occurs at a more theoretical level; it is the reflexive theorization of what occurs at the first cyclical level. Argyrus (2003) argues that the investigation of the particular steps that occur in the action research project is the development of actionable knowledge. Furthermore, Mezirow (1991) builds on this understanding of the methodology, by identifying various levels of reflection; within the context of meta-learning. They are content; regarding the issues, the facts and context; process; regarding the strategies, action plans and procedures; and finally premise reflection where the researcher questions the fundamental assumptions that are underlying the entire project.

4.2.1.2. Challenges and Opportunities

The learning opportunities of action research reconcile theory and practice. In the more prevalent research paradigm, the researcher is an objective inquirer-distant from the phenomenon that is being studied. This is argued to be scientifically rigorous and lends to more reliable results; due to the perceived objectivity. The opportunities for action research is that it is a dialogue of theory and practice and embeds itself in the social phenomena; entirely relinquishing the preconception that the researcher can ever be, nor ought to be, clinically objective and removed from the environment for which he or she seeks to understand.

The challenges, on the other hand, have to do with the question of objective science as well as

role-playing and biases whilst working and researching within an organisation(s). The insider, although closer and more adept in the subject area/organisation under study, comes along with a host of assumptions, biases and investments in the work/structure of the organisation. In addition to these idiosyncratic challenges posed to the objectivity of the action research study, the inside researcher is a role player in the phenomenon or subject organisation; who is studying amongst other variables and subjects; the colleagues and co-workers, the mission and relevance of the work in the organisation. This new role, as a researcher, in the organisation, positions the researcher in a difficult position. Therefore, there is the risk of power play and politicization of the project and the project's data sets, because the inquirer is herself/himself of a role in the subject organisation. Coghlan & Brannick (2010), citing the seminal work of Ed Schein recommend that the researcher prepare him/herself by developing the requisite social skills and awareness that is necessary for a balance to be maintained. If this is done well, the research can be said to maintain rigour and objectivity. According to Coghlan (2010), the following are requisite for an action research to be counted as 'rigorous' academic work. The current project experienced the above-mentioned challenges, and the researcher had to employ regular sessions of reflexive observation and self-preparation, in order to navigate these complications.

4.3. Methods

The data collection in this research project will include interviews, unstructured and semi-structured. Additionally, focus groups, photography, observations, and field notes (via work journals) whilst in practice will be utilised to accumulate raw data. This can then be described collectively as the host of methods used in the present study to explore and address the research question. The research project only formally began in May of 2015. This stage begins with various meetings, consultation and working processes with co-participants as well as reaching out to other festivals with requests to work within their organisations as researcher and practitioner. I had notified the participants of the intention to use certain meeting recordings, minutes, and materials as a means of uncovering interventions, during the course of the second

cycle and then evaluating them during the beginning of the third.

4.3.1. Target Population

According to Welman, Kruger, and Mitchell (2005: 54) the population is the entire set of cases from which a sample is taken for a particular study. Population entails the total participant size for the study that may be in land scale, objects, animals, human beings, or a community, which makes it particular enough in order to provide a clear understanding of what population that may be involved in the research. This gives the researcher full insight and allows clearer understanding of its applicability in the study. However, the population might not be so easy to cover within a specific period. Consequently the research will require a target population. To this end, Neuman (2011: 241) defines a ‘target population’ as all units of analysis that are used for a specific study, and sees ‘population’ as the abstract idea of a larger group of many cases from which a researcher chooses a sample.

The target population for this study included participants from the following categories of organisations and individuals who came to be involved in the Muizenberg Festival organising process. Most of the participants were organisations and individuals from the greater Muizenberg area:

- Civic organisations & organisers
- Artists & creative professionals
- Local government representatives & councillors
- Residents & ratepayers
- Non-profit organisations & charities
- Businesses & local entrepreneurs

Additional target population included festivals from surrounding Cape Town neighbourhoods as well as international examples of festival organisations with good examples. These included:

- Festivals Edinburgh
- Cape Town Carnival

- Vrygrond Family Festival
- AkrikaBurn Creative Projects

4.3.2. Sampling Procedures and Method

Any method used to select a portion of a study's population through the probability or non-probability method is called 'sampling' (Maree, 2011: 79). "*Sampling*' enables the study to cover a smaller number of units, instead of the entire population, and assists in deciding on the particular set of participants that would be taken to inform the study" (Welman, Kruger, and Mitchell, 2005: 56). Sampling in this research paper will assist in two areas; establishing a good representation of the research problem by avoiding bias as well as drawing inference from findings, which constitute a sample from an entire population of businesses in both countries.

From the overall target population and categories, as described above, a limited number of participants' feedback, observations and workshop contributions make up the sample of this study.

4.3.3. Purposive Sampling

This sampling technique that is applied in research, involves the study of those classes to be included in the expected population by selecting the participant according to a criterion that is relevant to particular research. Therefore, I considered only those participants that represent the purpose of the research in the whole population (Maree 2011: 79). In addition, Neuman (2011: 221) reveals that purposive sampling is also referred to as judgmental sampling, due to its random pattern in drawing samples for a research study; giving the researcher a wider range of methods used to identify all possible cases in the whole population, and is dependent on the judgment of the researcher. Purposive sampling techniques were used basically to pick the specific participating organisations and individuals whose contributions were recognisable as having influence and consistent bearing on the subject - Muizenberg Festival.

4.3.4. Sample Size

Kumar (2011: 194) points out that the decision in research to reduce the population to a smaller size as being due to limits in time and resources. This gives room for the selection of a certain number of individuals, or elements, important for the inclusion in the study. To this end, Maree (2011: 179) points out that a smaller sample does not take a long period of time, and requires much less finance, in order to reach the goals planned in the research project. He further states that it makes sense to represent a larger population in a smaller sample size when the population is homogeneous; when the members are similar in nature with respect to the variables that are important to the study.

Therefore, the sample size selected for this study was five (5) local social-purpose community-based festivals and two (2) international festival organisations/organisers.

The sampling size was selected based on the categories that pertain to social-purpose and community-based as defining characteristics. Where social purpose is defined as an organisation or business that uses entrepreneurial principles to organise, mobilise and manage a for-profit business that has a social mission at its core and the goals of creating both economic and social value. Community-based is defined as an organisation that exists to improve the livelihood and social goods of the immediate community wherein the organisation operates/exists.

The sample size for the action research co-participants of the Muizenberg Festival is not possible to ascertain as intentionally selected. This is because I have drawn from numerous participating festival project organisers, creators and coordinators dependent more on their contribution during particular festival workshops, gatherings and feedback sessions. This was more incidental than it was intentional in the sense that inputs from participants was included on the basis of its emerging value to the process of organising and designing the Muizenberg Festival.

4.3.5. Data Collection

The approach of this project will hinge on the action research design as a primary approach and contextual documentary analysis as a secondary source of data. The data used during this stage comes from minutes (planning meetings), semi-structured interviews and meetings (including

informal core team conversations and decisions, notes with others during this period). It has also made use of retrospective descriptions of our actioning meetings provided in working journals. The working journals are referenced as they act as secondary analyses of the subject project. From the comparative organisations, and Festivals Edinburgh, I used seminars, interviews, observations during this period to inform the research.

4.3.5.1. Interviews

Interviews have been facilitated with participants in the organisational and implementation processes of the Muizenberg Festival during the final two weeks of preparation (late September), during the event (in October each year), and after the event has concluded (late October) - this is the case for each cycle of the Muizenberg Festival. The same has been done with audience members, performers, and critical observers in order to get a wide variety of perspectives of the phenomena. Interviews with festival organisers and role-players have been conducted. Additionally, interviews with Muizenberg Festival participants have been conducted outside of the organising weeks of the Muizenberg Festival with the purpose of reflecting on the process retrospectively.

4.3.5.2. Focus Groups

I had prepared a set of focus group meetings regarding festival experiences and evaluations from a broad variety of stakeholder; including local government, property owners, private business, civil society organisations, and temporary residents. The objective of these meetings had been to unearth the possibilities and ‘visible’ results of the festival process and event on the community. The meetings will be recorded and transcribed. Later this material will be coded and arranged in such a way as to illustrate the collective impact that the event had on the community. Parallels will be drawn between datasets from sources as diverse as Edinburgh Festival (2015) seminars to Muizenberg Festival (2016 - 2017) focus groups, in order to discover similarities and differences.

4.3.5.3. Field Notes

I have kept a field journal with the specific objective of noting experiences and insights gained whilst doing work in the context of the festival. Notes and insights were gathered with attention paid to the key indicators that I maintained awareness of during the course of the study. The journal comprises observations and notes regarding the work I had done as a festival organiser in this context - defined as facilitating meetings; implementing décor & design, communication & marketing, and setup plans; meeting with stakeholders, and writing documents to support festival operations, etc. The journal has been a reference point for the practitioner/researcher, as well as a reflective dataset.

4.3.5.4. Documentation

Documentation for contextual analysis has included minutes of meetings, journal entries of participating community members, and photography that documents specific events, gatherings, and process integral to the organisational management of the festival process - and at times simply the product of the organising efforts. Of particular interest will be documentation of festival events and processes that confront existing institutions in the form of symbols, belief systems, entrenched organisations, et cetera.

4.4. Research Cycles

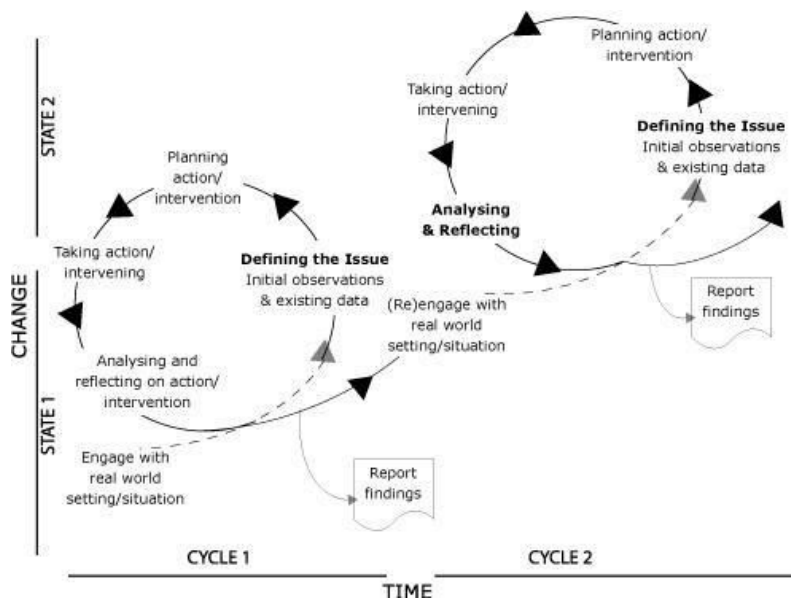
Greenwood (2007: 131) stated that: *“Action research is neither a method or technique; it is an approach to living in the world that includes the creation of areas for collaborative learning and the design, enactment and evaluation of liberating actions... it combines action and research, reflection and action in an ongoing cycle of co-generative knowledge.”*

With this description in mind, it is kept in mind that each cycle of the action research concerning the Muizenberg Festival, influenced by regular consultation of other analogous festivals/festival organisers, has been described briefly in this section so as to provide context for the themes explored in the Findings section. Following the cyclical process description will be a brief description of the data analysis involved in the development of themes from the raw data.

The subject of the Muizenberg Festival action research study, and its process, can be described as three (3) intertwined action research cycles of constructing, planning, implementation and evaluation; They are:

- Cycle 1: September 2013-October 2014;
- Cycle 2: November 2014-October 2015;
- Cycle 3: November 2015- June 2016.

Figure: illustrates the intertwining of each conceptual ‘cycle’ in the action research process. Each cycle has been undertaken with this action research model in mind.



As has been seen in the following sections, the final cycle (Cycle 3: November 2015 - June 2016) weighs in with a majority of the primary action research material, and therefore is given more focus in the project’s findings and discussion sections; it is the culmination of the cycles that is the subject of a lot of the investigation in Cycle 3.

4.4.1. Data Collection

In the research processes it was necessary to define particular indicators or phenomena for which greater attention would be given. In other words, when dealing with a significantly large sample size of data - including interviews, focus group reports, observations, and working journals - it was important to define parameters for what to look out for and pay attention to. Here are the lenses and key indicators that were provided with more attention:

- organisational context,
- the theory of change/strategy of change,
- key practices of festival organising,
- awareness of internal process of organising team,
- and context/event characteristics.

4.4.2. Thematic Lenses

In addition to the practice oriented indicators and focus areas for data collection, I had created several categories of observation based on the literature, in order to organise what I had been looking for. The following themes were kept in mind and explicitly monitored and collected throughout these three stages:

- organisational characteristics of the ‘Muizenberg Festival’ organisation,
- institutional penetration,
- inclusivity and engagement,
- local economic activity,
- alternative resource flows, and
- anomalies in organisational arrangement.

These thematic lenses were kept in mind during the development and implementation of planning in the particular site organisation (Muizenberg Festival), however it is also applied to analogous festival organisations; and the interviews that were undertaken with respondents and participants who are involved in the facilitation and management of analogous festival spaces.

4.4.2.1. Organisational Characteristics

The organisational developments of the Muizenberg Festival (or analogous festival organisation) pertains to the organisational innovations and interventions that affect the way the festival effort is implemented, decisions are made, and sustainability is or isn't achieved. This includes the model by which the organisation is organised - how roles, routines, work and resources are organised.

4.4.2.1.2. Institutional Penetration

Systems' entrepreneurship by the festival in regard to institutional partners and non-partners. This variable refers to the effect of the festival phenomena and key variables/practices, on institutions and institutional norms in the sites of the action research. In other words, the extent to which the festival has successfully done institutional work in its site; with its various partners and institutional logics. Institutional work is signalled by an observable shift in routine, ritual and/or behaviour of actors that are bound to a varying degree by the roles they play in their respective institutions/organisations.

4.4.3. Overall Cycle Process

The theory of change/transformational intervention differed in each cycle, due in most part, to the learning and development that had taken place during/after each cycle

The case study account of research from the Edinburgh trip, as well as several analogous festival organisations, who participated in the research as 'expert respondents', were intertwined with the cycles and be represented, in respect to the chronological reporting of the action research, in between Cycle 1 and Cycle 2. Finally, the research cycles were reflected on with respect to an overall picture of the study and its purpose (before the discussion of key themes and emerging evaluations of change strategies).

4.4.4. Change Methodologies

The research cycles are themselves informed by the ongoing learning of action participants; and therefore a host of change theories and facilitation frameworks have been present throughout the three action research cycles. Of these, a most significant framework that has been present throughout the process of the current research project has been Otto Scharmer's (2010) U-theory. In addition, Asset Based Community Development and Design Thinking have been core change methodologies employed for the process workshops, and festival organising meetings, etc.

4.4.5 Distinction Between Intentional and Unintended Action Research Cycle

The researcher began the intentional intervention of this project in the second half of the 2nd cycle (April, 2015), and continued the explicit project through towards the 3rd cycle (Muizenberg Festival 2016). The cycle data references (secondary data) in the initial cycle, although presented in the same format are not a part of the formal study. This is to say that the data was harvested at a time where the researcher was not explicitly undergoing action research in the site organisation.

Despite this, due to the naturally experimental and reflective nature of the festival structure, the process as narrated retrospectively fits the action research methodology. The explicit use of Theory U in cycle 1 is indicative of the inherent action research lense that the entire project is characterised by. The 2nd and 3rd cycles are therefore subject to the intentional Action Research in the present sense (that they are included in a formal study period). They also, by consequence, provide more data for the project as a whole. This is because the vast majority of fieldwork and data capturing methods were practiced after April 2015.

4.5. Data Analysis

After amalgamating the variety of datasets, I undertook an analysis of the broad spectrum of information. First, this involved the discernment of what to use and what not to use. This was facilitated by discerning the key indicators and lenses for which represented signals of what data was relevant to the research question and what data could be left out of the study, including interviews, documentation, and working notes. With the data distilled by this device I undertook

a coding exercise, framing open codes from primary data according to broadly available themes; this provided a sense of patterns emerging in the reflexive outputs of the data.

4.5.1. Validation

I have validated the themes with co-researchers and participants by introducing these thematics during meetings, workshops, and then discarded those that did not stick and make sense and adjusted according to feedback, building on themes that provoked constructive discussion - whether in Muizenberg Festival workshops or meetings with analogous festivals. In addition, public presentations have provided further validation of the theme process.

4.5.2. Thematic Analysis

The findings section are thus presented in chronological narration; and are the greater themes that emerged by means of thematic analysis of the primary action research findings reports. The themes emerging from the 2nd and 3rd cycle are emphasised; as they are conducted in the actual context of the present research project, that had only been decisively deployed after the first cycle had taken place. By this, it is meant that the 1st cycle was not part of the explicitly planned action research process. However, as it was documented with the same learning and development purposes in mind; and as such has been discussed before; with the similar academic rigour/documentation logics/lens of the academy.

The findings section describes pertinent open themes abstracted from Cycle 2 and Cycle 3. These are subjected to further axial coding; and disaggregated according to the relationship to one another, and the deductive processing thereof. The axial coding process was also subject to co-researcher and public validation. The first step in thematic analysis is to identify all data that relate to a classified pattern, and when patterns emerge it is best to obtain feedback from the informants about them. Finally, it is necessary to build a valid argument for choosing the themes (Aronson, 1994). Themes are identified by *“bringing together components or fragments of ideas or experiences, which often are meaningless when viewed alone”* (Leininger, 1985: 60).

4.5.3. Triangulation

Finally, these aggregated themes are triangulated with analogous festivals; in that they are played against datasets emerging from analogous festivals; in the form of observations and long form interviews with leading festival producers and action co-researchers. This serves to triangulate and test the themes that rise from the action research project, concerning one case study specifically; with findings that emerge from a dozen other festival organisations; providing a bolstering effect for the findings at answering the research question; which concerns festival organisations in general; as organisations, social phenomena and subjects for inquiry, in theory and practice, concerning institutional work that contributes towards socio-economic transformation.

4.6. Limitations

The researcher accepts that this does not fit the present tense rigour of an ideal action research project, however, the whole project, as well as the analogous and comparative organisations; are imbued with the purpose of practice development and prototyping; that characterises all data instruments and fieldwork utilised. It is also recognised that the researcher has a bias towards the festivals effects having a positive effect on institutional work, and this may exclude possible negative externalities that the festival may have on institutional trends, fields, and logics.

Additionally, the introduction of data sets and observations; from external and expert respondents (representing participating festivals); as integrated into the meta-learning each cycle; can be seen as a break from the tradition of action research. The use of external input means that the developments of new planning and evaluation at each cycle is influenced by factors and learning outside of the organisation that is the primary prototype of this project.

Chapter 5. Findings

This chapter will present the findings of the action research project principally. Secondary sources; from analogous festivals; will also be referenced. The primary action research project is

the Muizenberg Festival and process thereof; and secondary sources are working meetings, interviews, and work trips to visit and contribute to the analogous case festivals.

The findings are the result of the data analysis, and in particular, the analysis of data from the chronological reporting and refining of the project's action research process as a whole. As per the methodology, this involved a process of inspecting, cleaning, transforming, and modeling the data with the goal of (at a later stage in this research process, see appendix for cycle reports) discovering useful information and recognising meaningful patterns and supported the development and ongoing inquiry of the primary research question: "*How do community-based festival organisations do institutional work?*" In this context it was the case study of the Muizenberg Festival that provided initial findings and then the analogous festivals that helped to corroborate and triangulate these findings.

The sections that were analysed provided a presentation and analysis of data collected from the collective efforts of the field-work that has underpinned this research project. The data will broadly be presented in two sections, namely:

- A. Action research data - data that is reflective of an action-oriented research agenda and has been generated in the context of the action research process of constructing, planning, acting and evaluating a festival organising process.
- B. Abstracted themes - themes that are presented in triangulation with patterns that emerged in correspondence with field work and interviews undertaken with analogous festivals.

The sections will respond loosely to:

- A. chronology of the action research story: the action research cycle will be represented in such a way as to mirror the cycle narrative, as described in the discovered methodology (action research via reference to actions taken, anecdotes, and results achieved in terms of the research question); and
- B. non-chronological thematic organisation of secondary data sets that have been coded.

The primary action research data and findings were presented chronologically and in accord to the principle of action research - cyclically, and by representing the collaborations with partners, projects, participants, and performers as co-researchers (Coghlan & Brannick, 2013). The datasets were presented in thematic sections, abstracted from the original action research reports that referred directly to coded interview sets (annotated for in the attached appendices) and occurred outside of the chronological system of presentation, although excerpts and anecdotes were borrowed. Key moments, transition points, processes and strategic decisions were drawn from working meetings, interviews, and focus groups; amongst other data gathering means.

5.1. Cycle 2 - Muizenberg Festival 2015 (January - December)

In early 2015, the second iteration of the process of the Muizenberg Festival organisation, and this research project's investigation into festival models, began as a forward-looking evaluation, of the purpose imbued in the Festival initiative's impetus; as earlier described. This coincides with the public discussion(s) of a new organisational model (Project Zero and, later, Muizenberg Partnership) that attempts to translate the creative impulse of the festival movement, and coordinate the moving parts (partners, projects, and participants), without losing the authenticity of this impulse (Muizenberg Festival Working Journal, 2015). Therefore, the organisational development journey of the festival initiative will be an ongoing indicator that is represented throughout this cycle.

Additionally, and in regard to organisational development, with the real-time shift in variables of organisational and management-oriented nature (that had not been factors before the inaugural festival in 2014), the partners, projects and participants had significantly shifted. This meant that the core participating committee members (after dissolution of the initial organisational format) had to decide how best to contribute towards the space without antagonising past core members and partners; who had resigned due to the perceived break in trust and lack of cogent collaboration. What is of interest are the dynamics, interpersonal and organisational, that led to the re-emergence of the festival initiative as well as the specific role that a festival organisation space specifically plays in the re-organisation of roles.

That said, it was clear at this stage of the research, from the perspective of the broader festival community (inclusive of performers, participants, partners and projects) that the festival had a significantly positive impact on the community; and that there was therefore sufficient reason and momentum from our broader stakeholder basis to continue the movement and plan a new process and festival in 2015.

In reference to the decision to embark on the second year of the Muizenberg Festival project in early 2015, JM explained that *“The boat had already left shore, it is not a choice, the boat is sailing, and we must choose to paddle”* (Maxwell, February 2015). We were designing to accommodate for an emerging process that meant we had to respond to needs of partners and projects as new and unique challenges; without preconceived planning models.

The following provides the meta-frame workings of AR applied to themes that had been discovered, contrasted, and reflected over in the course of each particular cycle of the AR process. Given that these themes are well defined concepts in themselves; these are representations of macro reflections made from the AR process as a way of exploring or improving the core purpose of the initiative.

5.1.1. Planning, Phase 1 (January - August 2015)

5.1.1.1. Theme 1: Organic Organisation

An organic organisation, unlike mechanistic organisations (Burns & Stalker, 1961), is flexible and values external knowledge; recognising the value of taking external factors into consideration. Organic organisation, in contrast to mechanistic organising, is adaptable and more complex in its leadership structures and protocols. An organic organisation is one that is very flexible and is able to adapt well to changes. Its structure is identified as having little job specialisation, few layers of management, decentralised decision-making, and limited direct supervision.

- **Example**

The Festival process can be described as representing principles of organic organisation, albeit not having had the plan to do so beforehand. In early 2015, the festival organising process was guided by the coordination team (now based at *The Hive*). The team's role was to activate other task teams, and key project partners and coordinate their linking into the broader festival platform. Task teams represent different sectors of expertise and are resourced voluntarily, whilst project partners are organisations or individuals who have vested interest in driving and implementing a particular project within the framework of MF. The Marketing & Communications task team, for example, is made up of volunteers lending their expertise and skills as a task team lead, as well as volunteers lending their time and presence to implementing strategy developed in concert with the task team leads. There has been, amongst other teams, a Project Support, Eco Focus, Logistics & Operations, and Finance & Fundraising team.

The projects had been made up of persons with particular interests and passions and a willingness to work through the process towards a showcasing of their project during the festival in October. The dynamic relationship between the projects or events to the coordination team and the task teams has shown an example of the particular kind of organic organising in the MF. As exemplified by the following organisational journey:

In the case of the Communications & Marketing task team, for example, the steady interest of volunteers and ad hoc advisory support needed to be catered for by having a member of the coordination team spend concentrated time and effort in implementing Communications & Marketing insights and campaigns. This was done by teaming an intern (who is full time with coordination team) with a consistent volunteer that had expertise in a field pertaining to the task team; in this case L Schroeder (LS).

LS, a festival 'champion', helped to rally the ad hoc and steady involvement of volunteers. In 2015 this relationship between an intern and consistent volunteer led to a productive functioning task team that provided ongoing working product for the communications of the entire

organisational effort. That peculiar organising change was not according to our planned structure for working that held it as critical that task teams would operate fully independently; without assistance from coordination team. It was however organic in the sense that it was a living, breathing, result of human interaction and natural capacity sourcing. And the entity organised around the principle that nothing ought to be expected from task teams, nothing ought to be planned for and/or communicated as certainty. This limited the perceived disappointment from projects and partners, whilst giving rise to generative surprises and showing of generous volunteerism from members of task teams.

As additional volunteers pooled resources at community meetings, tasks were delegated and project managed from a lead intern and a consistent volunteer to new volunteers; making knowledge management and structure effective and still porous and organic.

Figure: Muizenberg Festival organising themes

The figure above represents a comic interpretation of the organisational thrust of the festival efforts and tries to portray the organic nature of the gathering around consistent themes in the festival organising.



- **Festival Insight**

Early on in the second cycle of festival organising, the coordinating team recognised the need to organise the process and events in a way that consistently adapted to the nature of which stakeholders were involved at the decisive level of investment; that is to say that the organising process needed to be shaped according to who had “*skin in the game;*” and who was stepping forward to take responsibility. This principle can be understood as the festival organising phenomena responding to external circumstances as decisive in the direction and structuring of

the festival organisation. It is counter intuitive in that it invites risk; and a letting go of particular outcomes in favour of emergent options.

The festival structure in this case drew its resources from its capacity to form organically according to what was available; rather than mechanistically requiring that stakeholders conform to specific conduct in order to participate. This is the case with many festival models in that partnerships and early adopters are attracted to the festival space; and are adjoined to the organisational space organically.

- **Theme Value**

This approach to mobilising support and building organisational support across the institutional field is particularly effective in organisational settings where resources and power are restricted and/or limited due to a range of factors. However, we found that maintaining this principle of organic organising throughout our organising process in 2015 led to a more relaxed willingness to participate as there is less fear of committing to immovable or less accommodating structures.

During the callout for new projects, that engaged the public spaces of Muizenberg as opportunities for performance, the emergence of Project Ripple from community members (interested in public performance and artist management) was the result of our structures being loose and undefined - meaning that the project lead felt safe in committing and the artists involved (who were present at this organising meeting) were motivated to continue attending, where they would not have felt motivated to continue attending at other analogously civic meetings. The organic semi-structured nature of our organising mode was inviting and accommodating; leading to an increase in investment of time and energy from projects and participants.

The fact that we were approaching our objectives with the lens of festival, and that our organising principle (at least for newcomers), was the flagship festival as a culmination of the process in October; provided a 'looseness' or even a 'casual-ness' that helped participants and

newcomers(both organisations and individuals) to feel welcome and empowered to create a role within the accommodating/or organic framework of the festivals organising apparatus. It can then be said that by virtue of our organising principle being festival; it was easier to pool resources and mobilise newcomers to contribute towards the milieu of organisation spaces; than it has been for other endeavors in the target community.

5.1.1.2. Theme 2: Open Sourcing

Open source, from computer programming language, refers to programs for which the author grants access to whoever seeks to use it; to study, change and distribute it for any purpose (Levine, Sheen, Prietula, Michael J., 2013:1414).

Figure: Shows the descriptive diagram of how projects are invited into the festival space, open sourced

- **Example**

Projects logged their organisational details on an online login platform and also

presented their ideas and concept development at public meetings; that were further shared via the Festival's networks and made publicly available. This openness meant that there was often surprising and unexpected offerings of support, volunteers, partnerships, and resources from inside and outside the project pool.

- **Festival Insight**

The Festival programme structure for the week in October was the culmination of projects and offerings, and the performance of the outcomes of the process undertaken within the festival

organising. The criteria and theme of projects was important as to the capacity for a project or partner to fit into the festival superstructure, however, the structure of meetings and the invitation to think broadly about how to celebrate, create and make, in Muizenberg, led to a proliferation of creative and openly sourced project ideas and concept development; that propelled the criteria and theme of the festival forward.

- **Theme Value**

Open-source comes from the software industry, where it means that a software's source code is made available with a license, in which the copyright holder provides the rights to study, change, and distribute the software to anyone and for any purpose. Open-source software may also be developed in a collaborative public manner. In the festival space this is taken to mean that the process and projects of the festival hold no ownership of the creative production and that the space itself is open to collaboration and re-iteration or development from additional input. In the context of the Festival, participation is what gives any individual and/or organisation agency over the Festival space and its networked value. This makes the Festival, as a social phenomenon, effective at permeating new undisclosed spaces and amplifies the value of participatory and co-owned production of knowledge, solutions and partnerships in the social space - building a powerful network effect and a compelling vehicle for broader social change and development.

“Open-source” became a theme, in that every aspect of the festival as a social phenomena that was open sourced; the models of organising volunteer efforts, the projects and events, the ideas and concepts of the festival as a representation of people, place and purpose; these were all without an authenticating ownership or claim by the coordinating team or by the project leads in particular.

Open-source as a theme, a concept that was often brought up earlier in gatherings pertaining to the festival; was about the principle of the commons; that no specific organisation or individual in the platform had more jurisdiction over the process or over the knowledge that was being

generated - it was a democratising concept. This led to participants feeling more motivated to commit resources and time to the effort with the assurance that there was no advantage ownership taken by a centralised organisational representative. Conceptually, it meant that (or at least it tried to protect) ourselves from the monopoly or dominance of any particular ideas, and that the organising entity for each initiative on the platform was made explicitly and freely accessible.

5.1.1.3. Theme 3: Distributed Leadership

Distributed Leadership means that rather than focusing on characteristics of the individual leader or features of the situation, distributed leadership foregrounds how actors engage in tasks that are ‘stretched’ or distributed across the organisation (Benson, Angela M.; Blackman & Deborah, 2011: 1141).

- **Example**

The Muizenberg Festival encouraged people to participate by means of their passions; and to operationalise their involvement by means of a project (joining or starting a project); and the coordination team believed that we (myself, as the researcher, and co-researchers) needed to offer our own project to the mix; as a participant of the festival as well; rather than as the Festival (directorship). This was meant to represent and enact the egalitarian principle of the festival; and the idea that we were not the hierarchical head of the organisation and its purpose, rather the facilitator and converor of the space and the path that the collective may take.

This led to the emergence of Project Zero, later known as Muizenberg Partnership. Pertinently, this also meant that when it came to decisions, and or project development, in regard to the Festival as a whole, it was not the responsibility of the coordination team alone to develop this further; rather the dispersed organizational phenomena as a whole. It also meant that where the coordination team offered project support, we did not represent ourselves as project leads on any of the festival participants.

The need emerged for an organisational structure to pioneer and spearhead the collective parts of the festival (projects, partners, participants), coordinate the actual festival journey of collectivising and organising; whilst at the same bolstering the conditions whereby the individual's autonomy of agency and distributed leadership would be central to the organisational logics. This would engender a co-operative ownership of the entire enterprise.

An example of this convening role can be provided by alluding to the role that we played in bringing people into the process in early 2015. The initial meetings emphasized the invitation for partners and projects to take part in designing how the festival would be arranged in the coming year. As 2014 had delivered a culmination programme with many projects showcased, it had to be the role of project zero to maintain relationships with these current projects and assist them in moving forward. This often led to the facilitation of meetings, and working processes with distinct projects, purposed towards the development of next steps and mission going forward. And subsequent confusions arose in relation to our role as 'directing' rather than 'coordinating' the Festival process.

(Turner & Maxwell, Working Journal, 2015)

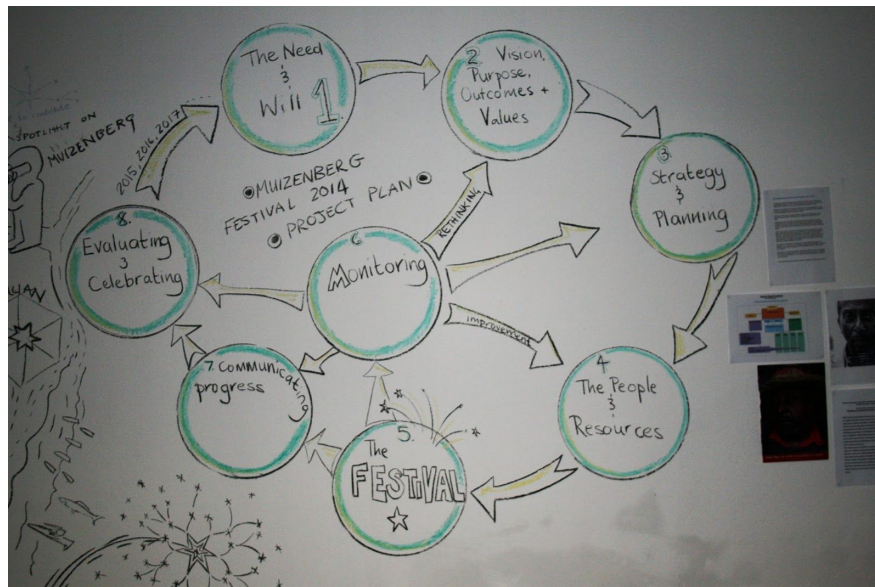


Figure: A sketch of the organising framework for distributing responsibility according to capability and interest of volunteers.



Figure: Youth from neighbouring Vrygrond, using creative mediums to demonstrate diverse interests and experiences of how the Muizenberg Festival ought to celebrate.

- **Festival Insight**

This way of organising the Festival process viewed leadership as something of a group quality; rather than something of a responsibility for the coordination team. Instead, it is argued that: ‘leadership is probably best conceived as a group quality, as a set of functions which must be carried out by the group’ (Gibb, 1954, cited in Gronn 2000: 324). This puts a greater focus on the results of participating individuals, organisations and projects having an organising experience that provides practice for better working collaborations where shared leadership is required.

This meant that in the short term there may have been inefficiencies and slower development of certain group competencies. However, in the long term; it held the promise that we were able to improve upon the leadership qualities of organisations and individuals within the community as a whole; and develop the capacity for the ecosystem of Muizenberg Festival projects to carry the load between themselves, when it comes to the holding of the collective space; and the sustainability of the Festival as a commonly-held social space.

The Muizenberg Festival project leaders contributed towards the task teams and played a role in the work and decision-making that is to the benefit of the commons; including permit-writing, liaison with local business and stakeholders, promotion, and even the facilitation of general process meetings. Similarly, we have observed an increase in project capacity and ingenuity in project leads (organisations, etc.) outside of festival specific projects. Organisations, including and diverse as - Friends of Muizenberg Park, Jungle Theatre Company, Muizenberg Community Safety Initiative, and Alive Dance Studies - are able to act in such a way as to “to influence the motivation, knowledge, affect, or practices of other organizational members" (Spillane, James P., 2006). This is a competency that enhances the institutional field’s capacity for self organisation, problem solving, and creative direction; which is contrary to the instituted and systemic capacities currently embodied by the system as a whole.

- **Theme Value**

Distributed leadership is a conceptual and analytical approach to understanding how the work of leadership takes place among the people, and within the context of a complex organization; leadership from a distributed perspective means seeing leadership activities as a situated and social process at the intersection of each social and organisational process; and the competency of a community, as an organization itself, to build greater greater capacity for self-motivating, exchanging knowledge, and generating more effective practice, is an object of the festival that is retrospectively enabling social progress.

5.1.2. Acting - Phase 2 (August - October, 2015)

5.1.2.1. Theme 4: Performance as Disruption

- **Festival Insight**

Festival organising, and the praxis of a festival, has to do with the reproduction, creation, and or disruption of identities by way of performance, participation and audience/stakeholder experience.

In the case of the Muizenberg Festival, it was the development of a collective vision or voice; and the co-sensing of our resources, purposes and collective understandings of place; that is the culmination of what is celebrated in the Muizenberg Festival format – where the collective vision is performed and essentially embodied (Turner, Working Journal, 2015).

It has been observed in the Muizenberg Festival, and in analogous festivals, that the actual performance involved in festival events; including parade, carnival, public art, exhibition, etc. are broadcasting and enacting themes and topics relevant to the social space at large; and are a means of communicating and re-articulating knowledge of the institutional field representing the particular society that is not necessarily visible or accessible in everyday life. Rather, the festival space has offered people a liminal platform with which to perform, exhibit and showcase the threshold of their particular experience; as well as the experience of the whole system.

For example, the intensive experiences of performative and exhibitive events by people of Muizenberg, participants; leads to a heightened experience of the intention and vision of the project (the restoration of social cohesion and improved local economy), as well the capacity for those with reduced voice in the social space to enhance transmission and participation in public debate. The parade is a literal embodiment of the festival's diverse participation basis; holding performances that anchor the understanding of our presence as a unit in public.

- **Example**

During the annual parade, dozens of organisations, artists, musicians, dancers and creative producers from the area are arranged into pods and paraded through the village streets; and pause at particular and publicly visible spaces to perform sets of poetry, dance and other exhibitions. The parade is usually hosted on the final day of the festival and offers an opportunity for Muizenberg to literally *“show up together and perform its envisioned self in public, inviting all to join and enjoy the moment of culminating celebration.”*

The gathering participants at Surfers’ Corner is a living representation of the Muizenberg we wish to create. At the end of this incredible week it holds in it the efforts, hopes, and the dreams of the festival, as a performed and temporary experiment in creating the place we live in; by celebrating it. The partners, projects, performances involved in the festival all have a pod or a role in the parade. In the streets, along the route, residents prepare for the procession, ready to join in the symbolic act of togetherness. With their costumes and contributions to the spectacle the parade has conjured in us all; a last performance to define this festival. Ahead of the parade is the Magic Snoek Dragon, a giant Fish serpent puppet that began as a design project of the festival in 2014; and provides a distinctly False Bay take on the magic of the dragon as a symbol of transformation. Close behind “snoekie” is a chanting, rhythmic group of dancers and actors representing Jungle Theatre’s ongoing inter-cultural exchange programmes; a mix of our many lives; parading in celebration of our togetherness and our collective magic.

(Reflection from 2016 Festival Parade).



Figure: The Muizenberg Festival Parade as it makes its way through the village.

- **Example:**

Project Ripple, a project of the Muizenberg Festival is a platform and support project for performance in public space; often interactive; encourages and enables a range of performances. The project provides advisory support with choreographers, media experts and activists; helping the artists to maximise the thematic impact of their performances and curate their use of space in order to enhance their voices. The performances range from full theatre setups on the beachfront to hypnotising displays of tradition and culture in often hidden corners and infrequently inhabited public spaces; conveying messages and contributing towards the ongoing experience of the festival's purpose in performance; disrupting and reinventing ordinary space.

- **Theme Value**

As more people take ownership of, and participate in, the vision and activation represented by the festival; there is a greater sense that the festival is “*ours*” in the general sense. The way the festival is spoken about and represented in our communications plans attempts to distribute conceptual ownership and buy in, and thereby increase the capacity of the festival as an institution; in the sense that it occupies a legitimate place-holder for Muizenberg's identity and trajectory for the projects, partners, businesses, community based organisations (CBOs), residents of Muizenberg. The Muizenberg Festival is the performance of the place, and is sometimes described as ‘Muizenberg's Birthday’. This has broad implications for the meaning-making and cohesion in the commons. In this sense, the festival process itself is a performance of organising that disrupts the institutional field as far as organising praxis and norms.

As the festival is cyclical and occurs once per year, it acts as a deadline for the resurgence of expressive organisational and cultural production, that is catalyzing discovered meaning for the area and its people (as exhibited by examples of spillover above). The performances, exhibitions, and public carnivals represent the place; as well as explore and pioneer the limits of the space.

Being a culturally and geographically diverse area we have observed that the festival provides a way of exploring, re-making, and/or disrupting the meaning, trends and norms; i.e: instituting regenerative and adaptable norms and trends that reflect the distinct, unreconciled values and collective aspirations of stakeholders. In an article from World Design Capital 2014, the Festival is described as: engaging and encouraging self-design and co-creation to re-define public space and community place.

Figure: Local Hip Hop pioneer, Emile YX?

Provides an impromptu workshop as part of Project Ripple's activation at a mini-Muizenberg Festival.

5.1.2.2. Theme 5: Chaordic Organising

- **Festival Insight**

Project Zero/Muizenberg Partnership was the recognition of two priorities that had, for some time, been perceived as at odds; irreconcilable.

Firstly, the need for structure and a coordinating body that could drive logistics, coordination, facilitation, and effectively host the vision and creative impulse of the festival as a movement.

Secondly, the need to remain in touch with the organic organisational flourishing of the Festival and the open-sourced nature of the programming (at odds with formal structuring of

organisation); encouraging participation in the process and the event itself; while maintaining autonomy with regards to the governance of the whole initiative.

Regarding the former need, the later stage experiences from Cycle 1 made it clear that there was no single organisational remedy for the development and evolution of the festival as a locally-bound phenomenon. Project Zero was the integration of these learnings from that complex need; and the establishment of a project that represented our passions and sense of purpose in the festival *milieu*; as well as a space to serve and express the former need and provide a coordinating organisational structure.

The festival space offered a unique opportunity to play this tension out and discuss this amongst key project leads, and those involved in such a way that we became knowledgeable about some of the assumptions and shortcomings regarding our organisational space; as far as the specific locale was concerned. The Muizenberg Festival was a platform where certain organisational tensions and dynamics were able to be played out; and participants expressed the value of this at various times.

- **Theme Value**

Festival organisations, as represented and observed by the case of the Muizenberg Festival, can become institutionalised, or can be an institutionalising phenomena, for the fact that they:

- a.) host such a diversity of stakeholders;
- b.) are platforms for cultural renewal and the expression of memes;
- c.) often become traditions for the people and places they involve.

In this sense they are resilient over time and hold sway over various strata of social life.

At the very same time, they have anarchic characteristics in that they:

- a.) are experienced differently depending on the participant;
- b.) are temporal; inviting a renewal of involvement and/or key role-players;

c.) as ‘institutions’, depend on renewal and/or constant change or adaptation in order to maintain relevance in their social environments. This has been the observation with the case of the MF; and is corroborated later with analogous festivals.

This makes them specifically relevant contenders for the study of institutional change through a variety of lenses. Particularly, that they offer a representation of order and chaos both in practice of the actual events; and in terms of the organising element of each festival. They are pictures of the social strata, systems and collective understandings.

Figure: A festival meeting at Alive Cafe, showcasing the dynamic use of space, activities, and arrangement of tasks encouraging a loose yet ordered framework for collaborating.

5.1.2.3 Theme 6: Famine to Feast

- **Festival Insight**

The 2015 festival was a marked improvement in the sustainability of the endeavour. It was a more cautious reflection of the previous year, with a smaller programme, and a focus on particular elements of Muizenberg's cultural wealth; and represented more organisational support and impetus from close partners in terms of the resourcing, volunteer work, and organisational efforts required to keep the initiative going. It was also a great reduction in cost; with CoCT services funding; partnerships with key participant NGOs, and less fixed costs being accrued. Crowdfunding, for example, was only utilized for actual festival projects; rather than (as in 2014) for general and commons-related costs.

“When it comes to mobilisation of multiple stakeholders with non-similar specific interests, etc., the festival approach has been a pioneer in Muizenberg; that is that there is no comparison when it comes to development of partnership-based efforts across such distinct sectors. Additionally, the organisations and diversity in representatives cooperate within a process framework; and therefore develop familiarity over the course of the festival process; which translates to greater civic responsibility and inter-organisational cooperation which is not what Muizenberg's civics are necessarily known for.”

(John C, Oct 2017)

The impetus of the Muizenberg Festival organising encouraged an appreciative angle in regards to mobilising interest and commitment from gatekeepers, officials, resourcing groups, alike; due to their sense of belonging and affiliation to the vision and meaning represented by the initiative of the Festival. This is a significant example of what is meant by meaning-making/sense-making, as the meaning of the festival practice is not instrumental. It is symbolic, representing the value and foundations of a specific residential area; and therefore provides a considerable example of an angular disruption in the standard means of interacting with official authority, state, institutions.

Considering our ambitions are disruptive and emancipatory (and even threatening), we approach all stakeholders, officials, etc. (who may at first show little real interest in the enterprise of the festival) with the invitation to be a part of a community-based festival celebrating local creative wealth, sustainability, and economy. This excites people; after all; people make up institutions. And people are affected by their direct experiences; more so than their particular role in their social space. This is unique to the festival model of community development.

(Practice Notes, Turner, Dec 2015)

- **Collective Mobilisation**

When one considers the cross sector collaborations and the sheer quantity of people engaged in the organisational process of the festival, from very different positions of society; it is a unique organisational opportunity to shift the routines and somewhat fixed representations of community practice; or otherwise described as the routinisation of how our community comes together and describes and celebrates itself, whilst sensing the challenges through the lens of festivals and celebrated diversity.

- **From Needs to Offers**

At this cycle (2015, 2nd phase), despite the lack of a fully-formed financial model for the sustenance of the festival, professional assistance, communications expertise and city service provisions were easier to access than before. We seemed to have a better understanding of resource access points; alternatively that we were able to articulate our needs better than previous year. Or that there was greater legitimacy than before; that the concept had been trialled.

Also, in basic terms, it seemed that our standard understanding of resources; and what we were looking for from supporters and partners, had broadened and loosened. In recognition that it was less about what the Festival needed, and more about listening to what was being offered. This tactic was less agentic and more responsive, to what was and what was not forthcoming. It provides us with a reminder that the festival is contingent on what people are prepared to make it become.

- **Resource Abundance**

That our enterprise was a Festival, rendered many views that we ought to have sought funding and patronage from corporate or state sources. This may have been necessary to alleviate unavoidable costs, as well as time spent; which had amounted above and beyond what was available voluntarily. The idea that *“Festivals are funded, require grants and state or external support to take place”* (Note, from conversations with Edinburgh Festival organiser, 2015) is an idea that is unanimous across the board with groups and persons interviewed, where this topic arose.

However, for non-financial resources; including venue space, access to vehicles, organisational and advisory support and consultation; there was abundance. Also, on the basis of these spin offs, energy was maintained and encouraged.

Spillover: *It is believed that the past successes of the Muizenberg Festival are of importance for future successes and collaborations. It has been stated to inspire other projects to start something themselves, or to join another initiative (Meijs, 2015).* The festival initiative generated spillovers; that were in and of themselves supporters and depending on what the festival as organisation was a custodian of. In this sense, we reflected that it was a matter of strategic acuity, that we managed to shepherd the momentum in such a way that it fed the festival development.

- **Insight**

The Festival phenomenon unpacked and destabilised the standard obstacles of resource availability precisely because our approach had been fundamentally appreciative rather than prescriptive; and respecting diverse non-financial asset types.

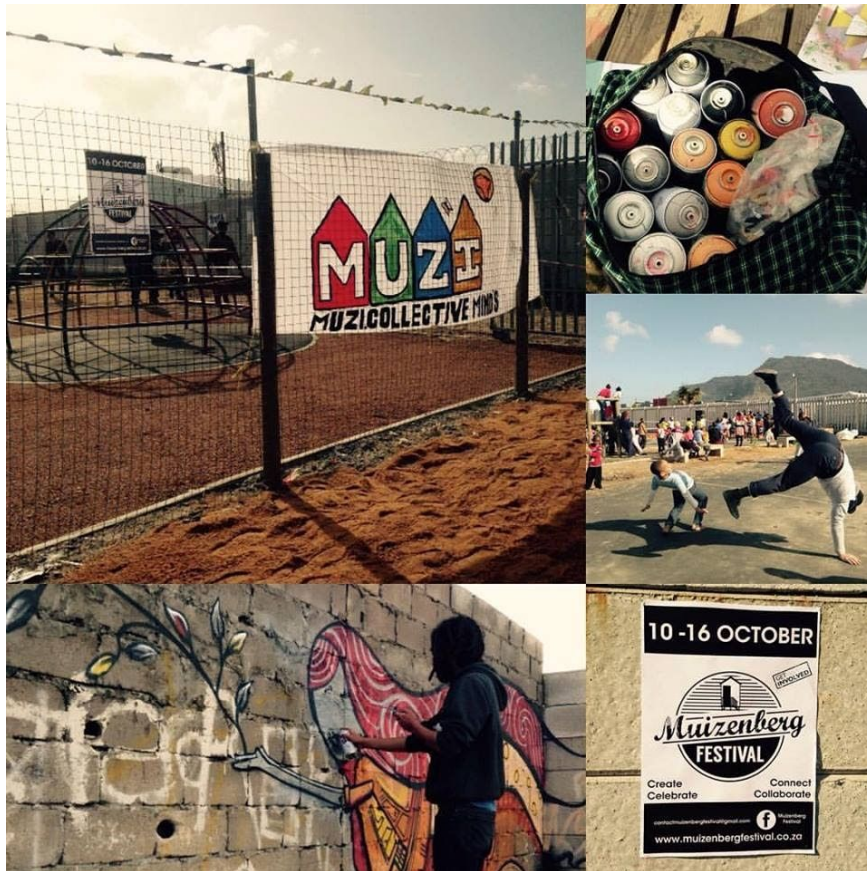


Figure: Scenes from a mini-Muizenberg Festival held in neighbouring Vrygrond (June 16, 2016); where a team of participating projects turned a dilapidated playground into a resourceful staging ground; transforming a space from scarcity of opportunity to abundance of opportunity for activation.

5.1.3. Reflecting - Phase 3 (October - December, 2015)

5.1.3.1. Theme 7: Festivals for Placemaking

Placemaking is a broad approach to public spaces - the planning, design and management thereof. Placemaking places importance on a local community's readily available assets, meanings through stories, inspirations and motivations, with the idea of creating public spaces that promote people-centred well being.

The experience of the festival had brought a renewed spirit of significance associated with Muizenberg as a community home space and re-imaginable public place. This increase in active meaning-making and particular socialization disrupts instituted patterns of meaning because there is an additional and optional narrative for the space that is redefined by the cultural expression of the festival. This additional narrative is in dialogue with the current narrative through the adaptations and adjustments made by actors that play instituted roles in the system in question.

The meaning of simply *“knowing the people in your neighbourhood and working on something together,”* as described by a partner and resident of Muizenberg and the Festival (Tait, 2015) can produce un-quantifiable re-calibrations of people, place and purpose - new narratives. There was a pattern of co-researchers (Prekel, Wigley, Maxwell, 2015) Referring to the festival as a reckoning of place, and a story-telling of the diverse Muizenberg area we inhabit, in past, present and envisioned futures. A community champion and participant in the festival process, John C (2014), at the conclusion of the 2014 Festival, said that the Muizenberg Festival could grow; and it wouldn't have to extend itself so much since it could [simply] uncover and distill the diversity of the area – ecologically, economically, culturally, ethnically; and in all the ways that we respond to the passion and purpose of such a diverse area. Then the festival might become an institution itself; an annual revitalization (and period of abundance), in Muizenberg's ongoing development.

The festival amplifies the process **of community self-design by creating a deadline to get initiatives set up and assists with working on a sustainable post-festival plan.** Projects are encouraged (to) address urban energy alternatives, harvesting mountain water, recycling systems, upcycling centre, local economy system, Open Streets (WDC project #207), the Muizenberg Food Farm, youth creative development programmes, community craft centre, and activating the use of the park, vlei and mountain as resources. Global and local partnerships are key to ensuring lasting impact, and these are being developed.

Taken from: (<http://www.wdccapetown2014.com/events/event/206>)

The more often people are able to cohere around a particular vision, the easier it is to mobilise in an effective and self-organising way. This affects the way organisations and groups act and implement their objectives in that they are (alongside the values of the festival: co-creation, experimentalism, cultural exchange, etc., and the festival as ‘practice’) offered a means of practicing these embodied values. There have been several accounts of festival participants and visitors, from the Greater Muizenberg Area, describing the festival as ‘ours’ or ‘we have a festival’. This is representative of collective ownership; described in the key messages section of our media plan: *Muizenberg Festival is an event that presents and celebrates community-led development and collaboration* (Muizenberg Festival, Media Plan, 2015). This helps people to create collectively held narratives and definitions of place; and fosters greater ownership of place by the community; disrupting disconnection and producing a connecting effect.

Our media plan’s boilerplate phrase included the following: “Muizenberg Festival celebrates the creative wealth of a community and connects people who care about inclusive and lasting change in and around our vibrant village.” (Media guidelines, L Schroeder, 2016). The document represents the contribution of one of many working professionals, providing pro bono service assistance, and the clarity with which Schroeder (2016) represents the concise vision and purpose of the festival is telling of the sense-making that has become staple for most participants of the festival process. Her perspective is that, “Actually the people of Muizenberg do these things all year round. But during the week-long festival they open their streets and their home to connect and celebrate. It’s happening at venues around the village from 10 – 16 October.” An accurate clue to the way that residents and team members perceive the festival; a representation of what Muizenberg is. Defining a place, and clarifying (sharing) what people in a particular place value and do, is not so simple in the modern urban context – and not the least in the City of Cape Town. Excerpts from our media plan, providing meaning to the way our four festival themes link in with, and provide parameters for, the events. Muizenberg Festival events are clustered into

four themes: celebrate, connect, community, create. We use these words as active verbs in all our messages. (MG, Schroeder, 2016).

Figure: Placemaking with the arts - muralists and other visual artists and makers have redefined the streets of Muizenberg over the course of the festival events and activations - creating a more vibrant, colorful and inclusive neighborhood.

5.1.3.2. Theme 8: Experimentalism

The experimentalism of the above-mentioned process; of Cycle 2 in general; provided a greater understanding of the festival process; and how we could be agile in deploying new strategies for engaging our purpose to affect institutional shifts (by producing new epidemics of meaning, shifting roles and routines of organisations and individuals in alignment with the festival values, and activating new resources so as to enable the sustainability of the initiative.

Despite holding a very concentrated purpose throughout the process, that may challenge the status quo, the festival approach provided an opportunity for ‘grace’ from partners and projects and key institutions; that may not have been afforded if we were approaching our objectives as a needs-based NGO or a social activist movement, for example.

In our team meetings we acknowledged this benefit and referred to it as a trojan horse; in that we were able to position ourselves in new ways to access opportunities that were afforded to us based on our *celebratory approach*. If our implied purpose is to affect greater resilience, creative agency, and local economies; this is similar (although different in framing; as it is positivist) to social justice agenda and other more confrontational means of challenging systemic issues. However, unlike these comparative cases, *we receive less resistance precisely because we are a festival*. This is similar to the representations of carnival; as provided earlier in this study. In this, the festival model, despite having to hold a larger constituency of stakeholders is enabled greater experimentalism due to these structural characteristics.

Finally, festivals generally, and in this case the Muizenberg Festival are open to experimentalism at various organisational levels - benefiting from constant innovation across the organisational spectrum. At the programmatic and thematic level, they often work in accordance with the expressive shifts and adaptations in culture; and are by necessity experimental; that is the festival design; as cultural receptacles. The Muizenberg Festival represents this characteristic at this cycle even more so, due to the fact that it was early in the organisational development; which itself represents a capacity for experimentation or uncertainty. Organisational isomorphism is such that change is often borne from crises and shocks, externally triggered, that make it necessary for actors to adapt their strategies and tactics according to the new circumstances - in the interest of their own survival and relevance in any given system. The patience and willingness towards experimentalism is a great boon of the festival approach in achieving the stated generative and disruptive outcomes.

Experimentalism and open sourced web network basis for organisation does not mean that we did not err towards structure; that is the dilemma for project zero at this stage. And it had been articulated by several co-researchers and protagonists of the Muizenberg Festival; as expressed by festival co-researcher and long time volunteer (Crull, 2016):

“And we started from sort of chaos, sort of way too collaborative for me, way too ambiguous in anything, to now we really can talk about some specific vision. And we are now talking partnership because we believe to be enabled to, you know, the future for us, identify what a partnering, partnership of different people in this different community that are doing their things for similar purposes. If we could bring those together, and create more of an intentional partnering with you or be at least aware of what you are doing...we just need to utilize what we have and go from that, and don't sort of own it egotistically or selfishly. Or and somehow think that you are the end all that you are doing. It may be in community development, economic initiative, social, creative arts. For me, the win-win for community is when we do it collectively.”

This speaks to the tension that was felt with the open sourced and organic components on the one side, and the need for structure, direction, and disambiguation. This is further elaborated by co-researcher and spillover enterprise leader (Dias, 2015), *“Build it, and they'll come...”*, signifying the need for patience and steadfastness in direction and action.

Of this tension, Dias (2016) explains that it is possible to *“Communicate the story”* and let the broader mission and narrative lead and decide. And that the organisational element of the festival, if it is to reach its institutional ambitions, may need to act as a *“...conductor, conducting the flow, rather than a director...”* Recognizing the power of story, and conducting (rather than directing) would be more *“more efficient.”* Dias (2016), made interesting reflections on the similarity of our possible approach with various non conventional formats of governance, including *“reviving of traditional governance in the urban space.”*

5.2. Cycle 3, Muizenberg Festival (January - November 2016)

This section is an account of the themes that emerge from meta-reflections, interviews, observations and data of the 3rd cycle of this study's action research fieldwork, and also the 3rd iteration of the (Muizenberg) Festival project (as a case study). The thematic findings have been represented chronologically in order to represent the action research process itself and showcase the planning, acting, observing and evaluating; as well as the reflective action research principles. In other words, the thematic learnings emerged in the context of the developing action research project.

The festival can be described as a rising swell of energy that has in it the cumulative capacity of individuals and groups mobilising to the call. And the breaking wave is the magnificent moment of presencing and momentary/temporary recognition of the collective agency; an exhibition of a sense of identity, creative economy, and the will of a multi-sector group.

(Field Journal, Nov. 2015)

- **Organisational Development**

The reference to organisational structure (i.e. Muizenberg Partnership) earlier in this section, represents the paradoxical nature of festival organising in the sense that when festival(s) initiatives first start out (and it is the case for this organisational journey) they thrive off of chaos and creative impulse. At an indefinable moment in the festival's timeline, it is necessary to build structure to guide, sustain and be responsible to the impacts of the festival. Holding this paradox in respect for the process, allows the project to be emergent, participatory, and catalytic - qualities that offer dynamic value to organisations. Whether a government agency or music festival it is worth noting that festivals that share this character of development are:

1. **Emergent** by way of the restraint from structure so as to let social process and stakeholder engagement to define, almost organically, the nature of structures that emerge to serve the creative impulse (rather than vice-versa)

2. **Participatory** in that, by not formalising and defining the organisational space at an early stage, the space is more inviting to a broader variety of stakeholders who may have been put off by reified structures and the sense of containment too early
3. **Catalytic** because by resisting to contain and structure the creative impulse it enables partners and participants to act with more creative license and act as if outside of the usual boundaries of an instituted space of participation.

This has been indicative of the organisational evolution of the festival experiment in general.

- **Themes from Cycle 3 (January - December 2016)**

The following three themes arise from the meta-analysis of the above phase (planning, April - August 2016), and represent salient topics that can be abstracted as specific themes, including an analysis of the organisational development tangent, celebration as organising principle, ‘play’ as organising dynamic, and the non-direct approach (or trojan horse strategy).

5.2.1. Planning - Phase 1 (Jan - Aug 2016)

5.2.1.1. Theme 9: Celebration as Organising Principle

At this point of the Muizenberg Festival’s journey (Cycle 3, April 2016), the participants’ experience of celebration was at its height in what was observable; this was a larger, brighter, more cohesive festival platform and event than previous years. The quality of celebration had never been as such expressed.

Celebration, as the honouring and frequenting of a particular theme, and is often ceremonial more so than generative and forward looking. For the Muizenberg Festival, this quality has been characterised by an open heartedness, a creative agency and re-perception of resource from feast as opposed to famine. These kinds of experiences are generative and working goods when it comes to organising in complex contexts; as it improves the self organising agency and productivity of participants in a particular system. In this example, where celebration is an organising value, it is both an appreciation and honouring of the past as it is an appreciative lens

on the future, or possibility, of connection, creativity, and collaboration..a kind of anticipated and excited capacity to connect and make things happen. This anticipatory celebration quality is best exemplified by our public festival meetings, which took place at a Thursday regular and at various public and private venues.

Figure: An illustrated representation of the organising effect that our celebration-led approach provided.

Meetings would take place at village restaurants cleared out for the occasion, in dance studios, at theatre rehearsal rooms - really wherever would welcome us. For several months, public meetings were held on the streets of Muizenberg literally. With fire bins, plastic chairs and tarp we met in the public domain; often attracting newcomers by welcoming bystanders and

walk-ins from walk-bys. The sense of these meetings/gatherings was a kind of excitement that hasn't yet lost its novelty and its generativity. People showed up with a sense of anticipation and optimism; and curiosity about one another and one another's projects or plans. In many ways, this had to do with a trust and enacted practiced belief, grown out of previous processes - that we can make our emergent creative impulses real together. We would surface pressing issues, themes and dialogue around these characteristics of our shared neighborhood. We would present project plans for October, building momentum around an idea and inventory from the invisible and tangible resources that emerge when people co-assess their immediate surroundings and their internal gifts.

(Field Notes, Festival Meetings April - June)

What is interesting in the context of a festival space, that has a direct relationship to the target context, is that the nature of celebration as an experiential quality can have an effect on the institutional field, and organising culture, of the place concerned. This is because a heightened experience of celebration of and in situ, leads to fundamental and incremental affective changes in patterns of thinking and action in and about the target context.

In other words, when multiple stakeholders are in an experiential environment of celebration; and by that is meant the honouring and entanglement with a particular place and/or there; it has an effect on the institutional patterns of disassociation from place, and siloed disconnected social sphere. Likewise, with celebration as an organising principle, it is the case that participants foster heightened relational quality, exchange and creativity; all social goods and relevant outcomes. This is due in part to the nature of celebration as organising.

That is to say that the impact of the festival organising and event has on the institutional logics, sense of community and local economy is related to the experience of celebration. And organising a festival involves the appreciative lens and focuses on celebration. When the organising unit is from, and placed (rather than displaced), in the site community; this makes the quality of celebratory interaction grounded and helps to explain the unique capacity of the

festival to surface and mobilise resources, motivate and encourage high levels of involvement and generate sustained engagement in initiatives of the festival.

The capacity of the festival to operate in an experiential mode/setting of celebration is a disruption to an institutional field (culture) of scarcity, apathy, and disassociation.

“This project will design, prototype, and document a unique and innovative methodology/approach, which will mobilize and engage people in social change and urban design through excitement of a community festival. The Festival Approach uniqueness is in the integration of Theory U-journey, design thinking and urban planning.”

(Founding Document, early 2013)

The word of mouth that spread the invitation of the festival had to do with an underlying investment in the possibility that celebration could really matter, even for those who needed to be persuaded by traditional forms of benefits; for which participation in the process might secure.

5.2.1.2. Theme 10: Embraced Inclusivity

Due to the nature of the festival experience/programme, the Muizenberg Festival as a construct in the target context is uniquely inclusive; in that it draws interest and investment from a broader variety of audience. It does so by inviting a broad variety of role players to be involved; with no constraints pertaining to profession, age, culture, background or religious affiliation.

This has been a unique quality of the festival as a social phenomena; and the embraced inclusivity leads to greater cross-pollination, cross boundary relationships and intercultural, generational and professional exchanges and interactions. Additionally, due to the explorative nature of the space; that encourages uncertainty with regards to the definition of key organising principles; including where Muizenberg is (a question that is often placed on the forefront of discussion) as well as the accepting of plurality and diverse viewpoints it offers a characteristically neutral space for discourse and negotiation of meanings, roles and more.

Within the festival organisational space, there are interactions and meetings of diverse segments from our community that would not have otherwise had an opportunity to take place. There are conversations and relationships that are generated across previously held boundaries and/or restrictive parameters pertaining to the dominant institution of the target context. This kind of cross-pollination, despite patterned roles and routines provides an alternative social space wherein routines of organisational behaviour can be challenged.

Additionally, the willingness to accommodate a wide variety of participants, ideas and perspectives makes it attractive above and beyond the ordinary limits of public engagement. This is disruptive of the norms of civic organisations because such diverse means of social groups, role players, are not usually involved in one particular activity. It is also specifically interesting that a festival space can become a neutral invitation for negotiating identities in a particular system or context in a non confrontational way, embracing inclusivity rather than tolerating it; and compromising accordingly.



Figures: an advertisement for mini-Muizenberg Festival activation event & the Concert in the Park, an annual festival highlight.

5.2.1.3. Theme 11: Trojan Horse Strategy

The festival process and event organising involves discussion and negotiation with strategic partners, non partners (that they are strategic, but we do not align on purpose) and institutions that are not directly involved, nor interested, in the process and event. However, it is notable that partners have accounted for the surprising ease of negotiation and interaction with these strategic non partners and institutions; in comparison to their experience of the same institutions via their own organisations. This may have to do with the fact that the festival has a non specificness to it; or a non-threatening sense; that is almost disarming to many institutional players who do not see it as a conflict of interest despite sometimes having radical dispositions and/or themes.

This is valuable as it provides an interface platform or space where themes and issues that are usually contentious and confrontation provoking can be discussed more freely and can be ‘played with’ in the context of usually rigid institutional spaces. Also, it gives rise to the following possible advantages:

- Resource activation where it was not previously possible to achieve.
- Bringing non strategic partners into contact with parties, actors that have struggled to have audience and access; thus disturbing power inaccessibility.
- Setting off dialogue opportunities and energising civic attention so as to create a profile of specific challenge.

For example, during the initial sense making and planning phase of the festival organising we had numerous representatives from the local state; who in the process of engaging in the festival process became more open and enabled dialogue around critical topics that had been usually sanctioned and even restricted to many public organisations. Additionally, during the permit process for, amongst other examples; the public amenities; we were able to pave the way for more *laissez faire* means of utilising space; because ‘officials’ were happier to concede for and of the festival; as it remained unthreatening and seemingly less significant; whimsical.

In this way, the festival opens doors, and opens new ways of doing things, utilizing space, etc.; by way of increasing the energy and frequency of interaction and exchange between stakeholders in a non-threatening environment. Festivals, as with carnivals of the past (reference to literature), have been places where power can be challenged openly freely, with jester license. We have found festivals to be places where power and status quo can be openly and creatively engaged. Festivals, characteristically involve a broad array of stakeholders acting with a common purpose in mind (the festival). Therefore, if pertinent and usually threatening issues and themes can be addressed by way; through the festival; then the festival operates as a pseudo trojan horse with a focus on being able to “get behind the enemy gates” disguised as a festival. We embed difficult and unsatisfactory themes within the festival and explore outward in this way.

5.2.2. Acting - Phase 2 (Aug - Oct 2017)

5.2.2.1. Theme 12: Play

The characteristic of renewal and constant change can be allied with an appreciation of the playfulness that is an element of this case’s (Muizenberg Festival) methodology. The festival is a platform for people from various roles to play within the realm of their neighborhood with what are ordinarily static and unmovable objects, resources, assets and/or working roles.

The sense of imagination and capacity to engage in a creative and non-linear approach is valuable for innovation and high quality relationship building. By leading play oriented process activities at festival meetings, we invited a departure from static and immovable thought patterns and habits. Also, it brings a heightened sense of openness. This was evident in the number of non-organisational non-objective partnerships, friendships and cross-cultural familiarisation that is fundamental to a social sphere that can mobilise around themes and opportunities.

The festival platform has been shown to do this on behalf of its partners; as it creates the platform for non-linear unlearning, and re-learning, of the capacity to play and redesign their circumstances, their use of space and of resources, together. Partners, playing ordinarily

‘serious’, controversial, and or contested roles (politicised, representative, economic) brokered relationships through the festival as a platform for engaging in process; precisely because of the playful nature of interaction and the foundational purpose for gathering - celebrating Muizenberg and creating it from the emergent sense of possibility (anticipatory celebration).

For example, by way of meetings workshops including (seemingly less playful topics) Business Model Canvassing and Asset Based Community Development practice in the festival context during April and May 2016, festival projects were able to play (exercise greater curiosity and imagination, reinvention) with their circumstances and re-imagine their challenges. This is not a unique insight in and of itself, as management and organisational development support at most companies and organisations do similar work. However, it is notable that this is a side effect of a festival process rather than a targeted organisational workshop. Where the subject is the project of the organisation in the framing of the festival; where the organisational development work occurs systematically and not in the silo that is usually the case with management development work.

Interaction with the festival model is valuable as it increases the competency of organisations to play and operate with malleable intent in their immediate contexts. Specifically, it is intriguing that in the context of festival as a vehicle; roles and routines; meaning making concerning key issues are challenged in a system setting; where various stakeholders are present; and the approach is distinctly celebratory in that the clarity of purpose is the celebration of Muizenberg; that leads the discussion angles.

5.2.2.2. Theme 13: Renewal and Agency

The Muizenberg Festival process; like many festival processes, is cyclical. It is unfixed and ever-changing; because it undergoes cyclical regenerative processes. Importantly, it runs through a conceptualisation time frame, a build up period, and then an implementation that culminates in the festival event. At the start of each process (in this case March, 2016), participants are invited to redefine, re-determine the defining aspects of the festival and its focus. Participants were then

informally, albeit rigorously, invited to participate in the process of deciding upon a theme, resourcing of projects, and the nature of the ongoing workshops on behalf of the projects. A festival as a social organisational phenomena, by nature, given its non-solid structural basis and temporality (may be a better way of describing this. However, for now, it is important to move forward and complete the theme building exercise.), implies capacity and even design for renewal and reinvention. In particular, this helps the festival organisation to adapt according to ongoing changes in context and stay malleable according to the participant basis; open to adjustments and adaptations as per participant engagement.

This quality and characteristic is especially valuable in organisations that must, by the nature of their work, redefine themselves consistently according to ever adapting and evolving conditions, circumstances and contexts. It is equally valuable as a characteristic where personal agency, democratic principles and social-purpose are drivers of an organisation's stated mission. In the case of the Muizenberg Festival a key objective of the festival as a vehicle was, what can be described as, social renewal and the enhancing of people's capacity to self govern; and to create the neighborhood they want to live in; at least to play a more active role in it. Broadly speaking, in the case of the Muizenberg Festival, as a vehicle, the social renewal and agentic nature of the festival were key drivers of key collective competencies that were more apparent as key objectives; and it became our conscious interest to maintain that renewing spirit of the festival.

It is also the case that this renewal process provides for constant, and at the same time structured, dialogue and negotiation of key organisational principles and practices, through the re-framing of roles and re-organisation of key tasks respectively. This is a feature of festivals more broadly viewed, as they often characteristically lack static formalisation; and due to temporality, engender high turnover with staff, volunteers, resource; and even more critical variables such as dates and venues (whether localised or non localised; Clue: it may be useful to generate categories.). By the current cycle (3), with regards to the organising of the festival, it became apparent that the capacity for the festival to morph and be malleable according to changes in stakeholder needs (and/or changing circumstances); was a critical value of the entire project;

providing an organisational framework that helped stakeholders to engage in dialogue and negotiate key themes concerning the common context; Muizenberg. In other words, the festival as an interactive space provided a low-risk, high yield opportunity for stakeholders to play out the themes and issues of the common context in a dialogue rich environment. An example of this can be described as the discussion around venues, and specifically public amenities; that generated a greater discussion about the degree to which we are active and even creative, with regard to our public space.

5.2.2.3. Theme 14: Gamification

By *gamification* is meant the application of typical elements of game playing (e.g. point scoring, competition with others, rules of play) to other areas of activity, including education, marketing and in this instance - organising practice for participation.

During the organising process between April - August 2015, projects of the festival were encouraged to follow a game-like pathway of key landmarks or gateways towards being ready for the festival in October. Projects like the Parade, and Open Studio Tour were provided a canvass representing the pathway to readiness for projects. The canvass was a way of communicating the festival organising process, and helping projects to on-board with the process in a fun and easy to join manner. The pathway offered a set of parameters or rules of play, a prospect of cumulative accomplishment with the gateways, and even a competitiveness that came from comparing projects with other projects. For example, Robyn Hosking of Open Studio Tour, came on board the project after Zoe Mafham pitched the project at a festival project *pechakucha* night in April, and was coached through the process of the project; by means of this canvass of activities that included concept development, partnership building, participation call out, venue preparation, programme clarification and marketing of the event. Robyn was able to work through these stages because of the game-like conditions that supported her on-boarding into the platform and her capacity to organise. In addition, she reported being motivated by the fact that the progress of other projects was visible; and there was a sense that other projects were in the same game as she was engaging in.

As has been described in phase 2 of cycle 3, it is unique to the Muizenberg Festival organisation (in its context) to mobilise the breadth of diversity in interested individuals, organisations and businesses. Of particular interest is the way in which these interested parties are able to play (see previous theme, *Play*) between what are usually more fixed roles and methods. The festival is able to cultivate this unique versatility and accessibility due in part to a gamification of project and event planning; and the roles and objectives involved the festival space.

During festival meetings, with remarkably diverse stakeholders present, it is notable that organisations and/or individuals, with ordinarily parochially defined roles, that imply constraints and limitations to creative agency, were more willing to engage creatively in the festival organising space. This suggests that the festival psychosphere encourages role players to exercise greater creative agency and experimentalism during the engagement in the platform. This may have something to do with the temporality (as previously described) and the sense that role players are not at risk of committing ‘significant’ stake investment; rather that they are able to play and innovate how they wish to engage; and what role they wish to play.

A festival, characteristically engenders playfulness and low risk investment by means of its social meaning and its lack of gravitas as per modern conceptualisations of festivals. This was the case for engagement from multiple stakeholders in the Muizenberg Festival’s stakeholder base. Gamification motivates participation, engagement and loyalty; by building game-design into a particular context or experience. The festival space we have designed is arguably the most diverse and dynamic social organisational phenomena in the South Peninsula region. The spillover impact that the festival phenomena has on the Muizenberg civic organisations and the local economy is significant; and this can be ascribed to the participatory engagement and sustainability of the social process; values that gamification provides for.

We found that there was greater willingness to engage in unique partnerships and contribute knowledge and human capital; during project focused meetings; when the interaction space was

facilitated in such a way that it was gamified. During a set of theme finding and objective building meetings in April 2015, the engagement from Ward councillors, ratepayers association chair, security organisations was playful and unusually open in comparison to static and defined roles as well had been observed in those local associations and their parochial organisational routines. Safety & security organisations, Safer Together and Muizenberg Community Safety Initiative, had members Truida and Marion engaging in fresh and creative outlook; where they were first to communicate alternative approaches to safety by building pride in public space and meaning through events that could lead to a more caring and responsible area - representatives would create events and spectacle engaging with the canvass that gamified the engagement process - making it more associated with playful means of working.

Figures: Muizenberg Festival artwork and advertisements for involvement.

5.2.3. Reflecting - Phase 3 (Oct - Dec 2017)

5.2.3.1. Theme 15: Festivity across Parallel Lives

In June 16, the MF organised a micro one day version of the Muizenberg Festival, in conjunction with participants and projects of the festival ecosystem. We utilized a recently established community park that had been vandalised and misused within the first six months of its use. The activities, including urban agriculture workshops and demonstrations, music and performance, mural art and spoken word celebrated the relationships that were building between Vrygrond and Muizenberg - communities so close in proximity, yet, so far in relation.

The June 16 mini-festival in Vrygrond was welcomed with delight from all participants; specifically, people who had been championing community development for many years through their roles, to no avail. MaYoli Nqgame, a city councillor who is not an integral member of The Hive, reported that it was an example of how we might build relationships based on genuine care and curiosity before trying to solve problems and ‘help’ people suffering in poor disenfranchised communities. The day symbolised the power of festival and cultural events in bridging

previously disconnected communities.



Figure: Poster for the Muizenberg Festival June 16 activation in Vrygrond.

The festival process involved multiple meetings, workshops and social engagements with stakeholders outside the target context particular setting. Due to our increasing collaboration with Vrygrond youth and organisations; in order to negotiate the value that the Muizenberg Festival and The Hive might be able to share and collaborate in, regarding shared interests of community development, economic activity and social cohesion; we had generated substantial social capital that was otherwise unique for organisations, and social action groups, in the area.

Although, originally unplanned, this meant an enhanced sense of relationship and willingness to make social investment; and during the informal debriefing sessions we discovered that festival and celebration as an organising idea was an intriguing and generative means of addressing the lack of contact between parallel communities. Despite this valuable angle of the festival process it could be more strategic in its human relationship centeredness approach in the coming year and cycle. Specifically because by means of broaching relationship by way of festival, we were led to immediate allies straddling in between the social and cultural sectors; we began to accumulate grounded intelligence of real time impactful social and political actors; and more pertinently, by way of relationship; a deeper understanding of the intractable issues of Vrygrond and Capricorn; and the relationship with Muizenberg.

This also meant opportunity to exchange and find work outside of the usual possibilities for work available to such youth. This is directly in contrast to polarised and disconnected institutionalised interactions (and lack thereof) between the adjacent communities. Despite not setting out to impact the relational field and thereby the reconciliation of cultural divide and contributing to overall cohesion and safety by means of togetherness; it had turned out that festival organising (the festival process) was a great model for this resolving of deeply held rifts in understanding between these socio-economically distinct communities.

Organisations with similar intentions to broach the socio-economic issues by way of cultural interventions emerged as key allies in the festival organising process. Indirect and unthreatening: deeper relations borne out of interactions that were not founded on NGO type relations of

patronage, etc.; and rather founded on appreciative conditions of mutual interest and witnessing of cultural and creative responses to contextual challenges. Opportunity for economics: many young people were drawn to the invitation to showcase their particular skill sets and/or artistic flair/capabilities. This festival offered an excitement around being able to be witnessed; and thereby valued; across cultural and socio-economic boundaries.

Later in the year (August, 2017), on the second day of The Hive's establishment, young community leaders from Vrygrond were invited to share plans and process in Vrygrond; so that we could utilise The Hive formally as a point of connection in a very disconnected and fractured community relationship. These relationships had been fostered through the festival process and event; and we recognised with Lesedi Arts Collective and Asanda Ndudula, that deeper changes to patterned social ills was going to come from a reimagination of identities and relationship; the institutionalised weaknesses in our social space.

5.2.3.2. Theme 16: Spore Effect

Spore in biological terms as a primitive usually unicellular often environmentally resistant dormant or reproductive body produced by plants, fungi, and some microorganisms and capable of development into a new individual either directly or after fusion with another spore (Merriam-Webster Dictionary). For this theme the *spore* offers an analogy of the unstructured, independent and resilient manner by which festival projects and events have grown into their own self sustaining initiatives.

The Hive is the physical venue and base of the Muizenberg Festival, however, it is also a company in its own right and acts as a cultural hub, co-working space and incubator for creative and entrepreneurial projects and individuals in and around Muizenberg. The Hive was set up and prepared in August 2016 so as to provide hosting and workshop space for the festival and festival projects. It is a living representation of the festival. It developed to serve the needs emanating from the festival, and is now a project and company that does work that is aligned with the festival vision. In this way The Hive can be said to be a spore of the festival that has developed

into an entity of its own, however represents the ‘DNA’ of the festival initiative, as expressed in the following excerpt from (from The Hive fact sheet, 2017):

The Hive has evolved through various iterations. When it started the key focus was being a headquarters for the Muizenberg Festival, Muizenberg Partnership and The Urban Resilience Initiative. It has grown to become the home of various creative projects and enterprise partners and is a co-working space for creatives and entrepreneurs to build their businesses and develop their passions.

The Hive works towards greater connectivity, collaboration, community engagement and co-created activity so that we may live and celebrate our vision of a inclusive, resilient, colourful and enterprising greater Muizenberg.

Figure: The Hive during a Muizenberg Festival meeting

Over the years/cycles, the Muizenberg Festival, and activities thereof, has led to numerous spin-offs, due to what we could call the spore effect. These include, amongst many others, The Hive, the Urban Resilience Initiative, Striped Horse Roots & Blues evening (an event series), Odd Orbits (Band), Fynbos Fair (annual event of a partner civic association), Farmers’ Market (project of The Hive), AfroLab Productions, and the Hello Muizenberg Podcast.

The enthusiasm, relationships, heightened exchanges and interactions as well as the re-recognition of specific previously underutilised resources has led to an entrepreneurialism and initiative-taking; that is presently (2017) being referred to as a ‘groundswell’ of momentum that has farther reaching effects.

Figure: The Hive main is a multi-functional venue.

In particular, we have noticed, as has been evident from the cycle write ups above, that the means by which these spin offs re-create the festival purpose and effect the institutional field is describable by the term ‘spore’. The institutional field can be effected through the sowing and seeding of cultural memes; for which the festival through its process and at its events is able to cultivate. Particularly, as the festival imbibes an experiential quality and a qualitative shift in perspective, understanding, meaning making; in terms of its particular place/site context. This is peculiar to festivals; especially community-based festivals; as they do involve a heightened exchange between stakeholders and role players in a particular are; and this is likely to have the productive effects described here; a springing of new cultural behaviours and memes that in turn is likely to result in new partnerships, businesses, activities, etc.

In this way, the festival process and event represents and promulgates a particular culture of practice and thought (that is in line with the themes, objectives and value proposition of the festival); and by way of its enmeshment, affective nature and proliferation of relational exchange, interface and interaction; is able to almost contaminate; make viral; the broader context and institutional field of the festival. The mechanism by which this takes place is the proliferation of productive and generative projects; that are coached through the festival process - and therefore can be compared to spores.

The Hello Muizenberg Podcast was a project of the festival in 2014. It has since continued to grow as a relevant and remarkably unique platform for the sharing and archiving of the stories of Muizenberg's people, projects, and organisations. The podcast project was inspired by, and started during the early festival organising in 2014; and the recognition that the stories of people and groups involved were worth sharing and storing as living history of place.

Hello Muizenberg Podcast tells the unique stories of the folk living in the greater Muizenberg community and discusses the issues that affect them. We are privileged to be a part of a diverse community with amazing stories to tell. We do a regular weekly podcast on a Wednesday afternoon at the Hive collaborative space in Palmer Road and then another with an interesting guest or look at a local issue. We also give updates about what is happening in Muizenberg.

(Taken from <http://hellopodcast.co.za/>).

The podcast presently runs a weekly podcast out of the hive and interlinks with the various festival-born initiatives that call The Hive home - an example of two distinct spores fostering cooperative and collaborative value. The Hello Muizenberg podcast's metrics; with its following on social media handles and its quantity of downloads per edition is steadily growing.

5.2.3.3. Theme 17: Petri Dish

A petri dish is a shallow cylindrical glass or plastic lidded dish that biologists use to culture cells. They are also used to observe bacteria and microorganisms under a microscope. Festivals have qualities of a petri dish because they are temporary conditions where people, organisations, audience involved may be affected by the ‘culture’ perpetuated by the festival itself. Additionally, the festival as a temporal event can be effective at interpreting and understanding the current culture of the constituents/individuals in the dish/platform.

The nature of the festival platform has been found to be uniquely generative and productive of new initiatives, organisations, enterprises and new understandings and ideas; that affect the overall institutional field; as described by the spore effect. The effect of the Muizenberg Festival often lasts long after the festival event itself - and that is the express purpose of the practice. In particular, the mechanism that makes the spore effect and the longer lasting effects is a kind of enhanced experimentation within a particular, and intended, set of conditions, that may lead to a development of new cultural norms, understandings and social goods that can transform the institutional field. (need to sort out the many concepts at a later stage) This has been the case with the Muizenberg Festival process.

The value of this mechanisms can be ascribed to the characteristics of festivals as organisational space that, as with the petri dish, an instrument in scientific experimentations, offers:

- A larger surface for examination,
- Space to culture cells
- Platform to experiment with variable conditions

Specifically it is the case that the characteristic of festival(s) to be hotbeds of innovation and cultural renewal; as demonstrated in the finding section above; is due to the experimental (and experiential) mechanism; characterised by these qualities that are likened to a petri dish qualities. The intensification of interaction and exchange in the “context social milieu” offers an enhanced capacity for examining current institutional/dominant/patterned culture, under particular conditions. This is helpful, as it becomes easier to see the system/to recognise patterns. The

festival space as a temporary space, with intensified interactions and exchange is a fitting place from which to foster new cultural memes, norms, social patterns. And in this sense, as conditions can be managed for, it is a fitting platform with which to experiment with variation(s) in conditions.

During the final planning sessions of the 2016 festival it became apparent that with our communication strategy and meeting convening, small changes in conditions would generate distinct outcomes in terms of the project results. For example, an increased coherence of the communication plan and messaging in all aspects of the festival planning; led to a similar means of describing other festival projects.

This spillover effect, and expressed increase in prototyping energy can be ascribed (credited) to the festival's characteristic of being a petri dish, by means of the aforementioned mechanisms or dynamics: By offering a greater surface for system examination, the festival offers a compelling means of sensing particular themes in persistent institutions, over time, the stakeholders are able to discern new understandings, that are distinct meaning making and recognitions of resources, for example.

5.2. Preliminary Conclusions

The themes explored in this findings chapter (inclusivity, gamification, and celebration as an organising idea; etc.) pertain to the organising *and* enactment of the Muizenberg Festival. When these themes and/or qualities are extrapolated to analogous case studies of this project; they are characteristics made possible by festival organisations in general.

With these themes in mind, in the context of the Muizenberg Festival; the degree to which we are able to make impact on the institutional culture of our target context is dependent on, or at the least impacted by our capacity to, amongst other themes:

- capacity to arrange and organise organically,

- facilitation of open source programming for maximum involvement from host community,
- enhance the principle of celebration as leading purpose/objective in all of our organisational facets,
- apply gamification to our engagement strategies and stakeholder mobilisation - where low risk investment and playful interactions are concerned, and
- maintain embraced inclusivity in our discourse and communication methods.

In other words, the themes identified in this findings section are the mechanisms/qualities that provide an understanding of how festival organisations can have an effect on the institutional routines, patterns, norms, etc.

These themes emerged from the action research reporting and are ways of interpreting patterns that were becoming present in the context of the action research cycles. For example, a perennial theme is the concept of organic organisation and chaordic structuring of systems to coordinate, direct and arrange the creative impulse and the celebration principle. In other words, perennial themes are structural and instituted, whereas other themes may rather be referred to as deployable tactics and practices.

The theme of organic organisation, although particularly described in the planning/preparing phase; is present throughout the research project as a distinct theme of our organising patterns - The festival modus operandi involved the constant adaptation to feedback from stakeholders; often to the detriment of quicker ways of achieving the broader objectives. However, giving unto this process has had a significant benefit as we have developed an adaptive system of organising that is held by the group; and serves the need for distributing leadership, and enhancing agency - also prevalent themes in their respective cycles and phases

5.3. Core Themes

The following analyses provide a methodological account of disaggregated themes and builds towards theory findings that can be tested against data inputs from analogous festivals; that will triangulate the findings so as to add relevance to the field of festivals and organisation studies; more so than just the isolated case of the Muizenberg Festival.

5.3.1. Axial Coding and Disaggregated Themes

The following table presents the basic disaggregation of core themes during the analysis of qualitative data and findings. Axial coding is the process of relating codes (categories and concepts) to each other, and by doing so identifying relationships among the open codes. This provides an opportunity to assess the core practices and vital topics from the themes.

The following accounts for themes aggregated from the abstracted coding of cycles. In addition, a description of the rationale for the aggregation is provided with each core theme:

C2 P1	Jan - Aug 2015	• Organic Organisation	• Open Source Programming	• Distributed Leadership
C2 P2	Aug - Oct 2015	• Performance Disruption as	• Chaordic Organising	• Famine to Feast
C2 P3	Oct - Dec 2015	• Placemaking Festivals &	• Experimentalism	
C3 P1	Jan - Aug 2016	• Celebration as Organising Principle	• Embraced Inclusivity	• Trojan Horse Strategy
C3 P2	Aug - Oct 2016	• Play	• Renewal & Cyclical Agency	• Gamification

C3 P3	Nov - Dec 2016	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Festivity across Parallel Lives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Spore Effect 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Petri Dish
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With these themes as the basis of inquiry, I undertook several reflective dialogues with team members and stakeholders (13th Oct, 2017, 5 & 6 June, 2017) outside of the defined action research cycles; where discussions and analyses were brought to bear on some of the patterns and subsequent theoretical structures of the findings that are themselves a meta-framing of the action research project. These sessions helped to clarify and prioritise particular themes and to relegate others to amalgamating with priority or core themes.

CORE THEME	Celebration as Organising Principle	Liminality	Spore Effect
	Celebration as organising Principle	Festivity across Parallel Lives	Spore Effect
	Distributed Leadership	Gamification	Petri Dish,
	Organic Organising	Embraced Inclusivity	Spillover Effect
	Chaordic Organising	Famine to Feast	Renewal and Agency
	Open Source Programming	Performed Disruption	Experimentalism
	Placemaking & festivals	Trojan Horse Effect	
	Play		

5.3.1 1 Celebration as Organising Principle

- **Celebration**

The gathering stage of the Muizenberg Festival process involves the invitation, initiation and mobilisation of partners and projects to join the organising process. The core themes of the festival, no matter the event, act as a kind of flagship and mobilising call for participation under

the operative objective of “*celebrating Muizenberg*”, and “creating the Muizenberg we want by celebrating our collective vision” (Muizenberg Festival Case Statement, 2015).

Celebration implies, as has been discussed, an embodied frequenting and honouring of a particular theme in public; an energising, appreciative and anticipatory quality in the sense that it has been imbued with meaning from, and performed by, the group of people who are celebrating. Celebration exists as an activity that is collectively informed and contingent on a shared value-ing.

- **Organising Principle**

An organising principle is a guiding idea that is used to direct a society, organisation or initiative. An organisation may develop a complex set of principles, strategies, policies and procedures but it typically only chooses a single organising principle. In many cases, an organising principle is enshrined in an organization's mission statement. The organising principle is a reminder of the organisation’s purpose as opposed to it’s practical operational considerations.

As many festivals have as their *raison d'être*, organising for performance, enactment, honouring of themes and meanings of that which they are celebrating - celebration (in performance, exhibition, etc.) is a necessary outcome and the organising principle. However, just as interestingly is that the organising of the festival phenomenon has as its underpinning a celebratory nature - and particularly in an anticipatory sense. By this it is meant that there is celebratory quality ahead of the actual event of celebrating; that steps are taken beforehand that are themselves celebratory in nature; imbuing action and planning with an unusual quality.

This is certainly the case for the Muizenberg Festival. As this quality has much to claim for shifting institutional fields, generating new meaning, opening new resource channels, and enabling role freedom for routine change. Celebration as a quality; and as an underlying organising principle of festival organisations, is recognised as a core theme. Particularly, by uncovering how this organising principle works can provide clues as to how festival organising

can be especially relevant to institutional work. During the axial coding celebration as organising principle encompassed and aggregated several other disparate themes, including chaordic organising, distributed leadership and organic organisation. The aggregation of themes to Celebration as Organising Principle will now be described; providing further substance to the decision to amalgamate these themes..

- **Aggregated Themes**

It is also a workable umbrella that clarifies and elaborates the themes of organic organisation, chaordic organising, and distributed leadership - themes that pertain to the organisational logics of the festival process. These themes can amalgamate under celebration as organising principle as the first phase of the organising process as they have to do with the initiation, onboarding, and organising efforts of the festival.

They also take place with a quality of organising that has been observed as particularly energised, role independent and disruptive of institutionalised routines in the field. In other words the quality of celebration describes how festivals happen to organise more organically than other organisational counterparts; how chaos & order are reconciled; and how leadership is distributed.

Organic Organisation: At a festival meeting, where groups of participants were collected in groups to describe their 'gift' to the festival; and later pin these interests to a board on the wall; the nature of excited participation and expression of exactly what each person was bringing meant that people organised efficiently into groups that echoed their interests - as an example, by the end of this section of the meeting, for example, a group of five persons (most of whom had not met before) had arranged a 'learning lab' focus group, and project, which sought to de-formalise learning and school curriculum through the integration of scholarly activities at each of the events. This is described as an organic organisational effort. It is out of bounds, and seems to be impossible that can be made possible when an atmosphere of celebration is brought into a particular organising process; that naturally selects the groupings of people according to

the themes and priorities that they communicate within the hyper social festival organising context.

Chaordic Organising: People often struggle to integrate and organise without particular and well described roles and directives - precisely because we are accustomed to it. However, we found that a loosening of role fixtures, a letting go of specific routines in favour of functionality, and an ability to juggle uncertainty despite having a certain objective were developed in the course of the Muizenberg Festival organising. This is a break from the institutional norms, and we would ascribe this to celebration as organising principle when people organise with celebration as mobilising quality we have seen a higher degree of openness that directly relates to a capacity to let go of certainty and entertain new ways of practicing organising.

Distributed Leadership: The capacity to organise effort and roles towards a particular objective commonly held often encourages hierarchies to evolve so as to cope with responsibility and manage workflow. However, in the festival(s) we have studied we have seen a greater tendency to distribute and share leadership.

We attribute this to celebration because when people mobilise/organise from a point of celebration as basis there is an inherent and self-perpetuating motivation that pulls people into roles of responsibility. The Open Studio Tour, a keystone project and event of the festival, has changed project lead hands three times, and has provided leadership roles to several leads who do not occupy leadership roles in their daily work. When inquiring into the nature of the project's running, it is less the case that the leads have an immediate and effective leadership capacity as yet discovered - it is more the case that risks are taken despite the lack of competency; most likely due to the celebratory quality of the festival organising principle that we pair people with their passions and link them with the projects and people who can further enable their growth in that role. The motivating force, however, is the honouring of a personally held passion; which is the celebration of what is being organised and what might be possible.

- **Further illustration**

Celebration as an overriding atmosphere helps to loosen the roles and routines in an organisational setting. It helps to motivate as it stimulates a deeper sense of meaning that overrides day-to-day held refrainment from responsibility and leadership.

Finally, it has been observed as assisting in creating the hyper social and exchange intensive environment for organic organisation that seems to thrive on the open platform and the theme of personal expression; that reduces the time taken for natural groupings around priority to emerge, initiate and take responsibility as described by the education/learning lab and OST example.

These sub-themes then help to understand how celebration as organising principle can be understood as a core theme in understanding how festivals can have a unique effect on institutional held patterns and performed routines of organising.

- **Conclusion**

As an organising principle, celebration is a core assumption from which everything else; organising activity and phenomena, by proximity can derive a classification or a value. It is our central reference point that is a principle as much as it is agentic, and allows all other objects of our process to be understood and framed or adjusted accordingly.

5.3.2. Liminality

Liminality comes from the latin word limen, which means ‘threshold’, and in anthropology the term is utilised to describe the space between rituals or rites of passages, where identities are suspended during the process. During the festival event, culminating event, the actualisation and implementation of the festival programming comes with it a collective experience of/in our context and the collection of performances, exhibitions, showcases, operations, and logistics that all make up the experience of the Festival. At this stage of the process, there is an observable enactment of Embraced Inclusivity, Famine to Feast, and Performed Disruption.

The festival event comes with it a suspending of normative social activities and interactions, a loosening of the experience of Muizenberg as a place, and a greater generosity and abundance; that comes from an acknowledgement that the time of the festival is temporary and disguised from the ordinary experiences of place, people of Muizenberg. During the literature review for this project, liminality was recognised as a theme in the ritual role of festival events - because there is a similarity, in scholarship on social anthropology, between the liminal space observable in religious rituals and the liminal space generated in festival space. The theme liminality and curating thereof, is described as a core theme and can be further elaborated in the descriptions below, of how it aggregates these themes.

- **Aggregated themes**

Embraced Inclusivity: Where social identity tensions may have existed outside of festival event duration, during festival time, there is then an increased capacity to accept and explore diverse cultural expressions as well as including people for whom you might not ordinarily be acquainted with. As has been described earlier, there is an unusual and full embrace, inclusive, between the different backgrounds of people, when involved in the festival.

This can be described as a result of curating liminality because it is as if certain counter-social belief systems and obstacles to inclusivity are quite literally suspended, during performance and festival.

An overt example of this, that describes the spirit of this theme as well as an example in action, is the Parallel Lives Project (of 2014, 2015), which was a graphic storytelling project that brought more than a dozen youth together on a weekly basis, a couple month out from the festival, to develop their doodling, drawing skill-sets with some of SA's foremost cartoonists. The workshops culminated in an intensive process of generating a book and exhibition during the festival week. The youth came from disparate communities in CT and would, notably, not have interacted outside of this particular project context. In addition, the name parallel lives, was

meant to describe both the experience of Muizenberg Beach, as well as our contrasting neighborhoods, living side by side, however, in parallel; and very distinct lives. The experimental and suspended conditions of the festival create many such opportunities for liminal experiences - experiences on the threshold that go on to create opportunities for role, routine disruption.

Another example of liminality, and suspension of standard roles & routines, comes from, a civic body that deals with safety and security (neighborhood watch), engaged in the festival space not only as stakeholders and community safety liaisons for key events. Taken up by the experience of being a part of the festival organising space; the organisation decided to combine presence in the parade as a public display of unity and to bring a youthful energy to the organisation; by engaging wherever possible as participants and guardians of festival events rather than service providers offerings.

This led to the interaction and engagement of many community members who would not have ordinarily been open to these kinds of experimental means of carrying out their mandate. This can be attributed to the extraordinary social and organisational space, generated by the design of the process; that encourages in the guise of a festival; the open engagement with community and creativity.

Famine to Feast: During the final stages of planning, as well as the actual festival event (1 - 2 weeks), there is a notable increase in energy, resources, capacity to draw from that is until then previously unavailable or seemingly so. As has been described in the earlier sections, this can be understood as a change in perspective that participants have as to what constitutes an asset and what is valuable, as well as an extra capacity for creativity in terms of generating new value and new opportunities to share.

This is aggregated to liminality and this stage of the festival cycle because it is the actual suspension of famine thinking (patterned descriptions of what has value), out of the festival

organising culture, that leads to a fresh increase in assets, and abundance of value - whether it be time, capital, or tools and skills.

Performance as Disruption: Performance of expressive and artistic portrayal of disruption; whether ideas, patterns, places that are being broken open and examined and/or explored or revisited. Disruption of ideas, identities, commonly held limitations is enabled by the performance, through dance, theatre, exhibit, storytelling, etc. during the festival event. The stories that are told during the festival are performances that materialise and enact how we collectively deal with meaning-making. This is amalgamated with liminality as theme because the festival space - space of performance - is the suspended space where disruption can take place.

Gamification: It is possible to describe gamification as a tactic and practice that is contingent on conditions of liminality. The will of participants to engage in game-like interactions in the organisational phenomena is enhanced by the conditions of liminality. For example, we have found that facilitating the conditions for liminality is beneficial to the participation of role players. We have utilised various facilitation and communication techniques in order to create this atmosphere of playfulness; which corresponds to the theme as discussed earlier in this section. Participants have reported that they experience the festival organising process as playful and as having loose boundaries, 'disposable' resources, rewards, interaction between various players or counterparts. These are characteristics shared with games, and provide an insight into the possibility that framing of organising routines can alter the way that participants engage with the work/tasks of the routine by adjusting, changing the framing of the routine - and especially how it is experienced.

- **Conclusion**

The Festival as a social phenomena has the characteristic of occupying liminal space. It has been shown in this project that festival organisation(s) that the atmosphere of liminality, especially during the actual festival event, can have significant impact on institutional field and in particular

creating the opportunity for amongst other valuable conditions; a) hyper inclusivity via melting of identity boundaries and providing contexts for boundary work, b) disruptive performance by enacting and embodying the processing of themes and new understandings of our social contexts, out meaning-making, our roles and identities.

5.3.3. Spore Effect

At the conclusion of the festival event, we experienced the ‘co-creation and evolution’ stage of the process that involves the process after the festival event, and therefore involves the direction and holding of outcomes and developments that are a result of the festival.

At this stage, there is often a proliferation of the prototyping of various concepts and ideas; that until the festival phenomenon, lie dormant and later become tested in the festival space; and if ready, mobilise further energy to re-purpose resources and partnerships towards new organisations, businesses, initiatives. There are many examples, as provided in the findings sections earlier. The idea of Sporing best describes this phenomenon, and stage of the festival process.

- **Aggregated themes**

When analysing the findings’ themes, and reflecting on the action research report I recognised that the aggregation of the following themes: Petri Dish, Experimentalism, Renewal and Agency, and suggests assimilation to the Spore & Chrysalis/Spillover effect core theme provided the following key angles.

What is meant by a time that is characterised by spillover as an effect is that there it is the time where dissemination takes place; there is an unlocking of resources and formulation of new reconstructed types of relations, partnership and potentials; an activation of those new connections, and a catalyzation of development of progress and process in terms of co-creation of Muizenberg (or the target institutional field) as a whole.

Basically, this theme refers to the quality whereby there is an enhancement of exchanges, transfers, and inductions in the degree to which people and participants are changing their means of engaging with their immediate environment (target institutional field). This in turn leads to various spin off activities, relationships, partnerships, and initiatives that can be described as representing the core characteristics of the intervention (festival organising activity).

Spillover: Linking themes of petri dish, temporality and the organisational open sourced and chaordic nature of the festival; it is spillover, in the sense of the an overflowing of the ‘culture’ of the experiment, the relationships that have developed over the course of the festival as process.

With this in mind it is important to note that the festival organising team or core partner (Muizenberg Partnership, etc.) has no plan as to what may appear after the festival. However, The Hive now serves to be available as an incubator and community nexus for these emergent initiatives to grow, connect and mature - both as festival projects and as independent initiatives; that then benefit from the festival as an annual opportunity to mobilise community around concept, and/or reconfigure concept/initiative.

- **Conclusion**

Then, the degree to which one can organise with these organising themes in mind and dis-aggregated into tactics that resemble the themes described, is the degree to which it is possible to enhance the institutional work achieved by a festival’s outcomes.

5.4. Analogous Festivals

The following section triangulates the core themes off of insights, evidence and reflections on work and research with analogous festival organisations. The notes derive from playing various roles within the festival; from working role to partner to strictly researcher role.

I will corroborate the three core themes of Celebration as Organising Principle, Liminality and Spore Effect, as well as emergent trends from these site visits and interviews; and conclude with a mini-discussion. This mini-discussion serves as a triangulation of case specific findings and an opportunity to draw insight from playing the action research case up alongside other examples of festival organisations.

The festivals and organisations included in this finding section here are the following, as represented in Chapter 4. They are not the complete list of festival organisations that made up the sample.

I will report with basic introductory info and then pertinent themes that arose, in conjunction with the following festivals - including meta-analysis from reports from field trips and interviews with personnel from the analogous festivals; showcasing, in particular themes that are of value for the identification of themes pertaining to the Muizenberg Festival case; and broadly in reference to the research question.

These festivals, these initiative taking organisations of people who are driven to arrange and facilitate and imagine around a principle of celebration of some or other principle; whether public space activism, Social Cohesion through diversity; and an experimentalism that shifts our very conception of human society; can be understood as the vanguard of the fringe, the liminal next...and how fitting; as festivals have, time ad infinitum, been social vehicles for the generation of new values, new rituals, new performances. The justice that each initiative sought; is intertwined in the means of innovating not just the tangible; but the intangible; their institutionalised beliefs; that above all hold sway over society's pendulum. And in festive embrace of a performed possibility; the mind(s) open to new routes; And if those routes happen to be dissonant to the old; then festivity might just let us all embrace justice a little closer.

(Journal reflections on interviews and field work with/at AfrikaBurn, Cape Town Carnival, eMzantsi, and Open Streets, 2015)

5.4.1. Celebration as Organising Principle

- **Illustration, Open Streets**

The Open Streets organisation resists description of their activities as being ‘festivals’. MG, founding director of the organisation says: “*not my conception of festivals, not out to get high, music, wild,*” which is a clue as to the perception of festivals by people and the social milieu in general. However, the experience at any Open Streets event is observably and without doubt a celebration - of public space, performance and sharing.

“Very little (was aimed at being a festival event)...originally it is about mobility, you could argue that, open streets the movement is very much about mobility...but what’s coming out is a festive community space/feel. Philosophically yes, there is a festivity, in other cities, they are referred to as festivals, but it is not our aim” (Guerrero, 2015).

The organisation, with its dynamic and multi-skilled team, have been able to enact a model that has grown out of their events, and pioneered the thinking around public space, transport, and the streets in Cape Town. Here, below, are several themes that present themselves from the work at OS, and observations made after various working sessions, interview(s) and visits to OS events. These themes include:

- perspectives on **institutionalising new frames** on public space and mobility, by hosting and facilitating an interactive, (**Institutional Scope, Local Journey**), and
- **‘suspended’ experience** of the streets as public space,

Regarding the streets (of Cape Town), “*We would like to see them transformed permanently. There is no specific recipe. On a personal level; the Journey is about contributing to this movement (as it is a global movement), and how it responds to the needs of Cape Town in particular. It’s about reclaiming public space, a bigger thing about our common ground in the*

city; our common public spaces. Open Streets is a piece of that Global Movement, around this space...around the suspension of reality” (Guerrero, 2015).

The literal alluding to a ‘suspension of reality’, and essentially the status quo of the particular system (inclusive of routines and rules, meaning-making and logics of the system wherein OS are actors), is an important reference to the method and motivation of the organisation; this suspension of belief is an implied target of the organisation.

“Open streets in CT is about transforming streets permanently, seeing the street as a platform. Want to grow the initiative, people like it, response is do it again. There is value in that. However, there is even more value in changing regulations around the street, traffic control, pedestrian control...raising awareness around rights of people on the street...huge need....where we want to contribute our voice...and this connects with a global understanding of cities needing to change....our area is one angle....streets as public space” (Guererro, 2015).

- **1st Reflection**

Despite not being a festival organisation, it is observable that Open Streets mobilises resources and interest around its objectives by means of celebration. The organisation clearly celebrates the streets - and by doing so reveals and makes apparent new meanings of what the streets may be reclaimed for. The use of celebration and festivity is valuable both in mobilising greater awareness and profile for the organisation’s purpose as well as the incremental re-imagining of the subject, the streets, through celebrating on/at the streets.

Awareness and profile is critical for an organisation that has an advocacy oriented purpose, as Open Streets does. Celebration and festivity as an organising principle is valuable as it tends to include and activate more people, and has the effect of exciting and energising participation. And so despite not being a festival organisation, OS demonstrates effectively celebration as organising principle; in such a way that illustrates the value of the theme as a mechanism for mobilising resources and participation.

By celebrating the streets and the noble mission of the Open Streets Cape Town team and global movement, the public awareness of the streets and the possibility of street repurposing has been awakened. It is clear, when at an OS event, that celebration is effectively providing the platform for self organised, organically organised civic response to the key questions asked by the organisation. In this way the principle is employed to practically make the vision of Open Streets happen.

- **Illustration, AfrikaBurn**

“I’ve always organised events...but I don’t consider myself an events’ organiser...it’s just scaffolding that you have to use...” (Schiess, 2015).

- **2nd Reflection**

The conversations with AB team, as well as work at the event itself, provided a clear understanding of how festival events can be vehicles for achieving non event related aims. This simple description of event as scaffolding provides a succinct metaphor for what is meant by celebration as organising principle in terms of organising for other aims.

In AB’s case, the aims are to affect societal norms, encourage behaviour change and incremental advances in the direction of the broad value system espoused by the organisation. They recognise a temporary community, and the event logistics (scaffolding) implied by such an expensive exercise - and see it as being a worthwhile investment for long term changes the team and organisers hope to see in the world.

- **Illustration, Cape Town Carnival**

“Embroidered when you look back at it o the root of where everybody comes together...the initial point has to consist of people stepping forward, and coming into relationship, show up, what do you want to do?....that kind of simplicity of interaction, and then you see what happens next...then it evolves...and if a certain bunch of people have very rigid ideas of how

things are going to work, that's going to bang up against people who are more flexible and have a more revolutionary idea of how things are going to work."

And so, I think there is almost an alchemical, that's an overused word, almost a magical quality to an organisation that comes in to being to do something, and survives, and succeeds...and flourishes in any way, because if any of those things are too extremely out of balance, they will either suffocate or implode, or become sterile and lifeless. Or they will be lively and fertile things that feed and renew the collective of people who are engaging in each other and the festival space through it...and enables and supports and frees, and gives the structure that frees."

"I definitely value, well everybody just doing whatever, is not actually the formula for Burning Man or AfrikaBurn or The Carnival. That's just what everyone is doing anyway...when things come together with some intention, some template, some guiding principles, some sense of "yes that, no to that; whether it's one-on-one or as an organisational setup, that gives it its own pace and growth..."

(Creative Director, Cape Town Carnival, 2015)

- **3rd Reflection**

The Creative Director of Cape Town Carnival, in this excerpt, pointed out the alchemical yet also simple practicality of organising - that organising happens when people are able to step up and step forward to make something happen. When ambitions are shared and visions forged as a group; it is often the case that there is conflict and difficulty in negotiating the variety in perception of the vision and how to make it happen. This observation brings a sobering perspective to the theme, and recognises that celebration as organising principle does not necessarily imply easy and friendly relations within the organising team/group; and that space and attention needs to be provided for the inevitable difficulties faced by a creative group of people with lofty ideals and systemic ambitions.

That celebration as organising principle does not imply nor necessitate a constant festivity. To the contrary, it necessitates that groups of people who step forward into organising do bash up

against one another and construct the festival forward with the alchemy of paying attention to internal contradictions and realisms.

5.4.2. Liminality

It is clear from the above that the Arts & Culture sector has so much to offer, as this excerpt provides clarity on how performance and the festival space in general can provide a space for this to take place:

“When I walk down the streets of Cape Town I feel like I can hear the howls of the past. I think as a society we have failed to deal with our country’s difficult history and our present issues of poverty, racism and inequality, but I think that art and events that interrupt the use of public space have a part to play in redressing these things...Festivals, performance and art in general are often sites of conflict where social, political and economic issues can come into conflict. By embracing this locally, could we set an example for other places? “In South Africa, we are forced to consider social issues in our day-to-day working lives. I believe more engagement is always needed, however that is something that other countries can learn from us.”

(Reflections, delegates to Edinburgh Festivals, 2015:

<http://www.creativecapetown.com/can-cape-town-become-a-festival-city/>)



Figure: Poster for an AfrikaBurn event that took place at The Hive, Muizenberg Festival HQ

- **Illustration, AfrikaBurn**

“AfrikaBurn is founded on the vision of creating a temporary society/city where the proportion of infrastructure to create projects is inverse in comparison with the default worlds. In other words, the Burn is an experiment; for which people and groups can come and play and make crazy big inspiring creative ideas a reality.” (Schiess, 2017, presentation at The Hive)

Underpinning the AfrikaBurn Festival are the eleven principles that represent the ethos of the event and are foundations of the community of practice that has grown around the burn and process thereof. Of these 11 the following are particularly interesting and are touchpoints for the present study:

- Decommodification - In order to preserve the spirit of gifting, our community seeks to create social environments that are unmediated by commercial sponsorships, transactions, or advertising. We stand ready to protect our culture from such exploitation. We resist the substitution of consumption for participatory experience.
- Civic Responsibility - We value civil society. Community members who organise events should assume responsibility for public welfare and endeavor to communicate civic responsibilities to participants. They must also assume responsibility for conducting events in accordance with national and local laws.
- Radical Inclusion - Anyone may be a part of AfrikaBurn. We welcome and respect the stranger. No prerequisites exist for participation in our community. This means that anyone can partake.
- Each One, Teach One - As a self-reliant community, we believe the responsibility of spreading our culture lies with each and every one of us. All of us are custodians of our culture – when the opportunity presents itself, we pass knowledge on.

From AfrikaBurn Website: <https://www.afrikaburn.com/about/guiding-principles>

It is notable how these principles are intended to create the sense of an experimental lab like approach for creative expression and dialogue, performance (especially in the organising of this significantly large event and community); towards an immediate, experience-based reconstruction of the possibilities in regard to key and dynamic obstacles and opportunities of our (City of Cape Town as context) institutional context more broadly defined.

For example, the Each One Teach One (the 11th principle that is unique to AB in the Burning Man ecosystem), was the outcome of internal reflections regarding the means to further engender

the key principles of the project amongst newcomers to the community and event. The means by which AfrikaBurn work to build a rapid diffusion of praxis and memes throughout its community is a tactical venture that other organisations may learn from.

- **Illustration, AfrikaBurn**

“I remember sitting in our camp, probably for two days, simple thoughts came up out of it; what are you doing, what are you actually doing? You have this open invitation, you have this dream, you have this capacity, these desires, and what are you doing about it?” (Baard, 2015).

- **Illustration, Cape Town Carnival**

*“You pointed to something there..that has a connection to something else, the experience of taste, is massively memory...so the sensation of me tasting the choc milkshake, and most of it is “I love chocolate milkshakes, maths test regard, weekend”
...So there’s almost a ritual, religious analogue to the experience of what memory can be like...so for all the rio people who are participating in the rio carnival...how much is it experiential, and how much is it about the fact that it happened, and that cyclical memory, “I am here again with all my friends...” And this experience right now is almost secondary to the simple fact that it is happening again...Because it has been great in the past, and this is us...and that should almost relieve us from feeling too much pressure or too much FOMO about having the top top experience..how do you have better experiences than what you have had before..”*

(Baard, 2015)

and has no bearing on whether they will go back the next year. Because if they had any prior history, they will probably go back...I have had a few years where it hasn’t been surely good.

The value of ritual, or regular events, in and of a particular place or community cannot be overstated in terms of the effects on all other dimensions of social and public life in that target

community. Regular practice and/or performance of a particular theme or celebration of community; frequenting of it; creates or re-creates routine that is fulfilling to the effect of institutionalising the extra-ordinary; to making the disruptive and chaotic creative impulse a norm.

- **4th Reflection**

In the context of the festival organising and arrangement of production, coordination, etc. it is clear for many festival organisations that there is a melting pot effect of cultural, racial, gender roles in terms of the functions of organising the festival. For CTC, this is obviously the outside facing purpose of the festival event (social cohesion, celebrating CT's cultural diversity, etc.). However, what is not as obviously spoken and celebrated about is the internal relevance of inclusivity - that festivals, more so than many other types of social production companies or firms have a high degree of work role equality. Because of the liminal nature of the event, the roles and the functions there is a greater appetite for risk or change in the sense that roles are easier to attain and roleplayers easier to change. This is a quality of festival organising that was not explicitly studied in the context of this project.

- **Illustration, Open Streets**

Institutions are resilient. And In order to develop fresh strategies for renegotiating the frames of our world, we may need to find ways of pausing instituted practice and thereby allowing experience of other ways of being to exist/coexist. In order to suspend in such a way that does not make the suspended institution hostile towards the intervention, a non-aggressive, tactical approach is called for. One that can facilitate an adaptation of the institutional landscape, instead of expanding large energy on combative approaches. This is aptly described by the following excerpt: *“There are a lot of restrictions that one could argue could suffocate a festival feel...these restrictions are necessary for compliance with city regulation; allowing us to continue to play a role in the institutional discussions with the city.”* (Guerrero, 2015). Open Streets engage in this strategy, and their team acknowledges this as an approach:

“We play by the rules in order to create the space for us to play. Yes, we need permits to comply. Once we create that space, we are inviting people to work outside their confinement, and express themselves freely in their own environment” (Guerrero, 2015).

Of their engagement with city officials (as an example of gatekeepers), *“part of our process is figuring out who cares, rather to utilise the space, and not to push people,”* thereby looking for strategic compliance rather than challenging these role-players. This is key to the capacity of festive organisations’ change of broader systemic dimensions of resource flows, roles & routines, etc. There must be an in-person(s) to help renegotiate, by way of assisting the suspension of certain rules and norms.

- **Empty Space, (Experimentalism)**

Of the experimentalism and capacity to discover and explore, that is a hallmark of festive organisations, Guerrero (2015) says: *“what we are suspending is very simple, rather going back to normality...all we are suspending (in theory small change re; cars), leveraging huge shifts in perception...”*

“We’re not putting things in, we are taking things out and inviting people to put what they do into the mix; which is why each area will have a distinct feel.”

- **Illustration, Festivals Edinburgh**

A coming together of a dozen unique festivals, despite sharing so much in common, brings with it the need for coordination of each organisation’s practice(s), directing teams, and unique mandates. This may seem a good idea, but it is a good idea that needs significant facilitation and ongoing support to work. As Liddell (2015) puts it, *“Behind that will (of the collection of festivals), needs to be structures that can guide (govern) it through its own complexity...”*

This presented a demonstrable clue for the organisation of the variety of stakeholders, projects, etc. of the Muizenberg Festival experience; and of many other platforms/facilitative festivals. It

was demonstrably working, as was visible at the variety of networking and collective events (for which observations were made). The important learning must be understood in the context of a kind of disciplined and diligent persistence of that role; that Festivals Edinburgh plays: *“We keep on demonstrating that will, practice it, interpret it...and repeat.”* (Liddell, 2015). This involves sustained work towards collaboration and common understanding, and to this end, the company *“...organise meetings, adjust alignments of stakeholders, translate voices to stakeholders, agree on agendas...admin...”* *“After the Thundering Hooves we...didn’t want consultants...rather we went with in-house, something that was borne of the collective will...we distill the ideas, visions, dreams of the festival directors...”*

“...we meet in advance re; specific topics/issues, prepare detailed papers, brief stakeholders, (communication), bring issues to specific meetings, get the timing right, Develop KPIs, which in turn assist with framing/marketing...” *“We are tactical...and marketed, communicated, the collective will.”*

This is a significant and unique framing of the former listing of activities engaged in by the company; that they represent what they do as a tactical facilitation and communication of collective will.

The Thundering Hooves report that is being referred to is a groundbreaking report that was provided the impetus for the formation of the Company. It was commissioned in response to significant drop in festival support from financiers and state as well as a lack of efficient collaboration; after the 2007/8 financial crisis. *“Originally Festivals Edinburgh was more of an admin branch/not ambitious. That was the first business plan...”* *“However, we grew to interpret and acknowledge the collective truths, ...”*

Given that the Company is assisting the collectivization and coordination of various entities to form, so to speak, a representation of the ‘Edinburgh Festival’, this provides a good sense of the kind of practice that was necessary for the Muizenberg Festival; with similar ambitions of

coordinating and communicating the “collective will”. Liddell and McVeigh (2015) both refer to this as “pathfinding”. This is a concept that is shared by the executive team. Given an often uncertain and in-flux organisational space, this is relevant to the festival models that we’d been encountering as they do intentional and unanimously subscribe to an innovative, experimental, and adaptive organisational culture.

Of pathfinding and the facilitation of structure, Liddell (2015) explains: “*Elders...there used to be individuals whose self interest had worn away, in favor for a greater purpose*”... *this is a sort of pathfinding, interpreting of the way. And this function has been shunned in modern culture and organisational functions.*” “*I see Festivals Edinburgh as playing that kind of role for the collective.*”

It was visible to me that it (the Festivals Edinburgh) is critical to the survival and thriving of the festivals in Edinburgh that Festivals Edinburgh plays this role; as the festivals are somewhat unable to take the governance perspective that allows them to redirect and adapt and grow according to the challenges and opportunities; in part do to the dynamics of competing self interests of festivals in a shared space. The festivals contribute, financially and institutionally, towards the resourcing of the Festivals Edinburgh company, equally (notwithstanding significant size and age differences of festivals) and therefore provide a governance mandate; for the Company is essentially playing an objective systems’ level approach to the solving of the *Tragedy of the Commons*.

- **Reflection**

Festivals Edinburgh is a living example of the kind of adaptive and systemic organisational fluidity that experiments with open source programming of projects to fulfil its mandate, organic organising techniques in that the nature of the system is less of a context and more of a determinant. Finally, the company is critically structured with an experimental spirit and concerns itself with the conditions of the commons; practices that have helped the company to survive and succeed in delivering its mandate of, considerably and rapidly, re-institutionalising

new praaxis for collective benefit of the client and member festivals; as well as the City as a whole.

5.4.3. Spore Effect

- **Illustration, Festivals Edinburgh**

Of the phenomena of festivals generally, and in reference to the dozen festivals in Edinburgh, Liddell (2015) describes them as being *“underpinned by continual experimentation, no matter the director. This experimentation is in the genesis/DNA of the performers/artists who play a whole in feedback with the audience, and according to that sway the director is swayed, and that enters the governance, and the voice is heard amongst the collective.”* And the Company works to translate that experimental capacity into a pathway that is the collective will for the development and improvement of the whole.

“Our contributions to R&D comes from our ambitious DNA. Our core method has become experimental.” “The shows/artists are “experiments of their time...” “The curators, and the interpreters of the collective will, Festivals Edinburgh are in turn interpreting the time, that zeitgeist.”

This is an apt representation of the societal role that the festive/carnival space as a phenomenon does play in the broadest sense; that they are sites of intense artistic expression and experimentalism; which is in turn the expression of social space generally; across cultural and institutional strata. This experimentalism, despite uncertainty and risk, is the petri dish of cultural memes and the development of culture.

Further exhibiting the chaos and experimentation of the festival space, Liddell explains, of the Fringe Festival, that *“(the) Fringe is on the literal fringe of the festival, and there is even a fringe with the book, science festivals. It is the edge of the living lab, where the most daring productions take place.”*

- **Reflection**

Liddell had, in this interview, articulated a quality of the festival that had infrequently been looked at and is not easy to point out or measure.

That the whole festival, from governance to the performances of the fringe is can be seen as an R&D activity - the research and development of society as social and cultural and economic norms develop and evolve. The Festival, with all its variety is described by Liddell as a reflection of the broader social consciousness. Additionally, the platform allows themes and memes in the social consciousness that have already emerged to explore how to effectively gain traction in the current social milieu.

This quality can further articulate the spore effect and showcases the significant impact that festivals and cultural events can have on prevailing societal institutions by means of demonstrating emergent culture and by providing the opportunity for new memes to experiment and catch on.

- **Illustration, Cape Town Carnival**

“Because it is not mechanistic...and I cautiously contrast that with a a highly evolved and a model of a (not as familiar way) of Rio Carnival, and I’ve seen the Carnival, I’ve been there at Carnival time..and it differs from these other three, and I’ve visited the organisational, the backstage and there’s almost a sense there that...there’s definitely value in it...but there is a sense that it became, almost a caricature, or almost crystalized in a way that left the actual experience happening somewhere else. And people say that actually about the Burning Man actually, there are always the way back then, back in the good old days...I haven’t been for a few years...may be true, maybe not true...however, again, it has sort of crystallized...outside of that, whether it’s in the Burning Man regionals or on the streets outside the sun drome, is where the actual thing is still happening...that there is something more silly, more sincere, more playful about some shopkeeper with a wig sitting next to his shop with his patrons in the night time, then there is in the hyper produced events happening for the TV audience and the

whole country...so it is almost like they followed a model to its apex...and when that happens it has to spore and go off elsewhere for that to happen someplace else...might be fresher and more tasty in the new places.”

(Baard, 2015)

- **Excerpt, Festivals Edinburgh**

“Collaboration that is followed through; rarely happens...there are often a collection of actors that have a similar voice/values, however, that massive understanding is a constant flux.”
*“Festivals Edinburgh stirs with that immense complexity, and plays with the possibility of that collective will, interpreting it, investigating it...playing it. To and fro, towards what we call the The surviving idea. A distinction between ambitious and radical thinking frameworks.”**“It is about demonstrating new means of transforming practice...”* (Liddell, 2015).

Of festival models and business cases for festivals, Liddell says that because *“Festivals are by nature experimental, intense and high risk...”* This is a poignant simplification of the rationale for lacking financial and resource support (and the stability in general of festivals that have been studied, in this and other projects).

The unique model of Festivals Edinburgh deserves a particular description. *“The Festivals Edinburgh company comes out of the 2006, Thundering Hooves, and the recognition of the threat posed by festival cities around the world. The decision to start Festivals Edinburgh was made in order to coordinate a collective response to the need, as this has evolved...”* *“Festivals’ edinburgh practices collaboration ethic is about combined voice/values vs. combined interests...”* that is an important distinction; that hints at the multiplicity in the spectrum of framing that represents what is and isn’t a resource as well as the inherent non-quantitative sensibility of the Festival Space.

They deliver the value of that collaboration (facilitation of communication), common space (shared value projects), and pathfinding (experimentation into the future). In exchange, their members (the festivals), provide financial support and institutional access for state funding sources. In addition, their Research & Development arm (matched with the petri dish effect festivals) has developed several spin offs; that have become operational businesses on their own standing and contribute towards the Company's

The fact that festivals are concentrated times of increased social interaction and exchange make them uniquely capable of experimenting with new practice and activity, and thereby delivering sill over value for the intention of the organising agent.

- **Reflection**

Festivals Edinburgh itself can be described as sporing, with regards the collaborations borne out of the Edinburgh Festivals' understanding of their threatening context (financial crises and the insecurity of funding for the Arts & Culture sector) during scarcity. The services described by this company has enhanced the capacity for the festivals to spore and parent associate organisations and initiatives that have had an effect on the institutional field more widely.

Because of the profile of the Edinburgh Festivals, it is well understood from British Council, for example, the soft power implications of the cultural sector. The interaction between the British Council and the Festivals Edinburgh company provided the pioneering advances in state institutions recognition of the cultural sector as an effective impact on broader cultural and societal norms as well as international relations and foreign affairs. The international scope of the festivals means that external and state institutions now have a real political interest in the platform.

This highlights an area of concern as much as it is an opportunity. Festivals that gain traction and have an effect can be subject to larger institutional players (large funders and/or state agencies) playing a proactive role at influencing the platform of the festival's programming. As an opportunity, it points to the intangible yet incredibly relevant role that festival culture can play in

global exchange, cross-cultural exchanges and even peace-building - both of which are qualities of festival organising that have not been given attention in this study.. For as the founding of Edinburgh's International Festival had it, the purpose of the festival was the flourishing of the human spirit” and the celebration of Europe outside the confines of nation states, after World War”. The recognition of the original “DNA” of the festival culture in Edinburgh is appreciated by Liddell and her team, however, it is unclear just exactly to what degree power can influence and even co-opt festival culture and objective.

5.5. Conclusion

The excerpts and reflections on core themes of Celebration as Organising Principle, Liminality, and Spore Effect, above represent a rich display of findings pertaining to the organisational life of these distinct festival organisations. The provision of Muizenberg Festival specific notes, helps to derive a rich and triangulated view of the festival practices/themes that are the subject of this project; and the response to the research question(s) of this study.

It is also noticeable that the themes overlap neatly with the action research cycle phases. For example, Celebration as organising principle included Organic Organisation, Chaordic Organising, and Distributed Leadership - all themes that emerged from action research notes emerging from work in the specific phases of either each cycle (2015 and 2016). This provides an order to the findings as being relevant to, and emergent of, the process of the festival organising.

The culmination of the core themes, triangulated with reflections and excerpts from analogous festivals provides a foundation with which to analyse the themes with the literature in mind. This will provide the angles with which to discuss the role that festivals can play in doing institutional work.

With celebration as a framing of the organisational practices of festivals, suspensive conditions or liminality providing a disruption in ordinary patterns of institutional life, and the spore effect

providing an insight into the somewhat contagious and viral influences of festival organising on the institutional field; the discussion of festivals in context of institutional theory is well positioned.

Chapter 6. Discussion

After reflection on the contextual background of the research question this section will provide an analysis of the findings and play the themes off of the literature as a means to drive the development of theory and practice outcomes from this research project. This will include a presentation of:

- Theoretical Contributions: Festival core themes played off of the literature on institutional theory.
- Practical Contributions: Competencies of festivals and the mechanisms of institutional work in festival organisations.

In this way the discussion will lead towards the dual objectives of this project:

1. the development of best practices for organisations and festivals that have the goal of shifting deeper socio-economic patterns; and
2. the contribution towards scholarship of institutional work and festival event studies.

6.1. Theoretical Contributions

Further to the description of findings from the case studies and action research with and of Muizenberg Festival primarily (as well the Open Streets, Festivals Edinburgh, AfrikaBurn, and Cape Town Carnival) I now develop several analyses of the particular values of themes regarding festivals, institutional theory, and how festivals do institutional work. Here, I play literature off of the three core themes from the findings of the Muizenberg Festival and analogous festival organisations; namely Celebration as Organising Principle, Liminality, and Spore Effect. Finally, I provide a discursive lens as to what the core themes may mean for further

research and practice in festival organising and provide an illustration as to how the study may contribute towards institutional theory generally and institutional work in particular.

6.1.1. Celebration as Organising Principle

Celebration as a quality of doing things is the basis for organising support as well as mobilising resources and participation for the Muizenberg Festival, AfrikaBurn, Cape Town Carnival, etc. Organising festivals has the advantage of attracting interest for participants and often inspires additional contributions - encouraging expenditure of resources towards the thematic *raison d'être* of the festival event itself. Bringing people together around a particular cause with celebration as a baseline objective in the sense that a festival organisation is intriguingly effective and has ramifications for institutional work. The experience encourages in participants a capacity for openness, confidence and compassion albeit in a heterogeneous organising effort.

Celebration can be compared to the experience of awe. Keltner & Haidt (2003) argued that awe is the ultimate “collective” emotion, because it motivates people to do things that enhance the greater good. Through activities that provide us with this sensation — ‘collective rituals, celebration, music and dance, religious gatherings and worship’ — awe has the power to help shift our focus from our narrow self-interest to the interests of groups, communities, or new values (Piff & Keltner, 2005).

6.1.1.1. Awe as Experiential Institutional Logic

Thornton & Ocasio (1999: 804) have defined institutional logics as ‘the socially constructed patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organise time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality.’ According to this definition institutional logics provide a link between individual agency and cognition and socially constructed institutional practices and structures of formal and informal law. What the experience of awe has to do with this is that it is a psychological state that has been shown, relative to various control states, to increase ethical

decision-making, generosity and prosocial values (Piff., Dietze, Feinberg, Stancato, & Keltner, 2015).

I contend that the theme *Celebration as Organising Principle* is underpinned by the proximity to the psychological state of awe. It is the experiential prevailing logic by which the festival organisation comes into being, and by which it is effective at disrupting and creating patterned social behaviour and patterns of interaction and exchange. Celebration and awe as experiential terms could have compelling consequences should they be institutionally diffused (Strang & Meyer, 1993) - in this case by festival organising. Institutional diffusion occurs when an organisational innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system (Strang & Meyer, 1993: 1).

The festival process has the capacity to train/blend organisational attitudes or competencies for organic organising, chaordic organisation and distributed leadership on the basis of this principle. However describing an experiential state as being institutionalised, as is a logic could be viewed as a far stretch for institutional theorists. As Nilsson (2015) explains, the experiential nature of social purpose organisations has posed a puzzle in institutional theorists including (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; Scott, 2001). If an institution is a set of practices reliably reproduced across social space and time (Giddens, 1984), can a social purpose that is fundamentally experiential be institutionalized at all? In this case, can the Muizenberg Festival, and other festival organisations, that run with a particular experiential social purpose be institutionally relevant?

When organisations, as social phenomena and extensions of the people who experience the organisation, are adaptive and adjustable according to the experiential quality of celebration; it is easier for participants to accept and entertain the chaotic tendencies of a multifaceted and plural organisational process; and to take initiative and responsibility over the project specific, or task specific roles that have been taken on or assigned - this leads to a greater capacity for institutional work because participants involved in the festival organising are inherently involved

in entrepreneurial bricolage (Baker & Nelson, 2005), boundary work (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Kostova, Roth, and Dacin, 2008), etc. - proxies for institutional work.

If the work is in the context of a community-based festival it can be said that it has ramifications on the institutional field. As Linstead (1997: 87) pointed out, 'organising any sort of activity, information or informal group', is an inherently social process; which involves 'the negotiation and construction of meaning to get things done.' If the social process is underpinned by the experiential qualities of celebration it is most likely that the logics are contrary to experiential qualities inherent to immobile roles and responsibilities, resource mobility that are inherent to institutions (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). This amounts to a more resilient and robust foundation for organic organisational process and by extension institutional work by means of shifting fundamental norms and competencies regarding organising, decision-making, and designing in a collaborative organisational setting.

Therefore, the degree to which celebration is as an institutional logic for organising phenomena in regard to the festival organisations, has a correlating effect on organisational and participatory objectives and qualities of, amongst others: accepting complexity and uncertainty, taking initiative/responsibility, and being open to adaptive needs due to the pluralism and diversity of system. These are, as far as the current project is concerned, clearly observable mechanisms of the organisational and institutional value produced by the festival process in affecting institutional shifts; in alignment with values as emergent and descriptive of the festival space.

Simply put, the anticipatory celebration provides the framework for individuals and roleplayers to enjoy greater embedded agency (Jackall, 1988; Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999); and re-orientate organising by means of openness and expression and disrupts latent organisational norms and institutionally held practices by doing just this. If embedded agency refers to the assumption that individual and organisational values and interests are embedded within the prevailing logics then by increasing the incidence for practicing embedded agency (Giddens, 1984; Sewell, 1992), festivals play a role in affecting the prevailing institutional

logics. If the means by which they are able to affect institutional logics are inducted by celebration as organising principle and the experience of awe, this may have significant effects on the institutional field precisely because awe has been shown to have powerful effects on individuals who, embedded in institutions, may be able to conduct work with the quality of those effects. As Piff & Keltner (2005:) put it: awe *'attunes us to the common humanity people share with one another. In the great balancing act of our social lives, between the gratification of self-interest and a concern for others, fleeting experiences of awe redefine the self in terms of the collective, and orient our actions toward the needs of those around us.'*

6.1.1.2. Festivals as Sites of Positive Institutional Work and Institutional Ambidexterity

In order for actors to enact agency in a system, organising together with other individuals is required. The manner in which we organise has as much to do with the effectiveness as the actual tactics utilised. Keeping in mind the 'normative social purpose' that Nilsson (2014: 1) describes in his study of what he refers to as Positive Institutional Work, festivals have the purpose of generating experiential goods - the way people experience the everyday life of their organisations (Selznick, 1992: 310) is affected by the interaction in a collective community-based festival. This is certainly the case for the cases that are the subject of the present study.

If each organisation has its own institutional logic or set of "*material practices and symbolic constructions*" (Cloutier & Langley, 2013: 361), then the interaction with such a variety of heterogeneous organisations and institutions in the organising of the Muizenberg Festival (as one example of a community-based festival involving a high number of heterogeneity of involved and invested participants) provides the context for celebrating what is appreciated about the organisation and diminishing what may not serve the collective (and even the organisation in question itself).

Or as it is possible to describe, the interaction of heterogeneous organisations in a collective action platform that is about celebrating a previously denoted commons, the organisations experience institutional contradictions and have the option in engaging in ambidexterity (Ramirez, Vélez-Zapata, & Madero, 2018), adaptation, or slight changes in the organising

meaning/narrative in the context of the community - all of which constitute institutional work - or action that disrupts, and is creative, to the institutional logics of participating organisations - and by extension the institutional field (Lawrence, Suddaby, and Leca 2009: 1).

As per our working definition by Scott's (1995: 33), *'institutions are social structures that are composed of cultural-cognitive, normative, and regulative elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life. Institutions are transmitted by various types of carriers, including symbolic systems, relational systems, routines, and artifacts. Institutions operate at different levels of jurisdiction, from the world system to localized interpersonal relationships. Institutions by definition connote stability but are subject to change processes, both incremental and discontinuous.'*

The festival, by this definition, can be understood as a cultural-cognitive platform, 'carrier', 'relational system' for transmitting institutions. The festival organising provides an opportunity for actors of an institutional structure to transmit symbols, build relations, exercise new routines and publicise artifacts; and the performance of themes and meanings through the Arts, during the festival event, operate as a means of incrementally communicating new relations, symbols of meaning and understandings of the collective's past, present, and future.

If the concept of institutional work describes "the purposive action of individuals and organisations aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions" (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006: 215), then this effect provides an understanding of how institutional work is done in festival organisations.

6.1.1.3. Festivals as Practice for Meaning Making and Community Identity

Festivals often place community identity firmly at the centre of festival practice (De Bres & Davis, 2001). In the case of institutional work, it is important that members of a commons are able to articulate and decide on the construction of a common identity in order to go about the work of exchanging, interlinking, and bricolage (Baker & Nelson, 2005). In other words, the festival becomes a means by which the commons (and the actors of the commons) play in the

institutional field, construct common identity amongst divergent members, and even across usually separate identity sectors.

Meaning making is a proxy for institutional work, in that it can denote the generating of dynamic symbology and identity curation that affects the institutional field. By way of celebrating, publicly honouring and acknowledging, festival participants are ‘capable of creating a structure of meanings which individuals can relate to one another and realise their own ultimate purposes’ (Douglas, 1996). Following this view the festival becomes an integral to the broader symbolic practices of community organising, affirming the community’s solidarity amongst members and signalling its cultural cohesion to the outside world.

The merging of distinct institutional actors, willing to engage in complex and extra-ordinary organising, is furthered by the festival’s symbolic representation through the organisation of an event is a “way of bringing order into experience” with their multi-sensory modes (verbal, visual and embodied performance) of symbolism (Douglas, 1996: 53). It is not adequate to describe a community, nor is it adequate to describe a community of actors or organisations representing an institutional field, as a static entity.

This offers support for a differing interpretation of the festival-community relationship displayed in other studies (Jackson, 1988; Marston, 1989; Lewis, 1996) which examine how participating stakeholder groups use festival settings to assert their own previously established notions of identity as a valid part of the broader community. However, as witnessed in the findings’ examples of cross sector and organisational exchange in meaning-making, roles, etc. It is possible to say that whilst organisations/actors do come to use the platform to establish preconceived notions of identity and routines it is the case that by exchanging and participating in the festival platform they necessarily adjust themselves to other logics that are a part of the negotiating process.

Festivals provide a celebratory framework of experience and practice whereby institutional work

can have a greater effect in a shorter span of time, and on a broader array of participants. This study suggests that festivals can be “*carriers*” of *symbolic systems, relational systems, and routines that serve to disrupt, maintain, or create institutions,*” from the ground up (Scott 2004: 33).

6.1.1.4. From Shock to Awe

The insights above provide an understanding of how an experiential logic can affect institutional changes. Celebration has to do with honouring and appreciating something publicly, however, it also has to do with the experience of ‘awe’. It has been observed that the experience of awe plays a role in creating the conditions for individuals to enact enhanced embedded agency. This enhanced agency is similar to what the literature describes as the role of actors in translating exogenous shocks, including political and legal events (Tolbert and Zucker, 1983), social movement challenges (Strang and Meyer, 1993), technological changes (Barley, 1986), and other disruptive events (Fligstein, 1991) into institutional field-level changes (Beckert, 1999; Munir, 2005).

These external shocks force individuals and organisations to adapt to rapid change in context. Awe has a similar emotional effect on people as shock does. It has been defined as the feeling that arises when one encounters a stimulus so strikingly vast (in time, scope, complexity, ability, or power) it provokes a need to update one’s mental schemas (Keltner & Haidt, 2003). Awe triggers within people a desire to create new knowledge structures (Keltner & Haidt, 2003). A further exercise would be to integrate the literature on awe, emotion studies, and institutional work in order to understand the possibilities of this under studied emotional quality that has illuminating significance for societal change.

6.1.2. Liminality

The unique and unusual capacity for festival spaces to encourage and activate experimentalism, playfulness of roles & routines, pioneer cultural trends & expressions, new ideas & enterprise, etc., has much to do with the increase in social and exchange orientated interaction, as it has to

do with the seeming suspension of the rules, roles & and routines in the host community itself. I have described this broadly as the effect of intentional designing for liminal space.

- **Illustrations of Liminality**

For Open Streets it is that the organisation does play-by-the-rules in order to provide space to play with meaning of the streets where ordinarily people are unable to do so (this imbues the activities of OS with a kind of experimental and even magical quality). People are more likely to play with the definitions of what the streets represent and in this way break new practice. For Festivals Edinburgh, the festivals are so ingrained in the social and historical fabrics of the city (having been established in 1948), that the experimentalism, capacity to shift certain legal and institutional boundaries, and encourage massive exploration of cultural themes, exchange, cultural memes. And at the same time massive economic boosts to the City. The Festival, and its culture, has institutionalised, and with it, the festival has influenced the city's administration, local business; so as to be more open, inclusive to new ways of practicing urban governance, local economic development, etc. The invitation to celebrate conjures up a loosening of organisational norms, routines, and meanings; such that it becomes possible to engage creatively and proactively with the institutional make up of a particular commons. For Muizenberg Festival, the invitation to celebrate place, people and purpose; and the promulgation and provision of a space wherein individuals and organisations can play and enact plans outside of the ordinary frames of place and persons; provides a space for which re-imaginings of Muizenberg and the re-deployment of meaning; suspension of roles so that roles themselves may be refreshed; the rejuvenation and opening of resource flows in such a way that a variety of capital is unbound from standard pathways; and a re-design of the organisational logics by the culmination of the key partners in an activity that re-arranges the specific relationships; in light of the extraordinary, and celebratory, approach to the activities that are in focus for the partnerships.

6.1.2.1. Festivals as Suspension of Institutional Contradictions

The effects exemplified in the findings that regard the theme of liminality constitute the active change of institutions, by way of suspension and momentary pausing of the presiding institutionalised frames and prevailing logics. The festivals have a direct effect on this quality of creating liminal space.

Literature on institutional work describes a range of techniques and examples of how actors affect their institutions (Phillips & Tracy, 2007). The findings on liminality suggests an additional means of embedded agency of individuals and organisations in institutional fields; that of creating suspended realms within (not outside of) contexts with which to explore new routines, roles, and meaning making in regard to the rules-of-the-game. In particular, the nature of festival, as an extraordinary space and time provides an apt example of institutional work by means of suspension or liminality; and helps as an organisational phenomenon, to redefine new modes of institutional work, that has not as of yet been described in the literature.

In their handling of institutional complexity, Seo and Creed (2002) argue that institutional contradictions can function as an endogenous trigger of change, because they make actors aware of alternatives to their institutionalised, taken-for-granted ways and motivate them to pursue more favourable alternatives (Greenwood & Suddaby, 2006; Seo & Creed, 2002).

When organisations participating in festival organising experience what is being described here as liminal space, they are exposing themselves to institutional contradictions. In other words, an organisation is exposing itself to contradictory logics from other actors, whilst in the context of festival organising and particularly by coordinating with and in the actual event towards logics not endogenous. This has been seen to cause subtle changes to organisations that come about from these endogenous changes.

More recently in the institutional literature, theorists have come to recognise that institutional complexity, and therefore contradictory logics, may not be transitory, but permanent (Greenwood et al., 2011; Zilber, 2011); especially for those organisations which by

their very nature are ‘an incarnation or embodiment of multiple logics (Kraatz & Block, 2008: 244). The Muizenberg Festival experience as a way of creating suspension of the ordinary experience of the institutional field, by having multiple and usually distinct organisations together in a common learning journey (festival organising process), creates the conditions for complexity that is self-imposed, appreciated, and affirmative of its participants. In other words the festival intentionally creates endogenous factors, during the course of the organising; and exogenous factors, during the course of the actual festival event - that are conditions for embedded agency.

In most organisations, contradictory prescriptions from different legitimating audiences systematically collide in everyday operations and institutional complexity must be managed continuously. Therefore, studies of such organizations made efforts to leave the field level and ‘get inside’ organizations to understand organisational responses to institutional complexity (e.g., Battilana and Dorado, 2010; Pache & Santos, 2010). The Festival platform provides an opportunity for organisations to manage and re-create themselves in the institutional complexity that they have voluntarily joined. Perhaps the core assumption of the institutional logics approach is that the interests, identities, values, and assumptions of individuals and organisations are embedded within prevailing institutional logics. Decisions and outcomes are a result of the interplay between individual agency and institutional structure (Jackall, 1988; Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). While individual and organisational actors may seek power, status, and economic advantage, the means and ends of their interests and agency are both enabled and constrained by prevailing institutional logics (Giddens, 1984; Sewell, 1992).

6.1.2.2 Festivals as Power Pause

As for festival literature, the effect of having a liminal space through ritual celebration has been described through the lens of social anthropology, etc. However, this angle of the broad concept offers new insight into the nature of festivals as social technology for anticipating, leveraging, and developing change for the collective or actors involved in an institutional environment.

Where smaller rituals and rites are utilised to facilitate the transformation and changes indicative of the individual's journey, festivals and other cultural events provide an opportunity for group transformation.

In Institutional Theory, in order to survive, organisations tend to conform to the rules and belief systems prevailing in the institutional environment wherein they exist (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer and Rowan, 1977). This speaks to the power that institutionalised norms and organisational patterns of behaving can affect actors.

The relationship between power and institutions is intertwined as. Institutions exist to the extent that they are powerful - 'the extent to which they affect the behaviors, beliefs and opportunities of individuals, groups, organisations and societies. Institutions are enduring patterns of social practice' (Hughes, 1936). Therefore if there exists a suspension of institutional logics, frames, etc. then by extension there is a pause on power. The capacity of festival space to be suspensive lends itself to a shift in power dynamics.

The community-based festival exists (as the Muizenberg Festival does) in an institutional environment, however, by virtue of its festival nature, is able to provide conditions of organising that pause the so-called isomorphic field of the prevailing systemic beliefs and rules. The festival process provides an opportunity to organise the plurality of actors, organisations, etc in the field in a collaborative field that is permitted to pause the power of isomorphic institutionalism.

This provides a good sense of how festivals enable and enact institutional work. They are by their nature extraordinary as permits, laws and norms are literally paused during festivals. This is why Open Streets uses festive events to highlight possibilities, pause the natural dynamic on the streets and therefore open the opportunity for new trends and patterned behaviour to take root.

6.1.2.3. Festivals as Window of Opportunity for Organisational Development

Liminality as a concept can be said to be a key theme of the festival process. As far as the research question and practical implications of festival organising is concerned, liminality; or the methodical suspension of certain patterns of behaviour, action and thought has been found to have a direct effect on the organisational development; in that people, partners and projects are able to make inroads into new practice and organisational development and exchange given the platform that exists for non-specific non-parochial engagement in civic space; not without service to key mandate (of one's organisation for example), however with great flexibility so as to how such a mandate is achieved.

Simply put, the suspension of institutional norms (roles, routines and meanings) creates greater mobility, adaptability, and creativity for participants in the process. A suspension of norms means that participants enact greater mobility and transference between different roles; unique adaptability to constraints and parameters on resources to still be resourceful to the fulfillment of projects; and greater and more generative creative agency as obstacles of thought, belief and routine may be in pause providing better conditions for creativity and agency.

What these themes have in common, as mechanisms of the festival model for transformative economic and social transformation is the sense of suspended beliefs and presuppositions (about public life, diversity, etc.) that can often paralyse dynamic and generative discussions, relationships and initiatives. With that suspension a kind of threshold space, due to the suspension of the rules of ordinary interaction; as experienced by everyday public and social life. That threshold space accepts fringe ideas and/or thoughts; and is more inclined to include and listen to diverse and divergent perspectives.

Additionally, the suspension of frames and perspectives regarding resources and capacity to volunteer (for example), has an equally activating role in generating new frames of understanding public life, commons, & civic responsibility, amongst other frames of organisational life.

The roles these actors play, and the routines that are set out as part of their usual interface with one another are shifted in the context of the festival organising...It is as if, due to the extraordinary, celebration-orientated, and temporal nature of the festival phenomenon; there is a break in the norm that people and their resources are not only available; but made abundant. We experienced a heightened sense of role mobility; in that, even when a particular role champion had exited the organisational space, due to the shared sense of roles necessary for festival roles and tasks, others would show up to take on spaces; without explicit advertising. This is due to the abundance that emerges in the context of heightened sense of community, and civic responsibility.

(Journal reflections, late 2015)

6.1.2.4 Intentional Liminality and Embedded Agency

Nilsson (2015) has pointed out that institutional researchers have almost exclusively portrayed agency as dialectical, seeing conflict between institutional logics as the “core generating mechanism of change” (Hargrave & Van de Ven, 2006: 878). Nilsson (2015) provides an alternative example of conditions for embedded agency, by presenting inquiry driven institutional agency. In other words, Nilsson (2015) is sharing that by engaging in inquiry about a particular institutional pattern(s), an actor can be said to be doing positive institutional work. Festivals can be intentionally created spaces for inquiry and positive action about institutional patterns to take place, where standard and normative guarantees on institutions are not as fixed and hegemonic.

6.1.3. Spore Effect

Conventional understandings of resource mobilisation and/or fund raising would identify particular forms of capital as primary resources and suggest that there exists a scarcity of resources and capacity for organisational objectives - especially in an institutional environment that is characterised by competition and uncertainty. Additionally, the capacity and advent of an organisation scaling is often referred to as an intentional and controlled activity. the way an idea or concept gains traction is usually something described in mechanistic terms.

This may often be the case with community-based development, and it is a fundamental concern of the festival organisations studied in this project, due to their temporal nature and difficulty in quantifying the value of sacrificing resources - in the way that resources are sacrificed in festivals. However, for the festivals that have been the subject of this study, the significant abundance of resource availability has been an observation - the quantity of volunteer support, leveraging of non-financial assets, infrastructure, etc. is impressive in comparison to the relative size(s) of the organisations; budgets, staff, capacity.

In the case of the Muizenberg Festival, it is recognised that people were willing to volunteer their time and resources, and networks and expertise when it came to the development of projects and initiatives that served to celebrate, make, and create the place that people see as their home (this is similar for the Open Streets and Festivals Edinburgh experiences), in that resources became available according to the purpose of the specific project(s) involved; on the basis of that celebratory and appreciative frame that the festival logic brings. It is an organisational logic that has, within it, engrained a sense of sharing, collectivism, celebration, and enterprise.

A significant and surprising resource, for many of the subject festive festival organisations, are the spillover initiatives, organisations, and events that occur as if incubated, inspired; by the festival experience. Therefore, such spillover effects offer important allies; born of one another; and as organisations portray a sibling-like relationship of sharing, compromise, and support so as to develop the shared space(s). By spilling over into the institutional environment, with initiatives and/or activities that share the DNA of the initial activity (in this case, the festival organising), the festivals are affecting the institutional field of which they are a part.

As with the effect of spillover and spore/chrysalis described in the theme findings of Muizenberg Festival, a Cape Town Carnival Creative Director points out similar rationale, illustrating the relationship between the intention and motivation of individuals with the systematic, yet

unpredictable, diffusion of the principles and creative impulse that first launches certain organisational phenomena into being.

As Baard (2015) remarked: *“...it is a commonality between AfrikaBurn, Burning Man, and Cape Town Carnival that in their vision, purpose, DNA - is that sense of...adding, giving value...actually being an agent of change, or contributing to some good that is beyond the scope of, beyond the dictates of what the organisers are actually doing, something that will spin off, and we’ll all go: “ooooh my god, I am so glad”....some epiphany, or gradual strengthening, or breakdown, or whatever on a personal level...but built into all three of them...is that part of the centre, part of the heart is stuff about the heart, about the community, about social connection, about potential of creativity to do cool stuff...almost like a shoal/spore in a way.”*

And the impulse of this creative impulse, at the heart of a particular festival organisation, ripples outward, and takes effect in ways that are often not possible to preconceive. However, it is important to recognise that in terms of any particular organisation’s ambition to create system change; this effect is critical. The practices as described earlier in this findings section are arguably and observably mechanisms and levers to effect the conditions necessary for such a Spore Effect.

6.1.3.1. Abundance as Institutional Logic in Resource-Constrained Environments

Affecting institutional fields requires that actors are able to disrupt and or create new ways of relating and organising within the frames of the field. In a way this means that they need to have logics, ‘the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules’ (Ocasio & Thomas, 1999: 804), that more more than produce subsistence and maintenance of the internal organisational behaviour, but rather create new platforms and modes of ‘subsistence, organising time and space, and providing meaning to their social reality.’

The spore effect, observed in this study of festivals, points to a understudied manner of doing institutional work across fields - seeding new behaviour, memes, norms, patterns of collective

action through cultural celebrations that ripple out and spillover into other sectors of society affecting, subtly yet significantly institutional culture. The platform of the Muizenberg Festival organising which is doing the following;

- hosting involvement with actors that are plural, represent all parts of the system, enjoy separate logis; and
- are convening around a common celebration;
- for a designated time that recurs annually, and creates the conditions for;
- suspended logics, institutional complexity, and appreciative extra-ordinary exchanges.

The institutional perspective has brought to organisation theory a sophisticated understanding of symbols and language, of myths and ceremony, of decoupling, of the interplay of social and cognitive processes, of the impact of organisational fields, of the potential for individuals and groups to shape their environments, and of the processes through which those environments shape individual and collective behavior and belief. These are critically important issues for those working in organizations to understand, and yet these issues have for the most part remained trapped within the confines of academic text and talk.

According to Acrodia & Whitford (2007), *“in contemporary society, festival attendance develops social capital by providing the community with specific opportunities for accessing and developing community resources, improving social cohesiveness, and providing a focus for celebration.”* Pardy (1991: 19) believed that contemporary festivals are not only vehicles for celebrating, ‘enhancing or preserving local culture and history,’ but arguably facilitate the development of social capital.

This study, through the findings underpinned by the three major themes, represents festivals as platforms for actors to engage creatively and disruptively in their institutional environments. Organisations with less than ideal power or resources in an institutional environment are enabled abundance and increased influence due to the nature of the suspended platform. The platform of a community-based festival can be seen as an opportunity for access as Acrodia and Whitford (2007) point out; which in turn helps actors to maintain, disrupt or be creative in and of their

institutional environments.

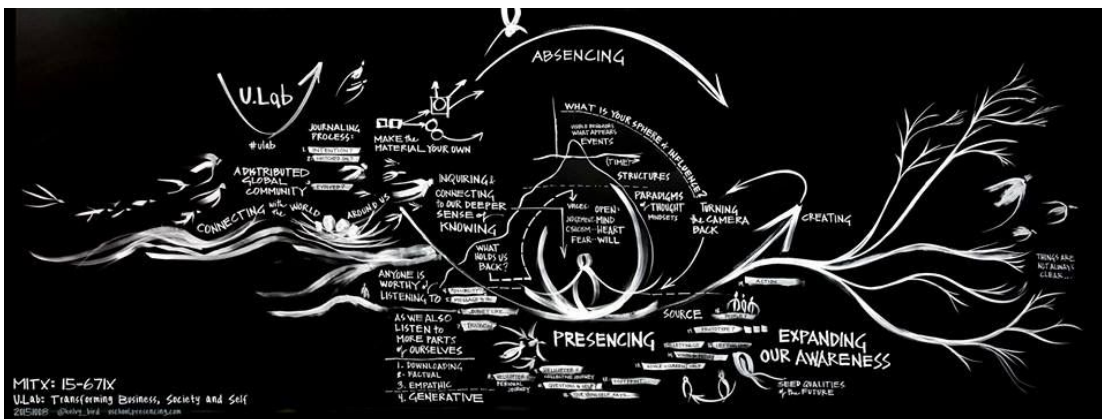
6.1.3.2. Festivals as Diffusing Institutional Fields

Festival studies have not gone on to describe the role that festivals have in affecting greater patterns in national and global societies. This points to a lack in the literature, however, it is possible to discuss, from the findings, the possibilities of festivals as social phenomena, in affecting cultural movements, memes, and the dispersal of ideas, norms, relationships over time.

6.1.4. Festivals as Facilitation & Platform-Based Process Work

During the course of the study, we noticed that the themes, and their aggregates, coincide with the action research cycles for which they are best applicable. Action research cycles are one way of representing or identifying the process that any organisation must go through during change and adaptation that is based on learning and development.

Figure: Theory U process diagram, representing the 3 movements & 5 stages of the U process.



The way that Open Streets and Festivals Edinburgh, as organisations, coordinate parts and make space can be compared to the growing model of the Muizenberg Festival; and in particular the development of Project Zero (now Muizenberg Partnership and *The Hive*). There are many distinct modes of operating as a festival organisation, however, these examples present a particular set of practices, or a praxis model, that is particularly well suited for festivals, because festivals involve multiple actors that come together around a particular objective, temporarily and necessitate a cyclical experience.

Therefore a platform-orientated approach, whereby event/project management is a balance of facilitative and directive tools can be optimal; maintaining small management size and maximizing distributive agency. This is a characteristic of festival organisations and organising

The way that festivals operating in this way do this, allied with the experimental and celebratory angles of the festival nature, is of interest for organisations and institutional players across different sectors. Open Streets convenes a creative and disruptive experience of a public space. Festivals Edinburgh facilitates the ‘combined voice’, that is the value orientation of the member festivals; and by doing so strengthens the collective experience and value of the festival month. Muizenberg Festival does similarly; by representing the core proposition of the festival’s organising principle and coordinating the participating actors accordingly.

6.2. Practical Contributions

This study has produced a variety of learning opportunities for organisations wishing to do work that impact their institutional environments towards social goods and values. For institutional work to take place in the host environments of the festival case studies, specific competencies of actors in the group provided a greater capacity of the actor to do purposive and creative work in the institutional setting.

The following are particular characteristics (or here defined as competencies) that are notable outputs for the festivals that have been studied; and provide learnings for other festivals and non-festival organisational settings. They are not primary themes, or findings, and rather represent patterns of organisational learning that was observed to have a positive effect on the capacity of actors to do institutional work. Also, these competencies are themselves not ordinarily focused on as being organisational goods that ought to be encouraged. They fundamentally affect the capacity of individual actors to do transformative work - work that helps to shape and shift their host environments - and are learnt by individual actors in the context of the festival organising platform.

Competencies are discussed in scholarship pertaining to the fields of strategy, human resources, management and organisational development (Lado & Wilson, 1994; Shipmann, 2000: 706 - 708). The definitions range according to the scholarship approach and purposes. For this discussion the meaning of competencies are best described as being an amalgamation of the following two definitions (Shipmann, 2000: 706):

- ‘The knowledge, skills, and attributes that differentiate high performers from average performers.’
- ‘A mixture of knowledge, kills, abilities, motivation, beliefs, values & interests.’

They are a secondary discussion set, yet deserve attention because they are competencies that seem to develop the capacity of actors to do institutional work, and therefore showcase how festivals do institutional work - in this way by training and capacity building and creating the opportunity for the mechanisms of festival institutional work to be enacted by participants with agency.

6.2.1. Competencies - Mechanisms of Institutional Work in Festivals

We call the ability to do something effectively and or successfully a competency. Most often we refer to competencies of the individual. It is an overall impression of festival organising and observing social-purpose community-based festivals; that they provide an opportunity to develop

and learn competencies as a collective. This is useful because more often than not, if only one person knows a particular skill it is difficult to have an effect on the larger community.

As institutional work is defined as ‘the purposive action of individuals and organisations aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions’ (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006: 215), then how can the festival activity described above via Celebration, Liminality, and Spore Effect; be trained or exercised to have greater effect?

Here below are arranged four observable competencies in organisations that participated in the Muizenberg Festival; and developed a competency towards:

- Famine to Feast
- Collaborative Agency
- Distributed Leadership
- Reactive to Proactive Activism

Each competency is related to a core theme and then compared to literature in order to mesh it substantially with the research question.

6.2.2. Feast and Festivity - Celebration as Organising Principle

Organisations often organise by the (or an approximation of) economic principle of scarcity; or the lens of robust preparation for the worst (famine). Festival spaces, particularly those under the lens of this study, arrange themselves with distinct presuppositions in mind; particularly a kind of ‘feast’ mentality; where previously undefined or overlooked resources emerge and are activated creating an experience of abundance and a correlating increase in productivity and generativity in the festival space; upon which those resources are celebrated and enjoyed.

Resource abundance is relevant for the festivals referred to in this study for a variety of diagnosable reasons including necessity (of the business model), principle (it is the stated mission of the organisation), result (it is the outcome of a particular set of conditions that the festival has put in place); however, what they have in common is an observable unique

representation of the worldview, a distinct set of routine characteristics, and an internal quality of ‘festivity.’

By festivity, is meant the quality of a festival; whereby festival etymologically is derived from the latin root word, *festum*, which literally translates to mean ‘joy’ and/or ‘merriment.’ This concept and reference point can be accompanied by *feria*; a latin word often used to describe festivals, which refers to ‘interval’, and ‘intermission.’ It literally translates to mean a ‘free day’ in latin (Falassi, 1987), and was associated with a break in the ordinary day-to-day life; where identities and alternative narratives could be performed.

The extent to which the quality of an organisation can be represented as festive; things are done with a celebratory nature and there is a merriment and capacity to arrange intervals in work; offering moments of reflection and disruption.

This feast and festivity can be understood as an organisational competency because it re-arranges the lens by which we understand what is a resource and thereby how to produce and create additional value. This is essentially a celebratory quality, and is exhibited in the organisations studied. It is especially a characteristic of the Muizenberg Festival. Also, it enhances the capacity of people to do more with what is immediately available, approaching immediate circumstances with a celebratory inquiry and an appreciative lens.

This competency of feast and festivity, in regards to resources, is critical to the resilience of locales and communities in both urban and rural contexts. Specifically because the perception and behaviour of scarcity and famine does not lend itself to self-sufficiency, community cohesion, and local economic development. To the contrary a scarcity and famine orientated resource lens performs low-level shock and crises in the realm community. In order to move towards a more sustainable and enterprising future for cities and rural settlements alike, the competency of appreciative and celebratory inquiry into immediately available non-financial assets, is paramount.

6.2.3. Collaborative Agency - Liminality

Working together, in a pluralistic environment is a difficult task. It requires negotiation, compromise and considerable ‘play’ of variables according to an objective that various parties aim to enact or perform. Communities are, fundamentally, brought together by collaboration(s) of various characteristics. Representing this perspective, Douglas (1996: 50) highlights the fundamentally pluralistic nature of communities, constantly changing over time and pulsing with conflict. Rather than communities as “havens of peace, stability and permanence in a potentially chaotic world”, his exploration of literary narratives of community allows us to view communities as being “in a range of different shapes and also to see that it is inappropriate to conceive of a community as a static social entity.” The Muizenberg Festival, as with analogous studied festivals, provides the platform and context for the community to exercise and enact collaboration, in such a way that the capacity and therefore agency for working together is enhanced. In this sense the competency of the whole is enhanced through the instituted and symbolic ritual of the festival and the festival organising.

The trained capacity of a pluralistic community to work together at will, whether between individuals or groups, is the hallmark of resilience and community-led development in any scenario. We may take it for granted, however, the act of collaborating as heterogeneous interests and entities compromise, is a difficult and often tiring process. The exercising of this capacity, this competency, makes it possible for others, spill over, efforts to combine outside of the festival arena, and towards a greater community resilience; able to respond constructively to changing conditions despite immeasurable diversity.

6.2.4. Distributive Leadership - Spore Effect

The Muizenberg Festival programmes for roles in organising the festival and producing the event to be distributed. The model not only suggests, but is contingent on these roles being shared amongst the broader festival network. To the extent that leadership is distributed, the festival may grow. This is clear, and is shown in the progressions of the festival’s cycles: that cycle three

represented a significant increase in the participation of members or friends of the festival at the task teams where professional capacities and skill sets are invited to share their gift and contribute by offering their professional capacity. They do not only volunteer in the simplest sense, they play a role in leading these domains of the festival forward; so that the relevant persons are placed in the relevant task teams and are able to coordinate further volunteers and make decisions that they are better capable of taking. This is similar for partners, where specific partners contribute in accord with their existing mandate.

These contributing role players in the festival's organisational structure are sharing the leadership requirements to guide a process. It is not optimal at first, rather inefficient and frustrating. However, over time, the pay off is that the overall capacity of a still agile organisational core is boosted and the exercise of distributive leadership builds a community's resilience and capacity to govern itself. Similar learnings, as has been discussed in the findings, have emerged from the other festivals in this study.

This competency is a key factor in the development of a community-wide responsibility and radical self-reliance that is necessary in order to govern as decentralized organising hubs, and to meet external factors with greater ability.

6.2.5. Reactivity to Proactivity - Celebration

The Muizenberg Festival (and others) engenders a pro-active and playful approach to community challenges and issues. It inspires and encourages compassionate and impassioned contributions and is met by a plethora of projects, participants and partners who are pro-actively interested in investing in their shared common space, as a distinct member or group of the broader community. This competency; to activate without needing first a condition to react to, is a key competency that the Festival practices and is honing, in the disguise of open celebration of a particular situation or circumstance. Instead of attending to a set of issues, the Festival participant is encouraged to bring an appreciative and playful approach, whereby there is less

tendency to get stuck into re-active project building and behaviour that stunts the capacity to mobilise further interest from co-participants, etc.

Communities are at greater risk, and not to mention less engaged and lively, if they do not have loose and agile social structures (emerging out of greater social capital, sense of community, and overall relational quality), that are capacities for the pro-active attendance of particular crises. This competency cannot be trained in an explicit and formalised manner, precisely because it is the realm of the relational and invisible patterns of behaviour and routine. Rather, the festival implicitly trains this competency in a particular community by means of celebration and co-created activities.

The value-orientated (so-called) perspective on this Festival practice can be summed up as follows: any development that happens to take place in a particular place is premised on a particular understanding of what needs to take place in order to improve the quality of life of the people living in the area.

6.3. Conclusion

Festival organisations offer adaptable learning and diverse new organisational processes and models for sustained institutional work that can generate a host of measurable and qualitative benefits, including relational quality, distributive leadership, collaborative agency, social cohesion and localised resilience. The practices of the subject organisations are not necessarily unique to festivals. These practices, rooted in principles of celebration and experimentation, offer new possibilities. The essence of festive institutional work is that it is responsive rather than reactive/commencing experimentation and celebration of new meanings, rituals, and routines that are a response to what is being celebrated, rather than a specific threat or circumstance. The festive practice is about leading institutional work from celebration rather than crisis. From endogenous experience of awe, rather than exogenous shocks. This has the theoretical implication that implies new approaches to understanding broad transformation in social and

economic institutions, through sustained practice and experience of ‘awe’ in the organisational context.

Chapter 7. Further Research Directions

7.1. Blind spots & Future Research Questions

The assumption that festivals do have an effect on the institutional environment wherein they exist is something that can be subject to over-evaluation in the following way: All large scale organisational efforts have an effect on the institutional field; and so it could be that I have over-valued the effect of the festival as my subject on the institutional field, and that a necessary blindspot can be described as the assumption that the festival’s effect on institutional field is sufficiently more so than other considerable organisational phenomena - sufficient enough to warrant this study. A comparison seems like a valuable further research direction so as to understand the value of the effect in comparison with other large public events that are not necessarily social and not festivals - sport events, political rallies, conferences, etc.

During the course of this research project I had been looking out for the how to of institutional work in the context of community-based festival organisations. This obscured me from the possibility of studying the effect at a larger scale. Despite looking at Festivals Edinburgh, for example, the action research project had at its focus the Muizenberg Festival, and work done with other local community-based festivals inspired much of the reflections. There is work to be done in testing the findings more critically with festival organisations of a larger scale. Do the same mechanisms hold up in the context of larger institution-like festival organisations?

Additionally, it has obscured me from investigating, and measuring, the other numerous values generated by the community-based festivals studies. Notwithstanding the effect that these festivals, and the Muizenberg Festival, had on institutional norms, routines, resource flows, and meaning making; there was numerous value derived in the form of partnerships, cross-sector relationships, new initiatives, cultural capital, sense-of-community, and storytelling to name a

few values that are under-studied and provide a better sense of the overall value and effect of festivals as social phenomena. With the above mentioned blind-spots and under checked values in mind, here are several further research paths that are likely valuable next steps with consideration to the discussion.

Further investigation of the linkages between festival phenomena and institutional work would be invaluable. In particular, there is room for additional work concerning the way that festivals are capable at diffusion of institutional innovations, suspending of institutions, and promulgation of alternative experiential logics - in particular the potential that organising around 'awe' and the embedded agency that this may induce. The link between emotion studies, institutional work and the experience of awe is also relevant as a further area of study. Awe, like shock, creates conditions for substantive and material change in perception, knowledge systems, and behaviour. Festivals engender themselves to experiences of awe and I have not investigated this compelling relationship sufficiently.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

With this project I had aimed to develop theoretical perspectives around festivals as windows of opportunity for institutional work, to experiment with festival organisations and community-based festival organising in order to discern best practice and workable models, and to provide theoretical and practical contributions to the scholarship and practitioner knowledge about festival organising and institutional work.

In a world that is fast experiencing new challenges in the organisational context and the context of imminent socio-economic and environmental crises it is more urgent than ever to explore new models for organising sustained creative solutions to institutional barriers, roles and routines that do not serve social good and value, and resource flows that stifle entrepreneurial leadership and local economies. It has been the hypotheses of this project that festivals are compelling organisational models and social phenomena for addressing these intractable issues.

Through the work with Muizenberg Festival and several festival case studies it has become clear that by framing organisational activity under celebration as an experiential quality, creating suspensive conditions and liminal environments for activity and events and enacting spillover and spore effect that has a ripple effect on the broader institutional field. With these conjectures there are significant implications for institutional theory in general and institutional work in particular.

Liminal spaces as windows of opportunities: For organisations to have lasting impact on institutions they try to affect, spaces of experimentalism/liminal spaces are critical conceptual and practical tools for the negotiation of institutional gatekeepers/stalwarts, as well as the generation of **experiential institutional work in practice:** Following on from work on positive institutional work, institutional workers and entrepreneurs can have greater impact on their target communities if they broaden the incorporation of the experiential facet of institutional work and organisational development in their practices and interventions. **Festival models as viable, scalable vehicles for socio-economic transformation:** Community-based festivals are highly adaptable organisational vehicles for social cohesion and local economic development, by virtue of the institutional work that they enable. The adaptability and ground up approach of the festival model means that it represents a scalable model for institutional work as well as generative social cohesion and local economic development.

Change to any system (social, ecological and economic) often comes from experiences of (exogenous) shocks and events that can be defined as a crisis. Contrasting this with the compelling effect of festival organisations and organising, that have the scope of creating similar effects with a fundamentally distinct experience, provides a poetic play of shock versus awe - moving from crisis to celebration as a means to create opportunities for broad societal shifts and windows of enhanced embedded agency.

With these preliminary results in hand, mind and heart, I have continued to work in festival organisations and using festival organising in non-festival organisations. In this way, I have been enabled to broadly meld and prototype the learnings from festival organising (with the practical

and theoretical contributions as tools) and the creative economy with seemingly divergent fields and opportunities.

The following examples showcase the ongoing work and application of this research project's findings to diverse partners, audiences, and collaborators. These include:

- Presenting a workshop for festivals as incubators for peacebuilding and reconciliation at an annual peacebuilding conference - Build Peace (Northern Ireland, 2018) & (United States & Mexico, 2019).
- Presenting at national summit for the Arts & Culture sector - South African Cultural Observatory (Port Elizabeth, 2018),
- Festival organising training and capacity building with Tshwane Leadership Foundation's Feast of the Clowns (Pretoria, early 2019).
- Programmatic festival activations at a mixed-use entrepreneurial hub in Philippi Cape Town in partnership with the Bertha Centre for Social Innovation & Entrepreneurship (Philippi, 2018 - present).

South Africa and the world is in the midst of dealing with some of our most grave and consequential challenges to date. The global economy continues to recover and rebound from a recession, we are trying to undo state capture and widespread corruption, our younger generations are raising the clarion call for ecological and climate emergency; all as we continue to battle rising unemployment and inequality that threatens the fabric of societies' institutions. It might feel like there is not much to celebrate, but there are compelling reasons why focusing on art, culture and festivals could be good for us - offering new organisational strategies for social cohesion, regenerative economic development and a happier more colourful socio-economic trajectory from the ground up.

Throughout our world's histories stories, music and art have always been ways of mobilising people and bringing them closer together. Creative and cultural industries, and festivals in particular, have invariably played a significant role in not only boosting social cohesion,

reconciliation and regional economies. They have also provided platforms for resistance when it has been needed. Celebrating our cultural heritage and organising around creativity allows us the opportunity to reorganise our identity and reignite our collective desire to create the future world we want at any level of society - with the symbols and performances that can carry us there.

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