

UNVEILING EXTREME METAL FESTIVAL PRODUCERS:
THE EMERGENCE OF NARRATIVE IDENTITIES

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The Emergence of Narrative Identities

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Abstract

Extreme Metal is a form of dark tourism and leisure activity whose artistic radicalism and underground scenes invoke intense debates from musicians as well as audiences. Traditional cultural studies have assumed that its disenfranchised and transgressive music expressions are an ideological resistance to increasing homogeneities of industrialized society. As such, considering the nature of festivals as a mechanism where culture is created and transmitted, the operations and promotions of Extreme Metal festivals are inevitably engaged in the wider cultural politics of Extreme Metal. The roles of festival producers thus must be emphasized, who act as powerful agents in engaging artists, developing audiences, arranging programs, and so forth. Indeed, no festivals can be simply described as improvised events - they are carefully programmed, planned, and constructed for audiences to hear and see. With this in mind, this study serves to explore the experiential predicament of these culturally embedded event producers.

In particular, the identities of the festival producers compose the focus of investigation for this research. That is, considering the contested contexts that are at play in shaping the very existence of Extreme Metal, the producers are constantly acting as intermediaries between these contexts. The discursive practice by which they give meaning to their festival production practices, contain profound dissonance between 'what they imagine their selves to be' and 'what they actually are' as related to their turbulent 'referential world' of Extreme Metal festival production.

With this in mind, this study employs the theoretical framework of narrative identity in the examination of the 'referential world' by which identities are related. Narrative identity is considered as an approach to understand how people resolve

themselves, life events, actions, and other forces in their life. Considering that a self, in narrative, is given meaning through the narrator's relation of the self to their referential world, analyzing the narrative moments where conflicting contexts are at play provides a sensitization to the struggle of Extreme Metal cultural transgression within festival production. Specifically, it is learned how this tourism is considered 'dark.' In doing so, three main research questions are asked: 1). How can we understand the festival producers' identities as negotiated and emerged from the interview narratives? 2). In regards to the festival producers' identities, what socio-cultural forces in relation to the apparatus of Extreme Metal are involved? 3). How do such findings illuminate the makings of tourism festivals at large?

Introduction

“Narrative research is a voyage of discovery” (Josselson & Lieblich, 2003, p.206). In this study, narrative identity is approached as a mechanism to seek understandings towards the Extreme Metal festival producers. Considering festivals as a complex platform composed of various representational elements – aesthetics, sounds, ambience, and so forth - the Extreme Metal festival producers play an important role in determining the development and character of the festivals (Hennion, 1989). Their experiences are thus inevitably involved in the questions of how to make festivals that fit the social imagination of Extreme Metal and their own interpretations of this unique music genre. It leads to an individualized process of meaning making, struggling, and hence, an emergence of individual identities.

On one hand, there is the façade of the festivals: grinding guitars and screaming vocals from the speaker system at the stage, a roaring crowd. The composition of festival participants can be comprehended from their appearances: dreadlocked and Mohawked punks in tattered and dirty clothing; Grindcore-looking people in plain black hats and Amebix and Napalm Death T-shirts; New York-influenced hardcore fans with flat brimmed hats and gym shorts, among others. The crowd itself is perpetuated with culturally-charged symbols. The group that flows in between the festivals’ front stage and backstage is volunteers. One typical moment where the volunteers constitute a visible focus is as they hand out pamphlets to the festival attendees: recycling methods, the benefits of veganism, how to eliminate oil consumption, and ideas on how to subvert dominant systems of living. Spreading such written values as contained in the pamphlets in the Extreme Metal festivals seems odd, strangely dogmatic at the surface. A second

glance however delineates a deeper yearning, an ideology that has taken on an ecological motive. Certainly, human activities in the festivals are situated within a mix of Extreme Metal aesthetic representations, which is bound by dark atmospheres and content, social deviance, and themes of transgression (Kahn-Harris, 2006; Podoshen, 2012; Spracklen, 2010, 2013).

One may question how such festivals come into being and what continuously drive them to take place as events that bring together tourism activities and an extreme form of dark leisure. The festival producers' experiences certainly provide a point of access, a discourse of festival management where individual identities are intricately embedded in. Granted, there are many ways for one to re-tell individual experiences. To re-tell one's experiences is, in a sense, a process to build one's life-stories, where telling is to unfold an implicit horizon which includes the actions, the characters and the events of the story told (Ricoeur, 1991). A great deal of scholarship suggests that narrative language contributes to the construction and display of individual identity (Bruner, 1987; Ricoeur, 1991; Schiffrin, 1996). It is through narrating that our actions and experiences gain meaning through their relationship to one another, as well as their relationship to general themes or plots (Schiffrin, 1996; Taylor, 1991). Meanwhile, each telling is socially and culturally situated, where knowledge and expectations about typical courses of action are drawn to construct story topics, themes, and points. To understand narrative construction is thus to not only understand an individual self, but also a larger ideological agenda that has assisted the formation of narratives.

Borrowing this theoretical framework of narrative identity into viewing the specific group of Extreme Metal festival producers, this study seeks to understand how

in-depth interviews with the festival producers serve to reveal aspects of the narrators' agentive and epistemic selves; how they construct self-positions in relation to socio-cultural forces circulating the contested landscape of Extreme Metal; and how they display their social identities through the discourse of festival makings. Finally, as Stuart Hall (1990) points out, the concept of identity is a matter of 'becoming' as well as 'being,' which is continuously subjected to the interplays of history, culture and power. The dynamics between the festival producers and the revolving nature of Extreme Metal will continuously shape the existence of Metal festivals as a leisure phenomenon.

Chapter 1: Literature Review

1.1 Music Festival & Event Tourism

Cultural festivals are events consisting of a series of performances and programs, often devoted to a single genre infused with gaiety, conviviality, cheerfulness (Turner, 1982; Waterman, 1998). From the earliest times, festivals have been distinguished by their use of music (Falassi, 1987). Nowadays, music festivals are regarded as a form of event tourism that is produced with a particular music culture in mind (Backman et al. 1995; Robinson & Novelli, 2005). Music festivals are “an expression of culture, a form of heritage, a signifier of place, and a marker of moments” that temporarily transform otherwise mundane locales into sites of culture (Laushua, Long, & Spracklen 2014, p. 1). The temporary and ephemeral elements of music often draw members from afar to experience both the music exhibition, and local culture (Bowen & Daniels, 2005; Laushua, Long, & Spracklen, 2014).

A plethora of studies have been developed to capture the nexus of tourism and festivals. Specifically, these inquiries are summarized into three categories by Patterson & Getz (2013): planning and managing events from the supply side; antecedents to participation from the demand side; as well as the measured outcomes of festivals. Music festivals as a means to generate economic consumption often serve as the underlying assumptions of these studies. Reversely, the roles of music festivals as a critical component of music consumption must also be considered, as recent statistics indicate that live music in general constitutes 60% of all monetary expenditures on music (Kruger & Saayman, 2012). Dwindling sales of physical copies of music due to a technological

shift to data copies is believed to have further contributed to such phenomenon (Leyshon et. al, 2005).

In the meantime, suggested by McClements (2008), “the nature of festivals and the nature of the event experience are changing far more rapidly than any of us in the industry could have imagined ten years ago” (p. vii). Considering the largely diversified existences of festivals with varied backgrounds of cultural inheritances and social structures, many studies have chosen to focus on festival communities to seek contextualized forces, invoking the dual ‘culture-place’ conjunction. These studies include the examination of traditional Scottish landscape and festival attractions in Edinburgh (Prentice & Andersen, 2003), the Catalan movement of political independence and tourism festivals (Crespi-Vallbona & Richards, 2007), and so forth. The purpose is, as Grossberg (1997) points out, to “remake the context where context is always understood as a structure of power” (p.261).

While these studies have certainly enriched our understandings of tourism festivals, a further contextualization also requires us to understand the specific and unique attributes of each event. That is, the artistic genre of the festival’s cultural offerings - such as the aesthetics, intelligent components, a distinction between the elite and popular, and so forth - also profoundly shape the festival’s character and development (Waterman, 1998). In the case of Extreme Metal festivals, considering the radical forms and ideological inquiries, the cultural politics associated with the makings of the music arise as a particularly critical context in defining the delivery of festivals. Furthermore, to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the festivals also requires one to approach festival operations and participants’ experiences as co-created dynamics

(Getz, 2011). Many attempts have been made to understand tourists' motivations and experiences, where the purpose is often oriented towards offering empirical marketing strategies (Crompton & McKay, 1997; Nicholson & Pearce, 2001). Additionally, some have chosen to incorporate opinions from the stakeholders (Getz, Andersson & Larson, 2006), with a strong focus on the overall well-being of local communities. There is, however, very limited discussion that approach festivals from the perspectives of producers.

1.2 Extreme Metal Festivals

Rising popularity of music festivals and Metal music has lead from the inception of one Metal festival thirty years ago to an explosion of hundreds of metal festivals all over the world (Weinstein, 2011). Grasspop Metal Meeting in Belgium, for instance, considered as the largest metal festival in the world with a line-up that is 73% "metal," sells out every year at a capacity of 90,000 (Festival Lists, 2015). Smaller festivals such as Finland's Tuska festival, sells out at a capacity of 11,000 (Festival Lists, 2015). The spread and steadily increasing size of these events demonstrates a growing music subculture with global reach, straining to reposition itself for continued economic viability and continued existence (Crompton & Havitz, 1999). In the meantime, the growth of Metal events has gone largely undocumented, where the cultural production circuit of Metal festivals remains largely limited to its own circle.

In previous discussions, Metal festivals have been primarily framed as a celebration of contemporary youth culture (Philipov, 2006b). Recent observations attempt to capture a more nuanced shift of demographics, noting that Metal events draw participants from teenagers to those over the age of 50 who have been listening to Metal

for decades (Podoschen, Venkatesh & Jin, 2014). Some metal festival participation studies suggest that metal audiences are approximately 85% male, 15% female (Recours, Aussaguel, & Trujillo, 2009). Others note that while extreme metal is considered a masculine culture with an audience that is dominantly working-class males, the gender gap is continuing to close (Purcell, 2003; Riches, 2011). Riches (2011) also asserts that, despite extreme metal's supposed male domination, "women have been, and still are, a strong force in extreme metal scenes all over the world, (and) extreme metal and its liminal practices offer women opportunities to resist, challenge and subvert traditional understandings of femininity, and they find pleasure in doing so." (p.319). While the above serves to reveal a brief picture of demographics for the festival attendees, it is also pointed out that, "only a few (studies) have gone beyond the initial stages of research, (and those few) point to some of the diversity of world Metal scenes" (Wallach, Berger & Greene, 2011).

More importantly, "festivals are of interest...because they constitute one of many practices that humans have evolved in the process of making homes and carving out identities for themselves" (Quinn, 2005; p.3). From the surface of it, the mentioning of a Metal festival invokes many stereotypical assumptions - thundering drums and raging guitar melodies, long hair, headbanging, black leather, outrageous behavior and excess (Kahn-Harris, 2006). On the other hand, the festivals offer fans a communal space to unite and express their social identity bonded by the cultural meanings of Metal music (Weinstein, 2000). Sinclair and Dolan (2015) suggest that "fans are attracted to the heavy Metal scene because of the spaces it provides (both individual and social) for fans to develop and release...anger and aggression, (which) facilitates a particularly enjoyable

cathartic experience that helps fans to deal with problems they may encounter in their everyday lives – a product of broader civilizing processes” (p. 438).

In this study, it specifically focuses on Extreme Metal, which is a radicalized development of Heavy Metal (Philipov, 2006b). It is comprised of a set of closely related sub-genres, including Doom Metal, Black Metal, and Death Metal (Kahn-Harris, 2006). In contrast to Heavy Metal’s massive popularity, Extreme Metal is often circulated through a relatively small-scale underground institution. Moreover, what binds these sub-categories together is their common practice of transgressive themes, such as occult, death, violence and mutilation (Kahn-Harris, 2006). Thus, the festivals are platforms where radicalized experiences are offered that invoke a conscious identity seeking and bonding process. Weinstein (2011) theorizes that the development of Extreme Metal festivals need to be seen as responses to an increasingly homogeneous cultural life in the post-industrial capitalist society.

1.3 Extreme Metal as Dark Leisure and Tourism

Traveling to sites associated with death, disaster, and depravity has been referred to as dark tourism or thanatourism (Foley and Lennon, 1996; Lennon and Foley, 1999, 2000; etc.). Taking the dark tourism concept to its leisure root, Spracklen (2012) states that “dark leisure is the kind of leisure activity that rejects the mainstream, transgresses norms and values and allows the people undertaking that leisure to identify themselves as liminal, deviant, alternative, rebellious non-conformists, (and that) dark leisure is associated with intentionality and agency” (p. 350). In a similar way, Kahn-Harris (2006) addresses forms of transgression as being at the center of all extreme music culture.

Considering the lyrics, musical expression, and visual aesthetics of Extreme Metal, Extreme Metal festivals are platforms in displaying symbolic embodiments of dark leisure. The intersection of Metal festivals and tourism has been increasingly noticed, where the term “blackpackers” is given to fans who travel to engage in activity in Black Metal (Podoschen, 2013). Furthermore, as Stone (2012) suggests, “the touristic packaging of death has long been a theme of the morbid gaze” (p. 1). In exploring this gaze, Podoschen (2013) revealed that people who attended Black Metal festivals were partly motivated by comparisons with the real and imagined. Furthermore, Kahn-Harris (2006) and Purcell (2003) address that Extreme metal is perpetuated with both real and imagined horror and travesty. Reijnders (2009) believes in that such interest is mediated by a wider cultural discourse, who describes “tourists often (being) driven by desires to engage in comparisons between the landscape they are touring and the image they have created in their minds based on books, films or other media, (which) appears...similar to the processes and motivations involved in media related tourism” (p. 268). In addition to the dimension of the real and the imagined, further explanations of festival attendees’ motivation have been examined by Podoschen (2013) from psychological perspectives. In general, however, the extant literature of leisure and tourism contains very limited narratives that investigate Extreme Metal as a dark leisure phenomenon.

1.4 Extreme Metal: Contested Values and Identities

Extreme Metal culture is wrought with pain and struggle, and is widely contested and misunderstood. The aesthetics of the culture are often seen as vile and foreboding, which intentionally inspires a level of contempt from cultural outsiders (Kahn-Harris, 2006; Purcell, 2003). These antithetical aesthetics are executed in the spirit of

emancipating the individual from the shackles of cultural homogenization. The paradox of contesting mainstream culture as a way to free oneself is that these acts invite further oppression. This cyclical cultural dynamic is often felt early in life as pain. Cultural members, such as event producers, audience and performers, whom are drawn in by its transgressive nature, have done so having felt rejected by, or ill-fitting of, mainstream society (Kahn-Harris, 2006). In essence, they were contested initially by these mainstream homogenizing forces (McGuigan. 2005). The pain can be likened to that felt of those experiencing sexism, racism, and other forms of marginalized existence. The ways various iterations of Extreme Metal cultural members, such as festival producers, restrain mainstream cultural homogenization pertains to multiple layers of contested relationships (Kahn-Harris, 2006; Netherton, 2014; Philipov, 2006b Purcell, 2003). The first relationship consists of a contestation by mainstream culture. The second relationship is the contestation of mainstream culture. Finally, through duration, their lives become an act of “risky freedom” (Gafarov, 2010, p. 14).

Firstly, Agents of homogenizing mainstream culture (McGuigan, 2005) often target antithetical cultural positioning. For example, on March 28th 2015 the biggest Chinese indoor metal festival, 330 Metal Music Festival, was shut down as, according to officials, “the spirit of heavy metal music is disagreed with the socialism spirit of China” (Whittaker, 2015, March 30). Pictures can be seen capturing the pain this caused the producer of the event and audience for not being allowed to culturally exist. This shut down is similar to the targeting of Metal culture by second lady Tipper Gore’s Parent Music Resource Center (PMRC) in 1985, when record labels and musicians were called to congressional hearings on physically labeling “offensive music” (Kahn-Harris, 2006;

Weinstein, 2000). Moreover, many Extreme Metal musical groups are periodically banned from countries due to transgressive content and aesthetics (Kahn-Harris, 2006; Purcell, 2003). These sorts of attacks are powerful in demonizing marginalized cultures, as hegemonic forces define the way marginalized cultures are superficially viewed, dictate whom is allowed to exist in public, and demonstrate through imposition how they are allowed to exist (Harvey, 2005; Hilgers, 2010). These acts are reflective of mainstream culture's ideology of cultural homogenization, of which Extreme Metal vehemently resists (Kahn-Harris, 2006; Philipov, 2006b).

Secondly, Extreme Metal aesthetically contests these acts of cultural homogenization (Kahn-Harris, 2006; Purcell, 2003). Rather than being ideologically fixed, as is characteristic of the homogenizing component of mainstream culture, Extreme Metal's various iterations function as an antithesis to this oppressive cultural homogenization (Kahn-Harris, 2006; Philipov, 2006b). As Kahn-Harris (2006) suggests the various subjectivities characteristic of the different versions of Extreme Metal are directly related to the various contexts of mainstream culture that Extreme Metal is compelled to transgress. Grindcore, for example, tends to adopt the directly-stated socio-political character of its Punk ancestry, which point to corrupt global systems and tyranny that ultimately weigh down on individual lives (Kahn-Harris, 2006, Mudrian, 2004). Death Metal, as another example, utilizes abjectification of real or imagined scenes of horror to empower the individual to transgress everyday "horror," while aesthetically attacking impending mainstream values and morals (Kahn-Harris, 2006; Purcell, 2003). Even Black Metal, in its anti-Christian, uber-conservative, and seeming single-minded global hatred that has neo-Nazism hanging in its fringes, still proceeds from an old

pagan Scandinavian sentiment to push back against a Christian cultural invasion (Lucas, Deeks, & Spraklen, 2011; Spraklen, 2006, 2010). Purcell (2003) views Extreme Metal as a protest in the vein of Nietcheist optimism, where the abject is purified and used as a source of strength through a resilience to concepts of ultimate evil and destruction. As such, content of most all Extreme Metal demonstrates reactions to “conscious fears, to social-phenomena, and the socio-political atmosphere,” which, through the process of expression, is purified and used for cultural strength (Purcell, 2002, p. 181). Philipov (2006b), suggests, “these 'interventionist' agendas are more likely to be viewed as ethically and politically problematic (p.1), which is why Extreme Metal becomes a target of agents of mainstream ideological practices.

Finally, as Extreme Metal embodies a non-ideological (Philipov, 2006b) antithesis to mainstream attack (Kahn-Harris, 2006), the cultural identity is, then, a continuous act of “risky freedom” (Gafarov, 2010, p. 14) for the disintegration and replacement of a monopolizing dominant culture with a plurality of social expression (James, 2010). Kahn-Harris (2006) continues that though Extreme Metal’s transgressive basis “becomes a mundane everyday matter...felt most intensely on entry to the scene,” its logic and practice “to exceed (and) burst boundaries...can never be contained” (p.66). Thus, Extreme Metal music and culture has become a symbol and platform to assist weathering the strains of modernity (Kahn-Harris, 2006; Purcell, 2002; Walser, 1993). The cultural events of Extreme Metal, in this case, music festivals, are an extension of the aesthetic reaction to dynamics of this larger social, economic, and political context within which they exist (Hesmondhalgh, 2006; LeVine, 2008).

The literature on representations of Extreme Metal culture within events, however, attunes the analytic eye on artists and audience, while foregoing the vastly important role of those who produce the cultural events. Moreover, the aforementioned cultural complex in which they are situated is overlooked. Hennion (1989) identifies the nature of the producer in stating “a key moment was the recognition that art was no longer, by itself, either reflection or anticipation, expression of its time or aesthetic transcendent—that one had to find the actors, their institutions, the groups that worked to establish these relationships between art and the world” (p.403). Stone (2009) continues that music festival producers, specifically, are intermediaries between artist performances and visitors. Under Hennion’s (1989) illumination of this broader instrumental positioning of the producer in music, the instrumentality of the specific relation of the festival producer to Extreme Metal culture and the aforementioned dynamic with mainstream culture is emphasized. Therefore, understanding Extreme Metal festival producers’ cultural identity is a prerequisite to understanding the production of the events themselves.

1.5 Producers of Extreme Metal Festivals

It is the primary responsibility of the producer of Extreme Metal events to know what elements of culture are needed and/or allowable in order to invoke an authentic interpretation of a dark tourist experience (Podoshen, 2013; Sharpley & Stone, 2009; Urry & Larsen, 2011). As Waterman (1998) confirms, “A successful festival involves the active processing of culture” (p.62). Whereas Extreme Metal as a music category is often believed to possess an abstract and dematerializing quality, the makings of the festivals are however rooted in a lived experience of community (Kahn-Harris, 2006) that

arise from complex intersections and interplays between organizational structures, the activities of audiences, networks of musicians, and historical legacies within broader markets and ideologies (Negus, 1999). In this process, the Metal festival producers play a critical and intermediary role that defines cultural offerings as well as audience pleasures (Getz, 2006; 2008; Lashua, Long, & Spracklen, 2015).

In the extant music festival management literature, however, the rubric of discussion has largely focused on the visitor's experiences; discovering festival arrangements such as the line-ups of successive annual editions (Paelo & Wijnberg, 2006) and social ambiences (Nicholson & Pearce, 2001) that are crucial to the appeal of the music festival market. The event producer has been broadly overlooked in festival and event tourism and leisure literature, which is highly problematic due to the producer's critical and essential role in festival creation (Ali-Knight, Robertson, Fyall, & Ladkin, 2008; Hennion, 1989; Quinn, 2005; Waterman, 1998). Events simply cannot, and do not, happen without producers (Quinn, 2005). Quinn (2005) adds that no festival is "impromptu, spontaneous, or improvised (, but requires) human agents to manipulate the festival production process to their own agenda" (p. 6). In other words, festival creation requires producers with specific culturally-minded agendas. "However, the freedom of human agents to manipulate the festival production process according to their own agenda is at all times constrained and modified by social structures and competing forms of agency" (Quinn, 2005, p.6). In other words, producer agendas are negated according to their identity positioning (Hall, 1990; Hennion, 1989; Quinn, 2005; Waterman, 1998). Thus, festivals become representative of the cultural values and struggles of the producer.

For producers of Extreme Metal events, festivals become a site of negotiation and amalgamation between mainstream commercial distribution and, as Phillipov (2006b) puts it, “a self-consciously ‘underground’ economy of production and distribution” (p.75). Extreme Metal economy embraces DIY (do-it-yourself) as a pervasive form of resistance to power and domination by a mainstream market (Bennett, 2006; Dale, 2009; Philipov, 2006a; Kahn-Harris, 2002). DIY, in essence, strives for autonomy and independence from the dominant consumer-oriented capitalist society (McKay, 1998). It is in this sense that Extreme Metal festival producers must struggle to uphold their agenda within a converged complex of cultural and socio-economic relations (Paleo and Wijnberg, 2006; Rojek, 2013; Stone, 2009). Their active intermediary position between these relations, art, and culturally homogenizing forces (Hennion, 1989) carries with it a struggle in mediating some virtually irreconcilable entities (Quinn, 2005). When considering this intermediary function (Hennion, 1989), whose mandatory production agenda (Quinn, 2005) is grounded in an adamantly anti-mainstream cultural identity (Kahn-Harris- 2006) dilemmas of mediating one’s self in the production complex are implicit (Paleo and Wijnberg, 2006; Rojek, 2013; Stone, 2009).

Gravley, Richardson, and Allison (2015) cite Bruner (2002) in stating identity, as represented in narrative, is always a ‘co-construction’ and ‘negotiation’ of “the contexts in which they are located” (p.175). ‘Negotiation’ and ‘co-construction’ are most likely too polite of terms for members a culture devoutly dedicated to anti-mainstreamism (Kahn-Harris, 2006). In this sense, analysis of Extreme Metal festival producer narratives will reveal additional and more nuanced glimpses of identity struggles experienced in the intermediary complex in which Extreme Meal producers are

positioned. These struggles become most evident in the ontological ways that Extreme Metal festival producers make sense of themselves and their agendas. The ways in which these items can be interpreted will be fully discussed in the following theoretical framework section.

1.6 The Construction of Identity and Narratives of Personal Experience: A Theoretical Framework

The very concept of identity has been increasingly problematized and contested by scholars from various disciplines (Pritchard & Morgan, 2003). Many poststructuralist scholars have led the decentering critique of power dynamics and therefore have challenged the very category of identity itself (Attfield, 2000). Notwithstanding these debates over the concept of identity, identity is something that is situated in every facet of our daily lives, in the media narratives that we are making and exposed to; something that we regard as priceless and are curious to know about; and, at times, something that the oppressed fight for.

Following a constructivist paradigm, this study follows the assumption that identity is always in the process of making and becoming (Hall, 1990). It is contingent on a “complex matrix of interdependent, nested elements, constructions of culture and place, and also of time” (Pritchard & Morgan, 2003; p.115). To obtain an understanding of identity as construction, the idea of narrative emerges as an acquired medium, which is defined as verbalized, visualized, and/or embodied framings of personal experiences (Ochs & Capps, 1996). That is, the process of narrating one’s experiences also constitutes the construction of a fluid, evolving identity-in-the-making. From a phenomenological approach, Ochs and Capps (1996) articulate that narrative and self are

inseparable because entities are given meaning through being experienced, and because narrative is an essential resource in the struggle to bring experiences into conscious awareness. In a similar way, Charles Taylor (1991) states that the self neither pre-exists all conversation nor arises just from interlocutors' responses; rather it arises within conversation. Indeed, as Morrison (1994) states, "narrative is radical, creating us at the very moment it is being created" (p.4). In this thesis research, the narrated responses from each festival producer are considered as a discursive space that through the construction of which, individual identity appears. The question is then how to address the embedded identity from a splurge of narrated experiences of Extreme Metal festival management.

Over the last decade interest in narrative has increased substantially within all academic fields concerned with understanding the self and identity (Bauman, 1986, Anthropology; Harré, 1987, Social Psychology; Riessman, 1993, Sociology; Sutton-Smith, 1986, Developmental Psychology). Intensive interest has led to the development of a theoretical framework of narrative identity, which has been employed to examine individual identities in relation to wider socio-cultural forces at play (Laitinen, 2002; Ricoeur, 1991; Somers, 1994). Considering that this framework is highly expansive and intensive, this study will select relevant parts in reviewing. To begin with, this framework assumes that narrative is considered to be not so much a reflection of reality as an interpretation of it – a meaning-making activity rather than a chronology. That is, narrative allows us to construct the self in a number of ways. The act of narrating allows us to reflect and talk about our actions in the past, and to edit, correct and interpret them in the telling. It is not that events present themselves to us in the form of ready-made

stories, but rather that stories are constructed by a narrator who chooses from an array of events and orders them in a meaningful way – an order that reflects her own interpretation of that set of events. Narrative also provides us with an opportunity to unite the selves of our past with those of the present, and even with the projected selves of the future (Polkinghorne, 1995), bringing together in a coherent fashion differing versions, each narrative providing the authors with a deeper sense of understanding. This characteristic of narrative is an important means of (re)construction of identity, an outward manifestation of a reflexive project of the self, which is sustained through a continuous process of reflection and revision.

Following the belief that “human beings seek coherence in lived narrative” (Gravley, Richardson, and Allison, 2015, p.176), Ricoeur (1991) proposes that identity becomes emergent and observable out of the ways narrators negotiate structural dilemmas of identity continuity inherent in narrative structure. Accordingly, individuals make sense of lived experience through ‘emplotment’, which constitutes a representation of the construction of a ‘lived’ identity. For the narrator, the resulting plot functions to make meaning and coherence and ‘consonance’ out of the random happenings of life (Arnold, 2015; Gravley, Richardson, and Allison, 2015; Ricoeur, 1991; etc.). In essence, narratives, as the sole way we express our identities, can never fully account for time or transformation of self (Arnold, 2015). Therefore, observing the way narrators mediate this temporal identity dilemma is revealing of a ‘true self’ (Hall, 1990; Ricoeur, 1991).

Whereas Ricoeur (1991) focuses on the indirect hermeneutics attached to structure, Taylor (1989) focuses on direct hermeneutics attached to internal context. In this sense, themes emergent in narratives are to be viewed as self-evaluations on their

own terms, and having no association with emplotment (Laitinen, 2002). Taylor's (1989) stance implies dilemmas of "when are we ourselves?". These types of emergent and interpretive themes neglect structural influence. Therefore, it is the position of this study, and current narrative identity theorists, that internal themes, and especially implicit themes, can be better contextualized, and a 'truer' version of identity derived, when considering these elements situated in Ricoeur's (1991) structural elements.

Finally, the way we tell our experiences also reveals a self that exists within a cultural world of meanings, beliefs, and normative practices. Bruner (1987) locates the emergent narrative self at the nexus of the social and cultural world. In other words, telling a story allows us to create a 'story world' in which we can represent ourselves against a backdrop of cultural expectations about a typical course of action; our identities as social beings emerge as we construct our own individual experiences as a way to position ourselves in relation to social and cultural expectations. Holstein and Gubrium (2000) call this a 'referential world.' To understand the personal narratives thus also serves a way to illuminate the ideological landscape circulating the formation of narratives.

With the above understandings, this study seeks to employ the narrative identity framework to understand the struggles that festival producers have to negotiate with in order to produce coherent narratives of festival management. In so doing, it aims to reveal the socio-cultural forces that are at play in shaping the operation and formation of Extreme Metal festivals. A further explanation of using narrative identity framework as an analytical approach will also be discussed in the methodology section.

Hennion (1989) infers that producers of musical ‘technical assets’ are continuously concerned with how to represent a mediation of cultural identity into said asset. Thus, producers of musical assets, as Hennion (1989) states, are locked in this intermediary function within a “continual process of simultaneous production/consumption in operation” (p.402). It is here where the cultural identities of the subjects of this study are situated: within a production of cultural identity as it manifests in the artifact of Extreme Metal festivals (Hall, 1990; Hennion, 1989; Pauly, 1991). As nuanced production practices of identity are extracted from narratives of festival producers, the incorporation of Extreme Metal identity is glimpsed as a cultural artifact (Hall, 1990; Pauly, 1991).

Research Questions

- 1). Through the theoretical framework of narrative identity, how do Extreme Metal festival producers struggle to compose coherent interview narratives for the discourse of festival management?
- 2). How do the narratives illuminate knowledge on the construction of individual identities? In return, how does such narrative construction shed light on the contested landscape of Extreme Metal?
- 3). How do the findings contribute to our understandings of the production of tourism festivals and dark leisure activities at large?

Chapter 2: Methodology

2.1 Research Design

In narrative inquiry, in-depth interviews are often employed as a tool to induce narratives (Mitchell & Egudo, 2003). Narratives collected from in-depth interviews are then typically used to answer questions about individuals' life experiences, as they unfold over time, in an effort to provide insight into a unique issue (Creswell, Hanson, Plano, and Morales, 2007). As such, the method of in-depth interviews is often credited for its ability to gather insightful opinions, narratives, and inward feelings from individuals (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls & Ormston, 2013). The methodology is designed to "open up" meaning, and reveal guideposts to the subjects' ideologies (Lester-Roushanzamir & Raman, 1999).

In this study, in-depth individual interviews are employed to disclose the narratives and stories in the festival producers' managerial experiences. A key feature to in-depth individual interviews, according to Legard, Keegan & Ward (2003), is the intention to explore narratives with flexible procedures and design. It typically focuses on a relatively free-flowing format, where an open-ended mode of inquiry produces great richness of material as the researcher responds to cues occurring in the course of the interview (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006). With this understanding, the following will be devoted to a specific analysis on how the interviews were conducted: the interview process, the recruiting of research participants, a contextualization of interviewees' background, and so forth.

2.2 Research Participants

A purposive sampling was conducted prior to the interviews, with the goal to identify individuals whose on-the-job experiences were directly related to the production of Extreme Metal festivals. After the identification stage, a recruiting email with consent form was sent to the individuals identified, whose contact information was provided by the Rock The Nation (RTN) talent firm. In the recruiting email, the purpose of the study was stated in details, in a manner that was encouraging and non-coercive. In regards to the questions of the specific relationships between the researcher and the participants, it will be recounted in the following section of “positionality and reflexivity”.

Altogether five research participants were recruited. They were producers for “Neurotic Deathfest” (2014, Tilburg, Netherlands), “IeperFest” (2014, Ieper, Belgium), “Rockstadt Extremefest” (2014, Rasnov, Romania), and “Bloodshed Grindcore Fest” (2014, Eindhoven, Netherland). The sample size of this study was relatively small. In the meantime, the purpose of interview research is to seek to penetrate social life beyond appearance and manifest meanings. Unlike quantitative research where the size of sample often provides a sense of validity, a relatively small number of cases in interview research serves to facilitate the researcher’s close association with the respondents, and enhance the validity of fine-grained, in-depth inquiry (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006). The issue of sample size – as well as representativeness – has little bearing on the project’s basic logic, whereas the dynamic qualities of a situation constitutes a more meaningful question to consider (Creswell, Hanson & Plano, 2007).

The participants were all males, which was not surprising given that Extreme Metal is male-dominated (Philipov, 2003; Weinstein, 1991). They came from a mixture

of places in Europe: the Netherlands, Romania, Belgium, and Czech. Before becoming a Metal festival producer, all interviewees were already involved in the Metal-Punk music scene. Some started as an underground Metal musician themselves. The larger discourse of individuals turning to Extreme Metal for identity and comfort may also find relevance to their past experiences as teenagers – loneliness, marginalization, seeking emancipation. And precisely because of this past engagement with Extreme Metal, they were able to develop career connections with booking agents and label managers, which eventually led to the job of managing major Metal festivals. In a sense, the Metal events that they used to be affiliated with were typical small scenes – sporadic trading shows with bands in nearby European countries – which evolved to the creation of festivals. Furthermore, a continuous immersion in the Metal scene served as a common identifier for the interviewees: some also operated companies of music production, worked for music booking agencies, and so forth.

2.3 Festivals and Context of Interviews

The particular music festivals under investigation are: “Neurotic Deathfest” (2014, Tilburg, Netherlands), “IeperFest” (2014, Ieper, Belgium), “Rockstadt Extremefest” (2014, Rasnov, Romania), and “Bloodshed Grindcore Fest” (2014, Eindhoven, Netherland). All the festivals are held annually, and mostly in summer, normally lasting for 3-5 days. Because many Extreme Metal bands start as a part of the underground scene, the festivals listed above are witnessed as having grown from relatively small-scale events to internationally recognized Metal music festivals. “Ieperfest”, for instance, was established in 1992 in Ieper, Belgium, and has since switched to different venues to accommodate the growth in the number of participants.

Among them all, “Neurotic Deathfest” boasts to be the largest indoor festival for Extreme Metal in Europe, with visitors from more than 40 countries (Retrieved from: www.neuroticdeathfest.com). Moreover, all have standard components such as performance stages, vending areas, alcohol and food bars, communal areas, and varying styles Extreme Metal music and visuals. Furthermore, the idea of “communitas” (Turner, 1982) – an idea associated with an atmosphere of social equality, sharing and intimacy – is very quintessential in these festivals. Some festivals listed above, such as “Ieperfest,” and “Rockstadt”, are open-air festivals. A “tent farm” camping ground is provided for the visitors, allowing the festival attendees as well as the bands to interact with each other – an experience that is intensified through the idea of liminality.

Altogether, these compose a discursive space, where individuals locate themselves in the specific cultural formation through Extreme Metal music as well as the festival ambience. The ambience is a co-created result of the visual interpretations of the Extreme Metal, the expressions of sounds, the festivity of communitas, and so forth. The visuals often come in the format of dramatic and stark lighting, printed banners and other genre-related items adorning stages, vending areas, etc. Symbols of skeletons, death and other dark themes populated the surface of festivals. Through these modes of representations, the producers temporarily transform the venue into an interpretation of culture where attendees experience Extreme Metal appropriated by the producers (Bowen & Daniels, 2005; Laushua, Long, & Spracklen 2014).

2.4 Interview Process

There were multiple rounds of interviews that were conducted for this research. An initial round of interviews were conducted face-to-face with the festival producers in

the period between June and July in 2014. Each interview occurred in the producer's office at the festival site, which also served to provide a degree of benefit in terms of visual elicitation. In this round, a semi-structured interview question list was used. The interview questions revolved around three major aspects: 1). how have the individuals come to their current position as a producer for Extreme Metal festivals; 2). what were their everyday business activities in regards to festival management; 3). what were their interpretations of Extreme Metal culture and festival organization.

A description of the interview process can be briefly stated as: general responses began at a moment of personal historical significance, tracked through a brief evolution of Extreme Metal festivals, and ended with current practices. The responses and narratives collected from this round contributed to exploring possible themes as well as narrowing the range of questions eventually pursued and assisted in tightening the research focus. Each interview lasted for an average of 50 minutes. English was used as the only communicative language in the process of making contacts and conducting interviews. It should be noted that the conversational flexibility of these interviews elicited a personal manner of narrative, which is known to stimulate personally meaningful responses (Fontana & Frey, 1994). Meanwhile, observations, informal conversations and reflective notes were also utilized to explore and further contextualize the findings.

All the interviews were recorded and notated in real-time, which was transcribed by the investigator at a later time. With both rounds of interviews combined, a total of eighty-one pages of narrative transcription were accumulated for analysis. The audio files were synchronized with a password secured Mac Book, and locked in a confidential

protected file on the Mac Book. They were then transcribed and analyzed with the research chair for significant themes, contrasts, congruencies, and emergent themes. Based on that, more follow-up interviews with developed thoughts were arranged. Afterwards, a second round of interviews were implemented in the period between December 2014 and January 2015. In this round, the format of Skype interviews was used. Meanwhile, each interview was designed based upon an understanding of the unique characteristics of the producer revealed from the previous interview, with the purpose to further elaborate the nuanced details that could lead to a further examination of each festival producer. For example, one producer kept mentioning leaving a legacy by producing his festival in the initial interview. It sounded odd – the word ‘legacy’ used in a context about Extreme Metal. Considering that the producer was Romanian and English was used as an interview language, there might be a dislocation of language – a word that was both confusing and intriguing. As such, in the second round of Skype interviews, the word ‘legacy’ was further questioned and explored. In this interview, it was found that ‘legacy’ was framed in the sense that Romania was often ignored as a destination in the Extreme Metal festival market system. Countries, such as Germany, were significantly more favored partly due to wider socio-economic privileges. In a sense, unequal developments of the Eastern European past continued to haunt the perceptions of Romania even within the cultural terrain of Extreme Metal. As such, the festivals were believed to have somewhat legitimized his country in the eyes of the Extreme Metal industry. As such, the second round of interview served to further enrich the meanings and themes.

2.5 Subjectivity and Reflexivity in the Research

In addressing the research questions, it must be acknowledged that my own subjectivity is deeply entrenched in the readings of the interview narratives. Indeed, narrative inquiry can be seen following Hollinshead's (2004) view, in that the 'Me' creates a narration of both 'I' and observed narratives. As such, the relationship between 'I', the active interpreter, observer, and distant researcher, requires the 'Me' as the reflective participant (Hollinshead, 2004). Such interactive dynamics thus profoundly shape the process of conducting interviews and analyzing interview narratives where knowledge is constructed (Denzin, 1997).

In this study, reflexivity is considered as an act of making oneself the object of observation, in an attempt to bring forth assumptions embedded in one's own perspective and descriptions (Burawoy, 2003). It is a 'focused revisit' to a previous site of cultural production. And to start this reflective journey, my role as a member of a notable Extreme Metal band and the relationships that I have built with the festival producers must be recounted, as they may have led to particular ways of asking, seeing, and hearing during the interview process. Before the interviews, I have already known some of the producers through different musical occasions. Some of them may perceive me as peers in the Extreme Metal field and thus, fighting together for the existence of a small music genre. One producer showed particular appreciation for the "progressiveness" in the lyrics of Misery Index, where he made it clear that "the existence of Punk in Death Metal" provided a degree of belongingness for his musical taste. Some of them may have even perceived the interview as an opportunity to seek a closer relationship with me, and to exchange thoughts on matters pertaining to the future of festivals, the trend of Extreme

Metal, and so forth. While there was perhaps a mutual perception of brotherhood between us, we were also bonded by a business contract – working together to deliver musical performances for the audiences. One interviewee used this interview as an opportunity to mock the agent of Misery Index, who was believed to have over-charged that particular festival producer.

Precisely because they saw me as an insider member, our shared identities and knowledge of Extreme Metal enabled me to obtain a relatively full grip of ‘communicative competence’ (Briggs, 1986). Such positionality was associated with both advantages and disadvantages in performing the interviews. In terms of the advantages, the assumption of tacit knowledge created instances where some important information was unspoken, or veiled by assumption. As a more specific example, one producer did not want people in the local DIY/Grindcore scene to know that he booked lucrative Black Metal Bands. There was a detectable shame associated with the word “Black Metal” in his narrating. As cultural insiders, both of us shared the knowledge that Black Metal took a right-wing affiliated approach, whereas Grindcore assumed a strongly progressive political position. A more nuanced description would be that, whereas Grindcore created sentiments of emancipation through social change, Black Metal simply violently rejected oppressors, and, in so doing, reproducing brutal cultural dilemmas. “Black Metal” was thus a richly-encoded word, the shared understanding of which was accounted for in the interviewing conduct to sustain effective elicitation.

It enabled the interview narratives to acquire a degree of complexities and depth. In particular, value struggles attached to the ‘backstage’ of Extreme Metal, which may not have been revealed to individuals outside of the Extreme Metal community, were

discussed in the interviews. Meanwhile, the insider membership also meant that a large “us-them” logic which was pervaded in the rhetoric formation. A typical example would be that the interviewees often invoked statements such as “they don’t know what we are doing”. Descriptions as such implied a common misunderstanding towards Extreme Metal festivals from a larger audience.

Additionally, it must be acknowledged that there may have been a tendency for me as a researcher to romanticize their voices and subjectivities, especially regarding the many stories that echoed similar and often shared life experiences. For example, many interviewees mentioned how they got into the Extreme Metal culture at youth: started off with ‘lighter’ more mainstream thrash metal and moved on to ‘more extreme’ stuff. They felt a need to rebel and, more importantly, to be different from their homogenized communities. This process of identity building appeared extremely familiar and vivid to me. A degree of cultural intimacy arose, where the process of interviewing also contained the listening for a relational self. As a result, issues related to such common experiences in the past may have been emphasized in the interviews, which was a pattern must be recognized. Finally, precisely because there was a layer of business activity in between festival producer and bands, producers were also somewhat obliged to cooperate with the interview process in an effort to accommodate me as a performing artist. Therefore, there might have existed certain stories that they would not have chosen to share with me considering my close connections with other bands, musicians, and fellow festival producers. The interview dynamics thus involved a mixture of distance, cultural intimacy, as well as shared goals and values, the complexities of which were instilled in the formation of interview narratives.

2.6 Analytic Approach

2.6.1 Analytic approach- philosophies.

According to Ricoeur (1991), narrative contains inherent dilemmas, or 'dissonances,' between the particular contexts of a permanent self and a changing self over time. Contextual dilemmas are said to inevitably arise out of a narrative need for coherence, and, thus, a constant sameness of character is attempted (Bamberg, 2014; Holstein & Gubrium, 2000; 2009). However, this is not the only conflicting context at play in narrative resolution. When narrators arrive at moments where the self retains both sameness and difference from a context, more dilemmas of identity emerge (Bamberg, 2014). As Holstein and Gubrium (2009) note, the location in which narrators deal with these dilemmas occur within a comparison of their discursive practice, or who they claim to be, versus a discourse-in-practice, or how they say they act. The narrative situation occurring when claims and actions do not coherently align is revealing of a self in transformation, and, thus, provides a more accurate depiction of the narrator. In these narrative moments of incoherency, subjects are shown struggling through tenuous meaning-making linkages in order to narrate a coherent identity out of a fluidly complex and transforming self. Thus the narrative identity of the subjects is comparatively analyzed between the following constructs:

Discursive practice.

The meaning-making linkages between chosen categorical subjectivities are considered as "linguistic actions constituting a social (and referential) world" (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000, p. 89).

Discourse-in-practice.

Narrators claim actions in efforts toward “their projects of the social practice or the practice of everyday life” (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000, p. 93).

Dilemmas of discourse-in-practice.

These are the inevitable dilemmas that emerge out of the narrative need for coherent plot (Ricoeur, 1991) and constancy of characterization (Bamberg, 2014) while demonstrating discourse-in-practice. As Holstein and Gubrium (2000) state, “The narrative interplay between discursive practice and discourse-in-practice makes for considerable elasticity... (as) stories are continuously shaped and reshaped as participants variously borrow from, keep separate, combine, individually formulate, or even suppress stories to construct difference and sameness” (p. 116). They continue, “The resulting storytelling constructs as much difference as sameness in who and what they were and are now becoming” (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000, p.123). As Bamberg (2014) notes, by extension of Ricoeur (1991), the mere constructing of a plot can never fully account for the transformation of self, and the changing contexts with which the self is the same or different at varying instances.

Under the premise that cultural identity guides festival producers’ production agenda, this study operates under the assumption that analysis of commonalities among narrative dilemmas within producer’s ‘self-stories’ will provide insight into the relation of the Extreme Metal festival producer identity and festival production and management (Quinn, 2005; Waterman, 1998). This analytic approach, while founded upon Holstein and Gubrium (2000, 2009), takes into account Ricoeur’s (1991) identity dilemmas embedded in narrative. Ricoeur (1991) posits that narrators bring random experiences of

life together in a plot, or ‘emplotment,’ which contains dilemmas, or ‘dissonances’ that are inherent in the way all plots are coherently formed. Ricoeur (1991) refers to the constructs of this dynamic as ‘idem-identity,’ or the permanence of self over time, and ‘identity-ipsey,’ or the possibility and acknowledgement of change. Narrative scholars such as Bamberg (2014) and Holstein and Gubrium (2000; 2009) reference Ricoeur’s (1991) ‘sameness’ and ‘variability’ as being fundamental aspects of all narratives, where identity emerges out of narrative attempts to amalgamate contrasting elements. By observing this ‘discordant concordance,’ a reconfiguration of the self is said to be observed (Arnold, 2015; Ricoeur, 1991). The dissonances inherent in emplotment come in many forms, and are also unique to the narrator within those recognized forms (Arnold, 2015; Ricoeur, 1991; Somers, 1994; etc.). By utilizing this approach, ‘dissonances’ in the narrative text become a source to reveal the ‘true self’ (Somers, 1994) in between ‘who we are’ and who we ought to be’ (Hall, 1990).

This fundamental identity dilemma is readily observed in the narrative transcriptions of this study’s interviews. However, it quickly becomes apparent that Ricoeur’s (1991) fundamental concept requires categorical expansion to facilitate more nuanced extractions and comparisons of similar observations between narratives. For similar purposes, Bamberg (2012), whom has been cited by Arnold (2015) and others, expands and reconfigures Ricoeur’s (1991) identity dilemma as being a dilemma of constancy, where narrators struggle to make coherence out of identity transformation. Moreover, Bamberg (2012) also recounts a notion utilized by narrative scholars such as Holstein and Gubrium (2000; 2009), as the dilemma of ‘sameness versus difference.’

This dimension points to how narrators reconcile recounted actions that do not follow their self-proclaimed cultural ideologies.

However, whether making sense of a 'double-life' of the present (Arnold, 2015; Bamberg, 2014), or a dissonance between a present and past self (Ricoeur, 1991), narrators must do so through claims to contexts (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000). The narrative identity of a self is said to be reliant upon meaningful linkages to contexts which are defined and/or referenced by the narrator (Holstein & Gubrium, 2009). As Holstein and Gubrium (2009) would indicate, the meanings made are located in these linkages. Narratives of self demonstrate a 'snap-shot' in the defining of, selection of, and reactions to the multitude of ever-evolving contexts in which narrators literally *find* themselves (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000). As the self is situated in this 'referential world' (Bamberg, 2012; Holstein & Gubrium, 2009), the identity of the self is reliant upon designations of sameness and difference to the contexts, including the context of time, that are referenced. The narrator, unable to choose or demonstrate all potential contexts and alignments, chooses and defines particular contexts to which the self is aligned or non-aligned. However, constructing a consistent characterization of self, or constant sameness (Bamberg, 2014) required of a coherent plot (Ricoeur, 1991), is not entirely possible. The randomness of life (Ricoeur, 1991), the multitude of ever-changing contexts (Holstein & Gubrium, 2009), and the transformation of the self (Bamberg, 2014), work to disrupt coherent identity construction.

2.6.2 Analytic approach- procedures.

The analytic procedure begins with observing the audio recordings and field notes. First, field research is organized into descriptions of the context in which the

interview unfolded. In this case, initial interviews unfolded at the site of festival production. This first analytical step works to provide situational context to each subject. Then audio recordings are worked into textual representations through what is known as the Jefferson Transcription System, Jeffersonian Transcription, or the Jeffersonian Transcript Notation System (Ehlich, 1993). The Jefferson Transcript System has never been static in practice. Instead it has been modified again and again to suit the needs of the study (Jefferson, 2004). As Hepburn and Bolden (2013) point out, the system is meant to capture what is said, and, to the requirements of the study, how it is said. Such is the case here. Each audio recording was transcribed to include all decipherable and indecipherable utterances, notable pauses in speech, and relevantly contextualizing background noise notated with the text representation of what was said. These transcripts, in addition to the audio recordings, served as the basis for further qualitative textual analysis.

Analyzing qualitative data, herein Extreme Metal festival producer narratives of identity, is primarily working around a quandary of context (Holstein & Gubrium, 2004), in-so-which the researcher explores ‘what is said,’ ‘how it is said,’ in what contexts, how context is at play, and, finally, ‘what’ can be derived from this process (Holstein and Gubrium, 2009). This process, known as ‘analytic bracketing’ (Holstein & Gubrium, 2004; 2009) is a process of asking characteristic qualitative questions of ‘what’ and ‘how’ in separate analytic turns. Initially, it is recommended to dismiss extra-textual context at first to observe the basic ‘whats’ and ‘hows’ of the text, which are mutually constitutive of meaning (Holstein & Gubrium, 2009). In order to observe the exact interplay between ‘what’ and ‘how,’ both must be bracketed into what builds each

analytic turn. As these ‘building blocks’ take shape, the discursive practice of the individual is revealed. Then narrative moments are searched for, where the discourse is put into practice in a ‘referential world’ of extra textual contexts (Bamberg, 2014;2012). Holstein and Gubrium (2009) refer to this situation as discursive practice versus discourse-in-practice. This ‘referential world’ of contexts, Holstein and Gubrium (2009) refer to as ‘narrative reality,’ must be carefully prefaced in the research by way of thick description, as both discursive practice and discourse-in-practice rely heavily on both textual and extra-textual contexts in which they are situated. Moreover, locations where discursive practice and discourse-in-practice are narratively-unresolvable, or rely on narratively-unresolvable contexts, create what Holstein and Gubrium (2000) call ‘narrative elasticity’ where tenuous attempts at context resolution takes place. These locations are where I find a dilemma of constancy and sameness which originate from a self reliant upon conflicting contexts. As such, these locations are specifically addressed in the analysis. As referenced by Bamberg (2014) and Holstein and Gubrium (2000), it is these locations where a more accurate depiction of the self can be derived beyond the identity descriptions of the narrator. The constructs defining these locations are described below:

Dilemma of constancy.

As mentioned in previous sections, it is well documented that narrative cannot fully account for the transformation of character that occurs through life (Bamberg, 2014; Holstein & Gubrium, 2000; 2009; Ricoeur, 1991). Instead, it requires a constancy of characterization and reinforcing accounts of action. This creates inherent conflict among presented contexts upon which the self is reliant (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000; 2004). For

example, producer L identifies with a 'left-wing' Extreme Metal culture he associates with his youth. However, his current career at a large talent booking firm requires the he represent 'right-wing' Black Metal bands. The dynamic struggle is outwardly apparent when attempts are made to reconcile the past self and present self as associated with the conflicting contexts. Specifically noted here are the conflicts of not being able to adhere to a predefined context due a need for narrative coherence by way of accounting for the transformation of the self. This narrative dilemma is essentially of sameness and difference specifically having to do with the context of transformation and time (Bamberg, 2014; Holstein & Gubrium, 2000).

Dilemma of sameness.

Throughout the discursive practice, narrators build contexts and claim specified alignment to those contexts (Bamberg, 2014; Holstein & Gubrium, 2000; 2004). Within their discourse-in-practice, they often, for coherence sake, arrive at stories of action that do not reinforce their alignment claims. For example, the producer B, while working for financial institutions in a professional life, self-proclaims a staunch alignment with an opposing and ecologically-based anarchistic paradigm. Despite a convincingly staunch attitude surrounding the ideology behind his festival elements, the producer briefly mentions his 'other' life in the corporate sphere. While the context to which B claims to be the same or different is compromised, the observed dilemma reveals nuanced information on B's identity in festival production. These are the locations where to what one is the same or different is complicated. While this too has much to do with a constancy of character, these issues deal less with transformation, and more with the sameness and difference to and within conflicting contexts.

Conflicting contexts.

This location is where the dominant conflicting contexts are extracted and displayed. Primarily emergent in these locations is a contextual dilemma between the basis of business practices in festival creation and the cultural requirements of Extreme Metal culture. In the example of B above, reconciliation of antithetical contexts of anarchism and corporate life are attempted. Paying specific attention to the conflicted contexts of business and culture as primary source of dilemma is revealing of the producer's relational predicament.

The 'what' of the producer narratives is easy enough to identify. Every producer, per directed elicitation, talks about themselves, their past, present, future, and practices in relation to the production of Extreme Metal festivals. What is more intriguing about these life stories is the discursive practice of defining and designating discourse in order to make meaning of the accounts of their selves within the larger contexts of culture, business, and other individualized and shared discursive items throughout the narratives. Further, the dilemmas that arise out of structurally making sense of the contexts within which the narrator situates the self as reliant provides more exact information on the predicament of the Extreme Metal festival producers.

Chapter 3: Analysis

This analysis has been subject to the following emergent research contexts. It should be noted that my research intention was to elicit stories of the self within the context of festival production. Therefore, stories of 'I' and what 'I' believes and does in Extreme Metal festival production was expected. During the interview process, many implications and utterances of a 'we' occurred. This utterance implies the speaker's membership of a collective, which, in this case, is one embodying Extreme Metal culture and festival creation. In this case, the presented self functioned as a representative of 'we' and 'I.'

Categorical subjectivities, composed of utterances, and claims to context were observed as defining a discursive practice of the subject's 'we' with 'I' in its ranks. This practice provides a discursive 'backdrop' to which actions of 'I' could be aligned; thus giving the self context or identity. A common component of the discursive backdrop is an intent to continue a 'legacy' of proclaimed cultural values within festival production. Through claims of action, producers demonstrate an intent to perpetuate a 'we' of long-standing values into the future through practices of Extreme Metal festival production. Claims of discursive alignment were literal and direct. In cases of non-aligning claims of action, however, moments of tenuous linkages between events and meanings were captured where, upon textual observation, revealed instances of incoherency or identity dilemma. When these moments are given special attention, and analyzed under a narrative identity framework, a common struggle, or meta-narrative, of the self in the Extreme Metal festival production context is revealed.

The analytic approach and procedure outlined in the previous sections demonstrates constructs for extracting a clearer, more fluidly complex picture of the self out of producer narratives. As previously stated, the cultural ‘we’ represents a ‘legacy’ of enacting values, or categorical subjectivities, to which the producers claim to belong. The emergent ‘legacy of we’ contains inherent dilemmas of constancy and sameness as one cannot live forever, and actions are not infinite. Lives and actions end, while ‘legacies’ must not. Further, a single person is not a collective. Therefore, every action cannot possibly be in alignment with the context of ‘we.’ However, narrative scholars postulate that the act of narration requires making coherence out of this life situation. The analytic approach and procedure outlined in the previous sections demonstrate how the fluidly complex picture of self is discernable from the following narrative texts.

3.1 Producer MH- Rockstadt Extremefest, Romania

3.1.1 The festival.

MH is the producer of Rockstadt Extremefest, which is held in Rasnov, Brasov; a German-inspired tourist resort town 178 kilometers toward the center of the country from the Romanian capitol of Bucharest. The festival site is near Transylvania and Dracula’s Castle; which MH feels makes the festival “extra Metal.” The festival grounds are nestled in the pines and hills of Rasnov, and the grounds and facilities are used as a community/multi-purpose center and campground the rest of the year. Rockstadt Extremefest looks like a scaled down version of many Western European Metal festivals; especially ones held in Germany.

What is particularly impressive about this festival is that the look and layout is that of any German Metal festival that might have been held for years, but this is

Rockstadt's first edition. What is immediately curious is the festival's modeling after German Metal festivals despite being located in central Romania. For example, there is one portable Bitburger Beer garden with the German beer company's catchphrase "Bitte ein Bit" written on the side. There are wurst and pomme frite stands (German sausage and fries) strewn about the grounds. Additionally, the general set-up and layout has a very 'Western Europe' feel. Portable toilets, and pop-up merchant tents line the fenced parameter peddling black band shirts, Extreme Metal albums, and other associated wares. A 'tent-farm' communal campground sits in a small field outside the fenced parameter. The mainstage is a properly constructed multi-platform unit constructed from a high-grade truss structure, on which a professional lighting system and line-array speakers are hung. MH has embraced some corporate sponsorship through entities like RockFM radio and Monster Energy Drink. A bit of an ecological concern is displayed through trash separation and recycling options. Clearly, some money was saved using old army tents as backstage rooms in lieu of renting portable backstage trailers. Overall, though, the layout is impressive for a first-year event. It has the look and feel of any festival I have played in Western Europe. However, I cannot escape the feeling of strangeness after having driven twenty hours through the vastly different aesthetics and infrastructure of Eastern Europe only to arrive at a distinctly Western European festival primarily of German influence.

As I have come to learn, Rasnov, Brasov, as a tourist city, has a history of pandering specifically to Germans. The town is strewn with German-style resorts, or campenplatz, and German style food options. It appears that MH has extended this tradition into the festival and festival name. Rockstadt literally translates to "Rock State"

or “Rock City” in German, which infers an entire city founded upon rock and roll music. Clearly, the name Rockstadt Extremefest panders to sensibilities of both popularized German Rock-style festivals and Extreme Metal. As I sit in Romania at a German-style festival with a somewhat generic German name, I cannot help but wonder as to where the ‘Romania’ is in this Romanian festival. It is an immediately curious circumstance. Why German? Why not Romanian? We are in Romania, after all. I learn later that the producer loathes, what he views, as a commonplace negative stereotyping of Romanians by Western Europeans. How and why does an Eastern European model and name a festival out of this Western European culture? These issues, which are dealt with at length later, are immediately indicative of dilemmatic situation that converges in the act of producing the event.

3.1.2 The producer.

This was my first time meeting MH, and this was his first festival. He is under six feet tall, with a trimmed blonde beard, shoulder length straight dirty blonde hair, and wears torn jeans, an Obituary band shirt (who performed before Misery Index this year), and a leather biker jacket with a generic black hoodie underneath. His look is typical of an Extreme Metaler. He says his primary motivation from booking is to perpetuate the metal music culture, especially in Romania. Metal culture in Romania, he says, is in need of this kind of maintenance, and he is more than up to the task. The booking culture in Romania, he says, is highly political, despite its size; where, if alliances have not been made, territorial promoters may try to sabotage each other’s shows. He says his festival is situated outside of the more territorial realm of Bucharest. Promoting Extreme Metal is demonstrated as a principled and passionate effort that, through struggle, has

culminated in MH's first edition. This context begs a questioning of what exactly is this discursive practice that drives the production of the event.

3.1.3 Discursive practice: 'unity.'

Identity is reliant on the contexts to which it is referenced (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000). As stated in the analytic approach, narrators evaluate themselves according to their self-constructed contexts. It is a comparative evaluation of the self against what Holstein and Gubrium (2000) might describe as a discursive 'backdrop' of context constructed by the individual over the course of a narrative. For MH, this context is located in a concept of belonging to, and upholding, a cultural 'unity' within and through Extreme Metal festivals. Therefore, he designates his self as belonging to, and upholding this 'unity.'

MH's 'unity' is demonstrated as a united front against a societally 'forced value system' of ordinary life. Unfolded through his discursive practice, a domineering capital relation is demonstrated between Eastern and Western Europe within Extreme Metal event production. Combating the West and the 'forced value system associated with it, is the context in which he must fight. The dilemmas that he encounters could be viewed under this context as battles of production, culture, and self preservation. MH does not simply describe how these battles are fought, won, or lost. While those descriptions are present, a struggle to maintain footing is captured during moments where MH must include, for plot coherence, items contrary to his identity; items that are incoherent under the presented context. Paul Ricoeur (1991) and Michael Bamberg (2014) remind us that narratives of identity function to make meaning of the random events of life, and, therefore, are always dilemma-ridden. Moreover, it is in moments of handling these

dilemmas, what Holstein and Gubrium (2009) call moments of narrative elasticity, that more accurate narrative identity is unveiled. This analysis, therefore, intends to guide the reader through MH's construction of identity, called the discursive practice, and the dilemmas emergent in the discourses-in-practice associated with Extreme Metal festival producer identity.

Through my elicitation, MH builds a ‘unity’ context through his ‘own’ discursive practice over the course of the narrative. The subjectivities linked together that build the meaning of this context, are not, however, MH’s alone. They are multi-culturally tied, initially vague, composed for particular audiences and myself. Thorough further investigation and subsequent analysis, the construction of a highly individualized and dilemmatic complex of authentic identity is made viewable against the ‘backdrop’ of MH’s ‘unity.’

As previously stated, narrative identity is based on an adherence to categorical subjectivities linked through a discursive practice of meaning making (Holstein & Gubrium, 2009). The producer of Rockstadt Extremefest in Romania, known herein as “MH,” gradually builds this discursive practice into a culturally based identity to which he evaluates his accounts of action in a narrative reality of cultural event production (Holstein & Gubrium, 2009). MH begins his discursive process by establishing a transcendental unified “we,” to build culture (Line 43-45):

MH. Yeah, exotic is real-...we are all the same. We are all the same flesh and blood. We have just, uh, we just have a body, and my personal belief is that, uh, the spirit counts. That's the most important thing in a person...the spirit.

In this passage, MH describes an overwhelmingly unified and transcendental sameness to which he belongs. It is this ‘we’ to which he weighs his authentic belonging, as he indicates, through third person, the importance of belonging or abiding to this ‘sameness’ is what ‘counts.’ ‘Counts’ implies an evaluative practice of determining authentic sameness or inauthentic difference to the ‘we’. This calls many questions to mind. Who are ‘we?’ How does MH claim he does (or does not) ‘we?’ He begins the discursive practice of defining ‘we’ by prefacing a ‘no barriers’ extension of a later-articulated ‘unity’ concept derived from experiences with Extreme Metal festivals. (Line 21-41):

MH. ...So I started my own booking agency around 4 years ago. And, uh, basically, uh, the main objective was to bring bands that have never played before in Romania. Uh, just, uh, for the idea of showing people that there is something else besides all thing they already knew, and got used to. And it pretty worked...it worked out really well, because, uh, people, uh, started to understand that there is really more to music in terms of, uh, of message, culture, uh, any sort of, uh, barriers. There's no barriers between it. And, yeah, uh, I think that's a healthy way to evolve in terms of, uh, culture. Not even Metal. It's just in terms of culture you have to expand your horizons. I guess.

M. Can you describe the ‘no barriers’ aspect on your side of things?

MH. Huh...the ‘no barriers’ aspect...Well there's a lot of, uh, misconceptions, especially in Metal, of course. Everyone knows it. But, uh, I find it that, uh, from my own experience I've found a lot of barriers between musical genres: concept, message, uh, people that are from another side of the world, that were

basically...they were looked at really weird (M. How so?) Uh, just that they were far away. They were from these exotic places like Iceland, Israel, Japan, Asia, and, from some point of view, music just destroyed those barriers. All those misconceptions. If people said that yeah they're from Iceland, they're really weird. But when they saw the message, when they saw the music, when they saw the people, there was basically no barrier. It was just unity. And that's probably one of the most important things in music.

Here, MH begins defining the ‘we’ as a music culture, which reinforces preexisting human sameness, and ‘destroys’ superficial ‘barriers’ of ‘weirdness,’ exoticism, or, more broadly, difference. Following MH’s practice, this authentic sameness of ‘we’ is bound by a ‘unity’ that ‘destroys barriers.’ Drawing from external context, MH’s narrative reality is one where Extreme Metal culture is unified in both a transcendental way, and in a united front aimed at destroying forces that may work to disintegrate his culture. However, there is much-implied agreeance about ‘unity,’ where MH’s specific view is left nebulous. Because of this, specific clarification of was sought during the second round of interviews. When asked, “What is this Unity?” MH links the concept into a specific authentic sameness of the music culture (Line 70-76):

MH. Honestly, I don’t know. That’s a very good question. I guess it has to do with the music and the message that metal music has, and had in the last 40 years. There’s all sorts of bands that, in the end, have a common goal, and if they don’t fully acknowledge it...I mean...I guess everything started with this whole rebellion thing...against the system, against some sort of values: forced values. You know? I think it evolved over the years, but the unity is still there.

In this passage, it is viewable that MH's authentic self is one that preserves a cultural movement against a forced value system. As Keith Kahn-Harris (2006) and William Ryan Powers (2011) indicate, transgressive culture and Extreme Metal are largely defined by being an antithesis to the ordinary. MH takes this concept a step further by defining what Extreme Metal culture is working against in "this whole rebellion thing...against the system, against some sort of values: forced values." Later MH offers what this forced value system is (266-279):

MH. Yeah, because people are forced to set their minds to having a job. Being afraid that they will lose that job. Of course all their focus goes on that, because there's a very complicated system behind it. It's a system created to control. In a very secret way. That we just don't have the time, the energy left to analyze it. That's the smart thing on their part. That they are manipulating you at a very high level. You basically are, for example, like, everyone nowadays is connected on their phones, on Facebook, mail, and everything. It's like the Matrix only you don't have those wires in your neck. It's the same thing. You see people at a table next to each other that are talking on the Facebook even if they are next to each other. And if I go with you on a beer, there just sitting on Facebook, and their like, "Hey, what's up?" and the guy sitting next to them is like, "Hey, what's up?" That's, like, how we are now. That's how they, the system, created the set of rules that we are forced to follow by fear. That's my whole...that's my point of view, for example. It's a whole system that is controlling us right now. Linkages between, fear, money, secrecy, and a control system contained in this passage defines MH's perception of a widespread, secretive, and manipulative forced

value system based upon capitalism and fear. Such a system that forces one into an undesired prescribed life; where, on a surface level, people are simply afraid to lose their job, and, on a sub-level, people are being subtly manipulated by fear in all social aspects of life.

An alignment with a forty-year tradition of Metal music messages against this system provides the context for which MH's self is linked. Evaluations of actions he associates with this cause demonstrate MH's consideration of the cultural alignment of this self; the creation of Rockstadt being MH's penultimate act of cultural alignment. MH's identity is unfolded successful abiding to his own discursive practice that he claims to believe is part of Extreme Metal and festival culture. However, at each discursive turn, the possibilities of incoherence become glaring. Dilemmas emerge and are dealt with in the struggle for coherent and constant sameness.

3.1.4 Dilemmas emergent in discourse-in-practice.

As previously indicated, this study takes the view that discursive practice is the location where subjects define their identity context by way of linkages between categorical subjectivities (Holstein & Gubrium, 2009). The discursive practice is accompanied by strong evaluations (Taylor, 1989) of a discourse-in-practice (Holstein and Gubrium, 2000), which, as Bamberg (2014), Arnold (2015), and other Ricoeur-based narrative identity scholars indicate, are always dilemmatic. In MH's accounting of what his identity is, versus how he adheres to it, he encounters traditionally identified dilemmas within a personalized context. In making coherent meaning out of random events of life, as narrative identity scholars indicate, dilemmas of continuity, sameness, and agency of self are encountered (Arnold, 2015; Bamberg, 2014; Ricoeur, 1991). MH

is no exception. The categorical subjectivities provided by MH, which build his identity discourse, and dilemmas thereof, are explicated below.

3.1.4.1 Dilemma of constancy.

As previously indicated, people are not constant. They are born, they die, and they transform in-between. Within their accounts of identity, which is reliant on context, they must negotiate contexts which are at odds. One part of MH's identity context consists of how he is going to fulfill a need to remain constant to the transgressive movement of Extreme Metal from the past into the future by way of his festival. MH indicates a concern with constancy, or identity through constancy, by way of a 'legacy' concept introduced in the passage below. (Line 52-62):

M. Like, leaving a legacy?

MH. Exactly. Yeah, for example, I will be happy that, until this point, I've worked very hard for ten years now, and I will do it for the next ten years probably, but, when I die, I will be very happy that I left a mark. That I changed, uh, a scene. I started a culture. I started change. That's the most important thing. Change. And I will be very happy with that. I don't need, uh, status, money, whatever. I'm just very happy that if someone in twenty years from now will say, "Yeah, you remember that festival? You remember the shows?" That's the most important part for me. If people can find something to relate with in those things, something that can make them happy for at least five minutes of their life, that's the most important thing for me anyway.

MH builds 'legacy' in terms of leaving 'a mark' of remembrance 'twenty years from now' of 'starting a culture' through lasting social 'change' by way of his festival. It

is in this way he is perpetuating the cultural ‘unity’ into the future by ‘starting a culture’ and ‘starting change.’ The linkages constitute consonant and unrivaled meaning-making until one particular dissonant linkage is uttered. There is a dissonant linkage between a ‘legacy’ against ‘status’ and ‘money.’ At this moment, MH prefaces a deauthenticating dilemma. Somehow ‘status’ and ‘money’ are both part of, and working against constancy of authentic festival work. The next passage shows MH tenuously grasping and struggling in addressing a business-versus-culture dynamic, as he attempts to resolve the constancy of his authentic self in festival production under this context (Line 76-85):

M. So capitalism is just a system you gotta work within to...?

MH. Oh yeah. Yeah, yeah, unfortunately there are some things in this world that you can’t get rid of. Because the world is, uh, the world works on some things that are very unpleasant. But you have to adapt to it, and you have to find, like, these loops to reach your objective. Yeah, capitalism is not the best thing in the world. But, we live in it, and we have to, uh, set our standards by it, uh...it’s an obstacle, yeah.. But, I think it...I mean, the hardest way in life is actually the... in the end, it’s actually the good one, because, let’s face it, I mean, if you take the hard road it will definitely change you, and you will be forced to push your limits in everyway. So yeah, if you wanna do something like this with passion in a capitalist world you basically have to push your limits and find a way to do it.

MH directly addresses capitalism as being both a necessary incorporation into his festival production, and also a force that works against his ‘legacy.’ In order to retain continuous identity down ‘the hard road’ of authentic festival production he is ‘forced to push his limits in everyway’ through ‘loops.’ MH demonstrates a desire to present a self

that is continuously and purely aligned with Extreme Metal values. However, he cannot honestly and fully do so. Instead he has been forced to change, and transform into a self that is narratively contrary to its own discursive practice. The strong evaluation of MH's discourse-in-practice quickly reveals a negotiation and incorporation with "things in this world that you can't get rid of." This utterance is indicative of things within his self and his production practice he also cannot get rid of. The dynamic presented here demonstrates an on-going struggle of transformation. Moreover, and in order to determine the identity 'loophole' in continuous festival legacy perpetuation, MH must, by way of his discursive practice, claim footing as to what extent he is the same and/or different to these opposing 'forces.' Such a narrative task reveals a dilemma of sameness versus difference between his meaning-making linkages to identity.

3.1.4.2 Dilemma of sameness.

As revealed in the previous section, MH struggles with a business-versus-culture dynamic in narratives of his self in festival production. In order to identify the self, MH builds a discursive practice with which to align. However, the narratives of discourse-in-practice reveal a necessity to align with entities contrary to the discursive practice. In addition to the dilemma of transformation described above, MH is also faced with determining with what his self is the same or different. In an effort to describe the self through a comparing and contrasting of entities identified as outside, yet associated with, the self, MH demonstrates a dilemma of sameness and difference to these entities. In reality, syncopated sameness and difference may be possible; especially in the multitude of simultaneous contexts in which one exists. In narrative of self, however, it is exceedingly difficult to link, and work within, a complex of multiple contexts while

retaining coherency (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000). MH can only speak from the limited narrative context of which he has done much of the constructing. As MH sets his self as contrary to certain entities through discursive practice, he also identifies with the contrary entities through discourse-in-practice. This dynamic produces a dilemma, where the self begins disintegrating under its own terms. This dilemma is most evident in MH's presentation of music business and cultural dealings between Western and Eastern Europe. While he identifies his native Romanians within Extreme Metal culture as being 'beautiful,' it is immediately difficult to operate under a 'beautiful Romanian' image in the Extreme Metal production world. First of all, MH says Western Europe views Romania as 'a bunch of dirty gypsies' (Line 228-247):

MH. Unfortunately, yeah. Yeah, Romanians are not very well-looked in some parts of Europe. Especially, Scandinavia has a big problem with us, because gypsies and beggars and stuff like that. (This view) is coming from gypsies living in Romania leaving Romania, going in other countries, and...they steal, they beg, they make a lot of chaos, and obviously if you're a European that's not very educated on this particular subject, of course you draw the wrong conclusions.

And this perpetuates and becomes a general opinion. Even though they don't really know much about it. The whole thing with gypsies is that they're not really Romanian. They're just nomads that settled in this part of Europe. But obviously if you ask the majority of Europeans "what's up with the gypsies?"... "Oh, They're Romanians." You know? So this becomes this general thing, and it makes the wrong conclusions.

M. Ok, so you're a bunch of dirty gypsies in Romania?

MH. Exactly...ha ha.

M. Is that (view) extending into the business realm?

MH. From what you can hear, I guess so, from some point of view.

M. So you're seeing this stereotype?

MH. Right now I'm just talking from experience. You get used to it, I guess. It's more harder, but I think you have a bigger satisfaction when you achieve your goal.

MH identifies as Romanian, but does not identify with the stereotype he claims is imposed by Westerners. Drawing from his proclamation of building a 'legacy' for his country and culture, and the claim of a 'bigger satisfaction when you achieve your goal' under these circumstances, it becomes evident that MH seeks to build a sameness between Romania and Western Europe by creating a festival that appeals to, and is at the quality level of, the Western Europe. This comes with many complications, practically, and for MH's identity. For example, agents will not book their bands in Romania out of lack of trust due to the stereotype (Line 119-123):

MH. Um, mostly agencies. Um, that's, uh, another difficult thing, because a lot of agencies are not used to book Eastern Europe, and it gets really hard to earn their trust, and to make them get in contact, to reply, even on mails. When you get some mail, like, "Hey, I'm really interested in doing this band." You know, and most of the cases they just don't reply, because they're not interested in Eastern Europe

The offence caused by the Romanian stereotype, and business oppression thereof, set MH out to exalt Romania against the stereotype by, in turn, negatively stereotyping Western European audiences (Line 104-117):

M. ...for example, there's a very big difference in Eastern Europe in terms of the public. Because if you go in Germany everybody will just sit like this (crosses arms on chest), and they'll just drink a beer, and they're very static, because, basically, they saw every band in the world. Because every band in the world is forced to tour German, for example, for obvious economic reasons. But when you get to Eastern Europe, when you get to countries like Romania and Bulgaria, and you see the difference in the crowd. People are so happy that that band comes, drives like 10, 15 hours (M. 20 hours.) 20 hours, yeah (laughing) for, in this case, they drive 20 hours, and they know that. And they really appreciate it, and it's a whole different, um, connection between the band and the crowd. It's so beautiful. Really.

As implicated by MH's narrative, Romanians are 'beautiful,' and Western Europeans are dull, potentially spoiled, and 'static.' Throughout this interplay of business and culture, MH systematically creates a positive 'beautiful' sameness between his self and Romania, and a negative difference between his self and Western Europe. At the same time, MH idolizes, and wants to be like, the festivals of Western Europe (Line 176-196):

MH. Festivals like Hellfest, for example, are a totally different example, because, eh, they are very very good at doing the line up. They are very...you can see from the bands they choose they are very passionate about it, and they look into it.

They are very, uh, they have a very big knowledge about things...about music.

You know? You can see that they actually listen to these bands at home.

Because there are some bands you can't even imagine are gonna play, or imagine that they even have fans. Like, I don't know, very underground stuff. That you see are getting 3-4 thousand people in a tent. You know? That's why I, that's what I really love about Hellfest, for example. They have a such an amazing line-up every year, and it's so eclectic. And you can see that they really put their heart in it, and they choose quality over everything. That's the best part of this industry. Passion.

M. So, do you think Hellfest is going to surpass Wacken at some point?

MH. I think they already did. They already did from every point of view.

M. Why is that?

MH. Uh, They have a better understanding of the new generation, for example.

They know what the new generation wants in terms of music, in terms of culture, in terms of entertainment, because you can find all these gather up in one village.

Uh, they have knowledge of...they are very, I don't know, they're like a fortuneteller. They know exactly what's gonna happen. They can guess where the tide is going to. They know everything about it. I pretty sure, for me, at least, Hellfest is the most important metal festival in Europe.

Here, MH exhaustively praises and exalts the integrity of large Western European festivals. Drawing back upon the curious context of Rockstadt Extremefest having a generic German title, with all the characteristic trimmings of a German festival, MH confirms a dilemma of sameness and difference with Western Europe; where he idolizes,

mimics, and yet despises his perceived oppressor. The negativity appears as originating in business dealings influenced by a negative Romanian stereotype. However, business also seems to complicate relations between MH and other Romanians (Line 285-296):

MH. That's a very complicated subject in Romania, because a lot of people involved in this business don't understand one thing. Before you can complete with each other you have to work together to create something you can fight for. There are a lot of egos between people who are in this industry. There are a lot of envies, a lot of, eh, hatred, unjustified hatred. It's a thing I've been thinking for a lot of time. I can't understand it, so I just choose to ignore it, and go my own way, because I believe that, at some point, all that's gonna be left is what's really worth it. Every band seed will go away at some point. But, yeah, it makes me sad, because there's not this desire to work together. There's this desire to compete on something that's not even solid. It's only solid in our heads. But, in reality, we are fighting for shows that gather, what, 100 people? We're never gonna grow like that. We're never gonna make a scene. We're never gonna have a festival like Hellfest, for example.

The discursive practice of MH places strong evaluations of positive sameness to Romanians and negative difference with Western Europe. In this passage, however, MH demonstrates a complete reversal of position when accounting discourse-in-practice. It is reversed. Instead of embodying ‘unity’ and ‘beauty,’ Romanians are now full of ‘hatred’ and ‘competition.’ In this dilemmatic turn, MH seeks to distance himself from Romanians by ‘ignoring it’ and ‘going his own way.’ Completing the dilemmatic turn, he restates, in the ‘Hellfest’ utterance, the desire to be like a Western European festival.

Moreover, business itself, and ‘the people involved in this business,’ seems to be the source of the ‘complicated subject in Romania.’

This dilemma of sameness and difference demonstrates a highly nuanced dynamic of identity. MH’s self does not implode amidst this dilemma between Eastern and Western Europe. Instead, the account is indicative of an on-going self-in-the-making being pushed and pulled by varying, often contrary, contexts. However, the self constructed by MH seems to vanish here, as the discursive practice of sameness is nullified in the discourse-in-practice (Holstein & Gubrium, 2009). In terms of producing his festival, the identity-nullifying dilemma of sameness and difference begs the questions of how MH exists in this complex of conflicting contexts.

3.1.5 Conflicting contexts.

The observation of narrative dilemma is revealing of a complex of varying, and often opposing contexts in which the self is situated. MH, in the previous section, indicates that everything in his festival is ‘chosen’ and chosen ‘for a reason.’ Looking past the overlap of dilemmas here, where he is once again attempting to mimic Hellfest of Western Europe, the anti-capitalist/pro-legacy discourse he builds gives the impression that ‘the reason’ has nothing to do with money. He says as much throughout the following passage. Within these lines I have eliminated some text to call particular attention to the quick back-and-forth contradictory discursive turns. (Line 65-76):

M. Would you say that your business practice has been that of, like, a cultural expression?

MH. Yeah, I don’t think, I don’t think it, uh, business-wise. I just think, uh, I think a lot on the human level...That’s how I think a line up at, uh, at, uh, at the

festival. Everything is with a purpose. It's not like I get an offer for a band and I say, "Yeah, ok." (schwip sound). ... No one is here, because, uh, we have good relations with some agents, uh, or anything like that. Everyone here has a purpose.

M. So capitalism is just a system you gotta work within to...?

MH. Oh yeah. Yeah, yeah, unfortunately there are some things in this world that you can't get rid of. ... Yeah, capitalism is not the best thing in the world. But, we live in it, and we have to, uh, set our standards by it, uh...it's an obstacle...

MH first indicates that he exchanges 'business practice' for a 'human level' thinking, where decisions in booking bands are made for a non-business 'purpose.' In this way, MH implicates that the entirety of his booking practice is rooted in his agency and values. Just a few lines later, he indicates that 'capitalism' is something 'we have to set our standards by.' In one discursive turn, agency is claimed by linking booking 'standards' to his 'human-level' thinking. In the next turn, agency is revoked by linking booking 'standards' to 'having to live in capitalism.' This dilemma context is demonstrated further in an account of discourse-in-practice contained in the following passage, where the 'economical situation' is addressed. (Line 88-95):

MH. Ah, well, booking in Eastern Europe is very different from Central Europe or Western Europe where, especially, uh, the main problem is, of course, the economical situation. Uh, that is a big obstacle. Uh, shows are more difficult to organize, because, for once, there's the money issue, second there is the staff issue, because you're basically have to teach people how to do this. Especially at

a festival like this, which has NEVER been done at THIS level in Romania. Uh, of course, all the staff, people, have to learn what this means...what Metal means. MH relates back to the dissonant dynamic between Eastern and Western Europe, which is indicated here as being founded upon ‘the money issue.’ The economic disparity of Eastern Europe presented here diminishes MH’s role in festival production, which also compromises his identity. While he claims total control of festival production based on culturally-aligned tastes, he also readily admits that ‘the money issue’ dictates what is possible.

Referring back the ‘unity’ of his ‘beautiful’ Romanians, here MH finds them ‘difficult to organize.’ Additionally, these culturally unified Romanians now must ‘have to learn what Metal means.’ Such a proclamations not only discredits ‘unity,’ but compromises MH’s control over an event to which he claims agency. MH attempts to reconcile this dilemma, and his agency, by proclaiming that this festival "has NEVER been done at THIS level in Romania." This statement simultaneously reclaims control over the festival, and discredits any compromising of ‘legacy.’ Certainly, one festival created in the tenuous circumstance provided here does not constitute a ‘mark’ in history or ‘legacy.’ Throughout this dilemma, MH’s self begins to disintegrate under his own discursive terms when faced with conflicting contexts of business and culture.

3.2 Producer B- Ieperfest, Belgium

3.1.1 The festival.

Ieperfest is held in Ieper, Belgium near Gent and boasts the longest-running tradition of Extreme Metal festival. It has been going on annually since 1992. Ieperfest operates biannually as a winter indoor club show in February and an open-air, three-day

summer edition in August. Its larger summer edition attracts over 12,000 attendees each year and used to proclaim itself as a predominantly, Hardcore, or Hardcore Punk festival. The line-up in recent years is fairly diverse across all genres within Extreme Metal, inspiring the shortened moniker of Ieperfest. Ieperest has one large outdoor mainstage, a 600 capacity tent stage, and another 100 capacity tent stage for Punk and local acts.

While retaining the transgressive approach and aesthetics of Extreme Metal festivals, Ieperfest is also known for its “green policy.” Their website states “the most ecological thing we could do is not to organise Ieperfest at all, for you to stay at home and for every single one of us to start a food forest or to change things on a local level while thinking globally... instead we see Ieperfest as a great exercise for us to try new things towards a sustainable future and a good example for others to follow and to get inspired” (www.ieperfest.com). The absurdity of this sentiment is particularly striking. If there is a self-realization that Ieperfest works against it’s own environmental purposes, then, indeed, why is it being organized at all? The immediately peculiarity viewed here is indicative of a deep-seated paradox with which I found the producer in struggle; where the physical opportunity to present ‘greener’ notions carries equally negative impacts on the environment. As a matter of course, conundrums arise out of what exactly would motivate the production of such a self contradictory event.

The cultural association of Ieperfest provides some semblance of grounding for the festival’s production. A dominant characteristic of Ieperfest, in contrast to other types of Extreme Metal festivals, is its link to, and roots in, anarcho-punk, which, as Boisseau and Donaghey (2015) indicate, is “undoubtedly connected (to) veganism/animal rights” (p.73). Indeed, the anti-consumption tactic of veganism is said to have been

“deployed by anarchist activists as tactical actions within their overall projects of political and subcultural resistance” (Portwood-Stacer, 2012, p. 87). That is, the festival itself works as a manifestation in support of this cause through features put into place by the producer and his team of volunteers. Ieperfest has vegan-only food options, dry composting toilets, mandatory recycling and biodegradable material collection, and a convention style tent filled with anarchistic and environment oriented books and presentations. Furthermore, no corporate sponsorship can be located anywhere on festival grounds. All these elements indoctrinate specific programs as listed on Ieperfest’s “Groevent Award,” or Green Movement Award, image below (www.ieperfest.com):



From here one could certainly grasp that the producer is concerned with the environment to a radical degree. B insists that product corporations, and the wasteful behavior encouraged by subscribing to their products, is destroying the environment. As in MH’s festival and Western European festivals, sponsorship adverts are abundantly visible. Such entities as Jagermeister are paraded around festival grounds by way of ‘Jager-girls’ disturbing alcohol shots. Other commercial brands such as Bitburger Beir,

Monster Energy Drink, Redbull, Coca-Cola, etc. are also commonly on sale and visually advertised as is characteristic of most paid festivals. Unlike its Western European counterparts, however, Ieperfest embraces no corporate sponsorship. There is no visual or auditory presentation of corporate affiliation of any kind on the festival grounds, which is demonstrative of an anti-capitalism which is undoubtedly tied to the broader anti-consumerist tactics. As the life and narrative of B, the producer of the festival, is displayed, this culturally founded intent becomes clear. All these elements contribute to an over-arching indoctrination of anarchistic cultural values via the festival production.

3.2.2 The producer.

Producer B appears as a clean-cut and physically fit Belgian male in his late-forties/early-fifties. He claims to be a staunch vegan and professional hobbyist runner and cyclist from Brugge, Belgium. My initial impression is that he comes across a staunch. This staunchness comes across in his speech, tone, an unwavering presentation of values, and what he chooses to talk about and when; commonly executed through a snarky and slightly confrontational attitude. The first thing we talk about, which he repeatedly ties back into stories in both interviews, is how my booking agent tried to negotiate a fee for my band's performance that he thinks is greater than we are worth. He views it as a capitalist manipulation tactic used by booking agents that maybe only he could detect. And, so, he is inclined to push back. In the context of our interview, he, in a consistent subtle confrontation, pushes, prods, and pokes me with this view.

He is proud, and in defense, of his festival and its practices, as B has been in charge of this festival since 1992. Indeed, he has been producing both Ieper Hardcore Festival (now Ieperfest) in Ieper Belgium, and Genet Records, a hardcore music label in

Gent, Belgium, for 22 years. In the past, B owned Pyrrhus Records, a storefront in Gent, Belgium, from 1995-2007. It was here from which his record label, Genet records, operated. The storefront went out of business in 2007, but he still does a couple of record releases per year through Genet Records. From 1989 to 1996, B worked for a youth center called Republyk Vort n' Vis. His responsibilities included booking concerts, festival management, and doing general public relations and communication for the center. It was during this time Ieperfest was born. This part of B's past demonstrates a strong connection to the business side of his culture, and a desire to thoroughly understanding how the music and culture related to his festival are distributed. However, he curiously describes this entire process through a characteristic cynical humor style as being "teenage stupidity...hobby becomes job becomes blinded foolishness."

From 2001-2006 he continued his "blinded foolishness" as main editor, public relations, communications, and ad sales for the print music magazine *Bullet*; all the while managing Pyrrhus Record store, Genet Records, and preparing Ieperfest. Despite B's complete immersion in the anti-consumerist/capitalist DIY music and culture, his career path took a curious turn in 2007. He closed the Pyrrhus Records storefront, and took a job at Optima Financial Planners. Then after moving through the ranks at Optima, he moved over to another financial firm called CY Consultancy. As B says, people still have to 'pay the bills.' Ieperfest and Genet Records remained intact through this time period, but a glaring paradox remains in these actions. How can one be an anti-capitalist financial consultant? This paradox seems to be inherently present in the promotion and selling of records to which his culture also surrounds. Moreover, how can one work for a financial institution whilst running a festival upholding anti-consumerist culture? The answers to

these questions lie in a close observation of how the ‘oil’ and ‘water’ are mixing in B’s narrative of self in festival production. While the ‘oil’ of capitalism/consumerism never dissolves into the ‘water’ of anti-capitalist culture, or vice versa, they do coexist, and interact in both general and highly personalized ways.

On the ‘water’ side, B firmly believes that the Ieperfest and crew are pioneers in vegan festival catering for the longest running music festival for its type of music. B believes veganism is the most ecologically-sound consumption practice a person could choose, and so this is a major point of pride in upholding anti-consumerist/capitalist culture. The upholding of veganism for so long in this large cultural arena is highly reflective of B’s intentions on this front. However, the ‘oil’ seeps in again, and the paradox is revealed once more, as B exclusively refers to his position within the festival as “accountant.” This intriguing position is delved into further as B’s narrative is unfurled through the analytic practice.

3.2.3 Discursive practice: 'anti-capitalist ecology.'

Like MH, much of B’s presentation of self relies upon continuing the ‘legacy’ of a music festival that has already been going on for a long time. However, it is not just a legacy of a lengthy past he wishes to push into the future. What is important for B is the upholding of the cultural values and social change that the festival represents to him. He says in his characteristic snarky confidence, “Do you know any other festival like this that’s been around that long? ...I don’t thinks so.” This phrase refers to Ieperfest having been ongoing since 1992. While the long tradition of Ieperfest established here is a primary authenticating factor for B, the importance of ‘legacy’ is founded on upholding certain values B establishes through his discursive practice. As he unfolds his

subjectivities in his characteristic fashion, he designates to what this ‘legacy’ is dedicated. (Line 23-39):

M. You all are one of the last surviving extreme music events that just keeps going.

B. Yeah, we are! Correct. But, it’s not easy. Especially, like I said, we’re all volunteers. We do this next to a daytime job, and have families, and all other things we take care of. So, it’s...yep. Well, we’re doing another edition. It’ll be the 23rd summer edition. So, then we’ll see again if we’re gonna do another one.

M. Let’s talk about this volunteerism and DIY sort of thing in this edition and editions of the past. What kind of cultural experience are you trying to offer by hosting the festival?

B. Yeah, well, we wanna show people what we believe in.... . You know? Taking care of the environment, being polite and friendly to each other, and offering a wide variety of the harder sort of music, and try to explain to people that it doesn’t hurt to have a bit of respect for nature and animals, and there’s lots of bands that have a message, and that’s good. There’s more bands that do not have a message anymore, but we have those as well, because, I guess, maybe the bands and all their friends that are showing up can maybe learn something from the other bands that are playing.

B sternly establishes that the festival is done with the intention to ‘show people what we believe in.’ Unlike MH’s ‘legacy,’ B’s ‘legacy’ is one that upholds the anarcho-Hardcore Punk roots of his festival. As detailed in the festival description, these roots lie in vegan/anti-consumerist, thus anti-capitalist, tactics. This type of ecological concern is

manifested by B within festival production through previously noted items such as vegan catering and volunteerism. Volunteerism is, of course, unpaid free labor, thus is claimed to exist outside of, or at least in antithesis of, the consumerist and capitalist world. B justifies volunteerism by saying, “We never have problems finding volunteers. Most of them really love it.” This implies that workers are to go monetarily uncompensated, because they are more interested in the ecological concern. But, how is ‘love’ compensation? The laborer rights of Marx immediately come to mind, and, questions arise. On one hand, B demonstrates anti-capitalist sentiment. On the other hand, he supports the concept of free labor under the premise of volunteerism. While volunteerism certainly removes money from labor, that labor is uncompensated and free. Ieperfest is not a soup kitchen. It is a capitalistic endeavor. Money is charged for tickets to the event, and the workers receive none of it. One could argue that cultural sentiments are being used as a guise for a capitalistic cost-cutting tactic in the form of free labor. While B would not agree with the latter sentiment, these contextual dilemmas to which the self is claimed to be aligned emerge. To further define the dilemmatic contexts to be discussed later, B’s discursive practice is further revealed below.

As B says, they are interested in ‘having a message’ to these concerns, especially in choosing bands that uphold such a message. Indeed, his own personal values is not only represented in how he operates the festival, but is the intent driving the musical experience. Though he admits that ‘there’s more bands that do not have a message anymore,’ those bands can still ‘learn something from the other bands’ that do ‘have a message.’ In this location, it is clear that the music experience of the festival cannot be isolated from the values contained in B’s discursive practice. Producing music festivals

is not only a matter of managing the cultural content, but of operating a wider representational context. Of course, these values are not just his own. Instead, they are one of a cultural collective to which B also refers.

What is even more interesting in B's speech, as is similar to MH, is his constant utterance and reference to a 'we;' even in responding to questions directed specifically to his lone self. Like MH, B establishes a cultural 'we.' However, B's 'we' is far less transcendental than MH. As revealed in the analysis of MH, his 'we,' defined as a unified utopian movement against the mundane, retains an almost religious and transcendentalism of human 'oneness.' B, on the other hand, identifies 'we' in much more practical terms as being his crew of volunteers. However, these volunteers are not simply viewed as executers of a festival production plan. They uphold the values represented by the festival through the production process. As such, B views them as cultural arbiters; where the ideal of unpaid volunteers building an Extreme Metal ecologically-concerned utopia is subtle and implicit. (Line 225-228):

B. Yeah, we, uh, the core group, organizing 16 people...we see each other a few times every year, every few months we have meetings, eh...so ((ffff)) and then we we we, everyone is responsible for his part of the organization, and tries to find volunteers. We never have problems finding volunteers. Most of them really love it.

This cultural 'we' is often portrayed as not only a unified effort in festival production, but upholding tactics and principles of veganism as an anti-consumption resistance throughout the festival itself (Line 61-75):

M. Could you elaborate on why you insist on the vegan diet for the fest?

B. It's the most common sense thing to do, you know? It's the best thing for the environment, for animals, for your own health, ecological footprint. It's always best to offer vegan catering. We've seen other festivals that aren't doing the same style of music, but are trying to...I won't say imitate us, but, eh, imitate parts of us to try to be more ecological. Mostly they take, you know, the bubble gum tree we have for people to put their chewing gum instead of putting it on the ground, the cigarette holes where people can put in their (cigarette butts), stuff like that. But then, the vegan catering, you know, it is challenging. We are competing locally to be the most ecological festival, and the people that are judging...they don't like it, but they always have to agree with us...due to the fact that we offer this vegan catering that the festival is getting sooo much more ecological. But that's just a part of it. We started doing the vegan catering from the very first edition, because we thought that was the BEST thing for US to do. You know? Both for the animals, the environment, ourselves, the ethical part, the economic part...yeah. Does that give you a picture?

The 'picture' B outlines demonstrates aligning components of discourse-in-practice, which aids in solidifying the discursive practice itself. This discursive practice based in anti-capitalist DIY is supported by recounts of a 'legacy' of "vegan catering," an ecological concern as demonstrated through items such as the "bubble gun tree," etc. In addition to linking "animals, the environment, ourselves, the ethical part, (and) the economic part," the most significant cadence in that these items are "the BEST thing for US to do." Within that passage, "US" refers to a unified front of 'we' that, through an ecologically concerned culture, does those 'best things.'

To conclude, the discursive practice B employs in building the referential backdrop includes items similar to MH, such as the ‘unified front’ of the ‘we,’ as the ‘we’ intends to ‘show people what we believe in,’ and a ‘legacy’ of ‘showing people what we believe in.’. This calls into question who is B’s ‘we’ and out of what discursive practice of B does the ‘we’ act. As B demonstrates, festival production is influenced by an anti-consumerist and anti-capitalist ecological concern the originates in anarcho-Hardcore-Punk. Indeed, B intends for this festival production to be viewed as a penultimate and authenticating act of transcending mainstream and ordinary life (Kahn-Harris, 2006). However, the heavily reliance on antithetical personal discourse comes with complications, seeming hypocrisies, and complexity of festival production and the self.

3.2.4 Dilemmas emergent in discourse-in-practice.

Ideals presented in the discursive practice, such as legacy, veganism, volunteerism, anarchism, anti-capitalism, etc., belong to B’s dedication to, and community-oriented version of, Extreme Metal cultural discourse. These categorical subjectivities, as presented above, are unfolded as a shared communal discourse of identity of an authentic ‘we.’ When Holstein and Gubrium (2000) note that “a shared discourse of identity could work as much to threaten the self as to positively define it,” they also point to moments of ‘narrative elasticity’ where mixing and merging of conflicting contexts is attempted (p.117). In the process depicted in these ‘elastic’ moments (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000), dilemmas of narrative identity, as similarly described by Bamberg (2014), emerge from an interwoven context of narrative content and context of narrative structure. Observing these moments provides the opportunity to

derive a more accurate and complex identity characterization of B's self in festival production.

3.2.4.1 Dilemma of constancy.

Referring back to B's rhetorical question and answer, "Do you know any other festival like this that's been around that long? ...I don't thinks so," is indicative of a kind of pride B demonstrates in most of his speech. Indeed, his portrayal of self in this manner creates a context where dilemmas become outwardly apparent. The pride reliance supports an attempt at unwavering positioning despite unresolvable contexts. The contexts spoken about here are in reference to the interwoven aspects of narrative structure and narrative content. As both Bamberg (2014) and Holstein and Gubrium (2000) indicate, the narratives in which people describe themselves cannot fully account for transformation of character. Referring further back to Paul Ricoeur (1991), this dilemma arises out of a reliance of coherency of plot on a constant and consistent characterization. As B describes what defines him, and then attempts to tell a story of his action across time under that context, some of those actions may appear odd or contradictory to the original characterization. This is because B cannot simultaneously tell a story of action, while keeping the listener completely updated on the transformation of a self that is influenced by the 'outside' world. There is never an opportunity for B to fully recharacterize his self or recontextualize his actions. Instead, B demonstrates partial attempts at this goal, which come in the form of curious and virtually incoherent linkages and references to various events, actions, and contexts (Holstein & Gubrim, 2000; 2009). His cultural reliance on 'unwaveringness' makes these dilemmas of constancy all the

more apparent, as the prideful attitude directly supports an impossible ideal in constancy of characterization.

Moreover, dilemmas of constancy are often directly stated as a product of this proud character. For instance, when I pose my sentiment, “I feel these kinds of events are a kind of expression of culture” he responds, almost to himself, saying “But I really have to determine for myself how long I can keep...keep on doing this.” The statement is abrupt and morose with a dismal contemplative pause. What follows is a series of linkages demonstrating an attempt at resolution. (Line 127-134):

B. Well, you know, you can take a break for a while. (M. Yeah) I can never take a break. The festival is always there. I know next week I’m going to get offers for bands for next year. (M. Yeah. (Laughs)) So what do I do? Do I ignore them? (pause) Or I get back to them. If I get back to them...(M. It starts goin’ again.) Yeah, but , but, but, when do I take a break then?

M. I guess you have to find someone to take over. (Long pause) Or...

B. That’s going to be difficult.

M. Or kill it. (Longer pause)

The idea of ‘killing it’ predictably puts the subject at unease in a contemplative pause, as it presents an ultimate end to determining “how long I can keep...keep on doing this.’ B is caught in a moment of vulnerability. As indicated by B in the opening statement of the last passage, the highly competitive festival market has its own logic, order, and pace which dissolves any entity not abiding by that pace. In B’s words, “I’m going to get offers for bands for next year...so what do I do?” The inescapable market relation has exhausted B. However, ‘killing it,’ or discontinuing the

festival, a dilemma of constancy is presented. Without the festival, B cannot continuously uphold his staunch cultural values through it. If he does not keep up with the market logistics, the values and culture upheld by the festival dissolves in the market cycle. In this sense, ‘killing’ the festival would also ‘kill’ his cultural self. Moreover, B demonstrates here that he feels his transition out of festival production is inevitable. His festival website prefaces that not doing Ieperfest at all is the most ecological thing to do. Under the context provided here, he cannot continue nor discontinue festival production. Therefore, there is no describable action or attempt at recontextualization that can prevent an inconstancy of character as the story has arrived at a moment of transformation (Bamberg, 2014; Holstein & Gubrium, 2000; 2009). The passage below demonstrates the expected tenuous linking of various items B utilizes in an attempt at maintenance of plot coherency and constancy of self-characterization. (Line 135-144):

B. I have guys helping me out, but they will pshhhh. You know they say, “Oh ffff, Misery Index, my favorite band. Let’s give them 15,000 Euro. Wow!” (Laughing) Not that we don’t wanna give you that money, but it’s not some...it will not work, you know? (M. Yeah.) I don’t think there’s any Hardcore festival in the world having 32 editions, you know? Is there? I don’t think so. (M. 32 editions?) Yeah, yes, this is thirty-second edition of the festival. (M. Oh yeah, yeah.) So, is there any other festival in the world with twenty, Hardcore festival in the world with twenty-two editions? (M. I don’t know of one.) So, you know, we just keep on doing it, you know? And I, eh ((ffff)), there’s someone that wants to take over...cool. I’d wanna keep on advising, but I don’t have to keep on having all the end responsibilities.

The passage above is odd. Structurally speaking, there are three nearly unrelated items linked together with nearly no logical tie. First, there is a defensive profiteering accusation against my band Misery Index and I embedded in “Let’s give them 15,000 Euro. Wow!” which contains a kind of ‘financial guardian’ characteristic. Second, there is a reiterating of the longevity of the festival tradition, where B is inconsistent on the number of festivals that have occurred. Such inconsistency and oddness is further indicative of the narrative instability of the situation. Finally, there is an imagined a situation where ‘someone will take over’ but he will ‘keep on advising.’ The narrative has a dramatic elasticity where a story of someone ready to quit their current practices, and transform, is amalgamated with someone who is forever committed to a cause (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000).

However, B’s self does not simply vanish in effort to narratively resolve a dilemma of constancy. When considering the referential context of this dilemmatic moment, a more accurate contextualization of his predicament is revealed in the linkages of content. These odd linkages demonstrate B behaving awkwardly, defensively, and vulnerably at the thought of his festival and culture dissolving under the weight of a festival market pace and relation. He demonstrates an exhaustion from having to comply with an ever-present capitalist dynamic that has consumed his time and compromised his character since 1992. In his “15,000 Euro. Wow!” statement, B shows his need to continue to fight against this. There is a fear that he may be the only one qualified enough to manage the rampant capitalism will devour the festival and its blind band-enamored volunteers. B confirms, “Since the fourth edition, I took over, ‘cause the guy had lost interest more or less, and was making a bit of a financial mess of it, so I took over, and

ever since I've been doing it." In this 'financial guardian-ness,' it is revealed that he may have become an expert in capitalist practices only to give his anti-capitalist festival and culture a fighting chance against the consumerist market pace and relation. In analyzing this moment of elasticity occurring at the encounter with transformation, this new context is revealed that helps to positively define B's transforming character as it is related to festival production.

3.2.4.2 Dilemma of sameness.

Narrative coherency can be a challenge when claims to contexts conflict. This is especially true in B's dilemma of constancy described above. As observed, retaining constancy of character for the sake of narrative coherence is virtually impossible. B cannot fully account for his self that is relationally shifting from context to context over time (Bamberg, 2014; Holstein & Gubrium, 2000; 2009; Ricoeur, 1991). While B claims a rigorous dedication to his anti-consumerist discursive practice, this claim is blurred when the transforming self is accounted for at different times and contexts: the contexts to which the self is relationally the same or different. What is more compelling are the conflicting contexts that come even more clearly into view when the elements of time and transformation are removed from the analytic frame. To what B associates his self as 'the same' or 'different' becomes obscured as enriched peculiarities and complexities arise (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000; 2009). What is left is a seemingly self-conflicted character that is devoted both to a culture of capitalism and its anti-thesis. Such is specifically viewable in the following.

As previously stated, B's only official title within the festival, as listed on the festival website, is 'accountant.' Following suit, it is demonstrated in the last section

how B acts as a ‘financial guardian’ of sorts. Likewise, B describes how he ‘cleans’ up financial ‘messes’ within the production of Ieperfest (Line 260-274):

M. Is it easy to make a mess of it?

B. Of course. (Laughing) But, it’s much...much easier I say, “Ok, money...bands, ah, oh you get so much. Oh you were good today. Have so much. Oh, three more bands left and I only have 100 Euro. Oh ((shhhh)). What am I gonna do now. Uh, hey, uh, I need more money, but I don’t have any door money. Awe, yeah, get some from the bank. Uh, we’re gonna pay you guys later,” so...easy to mess it up. (M. Yeah. (laughs)) You know, it was still small scale then. Two days, few hundred people showing up. Pass that were not so expensive, so...But, if you...

M. It seems like you need a pretty good understanding of economics, and, uh, a logistical mind...

B. Common sense.

M. Lots of common sense...

B. Lots of common sense. Trying not to...trying not to grow too fast, too quickly. Ah, you know, like, one step at a time. Like, you say we are gonna do a 3-day festival, edition 1 next year...with no experience at all, it’s ((ffff)) don’t do that.

In this passage, B briefly demonstrates how the financial aspect of festival production must be handled with a business-logistic mindset. If not, the festival will fall to ruin under the weight of a mismanaged market relation under a capitalist logic. B shows, in layman’s terms, how the market relation functions directly in a production

setting, which implicitly refers back to his story of ‘taking over’ the festival from the previous organizer who was “making a financial mess of things.” B is seen, in that story, actively toning down the relation to capitalism, which he continues to do in the passage above. He refers to this business-logistic mindset as “common sense,” and that he must use “lots of (this) common sense” to produce and grow Ieperfest “one step at a time.” Moreover, B says one must have lots of “experience” in this mindset to have any hope of success in festival production. Therefore, according to B, a capitalistic “common sense” must be applied even when maintaining an event based upon a culture of anti-capitalism. At this juncture, B has strongly associated himself with both capitalism and anti-capitalism. Capitalism, while at one turn is the ‘bitter enemy,’ is now a ‘common sense.’ As part of this ‘common sense,’ B and I both agree that, despite our transgressive culture, one still has to “pay the bills.” (Line 147-150):

M. To pay the bills, you went over to working in the finance industry...

B. Yeah, yeah, correct. Right, but I’m not doing that any more. And I was working in sales until recently, and, heh-heh, I was, uh, working for CETA, which is a company that places waste.

As previously stated, B has worked for a number of businesses and financial institutions. Indeed, it was his experience in running the financial side of a record label, record store, and Ieperfest which gave him the financial expertise to work for such institutions. At the reference to this, B gives a near sinister side-laugh in “heh-heh.” He is almost laughing to himself in an effort to brush off the blatant contradiction to his discursive dedication. The sinister self-laugh can be viewed as a kind of conflicted and bitter joy in deviating from a lifestyle that is devotedly mainstream-deviant. It is as if B

is feeling a small delight in the perceived freedom of self-sabotage and an escaping from the constant conflict between the market and the culture of the Extreme Metal festival. As this small laugh carried such contextual weight, I was inclined to pursue the dilemma of this sameness and difference directly. (Line 10-22):

M. Do you feel your DIY background and the business aspects are at opposition with each other?

B. It's not easy to combine both, because we are all volunteers doing the festival.

But all the bookers are doing it to...as their jobs. So, they're the professionals and the more money they can make the better, so...Yeah, we get offered bands for ridiculous amounts sometimes. Then we just have to say no. You know, I've been doing this for awhile, so if they would offer Misery Index and say 5000 Euros, then I would say, "Hm, we gonna have to take another band." You know what I mean? Especially last year, when we had Misery Index in summer, the edition was not the best one. So this year we have to be extra careful. That means even more...to get more value for the amount of money that we have for booking bands.

As B indicates here, 'it's not easy' to combine a DIY ethos with business either in one's self, or in the producing of Extreme Metal festivals. Directly addressing this issue is troubling for B, as he, once again, is inclined to passive-aggressively slight the value and business practices of myself, Misery Index, and our booking agent. In doing so, B demonstrates how he uses his finance knowledge to act as a gatekeeper between capitalism and anti-capitalism, the embodied DIY volunteer staff and 'the bookers,' and, broadly, business and culture in Extreme Metal festival production. While it is certainly

a desire of B to uphold his discursive practice within his self and festival production acting the aforementioned gatekeeping role, this self, again, becomes obscured in the dilemma of sameness and difference as the context of volunteerism comes into play.

(Line 24-245):

M. One of the main things I guess you got for running this thing is the volunteer...

B. Yeah, we, uh, the core group, organizing 16 people...we see each other a few times every year, every few months we have meetings, eh...so ((ffff)) and then we we we, everyone is responsible for his part of the organization, and tries to find volunteers. We never have problems finding volunteers. Most of them really love it.

M. Do they view that as type of activism too?

B. (Long breath) I'm not sure. Maybe some, you know? The more the music people, that tent (points at tent full of activist materials) for sure, you know? I'm not sure if, you know, serving drinks at the bar is activism. (M. Yeah. (laughs)) It's ah...

M. I mean, what part of this is a capitalistic endeavor? I mean, is it at all, or is it that everything kinda refeeds back into it (long pause)

B. Ah ((ffff))...it's just we're, we're taking financial risk, you know? A calculated risk. Say, ok, we're gonna do this...if we did that last year, the balance was ok, let's try to do something similar this year. Maybe a bit bigger/better. People will come. We have presale tickets. We know with that many people, so many drinks, so many foods, sales...should work out. But if for some reason it

doesn't work out at all, Eh (dread-filled). If starts raining on Thursday evening, and the whole area is flooded, then, yeah...I don't know how it works (M. Have you ever...) No we have never had that. But I don't think it will ever happen, you know? It's summer, and it's not gonna rain for an entire day. So, that it's...that's not gonna happen, but...Yeah, but ((ffff)).

As the unpaid free labor of volunteerism can be viewed as a money-saving capitalist tactic as much as an ideologically-based DIY practice, I needed to know how it was at play in B's festival production (Boisseau & Donaghey, 2015; Portwood-Stacer, 2012). To embrace both motives would be seemingly contradictory discourse-in-practice. Moreover, the anarchistic and anti-consumerist aesthetics of the festival and the staunch discursive claims of its producer would lead one to believe the latter. When I pose the question, "do they (the volunteers) view that (their volunteerism) as a type of activism too," the expected reply might be something like, "Yes, all of them." Instead, B replies, with a long pensive breath, "I'm not sure...maybe some, you know?". This statement implies that the 'core group of 16 organizing people' did not fully vet volunteers for DIY ideology, which calls into question what exactly they supposedly 'love' about being a volunteer at this ideologically charged festival. While the implied characterization of festival volunteers might be similar to the ideologically-pure basis supplied by MH of his Rockstadt Festival volunteers, this passage reveals a more complicating juxtaposition. Therefore, I am inclined to ask "What part of this is a capitalistic endeavor?". B then returns to specific festival organizing logistics at the intersection of capitalism. In triangulating contextual elements in this moment of narrative elasticity, it can be derived that B's negotiation of a dilemma between business

and culture/sameness and difference permeates self-production practices, and, thus, festival production practices.

3.2.5 Conflicting contexts.

Analyzing the ineptitude of narrative meaning-making in accounting for the self unveils nuanced contexts related to that self (Arnold, 2015; Bamberg, 2014; Holstein & Gubrium, 2000;2009; Ricoeur, 1991). In this case, the self under observation is one related to a discursive practice surrounding Extreme Metal festival production. B's self and his festival can be viewed as extensions of one another in this sense, in-so-which a profound dilemma between capitalism and anti-capitalism, or DIY, extends from the production of the festival all the way down into the self-production of its producer. The elastic, incoherent, narrative moments are not where the self unravels, but where conflicting relational contexts are at war. As the business-versus-culture conflict is carried to the frontline of market-driven production, well-intentioned items culturally relevant to Extreme Metal's mainstream transgression, such as volunteerism, DIY, and anti-consumerism, become obscured, negotiated, and dismally non-transgressive. What is an anti-capitalist accountant to do?

3.3 Producer L- Bloodshed Fest, Holland

3.3.1 The festival.

Bloodshed Fest is a small underground Grindcore festival hosted by Doomstar Booking Agency. It has been traditionally held at Club Dynamo in Eindhoven, Netherlands every October since 1999. Contrasting with the aforementioned large open-air festivals, Bloodshed is a small indoor club-sized festival. The festival's line-up has consisted of purely underground Extreme Metal on the music culture's Hardcore Punk

and Grindcore side. As manifested from Bloodshed's Facebook page states "All you fans of grind, punk, hardcore, noise, crust and other blast and d-beat infected music will be pleased" (<https://www.facebook.com/bloodshedfest>). Indeed, the festival is widely considered authentic as it has stayed consistent to its line-up choice, size, and aesthetic since its beginnings. The festival line-up has been composed of heavily regarded Grindcore and Punk acts such as Victims, The Afternoon Gentlemen, Negative Approach, Sixit System, Cyness, Entrails Massacre, and more. The socio-political and anarchistic connotations of the consistently picked line-up is similar to that of Ieperfest as described in subject B's section. However, there are distinct differences in their representations of festival organization. For example, there are no composting toilets at Bloodshed Fest. The Punk, Grindcore, and DIY discursive elements of Extreme Metal are primarily derived from the line-up itself. Similarly to Ieperfest's producer, however, these culturally discursive elements, and the dilemmas that arise from them, are heavily entrenched in the production practices.

These aforementioned musical acts rotate performances over two days on two stages housed in two halls within Club Dynamo; a larger main hall, and a smaller hall called "The Basement." While the venue is indeed associated with Extreme Metal and metal festivals, it is not simply a club for this style of music. Club Dynamo originated in the 1980's, and is described on its website as a subculture and volunteer-oriented "youth center, stage, workshop area and school in one (that) offers young people...a place in the center of Eindhoven to develop their subculture" (<http://www.dynamo-eindhoven.nl>). More specifically, the venue is also intended to be a place where volunteer groups coach "young people to develop their talents in event organization, public

relations/communications, music management, stage performance, dance, music, restaurants, street art, leadership, light and sound, multimedia and scenography” (<http://www.dynamo-eindhoven.nl>). In short, the venue itself embraces values, such as DIY, mainstream transgression, music production, and Extreme Metal music, in its practices that are shared with Extreme Metal culture (Kahn-Harris, 2006). Indeed, this is the location where Bloodshed Fest’s producer acted as “volunteer coordinator” in the beginning of his career. In a sense, this environment could be seen as producing L’s producer self. Similar to B, it is in this discursive context that L references his self and attempts to make meaning of his actions within Extreme Metal music and festival production.

3.3.2 The producer.

L is a thirty-two-year-old male from Holland. He has short brownish hair, well-trimmed beard, glasses, and typically wears skinnier fitting dark blue jeans and a dark zip-up jacket when out working on-site. It’s a “clean” Hardcore music style look. During and after his collegiate education, he began working at the venue and youth center, Club Dynamo, in Holland. These positions do not pay a lot, according to L, but it was an occupation he ‘felt really good about’ as he figured out what he wanted to do with his life. He enjoyed promoting youth culture. It is here where he started producing Bloodshed Fest, and gained experience in booking international talent.

He started a booking agency called Doomstar in 2008, which, at the time, consisted of just himself and his partner Luuk VanGestel. L and Luuk had been unofficially booking shows until they put the name to it in 2008, and officiated the business in 2009. Doomstar has grown since then, and now operates with two more staff

members, Ronny Kessels and Dirk van der Klooster, and a growing roster of underground Extreme Music acts. L is the primary owner of the agency.

L booked his first full tour in 2005 across Europe for the Washington, D.C. USA Grindcore group Magrudergrind. After two and a half years of learning from the successes and failures of that tour, he booked a full European tour for Philadelphia, PA, USA Grindcore group Total Fucking Destruction, with Netherlands death metal act Suppository as direct support. Afterwards, L and Luuk booked three other tours that year in Europe with underground extreme bands from Sweden, the Netherlands, and Japan. He has been busy ever since, all the while producing the Bloodshed event as an outlet for booking his favorite kind of bands.

In 2013, L received a call from Dominik at Rock The Nation: Europe (RTN) about hiring L into their agency. This is a common practice in the booking industry where grassroots organizations ‘prove their salt,’ and then larger agencies pick them up. L, admittedly, had long aspirations of being an agent at a larger Metal music booking firm, and RTN is, indeed, a well-known international booking conglomeration. Just like B, L wanted to ‘pay the bills’ while still doing ‘what he loves to do.’ The original conditions proposed to L included that L was to drop some of the smaller bands from his roster, as RTN did not want to absorb the responsibility and association with these smaller bands. They asked L to dismiss his employees and partner, and dissolve Doomstar agency and its associated festivals. While he knew that a higher living wage would come out of such a partnership, L simply could not completely abandon his history, principles, and culture. L resisted, compromised, and countered that offer. The self L demonstrates in this deal is viewable as a subjective interface in contemporary

capitalism where individual sovereignty is contested and made precarious (Jokinen, 2016). Out of this dynamic, he was forced to drop some of his smaller bands. However, he insisted to be permitted to keep Doomstar agency and its associated festivals intact. Doomstar's employees and roster would act as a proxy for RTN in accessing the existing Doomstar roster. The terms were agreed upon, and that is the present relationship between the two entities.

L is still finding his way in the new position at RTN, as he now has many more responsibilities, bands, and tours. Meanwhile, his original agency is gradually minimizing under the weight of his agreement with RTN. Doomstar now only has a few underground tours that occur under the moniker. While it seems Doomstar is diminishing with L's new position at RTN, they do still handle a handful of their own club-sized festivals such as Slow End Fest, Grindhoven, Gorecity, Slufest, and, L's primary festival, Bloodshed Fest.

In a stark contrast to L's monetary incentive for joining RTN, his Bloodshed Fest consistently operates at a monetary loss. Moreover, it's an activity he's been paying into since 1999. While L claims a primary occupation acting as a booking agent and festival producer, many questions come to mind surrounding the act of producing Bloodshed Fest. Primarily, how does L make meaning out of seventeen years of music festival production consistently operating at a monetary loss? Additionally, if L is an intermediary in a production complex (Hennion, 1989), what contexts or forces are being mediated by L? Such information can be located in observing L's narrative dilemmas of context surrounding a referential world of festival production (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000; 2009).

3.3.3 Discursive practice: 'DIY.'

In previous analysis, the cultural 'we' appears as an immediate focus of the subjects' discursive practices. For MH, 'we' has a transcendental unifying quality. For B, 'we' has a more practical, yet ideologically associated meaning. With L, given the aforementioned context, 'we,' or to what culture L belongs, is preemptively compromised. Because of this dynamic, an immediate attachment to a cultural idea of DIY is made, in lieu of claims to a 'we,' in order to discursively convey to what L's 'I' is associated. As such, most of the interview revolves around this 'I' instead of 'we.' Moreover, the 'unity' of 'we' concept prevalent in the other producers' accounts, is merely insinuated through L's discursive practice of DIY, and his apparent ashamedness in not upholding this DIY of the 'we.' To reiterate, the idea of DIY in Extreme Metal typically revolves around a grassroots propagation of cultural events of Extreme Metal music with an intent to transgress a disapproving and homogenizing mainstream culture (Kahn-Harris, 2006). Indeed, this discourse has emerged in varying forms within the discursive practices of each Extreme Metal festival producer; each with meanings attached to a cultural element of mainstream transgression in their production practices. L wastes no time in proudly claiming this concept, as he introduces himself and his festival as being foundationally reliant upon it. (Line 2-9):

L. I'm, uh, (L's name). I'm a booking agent at a Rock The Nation, or RTN Touring, Rock The Nation in Europe, and I have, next to it, also, my own small booking agency called Doomstar bookings.

M. And, uh, Doomstar, that's what you started off with, right?

L. Yeah, that's what I started off like 8 or 9 years ago. Actually, before that I started doing small DIY shows and a festival called Bloodshed Fest. It's a Grindcore festival, and, from there, I started Doomstar, and from there (more somber tone) I went to Rock The Nation.

Immediately, Luc establishes a historical and foundational alignment of his production self to DIY. This yet-to-be defined version of DIY is said to be the basis of what evolved into his Doomstar booking agency and his Bloodshed Grindcore festival. There is a certain pride in his tone as he briefly communicates his discursively embedded history in production practice. Conversely, and as noted in the passage, there is a certain somberness that takes over his speech upon mentioning the career move to the larger agency known as Rock The Nation (RTN). While the full nature of this dilemma is not yet known, it can be reasonably inferred that DIY represents 'good' and RTN is not DIY. The dynamic is reinforced by the tone of pride retained until the direct acknowledgement of the association with RTN. This brief synopsis of his production life prefacing the nature of his yet-to-be-defined discursive practice and the dilemmas thereof. While, for analysis' sake, L's discursive practice surrounding this DIY must be unfurled for more detail, it is at no point ever separate from dilemma. Unlike the other subjects, L's problems start right away. Therefore, the presentation of discursive practice is also embedded in, and rife with, this issue. As such, his version of DIY is defined, more so, in a comparative manner than the positive definition of the other subjects. Moreover, his embattled and dual 'we-ness,' that has been made immediately apparent, is only viewable alongside the dilemmas explicated below.

3.3.4 Dilemmas emergent in discourse-in-practice.

The producer L describes himself in the interviews as being aligned with the DIY cultural values and socio-political aesthetics of Grindcore. He reinforces this notion through stories of starting a DIY booking agency, producing his “underground” Grindcore festival, playing underground shows in DIY establishments, etc. However, he also speaks of the economic decision to become part of a larger booking agency that people in the DIY scene view as ‘evil.’ Moreover, he now is required to book shows for right-wing-leaning Black Metal bands whose cultural values go against some Punk, Grindcore, and DIY left-leaning cultural values. In this dilemma, he struggles to reconcile his professional identity. In one instance, he describes the move to the ‘evil’ agency as having similar principles to his DIY agency. In another instance, he talks about how he would not want anyone in the ‘scene’ to know about the Black Metal bands he has to book now as part of these new practices. In this instance, Ricoeur’s (1991) permanence of identity and acknowledgement of growth and change, as well as Holstein's and Gubrium's (2000; 2009) conflicting contexts are at irreconcilable odds. While he demonstrates a desire to retain his previous cultural values into his professional practice, he must abandon them in an effort to continue as an event producer. Through these reconfigurations of the narrative identity, the dynamic struggle of the ‘true self,’ (Ricoeur, 1991) and social identity as related to production practices is represented (Quinn, 2005).

3.3.4.1 Dilemma of constancy.

As informed by the literature, a temporal dilemma of constancy always emerges when the narrator attempts to designate a sameness or difference to accounts of selves of the past, present, and future (Bamberg, 2014; Ricoeur, 1991). As such, the subjects thus

far have demonstrated a narrative need to perpetuate a discursive alignment, often of the past, through the present, and into the future through a concept of 'legacy.' L shares an experience similar to the other producers that begins with adolescent values, and the desire to extend those values into the future. What is unique to L is how he transparently allows me to see the complicatedness of his situation. (Line 32-40):

M. Cool. You mentioned, uh, it was evil to join the big agency. (L. Yeah.

(somber tone)) What's evil about that?

L. Yeah, that. Ah, that's how people in the underground see it. You start, you start as an 18 or 19 year-old boy, as underground promoter. You're Punk, Grindcore, and, ehm, they see the big agencies as something evil, which, which is...they think it's like money-grabbing agencies and stuff like that, and then you grow up a little bit. And then you get used to the business. You know that, just, everybody is trying to make the best out of it, and there's no...not a lot of money to be made in the Metal scene. So, It's all, it's all the same. But, originally, that's, that's how people feel about it.

L begins giving a sensitization of an on-going conflict between the Grindcore cultural scene and "evil...money-grabbing...big agencies." He goes on to indicate that his view on this dynamic has changed as he references his business experience. However, this coherence teeters within a dilemma of temporality between his Grindcore teenage self and his current more business-oriented self. As my question indicates, he prefacing this story with a current reiteration of the then designated adolescent "evil" view of "big agencies." he then, in turn, claims that this is not his view due to business experience. The brief lack of coherence raises curiosity about where L's cultural identity

lies. Since he contests his own opinion displayed in the passage above, I attempt to delve into what exactly it is about the "18 or 19 year old boy" that values bigger music business entities as 'evil.' As outlined in L's opening passage, it is this DIY discursive practice that has been designated as the driving force behind the production of Bloodshed Fest. In our second interview, L mentions a 'punk value' of this youth that I ask him to explain (Line 47-55):

L. Yeah...the punk value...I think the punk value is how people get together and do more...like what I explained...more than just look into consumption, and look into partying, and only think about themselves...but also to get together and talk about stuff that happens in the world and be angry about it...be upset about it...try to find a way to change it, even if you do it in your own life, or maybe by just going onstage singing about it and maybe...and somebody reads your lyrics in your CD and maybe that changes somebody's mind. It's not a priority, but it's just every little difference you can make you try to make, and I think that's what the punk attitude is a little bit. I don't know if that explains it well.

Here L outlines a communal, anti-consumptionist, Do-It-Yourself, and activist cultural paradigm he adhered to in his youth. However, L continues later that he "was thinking more like a punker ten years ago," and that, while he "is still a punker at heart," he acknowledges a need to 'pay your rent' (Line 141-146):

L. You can't say, "I'm still DIY, I don't want to make money with it." It doesn't make sense. Ten years ago, I was still thinking that. I was still thinking, "Ok, we are going to do this. We wanna help the more underground bands. We wanna push it up," but I never realized that so much business was involved that what

actually is. And I always tried to fight, a little bit, that business side, and I've learned now that business is what it is. Because, otherwise you can't pay your rent.

In this passage, L continues to establish his DIY values of the past as being unwaveringly anti-capitalist. He then outlines how the market relation of 'rent' and 'business' could not be 'fought off.' This contextual dilemma between the past self and the current self is directly revealed in many passages, as in the one above, which is, as mentioned previously, a characteristic transparency of L. Nonetheless, moments of incoherence are strewn across the course of the interview where L, despite many repeated 'pay the bills' and 'growing up' explanations, cannot reconcile the contexts of his past and current selves. (Line 179-184):

M. In our last interview, You talked about RTN and the like be viewed as evil, but that view has changed now that you have merged with RTN. Can you expand on that?

L. Yeah, don't put that online. Ha ha. I think that's the part of growing up and losing your...(redirects thought) and also learning how the business REALLY is. And that you see that it's not evil at all, of course. It's just a business...

Clearly, through the "losing your" utterance followed by the contemplative pause in this context, L insinuates that through 'growing up' and "learning how the business really is" has created an abandoning of past DIY values in favor of a present business mindset. "Don't put that online" indicates a particular ashamedness L has surrounding public displays of this conflicted mindset. As a mindset change out of DIY seems to

have been spurned by taking the job at RTN, I sought confirmation and detail on this change. (Line 197-199):

M. This may seem rhetorical, but has your original intent been negotiated after joining up with Rock The Nation?

L. Of course, I definitely have a different mindset now.

In previous passages L defines RTN as non-DIY and evil, and also defends his current mindset as considering business and RTN as not evil, but part of a necessary process. When I ask how having this current mindset makes him feel, his view contrarily turns again. (Line 228-230):

M. How does that make you feel?

L. OH...Ha Ha...Sometimes I feel a little bit like a sell-out, but, on the other hand, I need to pay my bills as well.

The 'proof of guilt' apparent in L's admission of being a "sell-out," reveals a self reliant on unresolvable contexts. Per the temporality construct, L cannot resolve his DIY past self with how he has transformed into a present business-minded self. Moreover, the reason the selves cannot resolve is due to an association with these conflicting contexts. In this case, the dilemma of transformation surrounds a discursive move from pure DIY to a business mindset that accompanied a need to 'pay the bills' along with a career move to the large business entity RTN. The dilemma is ever-apparent and retrospectively confirmed in the first interview when I ask if his conduct and business practices have changed over time. (Line 166-187):

L. Uh no, it hasn't changed for me. I still have the same motivation. Uh, the only good thing is that that I now can actually, sort of, pay my bills. Um, and

that, of course, makes you comfortable. If you work all day, and you're stressed about paying your bills, then you don't do a really good job, and you have a lot of stress. So if you, if you know that your bills are paid, and you can work more comfortable, it's better for the agency you work for, and it's better for the bands you work for as well. Um, of course, we all realize that we never get rich from it, and that's, but it was never the point. You never made a lot of money with it, and it never will be. So that motivation didn't change at all. Um...uh...the only thing what changed is, uh, what I said before: in the beginning when I started Doomstar, it was just about doing it. So, it's cool to book as much shows as possible. It's cool to book those tours, and to have those bands over. And, I learn now that it's better to think a little bit about what your doing: not taking every band on. Even if you really like the band, you have to check first. Does it really make sense to do it or not, or does it really make sense what the band wants to do or not, and that's...um...yeah, that's what I learned. So, you look a little bit more...uh...business-wise to it. So that changes...a little bit. But still, the heart is on the right place, and the passion is still there. And I think that will never change.

M. Is that kinda bittersweet?

L. Yeah, it is sort of bittersweet, yes. Sometimes, yeah, you're a little bit on, eh, eh, you're balancing., uh, uh, like on a cord a little bit. Like, sometimes you have to give and take a little bit.

Initially, L tells me there has been no change in how he conducts himself or his business. However, he makes a subtle move in the second sentence in stating it is only he

motivation that has not changed. As he continues, L indicates that most everything has changed except for this underlying motivation for his work. In the end, there is then an admission that a "bittersweet" change has occurred, and now L sees his position 'like you're balancing on a cord' between the DIY ethos of the past, and the business mindset of the present. As the literature would indicate, L's issue with 'change' is a common transformative (Bamberg, 2014) and temporal dilemma (Ricoeur, 1991) that, in incoherent and elastic narrative moments, reveals conflicting contexts of the narrator's referential world (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000). As L accounts for DIY and Punk discourse-in-practice over time, a specific conflicting context of business related to RTN is outwardly visible. It is especially apparent in the way in which L teeters between providing and withdrawing evidence for past and present mindsets. In observing the temporal dilemma, it becomes clear that L still holds onto a cultural desire to 'fight' a tendency to succumb to a dominating capitalist indoctrination. Further specificity is given to this dilemma when removing the element of time, and looking further into similar narrative moments concerning his claims of sameness and difference to these contexts.

3.3.4.2 Dilemma of sameness.

When removing the element of time, dilemmas of L's sameness and difference between DIY and certain aspects of business culture became more visible and detailed. Moreover, It should be noted that consistent attempts were made to keep the interview on the topic of Bloodshed Fest, and that L, in curious narrative moments, would draw the conversation back to his difficulty in resolving his self as an employee of RTN. For example, in the following passage, I ask for specificity on the meaning of festival

production. L's two sentence preface is a curiously incoherent response to the topic at hand. (Line 88-104):

M. It sounds like the festival you put on is really important for you, and your input into the culture itself.

L. Yeah, Yeah, that is very important for me. There's also the thing...so when I start working at Rock The Nation, that means I hardly can do anything for Doomstar...I have other people who do Doomstar bookings now. I want to keep it that small. It doesn't matter that we make money with it or not, which we don't. We, every year, break even. And that's about it. So, that's good! Because I want not to have the same bands every year, and that the bands you see on every festival are who you also have to see on my festival just so I can make a profit.

(Contrarily,) I just want to put bands on there which I like, and which I think maybe people who come to my festival will also like, or, otherwise, they will get to know them. Like, I have a lot of people this year that gave positive feed back, saying (we) played so many bands which they never heard of, and which they liked. So, there is a group of people who are open-minded and open for experiencing new bands...before they get forced upon them, or before it (the bands) becomes a hype, or before they (a band) have huge video which everybody likes, and then you're supposed to listen to it.

When directly asked about the meaning Bloodshed Fest has for L, he first states that it is "very important." After an odd two-sentence departure into not being able to "do anything for Doomstar" since working for RTN, he descriptively outlines an alignment to anti-capitalist DIY through a variety of facets. First, Bloodshed Fest does

not make a profit. It only breaks even, which is designated by L as “good.” Second, the selection of artists is not based upon being known, in-demand, or their ability to make the festival profit. L continues, they are not “the same bands you see every year.” Instead, they are decidedly non-mainstream selections based upon L’s preference alone. Moreover, L indicates that these are not bands that have been “forced” upon audiences through any “hype” or “huge video.” The “very important” characteristic mainstream transgression of Extreme Metal on display in L’s production choices of Bloodshed Fest (Kahn-Harris, 2006) are in contrast to the business-driven nature of the oddly inserted RTN/Doomstar dynamic. The incoherent moment may insinuate that L uses the transgression of Bloodshed Fest to make up for cultural compromises he is making in his position at RTN. Indeed, L details that his new position at the agency is requiring ‘compromises.’ (Line 212-215):

L. I think that’s a compromise I had to make. When I started, I always thought, “I’m going to work with bands which I like personally,” and now I realize (sigh* indicating he does not like some of the bands he has to book) I don’t have to listen to the bands at home.

The bands L is forced to work with at RTN, but ‘doesn’t have to listen to at home,’ is, as previously indicated, motivated solely by their capitalist demand in business. This market relation, to which L acts under compromised claims to difference, also demonstrates a compromised DIY discourse-in-practice (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000). Indeed, his self-narrative arrives at moments where sameness and difference to this context is completely blurred through accounts of non-discursively aligned action. (Line 230-244):

L. For example, for some reason, I don't know how it happened, I think it's just by accident when I start working at Rock The Nation, that I do a lot of big Black Metal bands. Um...that was NEVER something I could relate to. There were only a few Black Metal bands which I liked in the past...and that's it. And those are mainly the bands that are not so satanic...so bands like Immortal, which I really like. And now, for some reason, I have a few big black metal bands. And I know with my Punk background, and with my own band, which is a small Grindcore band, if I would, for example, play in Germany in squats, that people are going to have a problem with it if they find out that I book a lot of big Black Metal bands, because there is always this some kind of dark cloud above Black Metal about also be right-winged. And...yeah, that's something very itchy sometimes...what annoys me. But, I still do it. So, I still do the work. (Lots of hesitation now) And I just think to myself, "if the band doesn't have it in the lyrics, or have it on their artwork, they don't say stuff on stage, then there is nothing wrong with them," and that's how I can defend myself in doing this.

L provides very flimsy justification in doing 'things he would never do.' He first attempts to disown the booking of his culturally condemned and "right wing" "big Black Metal bands" in the utterance "I don't know how it happened." However, it is clear to L is that his DIY/Extreme Metal culture would not approve of what he is doing at RTN. This "very itchy" situation "annoys" him. Conversely, despite great hesitation, he still 'does the work.' As Holstein and Gubrium (2000) would note, the discursive contradiction in discourse-in-practice does not aid L in making meaning of his action. Moreover, Holstein and Gubrium (2000) would add that L flimsy attempts at constant

characterization amidst dilemma work further against L's positive definition of his DIY self. However, when observing this moment of narrative incoherence created by blatant discursive contradiction, the contextual complex, or relational world, to which L relates his self is positively defined. It is clear that L's self in festival production is situated and related to the conflicted contexts of DIY and business.

3.3.5 Conflicting contexts.

Much like MH and B, L's self does not simply vanish amidst the contextual dilemma of DIY versus business. Instead, it is learned that L 'fights' capitalism through the production of his decidedly DIY Extreme Metal festival, and, in turn makes cultural compromises in his RTN day job to 'pay the bills.' Like B, it is clear that L has not completely given up his 'fight' against capitalist indoctrination. Indeed, both L and B use their festival to forward that effort. The widespread market relation and pace, however, has become more intense with age, and has lead to cultural compromises in day-to-day life. Such is the conflicted contextual complex in which L's self is situated and related.

What is notable about L is his transparency amidst dilemma. Unlike other subjects, L readily admits to discursive compromise in day-to-day life. While L provides and retracts positioning amidst the dilemma, he does so in an attempt to create coherence out of an incoherent situation caused by a dominant capitalist relation. As such, L keeps his festival discursively pure in his version of Extreme Metal's DIY as a 'fight' against the "business-side of things." Similar to B, L's intent for a festival 'legacy' is to perpetuate the Extreme Metal DIY culture against capitalist pressures.

3.4 Producer R- Neurotic Deathfest, Holland

3.4.1 The festival.

The now defunct Neurotic Deathfest boasted being the biggest indoor festival for extreme metal in Europe, with visitors from more than 40 countries (www.neuroticdeathfest.com). It was an annual 3-day event held at the Poppodium 013 venue in Tilburg, the Netherlands between the months of March and May since 2008. As the producer of Neurotic Deathfest indicates, Tilburg is nestled within a population of 2 million that, by happenstance, has a dense proportion of music fans. Therefore, the environment is exceptionally viable for music festivals in general. As such, Neurotic Deathfest has shown to be well attended and supported over the years. Although the history of the festival extends back to 2004, when it was called Rotterdam Deathfest at Club Dynamo in Eindhoven, NL, the festival is no longer held. The last installment was held in April of 2015, and has since been replaced with the aptly titled Netherlands Deathfest from the producers of the U.S. based Maryland Deathfest. Because Neurotic Deathfest was running smoothly, it is curious as to the reasoning of the producer in passing his legacy onto others. Such answers are unfolded in the following sections.

3.4.2 The producer.

R started working at Poppodium 013, a government subsidized nonprofit venue in Tilburg, Holland, in 2010. R had been booking shows independently for some time before he approached 013 about collaborating on his existing Neurotic Deathfest. He had an idea to conduct his Extreme Metal festival in the 013 venue, which was much larger than any venue he had used before. He pitched the plan for Neurotic Deathfest. They agreed, and he proceeded to lose 50,000 Euros of the venue's money in attempting

to execute that idea. It was a flop and failure, or at least it appeared that way to the venue proprietors.

When the time came to answer for what he had done, R had carefully articulated answers to what had gone wrong. He knew how to make the festival and other types of shows successful, and demonstrated that to the head staff at 013. Among other items, R had not carefully considered what festival format and music acts in Extreme Metal would garner the quantity of people required to cover costs at a venue of such size. He has since learned, but his drive is diminishing. More and more, R feels distanced from the music scene of his youth, which inspired the festival's creation.

R says, "Death Metal is something I grew up with...(and) that I've been involved with on a business level for quite some time." Around 2000, R started working at the European office of Extreme Metal record label Unique Leader. "It wasn't working out" R says. "The live aspect of it was much more appealing than packaging CD's and shipping them out" he continues. Working from his label experience, he started his own label Neurotic Records around 2002-2003. To satiate his primary passion, however, R was traveling twice a week with "guys he grew up with" to Extreme Metal festivals all over Europe. While attending "Fuck the Commerce Festival, (and) Death Metal festivals in Germany and Switzerland," R thought, "Why isn't this possible to have in our own country?"

From there, he started booking small shows. Then came Neurotic Deathfest, which he moved from Club Dynamo in Eindhoven into Poppodium 013 in 2008. Then the 50,000 Euro snafu happened in 2009, which surprisingly helped secure both the festival and R's position at the venue. Since then, R has mastered the business aspect of

being an in-house booking agent at 013. However, with this immersion in the business side, his drive and passion for Extreme Metal is feigning. Indeed, Neurotic Deathfest is no more.

3.4.3 Discursive practice: 'music business.'

Similar to the other subjects, R's cultural 'we' is wrapped up in a 'unity' concept that is claimed to permeate festival production. R outlines how he is satisfied by creating the opportunity for a cultural 'unity' experience to happen at Neurotic Deathfest. (Line 19-32):

M. What kind of culture experience are you trying to offer by hosting the fest?

R. What I like to accomplish most is you get a whole bunch of like-minded people at the same spot. You know, people come to a regular show, they go see the band and there's no brotherhood, or there's no people sharing the same passion. It's just people watching a band, and go home afterwards. But, with a festival like this, there are people from all over the world...They all like the same bands. They all like the same music and they all like the whole lifestyle around it. You give them the opportunity not just to watch a whole lot of bands that they might not get to watch at their own city, or at the same time, but they also get an opportunity to connect with people that they have a lot of similarities with. And that creates an atmosphere that is... (hesitates, as if searching for words) a bonus to just a regular show. Not sure how to say it. It satisfies more...and that is basically what satisfies me. To have 2000-3000 people being given the opportunity to share the passion for the Extreme Metal they don't get to hear, or hear on the radio, or see on TV.

What is perhaps the most striking about his answer about what kind of cultural experience he is trying to offer is the cultural ambiguity of the ‘we’ and ‘unity’ thereof. If not for a brief mention of "Extreme Metal" in the final sentence, this description of “a whole bunch of like-minded people...sharing the same passion” could apply to any festival experience. Indeed, it seems his satisfaction comes from the offering of any type festival experience. To confirm this presumption, I ask how hosting Neurotic Deathfest is different from other types of music culture events (Line 33-41):

M. How is that different for hosting, say, a hip-hop artist?

R. It’s not that different actually, because you set up something with a bunch of Hip-Hop artists...what is relevant to that musical genre...at that point you gather a lot of people that share the same passion, in this case, for Hip-Hop culture and lifestyle. And you get a similar kind of vibe as on the (Neurotic Deathfest) festival. Obviously, people are dressed differently, or do different things, but they all are able to connect with one another, as opposed to a more ‘regular’ event. Apart from the music, and apart from the people, the whole system behind it is quite the same. And the energy I get out of it is similar in a Hip-Hop or Death Metal festival.

R states plainly that producing Neurotic Death fest is no different for him than hosting any type of festival as "the whole system behind it is quite the same," and "the energy (he) get(s) out of it is similar." He neatly wraps up the cultural significance aspect, a primary feature of the other subject's discursive practices of festival production, as "people are dressed differently, or do different things." Instead, the cultural focus is shifted to the likeness of systematic elements of production. Unlike the other producers,

who continuously define Extreme Metal culture in production practices, R's cultural boundaries are purposefully blurred. Because R's outward account of production approach lacks the Extreme metal cultural centrality found in the other producers, I ask R to elaborate on the origins of the specific culturally-based aesthetic elements of the festival. Following the theme of R's discursive practice, R indicates that festival production does not rely so much on a cultural basis, but on a practical and economic logic. (Line 64-73):

M. From this experience, how do you determine the aesthetics of Neurotic Deathfest?

R. It's kind've mathematical actually for Neurotic Deathfest, you know, I create the boundaries that it has to be Death Metal, Grindcore, or related...and, within that, I try to be as diverse as possible. I need enough old-school sounding bands, more technical Death Metal sounding bands, and Grindcore. So for every person that listens to Gorguts, Spawn of Possession...acts like that, I need to have enough acts for them to listen to on the bill. At the same time, for some that listens to Obituary, I would like to have enough value for their money as well. It's all about trying to create the right balance within the small niche that Extreme Metal is.

Once again, starkly contrasting the discursive practice of the other producers, R's Extreme Metal culture experience is "mathematically calculated" to ensure every person has "enough value for their money." While the 'mathematical calculation' indeed requires someone of in-depth sensitization of Extreme Metal music, the more dominant discursive practice at play is that of a homogenizing capitalist system within music

festivals production. Indeed, R confirms my observation verbatim, while introducing the familiar 'legacy' concept as I ask how the festival is special to him. (Line 91-97):

R. It's no romantic Death Metal community story, but, for me personally, that is what makes it a really important event for me...the fact that it's currently going for the twelfth year in a row makes it a little more special every year, because there aren't so many Extreme Metal festivals around anymore. Over the past ten years, I survived them all: Fuck the Commerce Festival, Extremefest, Deathfeast, you know, they are all long gone, but we are still around doing the same thing.

3.4.4 Dilemmas emergent in discourse-in-practice.

What is viewable in the passages above is not an impassioned cultural 'we' poised for mainstream transgression, but the money-driven culture of a business 'we' at the 013 venue with 'I' high within its ranks. Moreover, R's 'legacy' is tied to a business, and not cultural, constancy. Indeed, R states "I survived them all" indicating a personal dominance in the festival business arena that is not based upon a "romantic Death Metal community story." Moreover, the interview transcript contains many pages describing the market relation of Neurotic Deathfest as viewed from a 013 booking-staffer. This testament of 'survival' and 'legacy' is, of course, confounded in Neurotic Deathfest presently ceasing to exist. If this discursive practice represents R's present self, and the future self no longer produces Neurotic Deathfest, then the past self must be where the cultural affiliation and expertise originates. Surely, there is a distinct cultural difference between the context of R's past and present selves. This dilemmatic dynamic present in R's account is revealing of nuanced information about the producer and his version of

business-oriented festival production, which is further investigated in the following sections (Bamberg, 2014; Ricoeur, 1991; Holstein & Gubrium, 2000).

3.4.4.1 Dilemma of constancy.

The dynamic outlined in the previous section would infer that there may be significant issues of constancy for R. The observations thus far would indicate festival production practices founded upon R's past culturally-oriented self, and managed by a present business self. To probe that likely connection, and the presumption of a more cultural past self, I attempt to elicit a description of personal meaning attached the production of Neurotic Deathfest. (Line 85-90):

M. Could you describe how the festival is special to you?

R. It's special to me for a variety of reasons, but, you know, Death Metal is something I grew up with. It's something I've been involved with on a business level for quite some time. Neurotic Deathfest is the thing that connects me as a person to who I was, and, at the same time, it is very much what I am doing now.

In this passage, R demonstrates that his personal meaning of Neurotic Deathfest is in reconnecting with his past cultural self, or "who I was," with the present "what I am doing now" on a "business level." The association with the music genre and culture is decidedly placed in the past, where an ambiguous meaning is placed in linking the two selves. Because I am lead to believe those selves are conflicted in context, I directly ask R to relate his present self to the Extreme Metal culture of his festival. (Line 200-222):

M. Is there something about the Extreme Metal culture itself that is appealing to you presently...not from nostalgia?

R. (Hesitates, Laughs)

M. Nope! (Laughs)

R. Well, I go to less shows these days. I'm less involved in the whole lifestyle around it. I focus more on the music itself. The whole lifestyle thing around it is that you meet your friends for life at a Metal show. It's not an open community...it's quite a closed community. But within that community people are very welcoming and open to one another. Which is something that I always liked. For me, I'm 35, so my life grew beyond that, and has settled in a particular way. So, the whole thing around it...meeting your friends over there...that doesn't count that much for me anymore. When I go to a metal show, or when I go to a bar where you meet your friends in Metal...I don't meet many new people anymore over there. So the community has a whole ID behind it...do whatever you want, because you're Metal...and that whole thing...that's something I left behind. It's not that important to me anymore.

Referring back to the 'unity' concept introduced in the previous section within lines 19-32, and 'legacy' concept within lines 91-97, R expresses great pride in his solid 'legacy' in providing an outlet for Extreme Metal community in his festival. However, in this passage, R reveals that he has left that community and identity behind. His hesitant laugh, indeed, confirms that he does not relate to that context outside of a nostalgic subjectivity. What is incoherent about this dynamic is in R's claims to produce a festival to provide Extreme Metal cultural 'unity,' yet has 'left behind' that community and identity. Extreme Metal culture, as associated with his past self, is "not that important to me anymore" in the present, yet he claims to produce the festival in order to connect with that self. Such a confounding dilemma calls into question a more exact nature of the

contexts to which R is aligned in Extreme Metal festival production, if not Extreme Metal culture. To expose the contextual interplay in further detail, the element of time and transformation is removed from the frame.

3.4.4.2 Dilemma of sameness.

Removing the elements of time, transformation, and constancy, R's claims to creating 'legacy' of cultural 'unity' events is confounded by how much he minimizes the cultural centerpiece of the festival in favor of business-like description. Indeed, Extreme Metal cultural elements are ambiguously portrayed in this manner. Rather than being on display with an immediate cultural linkage, cultural components are linked with a sameness to instrumental elements of business-guided festival production. As such, R claims a near total alignment to these business aspects, which differs greatly from cultural centricity of the other subjects. Indeed, when I ask R, "Why Extreme Metal?" he responds, not with cultural significance, but the significance of economic demand in the local area. (Line 193-199):

R. Um...There's a good audience for it. There is a loyal audience for it. Within 45 min. of the area of 013 there is 2 million people living there. And, historically speaking, there is a higher interest in rock, guitar, and Metal music in our area than there is in any other part of the country. Not sure why, but it is so. So, I think it's a logical step to do something with that given fact, and accommodate the inner circle of people around your venue the most.

R contextualizes my question in terms of supply and demand with a reasoning based upon "higher interest in rock, guitar, and metal music in our area" and taking a "logical step...with that given fact." The 'logic,' of course, is a business logic to which

this passage, and many others, function to demonstrate a discursive sameness to the market operation. The persistent business-centricity leads me to question if there are non-business meanings to the festival. Since, in the previous section, R outlines that producing Neurotic Deathfest is his way to connect his past and present selves, I question the exact nature of that personal meaning. As I elicit how that dynamic is functioning in the present, a more detailed contextual dilemma between business and culture begins to come into view. (Line 216-219):

M. Do you feel the fest reconnects you with that in a way?

R. Yeah, it does. But from more of a distance than before, because there's the whole business side of things that walks all over that immediately. It's like watching it from a distance instead of standing in the middle of things.

When R expresses that he is "watching it from a distance," and "the whole business side of things that walks all over that immediately," he is referring to the Extreme Metal cultural centrality of his past self. The passage confirms the participation in the "business side of things" functions to 'distance' R from that cultural self. The resulting 'distanced view' calls attention to R's dilemma of sameness and difference to conflicted contexts of business and culture. R's necessary alignment with business has admittedly pulled him away from the equally necessary alignment with the cultural side of the Extreme Metal event. Indeed, R claims to have "left behind" the community identity referenced in the last section in lines 213-215. In my culturally-centric optimism, I attempt garner more details of the cultural context by suggesting to R that his business mind-set might be more culturally tied than he is considering. (Line 247-251):

M. So, you say you watch it from a distance, but you are probably closer to it than most, or maybe even closer to it than you might think.

R. Yeah, right. That might very well be true. I just don't experience it that way.

M. Because now you're experiencing it from a producer's point of view?

R. Yeah, That's correct.

R shuts down my elicitation intentions immediately by saying, "I just don't experience it that way." In my attempt to gain cultural details, I merely elicit confirmation of R's 'distance' from culture due to prolonged involvement in business practices. R explains this experience in practical terms toward the beginning of the interview (75-83):

R. ...I get a lot of energy when starting out, and I'm really pumped in doing yet another edition of the festival, and then, half-way through, it becomes more of a burden. Like, "Why do I still do this? Why isn't it done yet? Why don't these bands answer and confirm? Why does this or that band cancel?" So, half-way into the process I kind've forget why I do this, until the actual festival.

Through this passage, R offers a brief synopsis of the contextual dilemma between the mainstream transgression of Extreme Metal (Kahn-Harris, 2006) and having to manage that with business practices. Indeed, they do not mix as the festival "becomes more of a burden." R claims that bands do not confirm or cancel in a manner convenient to the business pace, and the stress of managing the contextual dilemma in real time makes R "forget why I do this." Indeed, the discursive alignment to the conflicting contexts is confounded in the practice of Extreme Metal festival production (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000).

3.4.5 Conflicting contexts.

As R states in line 218, there is a "whole business side of things that walks all over that immediately." In this line "that" references a version of Extreme Metal culture tied to R's past self. However, R never details that "romantic Death Metal community story." Indeed, he continuously uses the "business side" to deconstruct the 'romance' of the "Death Metal community story." Moreover, the festival R claims to use to reconnect with attributes of this past cultural self, works equally to 'distance' R from that self. For R, it has been a constant negotiation since joining 013. (Line 175-179):

R. When I was still independent I just booked the things that I thought I liked or that I thought people would like to see. But now I work at an organization where I need to book hundreds of shows each and every year. There's a lot of people on payroll that need to be paid every month. So, its more of a business approach. A more balanced thing where it was just a passion for the music when I was independent. It's now a combination of this very same passion and making ends meet for the company on a financial level.

In comparing "when I was independent" to working for "an organization," R details an ongoing "balanced thing" between business and cultural contexts since joining 013. The "balanced thing" is portrayed as a sort of negotiation on his behalf. Indeed, neither the culture, nor the industry, nor R vanishes amidst these conflicting contexts. Rather, nuanced information is revealed on how R is relating to these contexts. To detail this dynamic, I ask for specifics on the "balanced thing." (Line 295-310):

M. Could you expand on the difference in logic, business profit-driven vs. music scene driven decisions, and how are those two intertwined for you?

R. Obviously profit-driven decisions are fully driven by financial outcome. That is the interest of the company, and the interest of the audience comes second or forth or not at all. (Me: it seems like going 100% with that logic would destroy the music scene.) Yeah, it would. That's why it's always a matter of finding a right balance between that and artistically made decisions. An artistically made decision might also make profit, but it might also cost money in the end. So doing it 100% one way, OR 100% the other way, would destroy the music scene or the live music industry completely.

In addition to conflicting contexts of business-versus-culture emerging from the analytic frame, R confirms this dynamic verbatim in the above passage. R demonstrates how, as a producer, he must balance these opposing contexts so one might not obliterate the other. It is this general dynamic that is viewable in each of the producers' unique accounts.

Chapter 4: Conclusions and Discussions

4.0 Business-versus-Culture: A meta-narrative

Through narrative analysis, identity dilemmas were revealed in incoherent narrative moments where producers' discursive practices and discourses-in-practice were viewed in alignment with the conflicting contexts (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000). These conflicting contexts are made visible in observing narrative dilemmas of constancy (Bamberg, 2014; Ricoeur, 1991) and sameness and difference (Bamberg, 2014; Holstein & Gubrium, 2000). This meta-narrative of Extreme Metal festival producer identity is established through the analytic process as being on a continuum between two dilemmatic contexts: the adaptability to the mainstream and economic market relation of commoditized tourism (Cohen, 1988), and the preservation of Extreme Metal's transgression of the mainstream culture (Kahn-Harris, 2006). As these contexts are viewed as being part of the subjects' production complex (Hennion, 1989), the perpetual struggles for the producers to assert and define themselves, their production practices, and their festival space is viewed as act of intermediating that complex.

In terms of validating the meta-narrative, it should again be noted that the subjects of this study retain specific cultural and institutional context prior to any utterance. They are Extreme Metal festival producers, and each claim membership to a presumed shared cultural discourse of Extreme Metal and festival production. As Extreme Metal literature would indicate, transgressing ordinary, mundane, and mainstream life is done in varying ways under the commonality of the culture (Kahn-Harris, 2006). As expected, the individualized interpretations of 'who we are' retain both commonality and

individualized discourse within this context. These individualized discourses are, however, also presented under a perception of shared identity. The observation of their discursive practice is revealing of who they claim to be in cultural context. However, as Holstein and Gubrium (2000) note, "A shared discourse of identity could work as much to threaten the self as to positively define it" (p.117). While some stories work to demonstrate alignment with the 'we,' other stories, emerging as necessary to the plot, present incoherent and simultaneous alignments of both sameness and difference to context.

Through this narrative identity analytic framework, a common 'business-versus-culture' meta-narrative emerges in observations of primary conflicting contexts to which the narrators align themselves. While each account contains specific aspects of the self as related to a 'referential world' of Extreme Metal festival production (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000), the unresolvable paradoxes in transgressing homogeneity of an industrialized music complex left producers adrift in oppositional value systems of DIY and the mainstream commercial industry. The analysis reveals negotiations, resistances, as well as coping strategies from Extreme Metal festival producers discursively grappling with their contested identities. The resulting performed identities relative to this contextual dilemma of 'business-versus-culture' reveal discordant anxieties of constant displacement and struggle.

As I reexamine the producers' conflicting contexts, similar claims confirm the findings that a homogenizing, commoditizing, and mainstream market relation within festival tourism (Cohen, 1988) has internal contentions with Extreme Metal's mainstream transgression (Kahn-Harris, 2006). As a first example, MH directly addresses that the

"economical situation" in Romania is a "big obstacle." The transcendental 'unity' of a cultural 'we' he defines diminishes as he must speak about the heavy competition among Romanian producers, nationalist stereotypes embedded in business practice that inhibiting the booking of bands, complications in organizing Romanians that do not know 'what Metal means,' and so on. As a second example, 'who we are' according to B are unified festival volunteers following his 'anti-capitalist ecology' discursive practice, which is largely wrapped up in the Extreme Metal tradition of DIY (Kahn-Harris, 2006). The idealism is confounded as soon as volunteerism is looked upon as cheap labor, and B, the 'anti-capitalist accountant,' must utilize expertise from professional work in finance to help keep the festival 'legacy' going. Similarly, L must defy his adolescent DIY cultural roots in his current booking agent position in order to 'pay the bills.' As such, his purely underground DIY festival, which only 'breaks even,' is used to make cultural amends. Finally, the ever-practical R used homogenizing 'economic logic' to produce a culturally unifying experience until Neurotic Deathfest died. As such, R proclaims this is "no romantic Death Metal community story."

These dilemmatic dynamics present in the accounts demonstrates how festival production manifests out of producers' reactions to the complex interplay of contexts in which they are situated. Moreover, producers actively make space for their culture to exist amidst a business context where culture must be made consumable. These cultural arbiters demonstrate successes, failures, and struggles in transgressing the commoditization and homogenization of the Extreme Metal festival experience (Cohen, 1988). At the same time, it is they who must commoditize the culture into a festival experience. As the findings point out, what constitutes Extreme Metal to the producers

remains a proverbial battleground for discursive grappling and meaning-making in the management and delivery of Extreme Metal festivals.

4.1 Validation

According to Creswell and Miller (2000), qualitative field researchers validate their research through three distinct facets or “lenses” (p.125). First, researchers exhaust the data through a rigorous protocol of extracting meaning-making processes. This has been demonstrated through the ‘analytic bracketing’ technique, as defined by Holstein and Gubrium (2000), by which narrative contextual dilemmas between discursive practice and discourse-in-practice are observed. Secondly, individuals external to the study also review the findings. This aspect has been built in to the master thesis approval process by way of a defense process through a diverse review committee, an IRB approval process, as well as a peer review process involved in a recent publication submission out of this research.

Moreover, the qualitative approach “assumes that reality is socially constructed and it is what participants perceive it to be” (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 125). This final “lens” insists that conclusions are reviewed for accuracy by the participants of the study. In regards to the findings of this research, producers that reviewed the conflicting contexts of the analysis said, “You are right, that's the constant battle. Staying DIY versus selling out. Plus battle the forces of the high prices, and economics in general.” Another producer said, “I think you are right. It is always a thin line to find and maintain the right balance. Finances (budgeting) as well as a proper line-up, look and feel of a festival as well as reaching out to the community are important factors to make this successful. The two really cannot go without one another, but they don't necessarily

complement each other either. So it is always somewhat of a struggle to find the right path time after time. Monitoring this (and a lot of other things) closely and critically review what you are actually doing is really important. Obviously, To be clear, somewhat of a struggle isn't really meant as a real negative thing, as this still is one of the best jobs to do.” This review points out that the results of this study coincide with producers' perspective of their positioning, and, thus, is in support of the findings.

4.2 Contributions and Limitations

4.1.1 Contributions to tourism literature.

A primary focus in studying Extreme Metal events, and dark tourism in general, is through the milieu of consumption (Lennon & Foley, 1999; Podoshen, Andrzejewski, Venkatesh & Wallin, 2015; Stone, 2006; Stone & Sharpley, 2008), seeking to examine tourists' encounters with subjects of “death, disaster and atrocity” (Buda & McIntosh, 2013, p.216). In understanding individuals' desires, fantasies and drives in confronting anxiety and mortality (Buda, 2015; Stone & Sharpley, 2008), the purpose of dark tourism research to shed light on a wider human condition (Podoshen et al., 2015). While dark tourism literature notes similar dynamics of transgression as found in this study, experiences in producing and creating dark tourism, the complexities and depths involved in processes, and producer experiences have been rarely discussed. The literature has primarily sought to explore participants of the culture itself and their impact in locales. The evidence of this study suggests that the observed transgressive dynamic within Extreme Metal culture manifests in the production of Extreme Metal events. Specifically, the 'business-versus-culture' meta-narrative of Extreme Metal festival

producers found here contributes further to the consumption milieu of dark tourism literature.

Moreover, it can be reasonable inferred that this dynamic can be located in any other tourism market: in particular, nonmainstream, dark, and niche' tourism. Insights shared by the subjects, and dilemmas thereof, outline specific challenges, struggles, managerial tactics, and the cultural context of event organizers. Indeed, the contextual dilemma between Extreme Metal and business had a profound effect on festival procedures. The evidence suggests that even niche' tourist events such as Extreme Metal festivals cannot escape the market pace, relation, and imperatives, as tourism itself is said to lead to commoditized culture and the economic market relations thereof (Cohen, 1988). In terms of managerial implications, this study observes the question of self as fundamentally shaping producers' identity, and influencing strategies of customer service delivery in these niche' tourist events

4.1.2 Contributions to Extreme Metal literature.

As previously implicated, the extent of Extreme Metal literature has largely focused on the transgressive aesthetics of the culture itself, and the audiences and artists that participate in the culture (Kahn-Harris, 2006; Mudrian, 2004; Netherton, 2014; etc.). The contribution of this study lies in the production focus. It brings into view the cultural arbiters who bring these transgressive aesthetics 'to life' in the form of live performance events. Indeed the festivals of Extreme Metal, in particular, constitute a concentrated space to present counter-hegemonic rituals, as radical aesthetics along with transgressive themes keep stirring up feelings of aggression, anger, violence and brutality (Weinstein,

2000). Therefore, unveiling the experiences of those who continuously produce these cultural sites is paramount to understanding Extreme Metal and its events.

4.1.3 Contributions to narrative analysis literature.

Admittedly, the application of narrative inquiry and narrative identity to tourism is a unique contribution. Within the production complex of Extreme Metal festivals (Hennion, 1989), this study demonstrates how narrative dilemma (Bamberg, 2014), discursive grappling, and conflicting contexts of a ‘referential world’ are tied (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000). Bamberg (2014) states, “The increasing diversification into different narrative methods and approaches (content/thematic vs. structural/formal methods, now joined by discursive/performative approaches) has led to the question whether there is still a common core to the original ‘narrative approach’ as an alternative to the study of subjectivity, self, and identity”(p.250). I argue, as supported by the results of this study, that the utilization of the basic foundational qualitative questions of ‘what’ and ‘how’ used in separate analytic turns as described by Holstein and Gubrium (2000) provides a basis of validity while reeling in the diversification of narrative methodology. The core of this methodology interacts with, and can be traced to, the foundational observations of inherent narrative dilemma as set out by Paul Ricoeur (1991). The methodology was effective in extracting subtextual and extra-textual meanings while retaining validity in incremental analytic turns from microcosmic elements of the text to macrocosmic referential contexts.

4.1.4 Limitations.

The small sampling, while retaining a validity of being selected out of a complete business practice, and therefore providing a 'snap shot' of the Extreme Metal Festival

industry and culture in motion, could be expanded for future research purposes (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006). Indeed, the sample does not represent the whole of the Extreme Metal festival industry. Instead, it offers a sensitization into the macrocosmic and microcosmic context in which producers are situated. When expanding upon this research into other territories of the world, certainly more varied contexts will come into view per each locale. However, the macrocosmic contexts are likely to be found as encompassing the industry itself.

This study could also be expanded to fully incorporate audiences, other sides of the industry, or into the full territory of Extreme Metal Festivals. There are a little over 200 in existence at present according to the literature, and researching the narratives of 200 subjects should be feasible with the proper amount of research staff. In doing so, many more contexts would come into accounting. However, it is the view of this researcher that the dynamic found here may be found elsewhere. Literature on the subject of Extreme Metal festival production is so sparse, that this piece functions as one of the foundational works on the topic.

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Appendix

Consent Letter

Greetings,

You are being asked to participate in this interview as part of a research study. This research is examining the impacts identity on music festivals. This interview will last no longer than one hour, and can be ended at any time if you wish to do so.

In the interview, we will ask you a series of semi-structured and conversational questions to try and understand your positioning in festival production. You are free to answer these questions as you wish, if you wish to move on to another question we may do that at any time. If you wish to end the interview, that can also be done at any time. The interviews will be recorded for analysis of your position as a festival producer.

There is the potential for some discomfort in answering some of these questions if there were negative impacts from your position. If you feel any discomfort in answering the question, you may skip the question or end the interview entirely. There are minimal risks for participation in this study. To further highlight this, we will keep all the interviews and data collected from these interviews confidential and stored in a secure location.

We are conducting this study so that we may better understand the lasting effects that large scale sporting events have on communities which host them. In this way, we will attempt to find ways in which these events could be better managed in the future, and have more positive impacts on communities, residents and stakeholders. We would like to remind you that we will keep all interviews confidential, all recordings will be stored in a secure password protected computer, and no one but the researchers will have access to the data. We also want to remind you that your participation is voluntary. There is no penalty or loss of benefits from refusing to participate or ending the interviews early.

As a participant in this study, you are free to answer questions as you wish. If you do not wish to answer a question, we may skip to the next question. In the case you would like to end the interview, you may request to end the interview, and we will end it immediately at your request. Furthermore, if you wish for us to delete your session, we will delete any data we gathered from you, and remove you from the study. There will be no penalty for refusing to participate in this study, or ending participation during the middle of the study.

All of the data collected from the study will not use any names or identifiers, everything you say will be kept entirely confidential. Our interview will last at most about one hour in time. We will ask a series of questions, and may ask follow up questions in regards to your responses. All data will be recorded electronically, and then stored on a secured and encrypted computer which is password protected. This computer will be stored in a locked room, and no one but the researchers will be able to access this

data. While we foresee no risks or discomforts with this study, as all data is kept confidential, and we will be collecting no identifying information from individuals. However, as noted before, if you feel that you are uncomfortable with continuing this survey, you are free to withdraw at any time.

By staying and continuing with the interview, you are providing consent for us to record, collect and analyze this data for the use of research. Again I would like to stress that all data is going to be kept confidential and all businesses and names will be confidential.

I'd like to thank you again for taking the time to read this. If you have any questions or concerns after this interview, you may contact me at: mdk422@mail.missouri.edu . You may additional contact the Campus IRB office at the University of Missouri if you have any questions via email at: umcresearchcirkb@missouri.edu or call them at 573-882-9585.

You may contact the Campus Institutional Review Board if you have questions about your rights, concerns, complaints or comments as a research participant. You can contact the Campus Institutional Review Board directly by telephone or email to voice or solicit any concerns, questions, input or complaints about the research study.

483 McReynolds Hall
Columbia, MO 65211
573-882-9585
Website: <http://www.research.missouri.edu/cirb/index.htm>
E-Mail: umcresearchcirkb@missouri.edu

Sincerely,

Mark Kloeppe, Graduate Assistant
Tourism Management Emphasis
Department of Parks, Recreation and Tourism
University of Missouri

By signing below, I acknowledge the above statements and agree to participate in this study.

Printed Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

IRB Approval Letter



Institutional Review Board
University of Missouri-Columbia

190 Galena Hall; Dc074.00
Columbia, MO 65212
573-882-3181
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March 21, 2016

Principal Investigator:
Department:

Your Annual Exempt Form to project entitled Understanding the Dynamics of Culture Production in Leisure: An Ethnography of Metal Music was reviewed and approved by the MU Institutional Review Board according to the terms and conditions described below:

IRB Project Number	1210496
IRB Review Number	213141
Funding Source	University of Missouri - Columbia
Initial Application Approval Date	April 16, 2014
Approval Date of this Review	March 21, 2016
IRB Expiration Date	April 16, 2017
Level of Review	Exempt
Project Status	Closed - Data Analysis Only
Risk Level	Minimal Risk

The principal investigator (PI) is responsible for all aspects and conduct of this study. The PI must comply with the following conditions of the approval:

1. No subjects may be involved in any study procedure prior to the IRB approval date or after the expiration date.
2. All unanticipated problems, adverse events, and deviations must be reported to the IRB within 5 days.
3. All changes must be IRB approved prior to implementation unless they are intended to reduce immediate risk.
4. All recruitment materials and methods must be approved by the IRB prior to being used.
5. The Annual Exempt Form must be submitted to the IRB for review and approval at least 30 days prior to the project expiration date. If the study is complete, the Completion/Withdrawal Form may be submitted in lieu of the Annual Exempt Form
6. Maintain all research records for a period of seven years from the project completion date.
7. Utilize all approved research documents located within the attached files section of eCompliance. These documents are highlighted green.

If you are offering subject payments and would like more information about research participant