

Between Environmental Burden and Utopia:

Music and Art Festivals as Prefigurative Spaces for Sustainability Transformations

Jakob Wondra

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Lund University Centre for
Sustainability Studies



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Supervisor: Kimberly Nicholas, LUCSUS, Lund University

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Abstract

There is a need to identify leverage points for a broader cultural transformation that addresses the root causes of the nature-climate emergency. Music and art festivals are creative free spaces outside the everyday workings of society that have the potential to plant the seeds of a holistic, sustainable future. I combine prefiguration and the three spheres of transformation in a framework to investigate the role of music and art festivals to prefigure sustainable futures in the personal, political, and practical spheres. To this end, I conducted qualitative interviews with 12 festival organizers and analyzed these using qualitative data analysis. Results indicate that festivals can contribute to a sustainability transformation as prefigurative spaces to create communities, convey a positive societal vision and promote intrinsic values. In addition to providing possibilities for personal transformation and experiential learning, they can be spaces for innovation and build new social norms and organizational structures.

Keywords: festivals, prefiguration, three spheres of transformation, sustainability science, leverage points, culture and sustainability

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1 Introduction

“The most tragic form of loss isn't the loss of security; it's the loss of the capacity to imagine that things could be different.”

— Ernst Bloch

The nature-climate emergency is an urgent threat to the well-being of our planet and its inhabitants. Incremental and purely techno-managerial approaches are failing in delivering change at the rate and scale needed to prevent irreversible tipping points (Armstrong McKay et al., 2022; Lenton et al., 2019; O'Brien, 2018), causing ecosystem disruptions with far-reaching and dire consequences to society (Díaz et al., 2019; IPCC, 2018; Steffen et al., 2018). At the same time, the nature-climate emergency is acknowledged as a materialization of a deeper cultural paradigm based on a separation from and domination of the natural world (Escobar, 2011; Laininen, 2019; Wamsler et al., 2021; Ruether, 2001; Witt, 2014). Followingly the need to identify deep leverage points for a broader cultural transformation that addresses the root causes of the nature-climate emergency is more prominently expressed in the scientific and societal discourse (Abson et al., 2017; O'Brien, 2018; Steffen et al., 2018; Wamsler et al., 2020; Woiwode et al., 2021).

A cultural transformation calls for the incorporation of the cultural sector to reach sustainability goals. The cultural sectors' potential to contribute to non-linear and systemic changes towards a more sustainable society is pointed towards from different sides (Adger et al., 2013; Kamara, 2022; Mair & Smith, 2021; Soini & Birkeland, 2014). However, the intersection of culture and sustainability is still understudied and underinvested (Kamara, 2022). Accordingly, the specific potential of cultural actors and spaces to contribute to sustainability transformations needs to be mapped.

The arts can create spaces for reflexivity and experimentation that are important to open up political possibilities and shift mindsets (Bentz & O'Brien, 2019). Art and culture can be transformative and are key in going beyond a cognitive understanding of a problem. They can address the issue of the nature-climate emergency holistically by integrating emotional connection and sensory experiences that influence our decision-making (Bentz & O'Brien, 2019; Galafassi et al., 2018). Furthermore, culture forms and transports values, and thus cultural spaces can leverage change by promoting sustainable values (Horcea-Milcu, 2022).

Imagination is a key prerequisite for and enabler of transformations (Hopkins, 2019; Moore & Milkoreit, 2020). However, we suffer from a crisis of imagination that hinders a transformation to a more sustainable society. It is captured in the slogan coined by Mark Fisher that “we can rather imagine the end of the world than the end of capitalism” (Fisher, 2009). To counteract the imagination crisis, we need the creative sector as an imaginative force of transformation, and we need free spaces in

which alternative visions can be shaped. We need to plant seeds of a sustainable future in the here and now (Bennett et al., 2016). Experiential accounts of visions for what we want a sustainable society to look and feel like are essential motivators for change (Raudsepp-Hearne et al., 2020; Wiek & Iwaniec, 2014).

Transformations towards sustainability are conceptualized in a variety of ways and often the term is only used metaphorically (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013; Salomaa & Juhola, 2020; Sovacool & Hess, 2017). Transformation promises real change and thus is an appealing concept for achieving goals of greater equity, justice, and sustainability (Bentz, O'Brien, et al., 2022). What makes change transformative is that it goes beyond incremental improvements (Bennett et al., 2016). In this thesis, I see transformation as a broad concept that includes deliberate change in the personal, political, and practical sphere that can be assessed by its depth, breadth, and speed (Fazey et al., 2018; O'Brien, 2012; O'Brien & Sygna, 2013).

The concept of leverage points is acknowledged as important to identify places to intervene in a system and achieve systemic transformations for sustainability (Abson et al., 2017; Fischer & Riechers, 2019; Leventon et al., 2021). The concept consists of a continuum from shallow to deep leverage points. Shallow leverage points focus on external parameters and are often employed in current policy making related to sustainability. Deeper leverage points relate to more substantial changes as they address the worldviews, goals, structures, and rules of a system (Meadows, 1999; Wamsler et al., 2021). Deeper structures of a system determine what is possible at more shallow intervention points, but interventions at shallow leverage points can possibly impact deeper levers as a concrete measure can lead to a changed mindset (Abson et al., 2017).

In this thesis, I investigate the role of music and art festivals (hereafter "festivals"), in the cultural response to the nature-climate emergency. This endeavor is motivated by my own experience of co-founding and organizing a festival, and witnessing its empowering and prefigurative nature. Festivals are free spaces outside the everyday workings of society that "transform the prevailing social order"(Quinn & Wilks, 2017, p. 28). I argue that they have the potential to envision a more sustainable society by experimenting with different practices, norms, and forms of relating; and can promote sustainable mindsets, values, behaviors, and practical innovation. Festivals are fruitful transformational environments because they are places where conventional norms of behavior are transgressed (Frost, 2016) and they are partly shielded from mainstream society's hegemonic ideologies (Törnberg, 2021) while still including some of society's core components such as physical infrastructure, food & beverages, rules of behavior and human interactions. Furthermore, there is a higher percentage of young people at festivals which are a key driving force for a sustainable mindset shift (Wamsler et al., 2020).

I use prefiguration as a theoretical lens and the three spheres of transformation as a framework to embed festivals into holistic change processes toward sustainability. As places outside of mainstream society, festivals are potential places for prefiguration, which is a form of activism that seeks to bring about social change through “planting the seeds of the society of the future in the soil of today’s” (Raekstad & Gradin, 2020, p. 3). The “three spheres of transformation” framework, is closely related to the concept of leverage points. The framework encompasses the personal, political, and practical spheres that are moving from deep (personal) to more shallow (practical) leverage points (O’Brien, 2018). To address transformational potential all three spheres have to be studied in their interrelatedness (O’Brien & Sygna, 2013).

1.1 Research Question and Case

What is the role of music and art festivals in prefiguring sustainable futures in the personal, political, and practical spheres of transformation?

SUB1: How are music & art festivals prefiguring sustainable values and relationships in the personal sphere of transformation?

SUB2: How are music & art festivals prefiguring political meanings, organizational structures, and norms in the political sphere of transformation that are conducive to a sustainable society?

SUB3: How are music & art festivals prefiguring sustainability action in the practical sphere of transformation?

The research questions are investigated through qualitative interviews with 12 festival organizers that participated in an online workshop series called “A festivals deep-dive into climate resilience” from February to May 2023. The workshop was hosted by One Resilient Earth, an NGO with the goal of tackling the root causes of climate change by growing the resilience of individuals and increasing their agency through transformation and regeneration (One Resilient Earth, 2022). Note that participants were self-selected to the workshop series, and my analysis focuses on their self-perceptions, not evaluating their practices (see Method, p. 13).

2 Contribution to Sustainability Science

Research in sustainability science should be solution-oriented, and normative in striving towards a sustainability transformation (Wiek et al., 2012). For that, it is crucial to look at underlying, systemic issues that foster or hinder change and explore possible interventions and drivers beyond mechanistic and material shallow leverage points (Abson et al., 2017). I argue that festivals might be a less apparent but potentially powerful area of intervention as they are a place where different spheres of

transformation intersect and deeper leverage points can be addressed (Abson et al., 2017; O'Brien & Sygna, 2013).

The intersection of festivals and sustainability is often discussed in terms of the reduction of negative environmental impacts (Collins & Cooper, 2017; Mair & Smith, 2021). My research expands existing knowledge by comprehensively investigating the potential positive impact of festivals on a deeper sustainability transformation. I look at how festivals can have a positive sustainable “handprint” while reducing their immediate negative footprint, as further research at this intersection is asked for (Getz et al., 2018; Laing, 2018; Mair & Smith, 2021).

Culture can be seen as a “necessary foundation for the transition to a truly sustainable society” (Caldas et al., 2015; Soini & Birkeland, 2014, p.1). However, culture is a complex system that is often overlooked as a causal contributor to sustainable outcomes (Stephenson, 2023). My thesis contributes to the ongoing debate about what enables societal transformations toward sustainability and considers the cultural sector as an important driver for transformation (Kamara, 2022). The cultural dimension of sustainability transformation can “foster[...] a paradigmatic shift in worldviews and ways of life” (Kagan, 2010, p. 1). As typical for deeper leverage points the effects of culture on sustainability are rarely linear in their causality, and their effects are more emergent (Abson et al., 2017; Stephenson, 2023).

My thesis attempts two integrations that can contribute to sustainability science. Combining the research fields of social movement studies and sustainability transformation can benefit sustainability science as it allows a more holistic conception of societal change. Recently attempts have been made to integrate transition studies and social movement theory (Törnberg, 2018). I further the fruitful intersection of these fields by embedding prefiguration into the three spheres of transformation. Furthermore, I integrate cultural spaces into research on social movements by applying prefiguration to festivals. Using the vocabulary of transition studies festivals can be conceptualized as free spaces: “a type of ‘niche’ providing an incubation room for new path-breaking innovations that cannot yet compete with the incumbent political structures and norms that are fully integrated in society” (Törnberg, 2021, p. 89).

3 Literature Review on Festivals and Sustainability

Three major strands of scientific literature about festivals have been identified: The cultural anthropology perspective; the tourism studies perspective; and the event management perspective (Getz, 2010). A research gap is pointed out in bridging these discourses with a cross-fertilizing, interdisciplinary approach that can lead to an enhanced understanding of what is necessary for achieving desired social, cultural, and environmental impact of festivals. From this literature, I have

identified four main angles for connecting festivals and sustainability: the environmental sustainability of events, their role in social change processes, their sociological meaning, and their psychological impact (see Table 1).

Table 1. Literature Review on Festivals and Sustainability

	Cultural anthropology	Tourism studies	Event management	Other
Environmental Sustainability	Problematizing the reductionist notion of a sustainable festival (Zifkos, 2015); Positive impact of festivals (Getz et al., 2018)	Reduce negative impact (Collins & Cooper, 2017; Laing, 2018)	Reduce negative impact (Liu & Lei, 2021; Mair & Laing, 2012; Wickham et al., 2021); Corporate Social Responsibility (Richardson, 2018)	/
Social change	Organizational practices (Eleftheriadis, 2015); Pleasure-politics (Sharpe, 2008); transgressing conventional rules and norms of behavior (Frost, 2016)	Sustainable development (Mair & Smith, 2021); social change as a value of festivals (Wood, 2017)	/	Sustainable Development (Lopez, 2021); Collective Action (Jager, 2022);
Sociological meaning	Festivals as Heterotopias (Quinn & Wilks, 2017) Social Capital (Wilks, 2011); Cultural Capital (Wilks & Quinn, 2016); Liminality (Wu et al., 2020)	/	Value co-creation (Werner et al., 2019)	/
Psychological Impact	/	Sustainability communication (Dodds et al., 2020); Personal Transformation	Social marketing (Jutbring, 2017), pro-environmental behavior messaging	The role of music and dance in sustainability transitions

		(Neuhofer et al., 2020)	(Mair, 2014; Mair & Laing, 2012)	(Bojner Horwitz et al., 2022)
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Note. *The literature is categorized by 3 scientific disciplines and 4 ways they connect to sustainability.*

3.1 Environmental Sustainability

First, environmental sustainability focuses on the reduction of negative impacts of festivals (Liu & Lei, 2021; Wickham et al., 2021). Festivals can lead to considerable damage to the natural environment and thus contribute to the aggravation of the nature-climate-emergency (Mair & Laing, 2012). The temporary nature of festivals is generally resource intensive through the build-up of infrastructure and a lot of associated travel. Festivals generate waste, use water, and emit CO₂. They are associated with noise pollution and degradation of the local flora and fauna (Badiali & Johnson, 2020). That’s why it is important to look at ways to reduce the ecological footprint of events (Collins & Cooper, 2017). However, this one-dimensional framing of sustainability is criticized and a qualitative exploration of the meaning of sustainability in the festival domain that integrates social, cultural, environmental, and economic perspectives is asked for (Zifkos, 2015). Festivals can also have positive effects on nature. Directly by engaging in conservation and restoration projects and indirectly by raising awareness and acting as role models. This positive ecological value of festivals is understudied (Getz et al., 2018).

3.2 Social Change

Second, even though festivals are mainly considered leisure events they can also be political as they have the power to impact society through their practices, messaging, and commitments (Wood, 2017). This combination of leisure and social action has been coined “pleasure-politics” and emancipates leisure events from their image as apolitical (Sharpe, 2008). Festivals have the potential to both reduce or expand opportunities for the social and political emancipation of their attendees. To contribute to positive social change, a conscious consideration of the political nature and power of their event and an intentional, active effort of festival organizers are needed (Sharpe, 2008). It has also been argued that festivals by being fun lead to connectedness, action, and change towards sustainability through collective action (Jager, 2022). There is a need for further research on how festivals can change attitudes and behaviors, promote sustainable lifestyles and technologies as well as build sustainable communities (Mair & Smith, 2021). While most literature focuses on the event itself the organizational practices of festivals have also been investigated in a social movement context (Eleftheriadis, 2015). In contrast to the first category of environmental sustainability which is mostly focused on the practical sphere of transformation, in the social change discourse all three spheres are acknowledged as important for the role of festivals in a sustainability transformation by considering attitudes (personal sphere), behavior (practical sphere) and organizational practices (political sphere).

3.3 Sociological Meaning

Third, a lot of different sociological meanings are attributed to festivals and they are researched with regard to multiple concepts (Getz, 2010). “Generally speaking, social scientific studies of festivals understand them to have transformative powers and an ability to disrupt, even deny, the established social order” (Wilks & Quinn, 2016, p.26). For example, festivals are described as heterotopias or real utopias that open spaces of possibility and experimentation outside of everyday society (Quinn & Wilks, 2017). This links back to festivals as social change agents and points to their potential as prefigurative spaces for sustainability as usual norms of society can be questioned and changed in a temporary free space. Festivals can have an important role in local communities and can create social cohesion (Wilson et al., 2017). This aligns with research that finds creative acts as well as music and dance are contributing to social cohesion and belonging, which in turn relates to the pro-social behavior of individuals (Bojner Horwitz et al., 2022). However, festivals rather reinforce existing relationships than form new ones and thus contribute to bonding social capital but not bridging social capital (Wilks, 2011).

3.4 Psychological Impact

Fourth, festivals impact their attendees psychologically. This is another route through which festivals can go beyond hedonistic experiences and create transformational value (Neuhofer et al., 2020). Festivals can be transformative experiences for individuals by providing a participatory life experience that is immersive for the attendees and significantly influences their emotions (Neuhofer et al., 2020; Zifkos, 2015). For example, attendees of festivals use the space to re-examine the self and try out new identities, which goes along with a fluidity of an otherwise fixed identity, including behavior, attitudes, and values (Browne et al., 2019; Neuhofer et al., 2020). Music and dance can lead to trust and connectedness, which makes pro-social behavior more likely (Bojner Horwitz et al., 2022). It is suggested that further positive qualities like self-awareness, learning, care for others, and well-being are promoted by music and dance (Bojner Horwitz et al., 2022). This supports psychological resilience and transformative qualities for sustainability which are needed to adapt to the impacts of climate change and take effective action (Doppelt, 2017; Wamsler et al., 2021).

Festivals can contribute to sustainability by being transformative learning spaces and engaging in pro-environmental behavior messaging. The potential quality of festivals in this regard is seen in cutting through the facts and going “straight to the heart” (Mair & Laing, 2012, p. 698). Festivals can influence the attitudes of their attendees and can be used to stimulate behavior change (Getz et al., 2018; Jutbring, 2017). Through their sustainability communication, festivals can be role models and motivators. However, a study of Canadian festivals found that few festivals engaged in sustainability communication effectively, consistently, and efficiently (Dodds et al., 2020).

I use the areas and mechanisms identified in the literature to operationalize the categories of the framework I developed (see Table 2) and to discuss my results (see Discussion).

4 Theory

4.1 Prefiguration

Pre-figuration was coined in the late 70s as “the embodiment, within the ongoing political practice of a movement, of those forms of social relations, decision-making, culture, and human experience that are the ultimate goal” (Boggs, 1977). It is a concept that is primarily used to study social movements. While it was originally often used to discuss organizational forms (Breines, 1980), its conception and application broadened to include all practices that pose an alternative to current societal functioning. It can be differentiated from any practice that might diverge from societal norms by its deliberate and desirable character (Raekstad & Gradin, 2020). That way prefiguration can be defined as “the deliberate experimental implementation of desired future social relations and practices in the here-and-now” (Raekstad & Gradin, 2020, p. 10).

The consistency of means and ends is a central component of prefiguration. The ends of the movement are expressed through its means of creating desired alternative practices and environments today (Yates, 2015). In that way, acting morally right in particular contexts that arise, manifests the values that guide the desired society (Monticelli, 2022; Raekstad & Gradin, 2020).

The process of prefiguration can be divided into 5 connected practices (Yates, 2015): political meanings, collective experimentation, social norms, consolidation and diffusion.

- 1) The imagining, production, and circulation of political meanings and perspectives is happening in the theoretical realm. Here, ideological positions that inform practices are imagined, learned, and discussed. In the context of festivals, the program can include workshops and debates around sustainability.
- 2) Collective experimentation involves the trying out of new practices, relations, and forms of organizing, and the constant reflection about usual ways of social activity. Sustainable behavior, different ways of relating, and forms of organization can be tested out at festivals.
- 3) From Experimentation and political meanings, new and future-oriented social and collective norms are formed. These provide new forms of governance within the movement, which stay adaptable through new input from the first two categories. At festivals, certain codes of conduct can reflect this part of prefiguration.
- 4) Consolidation is the manifestation of the categories above in the material environment. The festival site is the physical space where experimentation, social norms, and political meaning can be materialized.

- 5) Practices, ideas, messages, and goals are diffused to wider networks and constituencies. Diffusion thus encompasses everything that has an impact beyond the boundaries of the festival.

It makes sense to look at prefiguration's intersection with the cultural sector, as it involves radical imagination, and is ultimately a creative, and not merely political task (Monticelli, 2022). Especially festivals can have a prefigurative quality, as they are spaces outside the everyday structure of mainstream society that can be described as cultural laboratories (Browne et al., 2019). As is the case with festivals, prefigurative movements are not focused on a single issue but try to tackle interrelated issues simultaneously in a holistic way (Monticelli, 2022).

Prefiguration sows transformation within the spaces and cracks of the dominant social structure (Monticelli, 2022). I look at prefigurative transformation processes through the three spheres of transformation which present an overarching framework for categorizing and integrating theories of transformation (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013).

4.2 The Three Spheres of Transformation

The three spheres of transformation framework was developed by O'Brien and Sygna (2013) and states that transformations take place in the practical, the political, and the personal sphere (see Figure 1). O'Brien and Sygna (2013) argue that responses to the nature-climate emergency are most effective if they consider interventions and changes in all three spheres and their interconnections. Without attention to the personal sphere, a proposed solution will generate value conflicts. Without attention to the practical sphere, abstract ideals and goals may not materialize into actionable outcomes. And without attention to the political sphere, the rate and scale of change won't be sufficient as it is not considering systemic factors. As transformations are non-linear and complex processes, the interactions between the spheres is where the levers to address those can be found (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013).

According to O'Brien & Sygna (2013), the practical sphere includes all specific interventions that aim at achieving and directly affecting a desired outcome: such as reducing greenhouse gas emissions. It is easily measured and has been the focus of climate mitigation efforts. Technological innovations and behavioral change fall into this category.

The political sphere represents the structural level of a sustainability transformation. It includes the cultural, economic, and political systems of our societies. It is the sphere of rules, institutions, and norms that determine which measures can be implemented in the practical sphere. In this space, we

express disagreements and come to a shared understanding, resolve conflicts, and build cooperation (O'Brien & Sygna, 2013)

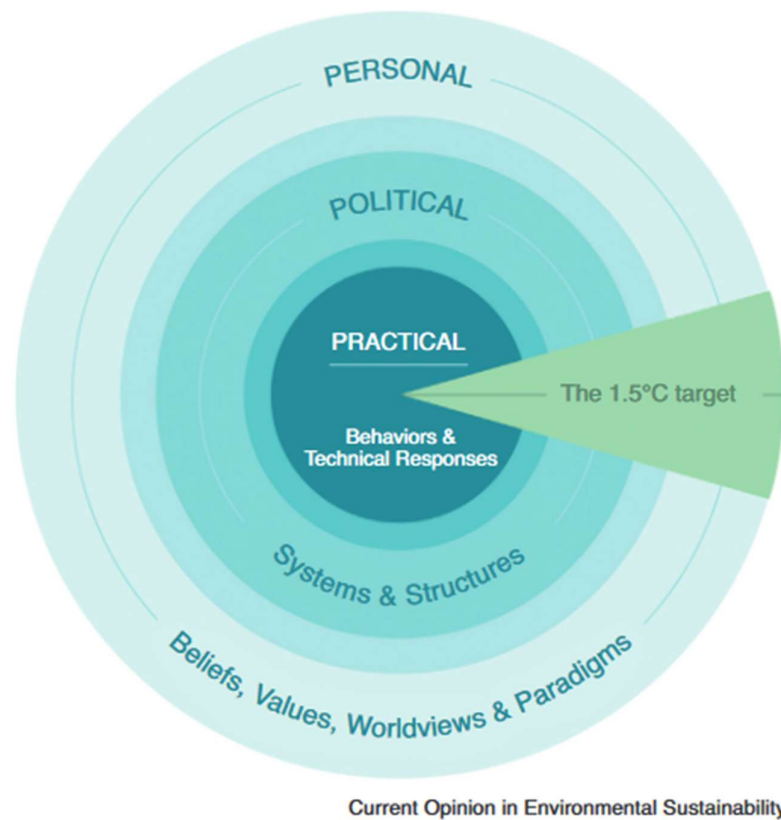


Figure 1. The Three Spheres of Transformation (Source: O'Brien 2018)

The personal sphere reflects deeply engrained subjective beliefs, values, worldviews, and paradigms. This is the most abstract but also the deepest sphere of transformation (Meadows, 1999; O'Brien & Sygna, 2013). It is often neglected or included less often in sustainability measures (Wamsler et al., 2021). Changes in this sphere are necessary for more radical system changes toward a sustainable global society (O'Brien, 2018). There are increasing demands from scholars to incorporate this sphere due to its power over what solutions get implemented in the political and practical spheres (Woiwode et al., 2021).

Prefiguration is a holistic form of activism that considers all three spheres of transformation as inseparable and influencing each other. Whereas activism can generally be located in the political sphere, prefiguration acknowledges the social context, emotions, and experiences of individuals, and followingly, different ways of being in the world as important for social transformation (Raekstad & Gradin, 2020). This is poignantly captured by the, originally feminist, argument, which is prevalent in prefigurative politics, that the personal is political. Furthermore, prefiguration consolidates political

claims in the practical sphere, as it starts to build the world it wants to see in the future, today (Monticelli, 2022). Both prefiguration and the three spheres try to merge structure and agency and see them as co-creating each other (O’Brien, 2018; Raekstad & Gradin, 2020). They don’t have a reductionist view of atomic individuals that can act without being influenced by a structure. At the same time, they don’t fall into structural determinism, leaving room for the agency of the individual to affect the structures they are embedded in.

4.3 Conceptual Framework

Table 2. Theoretical Framework: The Three Spheres of Prefiguration

	Political Meanings & Perspectives	Experimentation	Social norms & Conduct	Consolidation	Diffusion
Personal	Personal Perspectives <i>values, intentions, worldviews, and beliefs</i>	Personal Experimentation <i>Relationships and Transformative experiences</i>			Personal diffusion <i>communication of values and the spread of values and new forms of relating beyond the festival.</i>
Political	Political Meanings <i>political self-understanding, addressing sustainability through the festival program</i>	Political Experimentation <i>organizational structure</i>	Political Norms <i>Norms, code of conduct</i>		Political diffusion <i>social innovation, cooperation, the establishment of norms and new organizational structures outside the festival.</i>
Practical		Practical Experimentation <i>Behaviour</i>		Practical Consolidation <i>Festival Site (Production, Infrastructure)</i>	Practical diffusion <i>Practical Innovation, Individual behavior</i>

Note. Rows stand for the three spheres of transformations (O’Brien & Sygna, 2013) and columns represent the 5 parts of prefiguration (Yates, 2015). The green table fields are the 10 categories I developed and the cursive descriptions operationalize them for festivals.

I integrate prefiguration, based on Yates (2015), into the three spheres of transformation to assess the role of festivals in prefiguring sustainable futures (see Table 2). This allows for a holistic but structured approach to data collection and analysis. To integrate the two theories into one framework, I used a matrix with the three spheres of transformation in the rows, and the 5 parts of prefiguration, following Yates, in the columns. This leads to 15 potential categories. However, some are mutually exclusive. Political Meanings & Perspectives are not practical; social norms explicitly belong to the political sphere; and consolidation is the manifestation of political meanings and experimentation in the practical sphere. Experimentation and Diffusion can happen in all three spheres. That way I came up with 10 categories that place prefiguration in the three spheres of transformation.

Table 3. Interview Questions in the Three Spheres of Prefiguration Framework

	Political Meanings & Perspectives	Experimentation	Social norms & Conduct	Consolidation	Diffusion
Personal	<p>Personal Perspectives</p> <p>IQ1.1: Does the festival have a collective vision? Does it include sustainability? IQ1.2: What values underlie the festival?</p>	<p>Personal Experimentation</p> <p>IQ4.2: Are sustainability issues artistically addressed at your festival? If yes, in what way? IQ 1.5 Are you trying to create a safer/braver space for your visitors? If yes how? follow up to IQ2.4: How do attendees at the festival relate to each other? Does it differ from how you would relate in everyday live? follow up to IQ2.1: In planning the festival, how do you relate to each other? How are values XYZ reflected in relationships?</p>			<p>Personal diffusion</p> <p>IQ1.3: How do you try to convey your vision/message to your audience or wider society?</p>
Political	<p>Political Meanings</p> <p>IQ2.2: Would you consider the festival as political? If yes, in what way? Implicit or Explicit? If no, what is the role of the festival in society for you? IQ4.1: In what way is the festivals vision/values reflected in the curation of your program?</p>	<p>Political Experimentation</p> <p>IQ2.1: What is the festivals organizational structure? How do you take decisions?</p>	<p>Political Norms</p> <p>IQ2.3: Do you prescribe a certain code of conduct at the festival?</p>		<p>Political diffusion</p> <p>Q3.3: What could society learn from things that your festival has experimented with (regarding sustainability)?</p>
Practical		<p>Practical Experimentation</p> <p>IQ3.1: In planning the festival, Do you experiment with/try to engage in more sustainable practices? If yes, in what way? IQ2.4 How does the behavior of attendees at the Festival differ from everyday life? Why do you think that is?</p>		<p>Practical Consolidation</p> <p>IQ3.2: How are your values (relating to sustainability) reflected in the infrastructure/production /design of your festival?</p>	<p>Practical diffusion</p> <p>Possible follow up to IQ3.3: Are there practical things that have been tested out at the festival, that could potentially be adopted in other contexts?</p>
Overarching Questions	<p>IQ4.3: How do you see hedonism working together or conflicting responsibility and activism in the context of M&AF?</p>	<p>IQ4.4: What could Festivals contribute to a sustainability transformation that political/social movements might lack?</p>	<p>IQ4.5: What are limits and barriers for M&AF to contribute to sustainability?</p>	<p>IQ4.6: How do you think can your festival contribute to a better and more sustainable society? Are you trying to have a positive impact on society?</p>	

I used this deductive, theory-derived framework to develop the questions for the interviews (see Table 3). Some Interview Questions (IQs) address multiple categories. For example IQ1.1 “Does the festival have a collective vision? If yes, how would you describe it?” is addressing Political meanings and Perspectives and can be answered in the personal and political sphere. Some overarching questions that could address multiple categories are placed outside the matrix (IQ4.3-4.6).

5 Methodology

I chose a qualitative research design to investigate the multi-layered phenomena of a festival and the complex and underlying relations to sustainability via personal, political, and practical spheres. The qualitative approach can reveal the necessary detail and depth, depict complexity, and generate unforeseen insights.

5.1 Positionality

Being a festival organizer myself it is important to consider my positionality in the research. I have organized a grassroots electronic music festival in Germany for 1000 people since 2021. In that way, I am part of the broader subject I am studying in my thesis. A bias I reflected upon, is that I am prone to

have a positive view of festivals as it is something I am invested in myself. At the same time, I was interning at One Resilient Earth, which was conducting the workshop series, whose participants made up my sample. I made my multiple “hats” of festival organizer, intern, and student researcher visible to the people I interviewed but stayed within my role as a researcher throughout the interview.

5.2 Method

5.2.1 Data collection

The sample consists of festival organizers that participated in the online workshop series: “A Festivals’ Deep-dive into climate resilience”, conducted from mid-February to the end of April 2023 by One Resilient Earth. This program attracted festival organizers globally with an interest in sustainability and thus makes up a purposive pre-selection of the context of the sample. Thus, the sample selection is based on participants’ interest in the topic of sustainability, and not related to their sustainability efforts. Festival organizers and creatives working in the field could apply to the program by stating their role in the sector and their intention to participate. On this basis, participants were selected. There was a fee of 100€, but it was possible to apply for a sponsorship. Recruiting for the interviews happened by writing mails to the festival organizers participating in the workshop series.

The group was comprised of a wide array of people working in the festival sector. The sample isn’t reduced to best-case studies but allowed to assess the RQs considering a diverse, varied set of festivals differing in key characteristics (see Table 4). This way the representativeness was increased according to a maximum variation sampling, and a bias towards desired results and a false generalization is avoided (Bryman, 2012). Within this context the selection of participants was based on availability and experience, and thus in part is a convenience sample (Berg & Lune, 2012). Inclusion criteria were that the participants must take part in the organization of a music and art festival that has been existing for at least 3 years. The sample consisted of 12 festival organizers whose characteristics are shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Sample of Festivals Including their Key Characteristics

Festival	Reference	Country	Visitors	Position of interviewee
Non-for-profit grassroots festival	I1	Hungary	~ 5.000	Head of Production
Involved Group	I2	United Kingdom (international)	/	Sustainability Environment Officer

Experimental electronic music festival	I3	Canada	/	Hybrid role
Grounded Community & Festival	I4	Netherlands	~1.500	Founder
Chasing the Hihat	I5	Netherlands	~ 2.000-5.000 (festival)	Head of Tech and Sustainability
Body and Soul / Native Events	I6	Ireland	~5.000	Operations Manager & Site Manager
Karneval der Kulturen	I7	Germany	~1.000.000	Co-Director
Wildpaths	I8	United Kingdom	/	Festival Director
Eurosonic Norderslaag	I9	Netherlands	~ 40.000	Sustainability coordinator
Art and Music Festival	I10	Germany	~5.000	Creative Head
Barcelona Beach Festival / Live Nation Spain	I11	Spain	~70.000	Employee
Bahidora Festival	I12	Mexico	~12.000	Sustainability consultant

I conducted semi-structured expert interviews in English to collect empirical data. Participation in the interview was voluntary, and informed consent was obtained through a standardized form, which was discussed at the beginning of the interview (see Appendix B). The sample size was determined by the number of festival organizers participating in the workshop series (18 total) and their response rate (66%, N=12).

I deductively developed interview questions to address the intersection of prefiguration and the three spheres of transformation (see Table 3). The theory-derived questions are combined with more open-

ended questions to remain open to inductively emerging insights and follow the explorative nature of the thesis (see Table 3, column “overarching questions”). I followed an interview guide using these 20 questions but allowed myself to pose follow-up questions and deviate from the structure if helpful for the flow of the interview (see Appendix A). The interviews lasted between 35-65min and were conducted from end-February to mid-March, 2023. The number of interviews allows a comparison between different approaches to the sustainability of festivals, which is helpful to find a common thread as well as highlight the diversity of festivals and their relation to sustainability while still investigating the topic in the necessary depth. As the sample of interviewees is geographically dispersed, the interviews were conducted online by video-call.

5.2.2 Data Analysis

The interviews were recorded and transcribed as a smooth verbatim transcript, as the information coded for is on the content level and doesn't need to include utterances and fillers. Indistinct passages are indicated by a row of dots [...] corresponding to the length of the incomprehensible passage.

The transcripts were coded using qualitative content analysis based on deductive theory-derived categories following Table 2 (Mayring, 2014). For this, a coding guide was developed before the start of the analysis and refined throughout the process (see Appendix C). It was guided by theory to create a high validity of the analysis. In the first step, 4 interviews were preliminarily coded using the theory-derived categories (see Table 2), while being open for emerging categories relating to the research questions. Then the category system was revised, category definitions refined, and anchor examples were chosen. The coding guidelines were then applied to code material from all 12 interviews with the program MAXQDA. Each answer to a question was confronted with the category system (recording unit). The largest text component that could be coded for one category was a paragraph (context unit), the smallest component of material I assessed was a phrase (coding unit). By developing and following this coding guide the analysis is intersubjectively replicable. I created a report of the coded segments in which the codes are referred to by Interview (I1-12).

The explorative approach of the thesis focused on mapping areas of sustainability prefiguration for festivals, and it is beyond its scope to verify their potential empirically. Thus, the included festivals were evaluated based on the statements in the interviews, and claims were not further validated.

6 Results

To answer my research questions, I move through the coded material starting with the first row of Table 2 relating to the personal sphere, continuing with the categories relating to the political sphere (2nd row), moving on to the 3rd-row categories (practical sphere) and finishing with an overarching summary of results.

Table 5. Central Results Depicted according to the Three Spheres of Prefiguration Framework

	Political Meanings & Perspectives	Experimentation	Social norms & Conduct	Consolidation	Diffusion
Personal	<p>Personal Perspectives</p> <p>Values: <i>non-materialistic, intrinsic, positive vision</i></p>	<p>Personal Experimentation</p> <p>Relationships: <i>authentic connection, community</i></p> <p>Transformative Experiences: <i>experiential learning, empowerment, emotional processing, inspiration, escape</i></p>			<p>Personal Diffusion</p> <p>Communication: <i>social media messaging, replicate feelings of community and agency in every-day life</i></p>
Political	<p>Political Meanings</p> <p>Political self-image: <i>from outspokenly political to explicitly apolitical</i></p> <p>Program curation: <i>talks, workshops, performances, creative formats, cooperation with NGOs or social movements, connect entertainment and learning, diversify</i></p>	<p>Political Experimentation</p> <p>organizational structure: <i>from grassroots collective to hierarchical company, sustainability as crosscutting theme in the organisation</i></p>	<p>Political Norms</p> <p>Norms: <i>safer and more inclusive space, environmentally friendly behaviour, often no explicit code of conduct</i></p>		<p>Political Diffusion</p> <p>Social Innovation: <i>sharing best practices with other events; cooperating with and stimulating partners; networks; integrating practices throughout the year</i></p>
Practical		<p>Practical Experimentation</p> <p>Behaviour: <i>encouraging sustainable transport and waste separation, dichotomy between irresponsible and responsible behaviour, trying out new behaviours</i></p>		<p>Practical Consolidation</p> <p>Production: <i>waste management, technical innovation, green and efficient energy, sustainable food, nature protection and regeneration, limit water use, green eco campsites</i></p>	<p>Practical Diffusion</p> <p>Practical Innovation: <i>testing circular economy, extrapolating learnings, restoring ecology, establishing sustainable infrastructure</i></p> <p>Individual behavior: <i>adopting sus. practices like recycling, upcycling and using public transport in every day life</i></p>

6.1 Prefiguration in the Personal Sphere

6.1.1 Personal Perspectives

“I think that we can have a good time while we heal the human spirit and the earth.” (I4)

Personal Perspectives are reflected in the values and societal vision of the festivals (see Table 5). Recurring values reported by participants include fun and celebrating life (I4, I2, I5), social inclusion, diversity, gender parity and equality (I1, I3, I4, I5, I7, I9), peaceful togetherness, community, and cooperation (I2, I3, I5, I6, I7, I8, I10, I11, I12), as well as artistic expression and creativity (I4, I6). Further values include supporting local business (I3), innovation and experimentation (I3, I6), open-mindedness (I4), empowerment (I4), and well-being (I6). The festival organizers mainly stated intrinsic, non-materialistic values that relate to relationships, community, personal growth, and expression as opposed to extrinsic values (see Figure 2). Sustainability can be considered a unifying goal of this sample (I1, I3, I6, I9, I12).

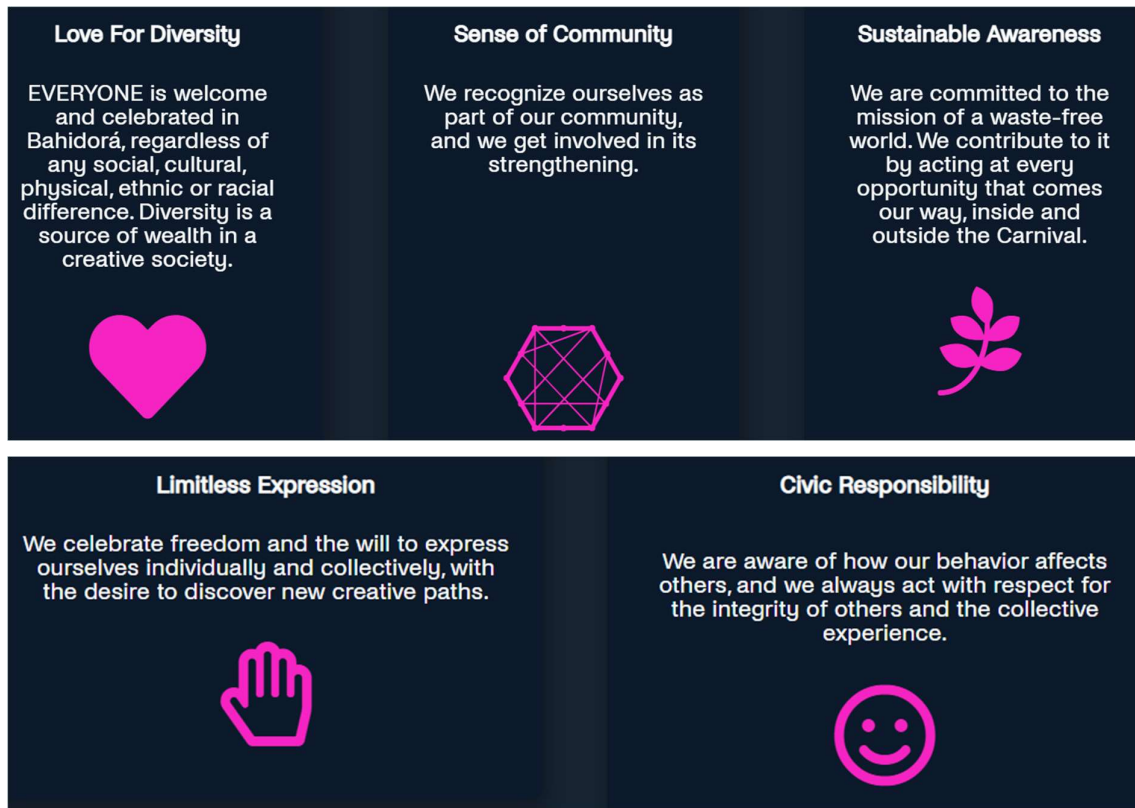


Figure 2. Example of Values Communicated on a Festival's Website (Source: Bahidora, 2023)

"[...] instead of making people very negative about the crisis or losing the momentum, you use the power of happiness literally to address these topics" (I12)

A common theme expressed by organizers is that festivals are spaces to provide a positive vision of the future of society, in contrast to doom and gloom scenarios and restrictive and negative messaging (I4, I9, I10, I12). This is important for prefiguration, as it makes a sustainable future desirable. It is the fertile soil in which a seed of prefiguration can be planted. While themes are partly critically addressed, the strength of festivals lies in their desire for a better life and in approaching sustainability from an imaginative, positive angle.

6.1.2 Personal Experimentation

Personal Experimentation encompasses transformative experiences of attendees, experiential learning, the role of emotions, art, and relationships (see Table 5).

Some organizers perceive festivals as a space of personal transformation (I11, I12). The attitude with which people attend a festival is described as open-minded, fun, playful, and willing to learn and explore (I3, I8). This mindset and the immersive atmosphere help to engage people in a positive way with regard to sustainability (I5, I4). A frequently mentioned group of qualities that festivals provide were agency, empowerment, activation, and hope (I4, I2, I7). Festivals create a sense that "we can

make it happen” (I10). One interviewee describes their festival as a “sneaky learning experience” (I4): a holistic way of experiential learning that includes talks, workshops, art, dance, fun, conversations, and eating that can make a different way of doing things tangible (I4). Festivals are also described as inspiring environments (I4, I9, I10). Combined with making sustainable values explicit, it’s a powerful way to change behavior and culture (I3).

Another way of portraying festivals is as “a moment of escape” (I11), a place for people to release themselves and experience more freedom (I6). Festivals can be spaces that allow people to be themselves and be less constrained by societal norms and structures (I4, I10) which, one interviewee hopes, helps people stand up for themselves in everyday life (I10). The goal of creating a safer and braver space is mentioned by two interviewees (I7, I10), which can help to facilitate transformative experiences by giving people the opportunity to be less constrained by their fears. Taking this one step further, festivals can be places to numb emotions as well as to process emotions in playful and joyful ways, with the help of art, culture, and community (I7, I10). This, as well as the act of celebrating, can contribute to, and be an act of psychological resilience (I7).

Art at festivals can be transformative by “generat[ing] a sense of wonder and curiosity” (I3) and by “going into emotions that we don’t dare to go [into]” (I7). Mostly artistic programming is not directly related to sustainability but at some festivals there are projects that are (more or less) explicit about sustainability issues (I3). And some contentious issues are raised via art (I5, I6). It is pointed out that art shouldn’t be instrumentalized for the sake of sustainability (I9). Rather, art can have a prefigurative quality “by proposing something that people have not seen before” (I3).

In the relational sphere, a lot of interviewees mention the power of festivals to create “real human connection” (I4). People come together, connect more easily, make new friends, fall in love, and feel as part of a community (I1, I4, I5, I8, I11, I12). One interviewee argues that this is what changes people towards more altruistic behavior (I6). This is supported by a friendly, nice, and supportive atmosphere (I1) in which people are still holding each other accountable (I5) and often encouraged by active participation, like volunteering (I7). Festivals are described as places for like-minded people to meet up (I1, I5, I12). The flip side of that coin is raised by a more critical voice stating that people going to (alternative) festivals are in a bubble and not the ones that need to be changed (I6). Also, there are not enough people attending these events to promote a wider cultural change (I6).

6.1.3 Personal Diffusion

Personal diffusion is shown through the communication of the festival and the values and relationships adapted outside of the festival (see Table 5).

The messaging and the story festivals tell are perceived to have a big impact on people (I8, I9). Some festivals have a huge following and can use their voice to speak up about sustainability issues (I10). Most festivals communicate their sustainability strategies and efforts via social media. By some, this is perceived as one of the most important things festivals can contribute to a sustainability transformation (I10, I12). It can include the concrete sustainability measures festivals are taking (I3), and suggested behavior for the attendees at the festival and in every-day life (I6, I12). Messaging can also include the festival's values (I12) and it can be political (I10), but "it depends on the festival if you want to make a statement" (I9), and many keep out of political communication.

Some festivals hope to help their participants to realize their potential for climate action, replicate feelings of community and agency in their everyday live and become climate ambassadors (I2, I4). One participant sees festivals as spaces for "cultural promoting" of alternative, sustainable ways of doing things (I4).

6.2 Prefiguration in the Political Sphere

6.2.1 Political Meanings

Political meanings are shown through the political self-understanding of festivals and can be hosted, developed, and critiqued in the curation of the program (see Table 5).

There is a wide spectrum of political self-understandings present in the sample of festivals. Whereas some festivals see themselves as political and want to make a stand for diversity and platform creative, cultural activism (I7), support NGOs, protests and stand against right-wing movements (I10), most festivals in the sample didn't have an outspoken, specific, political standing or agenda. However, some see themselves as a platform for social change (I6, I8) or as a socially and culturally engaged actor (I4, I1, I12), and want their festival to be more than just a party (I4, I9). These festivals engage and platform political debates and address cultural and social issues. This is reflected in the design of their event as well as in their organizational structure. One interviewee stated that "coming together and celebrating peaceful[ly] is in itself a political act" (I7, I9), as it's a prefiguration of a society you'd like to see.

Some imply the prefigurative character of festivals, describing them as a space for experimentation and exploration (I3, I4), or the celebration and co-creation of a regenerative culture (I4). Others are not engaging in political debates, and see their vision as related to creating spaces for community (I2) and experiences that people enjoy (I5). Some focus on the cultural side by supporting the local music scene (I8, I3), fostering artistic experimentation and expression (I3, I9), or have more profit-driven motives (I11).

The ambivalence regarding the role of festivals as prefigurative spaces is seen in the following quote:

festivals became big [...] at the end of 60s - 70s, and it was all about like demonstrating that there is another way of living, there's another way of people enjoying themselves. It's rooted in the hippie culture. It was counterculture itself. But it's not anymore. But still because it's rooted in festivals' DNA it still shows some of these features. It's just not that relevant, but it's there (I1)

One festival was founded as a response to the nature and climate emergency (I4, 3). Whereas others say, “festivals and sustainability [are] not an easy fit” (I10, 13). Here again, the dichotomy between the immediate negative environmental impact and mediated positive impacts of festivals through deeper leverage points towards sustainability becomes evident.

At some festivals, the program curation was completely unrelated to sustainability, while at others it played a central role, which reflects a spectrum from entertainment festivals to more holistic approaches to festivals.

Interviewees mainly referred to how sustainability is addressed in the non-music program of their festival (see Figure 3). This takes the form of round tables, panels, talks, theatre, workshops, performances, exhibitions, or movie screenings (I1, 11; I2; I3; I4; I5; I6; I8; I10; I12). It's one major role in which festivals have a positive impact and activate change. These festivals start conversations, raise awareness, and share knowledge: “I think we have more impacts being a platform and providing a space or a forum for people to speak” (I8). Often this is done by cooperating with NGOs or social movements (I1, I5, I10, I12). One interviewee alludes to the pre-figurative character of hosting “[w]orkshops [...] that can teach us how [...] we build an alternative society” (I4, 13).

The festival space is especially prone to creative, playful methods (I2) and a place to find ways to connect entertainment and learning, which can also be challenging to reconcile (I3). Whereas most formats belong to forming political meaning-making, some formats transgress these boundaries. Meditation or bodywork, for example, focuses on the discovery of the personal sphere, and DIY workshops or tree-planting belong to the practical sphere (I4, I10).

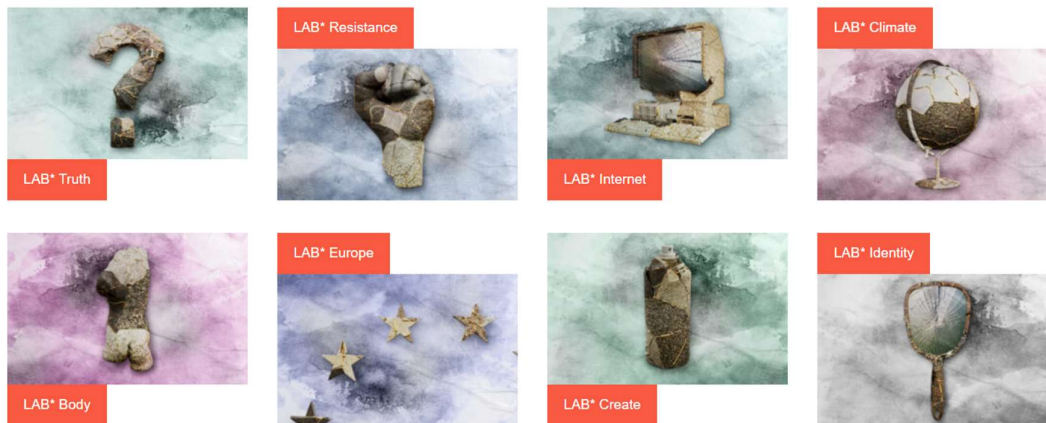


Figure 3. Example of Learning Spaces at a Festival as Communicated on their Website (Source: Artlake, 2023)

Some festivals are platforming progressive artists, which provides a space for them to experiment (I10, I3), and diversify their programs (I10, I5, I12). At some festivals artists act as active change agents, addressing topics related to sustainability (I12, I8).

6.2.2 Political Experimentation

Political experimentation is exemplified by the way festivals organize themselves (see Table 5). The organizational structure of the festivals ranged from grassroots collectives (I8) using alternative ways of organizing (I4) and non-profits (I1), to horizontal, flat hierarchy organizations (I5, I3, I6, I7), to hierarchical company structures (I2, I11). Gender balance, inclusiveness, and diversity were mentioned as important organizational principles (I4, I11). A lot of festivals rely on volunteers (I1), which means that people who contribute are motivated by something else than financial benefits.

How sustainability is rooted in the organizational structure is key to a successful implementation. Some festivals have sustainability as a core mission and the managers consider it their personal goal to implement it and have the power to do so by overseeing the budget (I6). As opposed to sustainability as an “add-on” that is partly opposed by higher positions in the organization (I11). Often sustainability doesn’t have its own position but is addressed as a crosscutting theme that is discussed in general meetings or a sustainability working group (I10, I9, I8). One interviewee stated that all departments need to be part of the transformation toward sustainability and that awareness-building within the organization is important (I9, 3). Overall, there is a correlation between organizing in flat hierarchies and a more holistic consideration of sustainability throughout the sample.

6.2.3 Political Norms

Norms are reflected in codes of conduct recommended or prescribed by the festivals (see Table 5). The transition between experimentation and new norms is fluent, as experiments can slowly establish new norms. Generally, there is no focus on explicit codes of conduct at the different festivals. Some festivals have a code of conduct (I1, I4, I9, I10), but some are also “taking action rather than demanding or requesting people [to] do things” (I8, I7). The communication of norms for environmentally friendly and respectful behavior takes different forms from clear rules to communicating expected behavior to suggestions (I10; I9; I12).

A lot of norms focus on establishing a safer and more inclusive space. They include zero tolerance for any form of harassment or racism; establishing gender-neutral bathrooms; prohibitive measures on filming; awareness raising and rules around cultural appropriation; prioritizing the perspective of the affected person and reminders for a friendly attitude towards each other (I4, I12, I10, I9). Norms around environmentally friendly behavior include basic rules like don't litter, don't waste, leave no trace and be respectful towards your environment. It's very prevalent to only serve vegetarian or plant-based food which is establishing a sustainable norm. Behavioral nudges and information can also turn into norms, which one interviewee expressed as a goal: “slowly having people realize that those are kind of inherent values to the festival, that these things are normal. You know, that sending out all this accessibility-related information is normal, that sending out all this social, environmental sustainability-related information is a normal thing” (I3, 47)

6.2.4 Political Diffusion

Political Diffusion is reflected through social innovation, cooperation and the establishment of norms and new organizational structures outside the festival (see Table 5). Sustainable practices are diffused to other event locations, festivals, businesses, and municipalities (I9, I3). This is done through communication, cooperation, and dialogue, and by sharing processes and tools (I4, I6, I9). One festival included a sustainability clause in every contract they send out, stating the importance of the topic to them (I9). This festival has a major focus on diffusing practices to increase impact adhering to the straightforward rationale: “If the rest doesn't follow, we're still fucked because the earth doesn't care about the frontrunners” (I9). One festival developed a consultancy for the event sector that can have an impact beyond the original event (I6). Another project developed from a festival to an all-year-round community. This shows how the diffusion of change beyond the individual level is possible (I4). Another organizer aims to use and create networks for community, exchange, and creativity beyond the festival and through that integrate the work that is done at festivals throughout the year (I7).

6.3 Prefiguration in the Practical Sphere

I consider two major areas of prefiguration in the practical sphere. First behaviour, which is related to experimentation, and second, production which is the consolidation of sustainability in the physical space of the festival site. These areas can lead to new behaviors of visitors in their everyday life and to practical innovation. This diffusion beyond the time-space boundaries of the festival is covered in the third section.

6.3.1 Practical Experimentation

Festival organizers try to encourage their audiences to experiment with more sustainable behaviors (see Table 5). As audience travel is the biggest source of emission for a lot of festivals, an effort is put into encouraging public transport (I1, I11, I3), nudging people towards taking the train (I9), offering shuttles (I10), organizing or encourage bike rides to the festival (I10, I3) and set up or encourage car-pooling options (I6). In the area of waste management, recycling, and correct waste disposal are encouraged (I1, I3, I10, I6). Often tips are provided for attendees on how they can behave more sustainable at the festival (I3.). One way of prefiguring more sustainable behavior is to set up a code of conduct, or written commitment that sets the intention of sustainable behavior (see Political Norms).

Different behaviors can be observed at festivals, which prevents a broad generalization. At some festivals, attendees are creating waste problems by leaving their camping gear or not separating trash correctly (I5). At others, attendees are picking everything up together and leave no trace (I2). It depends on the event culture, and on the kind of audience, and their mindset, whether behavioral patterns are more sustainable or more irresponsible than in every-day life (I6). The dichotomy between responsible and irresponsible behavior shows that what is cultivated in the personal sphere reflects in the practical sphere and is mediated by the political sphere in terms of clear rules for not trashing. But it also works the other way around, by making sustainable behavior easy and attractive new norms can be established by practicing them (I11, 47): “[T]here's a more practical aspect where we just have to do it and encourage this type of behavior, and then it'll just kind of become part of the norm” (I3, 41).

At festivals, one interviewee argues, there's a lower threshold than in everyday life to try out different things, and it often costs less effort (I10). Thus, the festival is a good place to try out new behaviors, because it's only temporary and less threatening in this environment, so people can step out of their comfort zone a bit (I9).

6.3.2 Practical Consolidation

As one interviewee put it, the festival can be “exemplary in itself” in a very practical sense (17). It can lead by example in the way that certain values and goals are consolidated in the physical space of the festival (see Table 5). It is an area of utmost importance to adhere to more sustainable practices. For most festivals this is the core of their sustainability work and where the sustainability journey starts (19). For the integrity of further measures, it is important to focus on cleaning your operations first.

Production is the most common area in which festivals take environmental sustainability measures. It is often focused on reducing the carbon footprint. Measures regarding this span a wide range. Waste management is mentioned frequently, encompassing the reuse, or renting of materials, trash separation, recycling, reduction, and upcycling, and banning of single-use cutlery. Related to that, energy efficiency and green energy are mentioned as practical sustainability measures. Furthermore, nature protection can be considered in the outlay of the festival.



Figure 4. Example of Chemical-free and Waterless Toilets at a Festival (Source: Native Events, 2023)

In some areas, the specific and improvisational circumstances of festivals necessitate sustainable prefiguration. The lack of resources like running water can lead to more sustainable use of the resource, e.g., through waterless eco-toilets (see Figure 4) and limited amounts of shower time. A lack of monetary resources can also lead to creative sustainable solutions like upcycling and the efficient use of what is available (110). At the same time, the temporary nature also comes with a lot of built-in unsustainable practices like single-use items and a lot of transport.

Some interventions in the physical infrastructure go beyond footprint reduction. A premier example is the establishment of green eco campsites, designated areas in which people commit to more sustainable behavior and profit e.g., from a cleaner campsite (16, 110). This can be a reinforcing feedback loop tackling the tragedy

of the commons and establishing positive relations with nature and other people through the creation of a physical space.

6.3.3 Practical Diffusion

Practical Diffusion is reflected in the adoption of sustainable behaviors outside of the festival and the use of the festival for testing practical innovations (see Table 5).

By promoting sustainable behavior, festivals encourage people to adopt practices like recycling and upcycling or using public transport in their everyday live (I12). It can be a space for temporary personal prefiguration that develops into a trait. At one festival around two third of the attendees replied to a survey that they would continue sustainable practices they met at the event at home, such as trash separation, minimizing waste, and the use of public transport (I1).

In this category, the idea of festivals as testing grounds and innovation hubs that was put forward by some festival organizers, ties in (I5, I6, I7, I8, I9). They aim to experiment with new technologies and the circular economy at a temporary, small-scale event to then extrapolate learnings from applications at the festival on a wider scale (I5, I6). This can happen by connecting to politics or businesses that can adopt certain practices (I8). Some innovation is related to the recycling of human waste (I6, I7), upcycling of cigarette butts (I3), or renewable energy generation on site (I5). One interviewee even said “We're not festivals anymore. We're innovation hubs for circular economy or innovation hubs for society.” And that festivals as creative and experimental formats are prone to innovate, concluding that festivals have a bigger cultural impact on society through their innovations than through influencing their visitors (I6).

One festival is restoring the ecology around their site, which has positive sustainability impacts beyond their event. (I1). Another festival cooperated with the municipality to create new grid power connections and a hydrogen generator in the city, impacting sustainable infrastructure beyond the event (I9). Reusable cups and cutlery were first established at festivals and then adopted in other areas like restaurants in Barcelona (I11).

6.4 Summary of Results

The festival organizers reported a wide range of approaches to sustainability. Some festival organizers used the metaphor of the festival as a temporary village (I4, I5, I9), described it as a “testing ground for doing things differently” (I6) or a moment that can “sow the seeds of how a better future can be” (I12). These views align with the idea of festivals as prefigurative spaces. However, some of the festival organizers were focused on reducing the negative environmental impacts of their festivals, which aligns more with a classic corporate sustainability strategy than a prefigurative practice (I3).

I found that festivals prefigure sustainability in the personal sphere by promoting non-materialistic, intrinsic values and providing a positive vision of sustainability. They are places for authentic

connection and community, and partly provide transformative experiences through experiential learning, empowerment, inspiration, and emotional processing. Social media messaging is a powerful tool to spread this impact beyond the time-space boundaries of the festival and support the replication of these feelings in the everyday life of attendees.

Prefiguration in the political sphere varies widely between festivals and is overall the least pronounced. The political self-image ranges from outspokenly political to explicitly apolitical and reflects that the way they organize covers grassroots collectives to hierarchical companies. Sustainability is addressed via talks, workshops, and creative formats, often in cooperation with NGOs or social movements trying to connect entertainment and learning. Some festivals establish norms relating to a safer, more inclusive space and environmentally friendly behavior, however establishing a specific code of conduct that prefigures societal norms is not common. Sharing best practices, cooperation and stimulating partners, engaging in networks, and integrating practices throughout the year are ways of diffusion in the political sphere.

In the practical sphere, sustainable behavior is encouraged, prominently in the areas of transport and waste management which is potentially adopted in the everyday life of attendees. Attendees experiment with alternative behaviors at festivals, however, there is a dichotomy of irresponsible and more sustainable behavior present. Festivals consolidate sustainability in their production by reducing their carbon footprint, protecting, and regenerating nature, limiting their resource use, and establishing green eco-campsites. They are used as testing grounds for practical innovation and try to scale-up learnings to wider society. Through some of these practices, festivals contribute to prefiguration in the practical sphere.

The festivals fit the three spheres of prefiguration (see Table 2) to differing degrees. As stated by O'Brien and Sygna (2013) potential for transformation is especially high at the intersection of spheres or stated differently when sustainability is considered holistically. A lot of festivals transform towards sustainability in the practical sphere, but the political and personal spheres are less frequently considered intentionally. Prefiguration is only given if mindsets, relations, organization, and practices diverge from the social norm and are desirable and deliberate (Raekstad & Gradin, 2020). Whereas festivals generally fit the experimental nature of prefiguration, and some try to establish parts of a desired future in the here and now, they are often not explicitly political and don't have a deliberate vision of a sustainable society that informs their practice or could establish new norms.

I thus categorized festivals on a spectrum in their sustainability efforts: from conventional to innovative and from reductionistic to holistic (see Figure 5). The figure visualizes the spectrum festivals operate on with regard to sustainability. The collected interview data provides a few emerging themes that

move along these scales and are depicted as arrows. Arrows on the top-left relate more to an increasingly holistic view of sustainability, and arrows on the bottom right relate to the innovative potential of festivals. Arrows pointing to the top right quadrant are a combination of a holistic view and innovative potential that can be regarded as prefigurative. The multiple actions and roles festivals can take to contribute to a sustainability transformation are indicated by the blue quadrants. These roles and actions show that there is the potential for festivals to be transformational. However, I acknowledge the disparity between the potential and the status quo by showing the arrows emerging from a place that is neither prefigurative nor holistic but rather reductionistic and conventional.

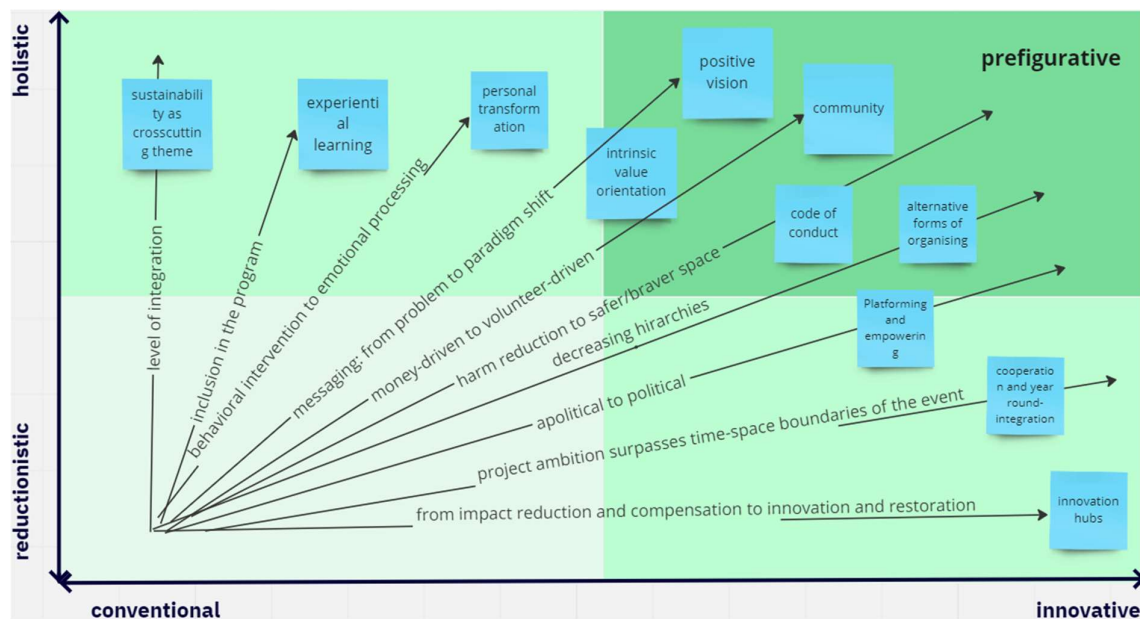


Figure 5. The Prefigurative Spectrum of Festivals. The figure depicts spectrums of engagement with sustainability issues of festivals based on the incorporation of the three spheres of transformation (reductionistic-holistic) and their innovative quality (conventional-innovative). Potentials of positive contributions are indicated by the blue squares.

The festivals in the sample can be placed at different points on each arrow. A lot of these categories develop in accordance with each other, but the focus can be placed on certain arrows while neglecting others. While a clear categorization is not possible, I observed a few trends based on the data. Some festivals focus on their role as innovative frontrunners, fitting the lower right quadrant (~4). Others mainly try to reduce their environmental footprint, which relates to the lower left quadrant (~2). The upper left quadrant is less inhabited as a more holistic understanding of sustainability generally coincides with a prefigurative approach. But some festivals can be placed here as they e.g., integrate sustainability into their program or try to provoke personal transformations but do not embody innovative sustainability approaches in their structures and operations (~3). The upper right quadrant is where holistic prefigurative festivals can be placed (~3) and which can be linked to intentional grassroots activism.

7 Discussion

This thesis investigated the role festivals can play in a holistic transformation towards a sustainable future by addressing deep leverage points through the prefiguring of practices, structures, and relationships in the three spheres of transformation. Results show that festivals are places for experimentation in the personal and practical sphere and to a lesser degree in the political sphere. Festivals hold valuable potential for sustainable prefiguration in the personal sphere by representing and communicating sustainable values, creating community, and offering transformative experiences for individuals. They are often not explicitly political but include sustainability issues in their program, and some engage in alternative ways of organizing and establishing norms for their attendees through codes of conduct. Practical experimentation is very prevalent, with a focus on emission reduction, waste management, innovation, and behavior change.

In the following, I discuss my results structured around the potentials identified and depicted in Figure 5. The first three categories mainly relate to the personal sphere (Sub-RQ1), Innovation belongs to the practical sphere (Sub-RQ3), and the political dimension (SUB RQ2) is covered in the following. I close the discussion with overarching implications, limitations, and avenues for further research.

7.1 Intrinsic Values and Positive Visions

“The role of the artist is to make the revolution irresistible.”

-Toni Cade Bambara

A key role of festivals in the personal sphere that is reflected in the result is to “overcome[.] the dichotomy between ‘having fun’ and ‘doing good’” (Witt, 2014, p. 206) and in that way combine the ethics and aesthetics of a good life. This relates to findings that personal and planetary well-being are mutually beneficial (Brown & Kasser, 2005).

Festivals have the potential to promote intrinsic personal value orientation and support related ecologically responsible behavior. They aim to achieve satisfaction through experiences, relationships, and creative expression which relates to intrinsic personal values that are oriented toward personal growth, relationships, and community. Personal extrinsic values focus on financial success, image, and popularity. While the latter is related to materialism, intrinsic values can be related to ecologically responsible behavior (Brown & Kasser, 2005).

The positive societal vision and approach towards sustainability emphasized by interviewees is important for a transformation, as “positive visions about our societies’ future are an influential, if not indispensable, stimulus for change” (Wiek & Iwaniec, 2014, p.497). This partly goes together with the sustainable social imaginary identified by Witt (2014). This sustainable social imaginary incorporates

the importance of inspiring and positive visions as opposed to guilt-laden doom scenarios that was also put forward by festival organizers in this study. Secondly, it includes an emancipatory quality that is reflected in the possibility of festivals being personally transformative events, and their approach to empower attendees and increase their feeling of agency. Thirdly, it considers the sustainable social imaginary as integrative, which matches the attitude of collaboration and cooperation expressed in interviews and reflects Figure 5 with regards to the holistic conception of sustainability.

Sustainability messaging that can communicate this social imaginary is essential to diffuse the sustainability efforts of festivals and contribute to a wider impact on society. The ability of festivals to tell a story and creatively communicate messages attached to it can help to direct social change and is an important voice in the canon of diverse narratives for sustainability (Dodds et al., 2020; Hards, 2012; Veland et al., 2018).

7.2 Relationships and Community

A common thread throughout the festivals was the creation of community. Festivals can create a shared emotional connection and a sense of belonging. This can be a prefigurative practice as it might enable people to feel a psychological sense of community in the micro context that they can't experience in their macro context of society and through that open a temporary room of experiential possibility (Permut, 2016). Community orientation is connected to an empathetic relation to the environment and future generations, which might lead people to act more sustainably (Brown & Kasser, 2005). Furthermore, the sense of connection created at festivals can increase collective action (Jager, 2022).

This quality of community, establishing authentic relationships, and cooperation, points towards the potential of festivals to contribute to the prefiguration of a relational culture that is related to an ontological shift towards a sustainability paradigm (Walsh et al., 2021; West et al., 2020). It is argued that prefiguration often focuses on the political sphere which leads to problems as destructive paradigms still emerge through relations. Only by taking the prefigurative effort to the level of relationships in the personal sphere, can movements be resilient and uproot dominant cultural values and behaviors (Demaris & Landsman, 2022).

7.3 Learning and Transforming

Some activities initiated by festivals fit the call for more experiential and integrative learning for sustainability by "providing spaces for creative imagination and experimentation" (Bentz, do Carmo, et al., 2022, p.697). Cognitive inputs are combined with creative and embodied practices in an immersive environment where individuals are more susceptible to new ideas, as stated by participants, and thus festivals are a premiere spot for transformative education and arts-based learning (Hards,

2012). However, it is also argued that motives such as hedonism and escapism are rather leading to a lowered interest in engaging with sustainability issues (Mair & Smith, 2021). Accordingly, this is an area in need of closer empirical investigation. The role of music and art in a transformation to sustainability was not commonly emphasized by participants which might be related to their lack of involvement in, and influence on it, as they are not artists themselves.

Behavior change is mentioned as a way for festivals to contribute to sustainability. However, there is only sparse investigation of events stimulating sustained behavior change, and the results are not particularly positive (Mair & Smith, 2021). One reason brought forward in the literature is that festivals are preaching to the converted (Mair, 2014) which is reflected in the statement of one interviewee: “Those people are in their own little bubble and don't really need to be changed” (I6).

Personal transformation as a more holistic idea of change supported by festivals is alluded to by interviewees, popular culture (*The Bloom*, 2019), and scientific literature (Neuhofer et al., 2020). Still, the topic is under-researched and the evidence is anecdotal. An empirical investigation of transformative qualities among festival attendees could be a generative way to investigate claims of festivals as spaces for personal sustainability transformation (Neuhofer et al., 2021; Wamsler et al., 2021)

7.4 Innovation and Cooperation

Experimentation in the practical sphere is very prevalent throughout the sample. However, practical sustainability measures that align with the current political paradigm are not necessarily prefigurative. It depends on their desirable and deliberate character (Raekstad & Gradin, 2020). Looking at the practical sphere in isolation it might be considered an area of innovation rather than prefiguration as it is devoid of politics. Reflecting on the emphasis placed on innovation by some festivals, as well as parts of the literature (Browne et al., 2019; Larson, 2009), it might be an adequate framework to assess the positive role of festivals in sustainability transformations more broadly. However, a depoliticized debate about the role of festivals in the sustainability transformation “risks promoting palliative responses that address the symptoms, rather than challenging the root causes, of [...] global environmental change” (Blythe et al., 2018, p. 1218). If festivals don't actively reflect their practices and try to intentionally change them, they perpetuate societal structures. By making implicit worldviews, modes of organization, and ways of acting explicit, festivals can tap into the potential of prefigurative change.

7.5 The Political Dimension

Most festivals are not prescriptive when it comes to norms or specific codes of conduct. According to the data, festivals are a playground for sustainability experimentation rather than the establishment of new social norms, which might be related to their temporary existence. Alternative organizational practices are important for developing a lived prefigurative vision but were only partly present throughout the sample (Eleftheriadis, 2015). Platforming social movements and NGOs and empowering their attendees to take political action is something festivals engage in to varying degrees but they could tap more into the potential of artistic activism which poses a potentially fruitful area of proactive engagement of festivals in a sustainability transformation (Rodriguez-Labajos, 2022).

In Anthropology the “[o]pinion is divided whether the carnival is a locus for radical transgression, or simply an escape valve for revolutionary energy, which acts to reinforce the status quo” (Frost, 2016, p. 572). Based on the mixed evidence on the political engagement of festivals in this sample, festivals have the potential to be both transgressive and prefigurative or escapist. It ultimately depends on the intentional design of the experience to which side they tip. This is confirmed by the literature which asserts that festivals can increase or decrease the emancipatory potential of their visitors depending on the intentional effort of the organizer (Sharpe, 2008). A classification is necessary to differentiate between commercial events and projects that envision a different society in a free space. For one, the terminology of corporate social responsibility is more adequate, as has been applied elsewhere (Richardson, 2018), whereas others have the potential to play a crucial role in prefigurative politics.

7.6 Sustainability as Paradox and Cross-cutting Theme

The empirical data confirms that festivals have a paradoxical relation to sustainability; as an environmental burden on the one hand and as the expression of a sustainable societal vision on the other hand. Where most festivals tend to focus on the first narrative and try to reduce impact, more holistic and prefigurative organizers focus on the second narrative and try to increase their positive impact. These two approaches are not mutually exclusive, but each perspective or mindset allows for the consideration of a certain array of sustainability measures. This paradox is shown in the following example: On the one hand, a lot of festivals draw an international audience and cause a lot of travel that could be avoided in the first place. On the other hand, one could argue that a more sustainable way of travel is prefigured by some festivals through various initiatives that spill over to everyday life. To unlock the transformative potential of festivals impact reduction and prefiguration should be combined. An integrative view sees sustainability as a crosscutting theme that includes all three spheres of transformation. This aligns with recent calls from the scientific community to go beyond making events sustainable and tap into their potential as a driver of sustainable development (Lopez, 2021; Mair & Smith, 2021).

7.7 Implications

It was an interesting exercise to integrate prefiguration as a specific theory of change into the broader framework of the three spheres of transformation. The theory-derived categories helped to get a holistic picture of the role of festivals in a transformation for sustainability. However, adhering to the categories dissects certain processes and perspectives that are inherently connected. Still, I think prefiguration can benefit greatly from the integration into the three spheres of transformation for other subject areas as it makes the personal, political, and practical notions more explicit and an analysis of a holistic transformational potential possible. Furthermore, I think it is highly valuable to apply the three spheres to different theories of change to compare how they are situated with regard to the spheres and enable an integrative view of change processes.

As diffusion is essential to achieve societal impact an interesting endeavor would be to place festivals' free space prefiguration into the context of transition studies to investigate their role in relation to other societal institutions and possible pathways to achieving change at a broader level (Törnberg, 2021). Overall, this thesis can help to broaden the view for researchers, policymakers, and festival organizers about the potential of festivals to be active agents in a transformation to sustainability and it provides key roles and actions festivals can take to work towards realizing that potential.

7.8 Limitations and Further Research

A methodological limitation is linked to the concept of sustainability. Using sustainability let the interviewees take on a certain perspective shaped by their understanding of the concept that excludes potentially deeper leverage points as they are not commonly associated with sustainability. For further research, it might be useful to frame the interviews differently to allow for a broader perspective and not limit the result to common discourses related to sustainability.

Another limitation is linked to the sample. Festival organizers are by default more steeped in the production side of the events. Assessing the impacts of music, art, and learning at festivals would need to be approached with a sample including artists, musicians, creatives, and educators. Furthermore, the impact on the personal sphere of transformation could only be empirically assessed by personal experiential accounts of attendees and autoethnographic methods (Laing, 2018). Incorporating these actors and methods would be exciting avenues for future research. While it was a fertile approach to assess a wider range of festivals, this diversity makes it difficult to draw a common conclusion. To further investigate the potential of festivals to contribute to a sustainability transformation, it would be insightful to study best-case examples. With a smaller sample size, the categories and assumptions of this thesis could be empirically investigated in a case study approach. With a larger sample, the framework (see Table 2) and festival spectrum (see Figure 5) could be validated.

8 Conclusion

To move towards a more sustainable future, we must first plant the seeds of what we want it to look and feel like (Bennett et al., 2016). In this thesis, I investigated how festivals could contribute to that endeavor. The hypothesis was that festivals have the potential to holistically prefigure a more sustainable future by incorporating and cross-pollinating the personal, political, and practical spheres of transformation. Results indicate that festivals are approaching sustainability on a spectrum from reductionistic to holistic and from conventional to prefigurative. Festivals generally fit the experimental nature of prefiguration, and some try to establish parts of a desired future in the present, but they mostly don't have an explicitly political lens that informs their practice or establishes new norms.

The potential for tackling deeper leverage points is identified in this thesis but not commonly included intentionally in sustainability approaches of festivals. Key areas of contribution are the provision of a positive societal vision, the promotion of intrinsic value orientation, as well as the inclusion of experiential learning and the development of spaces for personal transformation. One of the most important contributions of festivals is community-building, which can be part of developing a relational culture that aligns with a more sustainable paradigm and promotes resilience as well as collective action. Through alternative forms of organizing and by creating safer/braver spaces as well as by platforming political topics, they can empower attendees and prefigure sustainability in the political sphere. However, this potential is least pronounced throughout the sample. Cooperation and integrating practices throughout the year are key steps to spread sustainability prefiguration beyond the time-space boundaries of the festival. In the practical sphere, festivals contribute to a sustainability transition by being innovation hubs for the circular economy. While this is an important role festivals can play, it is crucial to consider the potential of festivals for the interplay of all three spheres of transformation.

Festivals are a multi-faceted and diverse phenomenon for which the lines between business, culture, and social movement are blurred and appear as a continuum. Accordingly, festivals have the potential to promote both destructive distractions as well as regenerative world-building. They are not prefiguring a sustainable future per se, but certainly have the potential to do so. It depends on structural constraints and the intention of the organizers whether festivals tap into their prefigurative potential and actively contribute to a sustainability transformation.

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10 Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Guide

Introductory Questions

Tell me about your festival. (start open, then ask follow ups as needed to make sure you have the info below)

IQ: What is the theme of your festival?

IQ: When did your festival start?

IQ: How many people attend your festival each year?

IQ: How long have you been involved in the festival? What is your role?

IQ: What is your motivation to work on the festival?

Main RQ:

What is the role of music and art festivals in prefiguring sustainable futures in the personal, political and practical sphere?

SUB1: How are music & art festivals prefiguring sustainable worldviews, values and relationships?

IQ1.1: Does the festival have a collective vision? What is it? Does it include sustainability?

IQ1.2: What values underlie the festival?

IQ1.3: How do you try to convey your vision/message to your audience or wider society?

IQ1.4 In planning the festival, how do you relate to each other? How are values XYZ reflected in relationships?

IQ 1.5 Are you trying to create a safer/braver space for your visitors? If yes how?

SUB2: How are music & art festivals prefiguring organizational structures and norms conducive to a sustainable society?

IQ2.1: What is your organizational structure? How do you take decisions? (Consensual, democratic, hierarchical, non-profit/for-profit)

IQ2.2: Would you consider the festival as political? If yes, in what way? Implicit or Explicit? If no, how do you see the role of the festival in society?

IQ2.3 : Do you, within the team and/or at the festival, encourage or prescribe a certain code of conduct, behavior?

Follow up: Do you try to nudge the behavior of your visitors towards sustainability? If yes, how?

IQ2.4 How does the behaviour of attendees during the organisation and/or at the Festival differ from everyday life? Why do you think that is?

Follow up: How do attendees at the festival relate to each other? Does it differ from how you would relate in everyday live?

SUB3: How are music & art festivals prefiguring practical sustainability action?

IQ3.1: In planning the festival, Do you experiment with/try to engage in more sustainable practices? If yes, in what way?

IQ 3.2: How are your values (relating to sustainability) reflected in the infrastructure/production/design of your festival? Do you experiment with/try to engage in more sustainable practices? If yes, in what way?

IQ3.3: What could society learn from things that your festival has experimented with (regarding sustainability)?

Follow: Are there practical things that have been tested out at the festival, that could potentially be adopted in other contexts?

SUB4: Overarching Questions

IQ4.1: In what way is your vision/your values reflected in the curation of your program?

IQ4.2: Are sustainability issues artistically addressed at your festival? If yes, in what way?

IQ4.3: What could Festivals as cultural spaces contribute to a sustainability transformation that political/social movements might lack?

IQ4.4: How do you see hedonism working together or conflicting responsibility and activism in the context of M&AF?

IQ4.5: What are limits and barriers for M&AF to contribute to sustainability?

IQ4.6: How do you think can your festival contribute to a better and more sustainable society? (Are you trying to have a positive impact on society?)

Appendix B: Consent Form

Name of the interviewer: Jakob Wondra

Contact information of interviewer: ja6572wo-s@student.lu.se

Date:

Thank you very much for taking the time to talk to me. I have asked you for an interview as part of a master thesis which I carry out in the last term of the International Master Program in Environmental Studies and Sustainability Science at the University of Lund in Sweden. The thesis will be published on their website.

My thesis is investigating the role of music and art festivals in the sustainability transition. For that I am interviewing festival organizers and try to find out what their perception of the issue is. This could benefit festivals by being integrated into the sustainability science discourse and potentially showing pathways beyond harm reduction, outlining the contribution festivals can make towards sustainability.

Regarding that I have a few questions that I would like to ask you. All information is confidential and will not be revealed or associated with your name unless you agree to it. If you do not want to answer a question please tell me, the interview is entirely voluntary and you can discontinue it at any moment. If you want me to explain a questions, please do let me know.

Do you consent that I can use your answers for my thesis project?

Authorization for using the information / responses (Yes /No)

.....

Respondent wants to stay anonymous (Yes /No)

.....

Name of the interviewee

.....

Organization and position of interviewee (if respondent agrees to it being noted down and used)

.....

Appendix C: Coding Guide

Category Label	Category definition	Anchor example
1 Political	used for statements that are not fitting to the subcategories (possible new category building)	
1.1 Political self-understanding/Vision	statements about how the vision of the festival or how it relates to politics	the situation in Mexico is quite complicated. So the festival has tried to keep a neutral aspect about politics.
1.2 Organizational structure	statements about the internal functioning of the team organizing the festival	Organizational. All the producers and all and every layer of this organization needs to be part of that. So we reach out to all the different departments saying, what can we do together? How can we think about it? And we created a working group with people from all the different departments coming together once a month talking about what can we do? How can we do it? What are our boundaries? How can we surpass these boundaries? So we have to get them involved. And it starts off as just brainstorming. Just look at what we can do. And slowly raise this bar for the whole organization to say, okay, but this is the new low and then build it up a little bit, so they change with the system.
1.3 Norms	statements that relates to norms, rules and suggestions brought forward by the festival	then on site, we have a very big strategy of messages, written messages in cardboard with a beautiful design of the festival, and we spread them around all the layout of the of the venue. And it's always a reminder of how you should behave, but also what you can do if you are in a situation in a negative one. Like to approach the organizers or specific points to to ask for help.
1.4. Programm curation	statements that relates to how sustainability is reflected in the curation of the festival programm	it offers a lot of happenings, workshops, talks and activities that involve participants not only to experience the music, but also to raise awareness about different topics social, environmental aspects.
1.5. social innovation	statements about the (potential) adoption or impact of things the festival has experimented with or promotes in society	I think that if people tend to take this - these best practices, because if it works in a temporary village, it might also just work in a normal village so you can scale it up.
1.6 barriers / challenges		How can I get the story in there in the right way, so to get you on board instead of push you away because yeah, now you're limiting me in my programming because sustainability has to be a part of it. It's about the arts, man. And that again, is a conflict.
2 Practical	used for statements that are not fitting to the subcategories (possible new category building)	
2.1 Visitor Behavior	statements about how visitors behave at the festival, how the festival tries to influence their behavior or how their behavior changes du to the festival	what I can say with the data that we have seen is that at least a people is thinking more about waste management. It definitely is one of the most tangible impacts of Bahidora, like how we address waste management and how we try to raise awareness and share knowledge of how you can have a better waste management at your house. And we have seen this effect not only in these surveys but also in social media after the event. What people share and what they comment. We see a lot of engagement, at least in that aspect.
2.2 Organizer Behavior	statements about how the festival organizers behave with regards to sustainability	So instead of just saying, No, you don't have that much power. We made it into a challenge. Say, what if we said, we just have this power. Can you develop a stage for you which is awesome? And they find it very inspiring, saying, Oh, they were really looking into every lighting or how much power does they need and oh, maybe we can do this. And making the biggest impact with the with the most little lights that they have. So they became creative again.
2.3 production	statements relating to the practical implementation of more sustainable production of the festival	I started off in production site where we just was focusing how can we get the production side of the festival better? So you get rid of the generators, you look at the water, you look at all the practical stuff
2.4 practical innovation	statements about practical/technical innovations that can be adopted beyond the festival	And the second one was that we work with municipality again saying, Hey, you, we are in the city, we have grid connection. Why do we put generators there? Okay, Why? Because we missed the power connection. And we made a program where we paid off the investment in five years because we otherwise we have to rent the battery for five years or the generator. So what if we paid five years? The money that we normally spend on renting and the oil, give that to the municipality so they know we will pay them off and they have more power to invest directly with the money. So with the municipality created the power connections, we just paid it off in a few years.
2.5 barriers / challenges		The problem there is that we don't have the financial possibility to do long term investments.
3. Personal	used for statements that are not fitting to the subcategories (possible new category building)	
3.1 transformation	statements relating to the potential of festival to be transformative for individuals	for me, it's very motivating to see the power that has a moment of celebration to to change minds, or at least to sow the seeds of how a better future can be
3.2 communication	statements relating to how the festival communicates sustainability	the power of social media, it's very important to make a statement of the values you want to share and use that positive impact about media interviews, spaces in radio to express the values, but not more than the values that why it's important and why the festival believes it's important to make a stand for activism, at least in the environmental aspect.
3.3 visitor relationships	statements about how visitors relate to each other	Once you are on site, you definitely see that there are a lot of friendship and that they come together and maybe they don't see each other in during the year because they live in different places, but they go to Bahidora. There's a lot of stories that you get to know while working there of people that became friends in Bahidora, and now they continue their friendship. Friendship. Some show it's because they share some kind of interests and values, not specifically in sustainability, but at least in the values that hold a place like this of coming together, celebrating life and be nice to each other
3.4 organizer relationships	statements about how the organizers relate to each other	the main aspect is that it's a project made with a lot of love and passion, and you can definitely see that. So people will really take care about their task and about their creations. And when you when there's a lot of love behind you, the effect is very positive, not only to keep motivation, but to keep people and the different departments wanting to improve, to make a better offer each year.
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3.4 values	statements that relate to values of the organization, the organizers or the visitors	And but definitely what I really like and why I'm still working with Bahidora is because of the values that they are not only in the economic aspect but in the movement aspect and in sustainability.
3.5 barriers / challenges		To be an artist it's exhausting in many forms. So there are already so many challenges and this is an extra one
4 prefiguration	used for statements relating to prefiguration in a more general sense	We see the festival as a temporary village. So we build a small city for a short period of time. So we're flexible, we are creative, we are adaptable, but we also have to abide by the law.
4.1 Perspectives	used for statements that are not fitting to the subcategories (possible new category building)	
4.2 Experimentation	used for statements that are not fitting to the subcategories (possible new category building)	
4.3 Social Norms / Conduct	used for statements that are not fitting to the subcategories (possible new category building)	
4.4 consolidation	used for statements that are not fitting to the subcategories (possible new category building)	
4.5 diffusion	used for statements that are not fitting to the subcategories (possible new category building)	

