The greening of music festivals: motivations, barriers and outcomes. Applying the Mair and Jago model

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Events are a growing sector, often attracting tourists to destinations. There is increased emphasis on achieving sustainability in event management; some festivals, particularly large outdoor music festivals, are leading in greening their events. This paper explores the drivers of, and barriers to, greening festivals and considers how events might be a vehicle for promoting sustainable behaviour. The application of the Mair and Jago model is tested. Long interviews were conducted with managers of six UK and Australian festivals that have won awards for their "green" performance and an organisation that encourages the greening of festivals. Findings suggest that managers of these festivals act both as a champion and a steward of greening and that the key drivers of festival greening are the personal values or ethos of the manager and/or the organisation, demand for greening from stakeholders and a desire to educate and act as an advocate of green issues. Barriers to greening festivals included the financial costs, lack of time and control over festival venues and the inability to source appropriate suppliers or supplies. Further research could explore these issues in other events contexts and examine whether events leave a lasting legacy in terms of influencing environmental behaviour.

Keywords: festivals; environment; stewardship; qualitative research

Introduction

The staging of events has significant global importance, given their potential to boost tourism and their ubiquity from a societal and cultural perspective. Indeed, events are often very closely linked with tourism. Events have been described as "one of the most exciting and fastest growing forms of leisure, business, and tourism-related phenomena" (Getz, 1997, p. 1). For example, in Australia, a total of 15 million people attended an event of some kind in 2009–2010, representing growth of almost 20% from 12.6 million in 1999 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2010). Their economic, social and environmental impacts are now an emerging area of research interest (Mair & Jago, 2009). The backdrop to this research is the increasing pressure on all sectors of society to be cognizant of the need for sustainability and, in particular, to encourage greater environmental sustainability. Understanding the role of sustainability within event management is one important avenue of research, given the size of this industry and the popularity of events across a broad swathe of the population and their potential to negatively affect communities and the environment (Gibson & Wong, 2011; Laing & Frost, 2010). At present, there is a paucity of studies that consider events from an environmental sustainability perspective. A second emerging focus

for events research is to explore how events can be used to promote sustainable behaviour, in that they might represent a low-key way to deliver these messages in a non-threatening environment (Sharpe, 2008). Little research has been conducted at present into the potential for events as a vehicle for delivering socially desirable messages.

This is despite the fact that many types of events are now adopting environmentally sustainable practices, including waste management, recycling, minimising power use and encouraging access by public transport or bicycles (Laing & Frost, 2010). They are also promoting their "green" credentials to their stakeholders. Mair and Jago (2010) take business events as an example and demonstrate that "greening" (which they define as "investment in environmentally friendly facilities and practices" [p. 78]) is becoming an integral part of this sector. They considered the drivers or motivators that have led these events to adopt greening. There are, however, a number of barriers to increased greening of events which have been identified (Mair & Jago, 2010; Park & Boo, 2010) and not all event organisers are prioritising environmental sustainability. It is important to understand how the process of greening works within a broader events context and to identify lessons that can be learnt by other sectors of the events industry. Research findings may lead to events playing a greater role in the future in encouraging sustainable behaviour amongst attendees, as well as influencing the behaviour of event organisers, in terms of how sustainably they manage their events.

The model of greening developed by Mair and Jago (2010), which aimed to create a general conceptual framework to understand the process of corporate greening and underpin the development of strategies to enhance greening, could be applied in other events contexts. It seeks to explain how and why business events companies embrace corporate greening. The model represents the interconnections between the dimensions that are influential (both drivers and barriers) and also includes both the organisational context of the individual firm and the role of the media in setting the agenda for the salience of environmental issues. The model proposes that competitive advantage, image enhancement, supply chain/customer corporate social responsibility policies and consumer demand (termed as "the hygiene factor") are all significant drivers of greening (Mair & Jago, 2010).

This paper applies the Mair and Jago model to festivals. Festivals have been described by Getz (2005) as "themed, public celebrations" (p. 21). They can be considered to be different from other types of planned events because of their celebratory or thanksgiving focus (Getz, Andersson, & Carlsen, 2010; Sharpe, 2008) and the fact that they incorporate many "cultural and social dimensions of ritual and symbolism" (Getz et al., 2010, p. 31), such as display, consumption and competitive rites (Falassi, 1987).

The objective of this paper is therefore to apply the Mair and Jago model to a festival context – specifically music festivals – and to consider the importance of greening to festival organisers. In doing so, the paper has the secondary objective of identifying the barriers and drivers in respect to the "greening" of festivals. The rationale for adopting the music festival as the context of this study is discussed in the Method section of this paper. Exploring and understanding how the organisers of these events have negotiated the path to greening will provide a clearer understanding of how barriers and obstacles can be overcome and will pave the way to further encourage those events which have yet to fully engage with the sustainability agenda.

Greening and events

The backdrop to this paper is the literature on the greening of organisations and allied concepts such as environmental values, stewardship, environmental ethics and green advocacy

and leadership within business. This literature provided the conceptual underpinning to the Mair and Jago (2010) model and therefore is of relevance to the current study. We briefly cover these later, before discussing the relatively small amount of research carried out on greening of events (which does not cover festivals) and how this informed the current study.

Greening of organisations

As early as 1998, Fuchs and Mazmanian noted that a substantial literature on achieving sustainability in business had developed which refers to "industrial greening". This literature covers aspects such as determinants of greening, the technology behind greening, greening in specific industry sectors and the impact of greening on economic and financial performance (Fuchs & Mazmanian, 1998). Some of the environmental practices considered to be "greening" are changes to products, processes and policies such as reducing energy consumption and waste consumption; the use of ecologically sustainable resources; and the implementation of an environmental management system (Bansal & Roth, 2000). Much of the initial research was carried out in the motor and petro-chemical industries, where sustainability was particularly critical, given the scarcity of these resources and their potential toxicity.

In a review of the corporate greening literature in an airline context, Lynes (2004) has developed a list of the main drivers of greening, namely (1) financial benefits (to reduce costs and increase efficiency), (2) competitive advantage, (3) image enhancement, (4) stakeholder pressures (consumers, industry groups, banks, etc.) and (5) a desire to avoid or delay regulator pressures. Other studies of greening have produced similar results, but also refer to the personal and/or managerial *values* of the owners/managers of organisations as drivers (*inter alia* Andersson & Bateman, 2000; Bramwell & Alletorp, 2001; Fineman & Clarke, 1996; Lynes & Dredge, 2006; Tzschentke, Kirk, & Lynch, 2004). It is important to clarify what is meant by the term "values", as it has a slightly different meaning across different disciplines.

Values, environmental stewardship and championship

Values are conceptualised as learned beliefs about life and acceptable behaviour (Williams, 1979), which are closely held, and act as standards to guide behaviour (Rokeach, 1979). It is clear that although a number of studies refer to the personal and/or managerial values of stakeholders, few, if any, of these studies have tested these values using the traditional methods established in the consumer behaviour literature by Rokeach (1979), Mitchell (1983) and Kahle (1996). Therefore, this paper considers the term *values* to be a broad description of the personal worldview and ethos of an individual, rather than a reference to the specific types or lists of values found in the consumer behaviour literature. This parallels the idea of values representing a "worldview", as used in the New Ecological Paradigm (Dunlap, Van Liere, Mertig, & Emmet Jones, 2000) and in much of the literature examining environmentalism (Dietz, Stern, & Guagnano, 1998).

Values appear to be a driver of environmental behaviour in a business context. In a study modelling the drivers of proactive environmental behaviour amongst firms in the US wine industry (Marshall, Cordano, & Silverman, 2005), the primary individual drivers identified were managerial attitudes as a reflection of environmental values; subjective norms "centred on employee welfare, product quality and cost efficiencies" (p. 104); and regulatory and brand image concerns. They also refer to "environmental stewardship", which is a slightly different concept to "championship" (see Andersson & Bateman, 2000). The stewardship

concept has a theological origin and refers to someone who has a relationship of care, a sacred trust or responsibility over something or someone else (Berry, 2006). Further, Pepper, Jackson and Uzzell (2011) argue that stewardship fosters a belief in the seriousness of environmental problems. In contrast, the term championship is used in reference to an individual who encourages or is an advocate of a particular cause or way of thinking. Mair and Jago (2010) characterise the eco-champion as a catalyst for pro-environmental behaviour. In this paper, we adopt these definitions when referring to stewardship and championship in relation to sustainable festivals.

Ethics

Ethical considerations have also been identified as one of the main reasons behind the adoption of sustainable measures in organisations (Tzschentke et al., 2004). Tzschentke et al.'s study of small businesses found that articulations of this commitment "were indicative of the respondents' values and the degree of responsibility he/she felt towards the environment" (p. 119) and that personal values and beliefs play an important role in decision-making in the small business context. Interviewees spoke of the importance of what is being done now "for future generations" (p. 119) and that being environmentally responsible was akin to a "social duty" (p. 120). Managers exhibit these personal values though managerial discretion (Hemingway & Maclagan, 2004), which may be formal in nature, the result of "unintended discretion", or entrepreneurial discretion, in that it is not bestowed by someone, but is exercised nevertheless. They make the point that this can be done "to address [individual manager's] personal moral concerns" (Hemingway & Maclagan, 2004, p. 41).

A discussion of ethics leads us to concerns about the prevalence of *greenwashing* amongst organisations. It has been defined as "the act of misleading consumers regarding the environmental practices of a company or the environmental benefits of a product or service" (TerraChoice, 2010, p. 1). TerraChoice have now identified seven "sins" of greenwashing – the sin of the hidden trade-off, the sin of no proof, the sin of vagueness, the sin of irrelevance, the sin of lesser of two evils, the sin of fibbing and the sin of worshipping false labels (TerraChoice, 2010). Examples of greenwashing might include being vague about environmental claims, making claims that are very difficult to substantiate, or exaggerating the environmental benefits of products or services. Laing and Frost (2010) note that there is a need for further research into greenwashing issues connected with events, given that a number of members of the industry are increasingly seeking to promote their green credentials. Avoiding greenwashing might be one role of environmental advocacy and leadership in the workplace.

Environmental advocacy and leadership

There are different views in the literature as to where environmental champions might be found within an organisation, although there appears to be an acknowledgement that champions need to have a level of autonomy and encouragement if they come from the lower echelons of a company. Andersson and Bateman (2000) suggest that environmental innovations are often formulated and promoted by single individuals working in the operating cores of organisations, although they do note that "any employee can become an environmental champion and thus it is important for managers to encourage those employees who have a passion for or a technical interest in environmental issues to channel this passion or interest in a way that benefits the organization" (p. 567). There is research that supports the view that middle managers might be the change-agents in an organisation with respect

to corporate social responsibility and it is noted that "it would be naive to assume that all managerial values are inherited from senior management, rather like some kind of organizational DNA" (Hemingway & Maclagan, 2004, p. 38). Bohdanowicz, Zientara and Novotna (2011) have some interesting observations on the various roles of employees/managers in greening in the international chain hotel industry context.

Jenkins (2006) observes however that in a small and medium enterprises (SME) context, owner/managers generally have the autonomy to exercise such discretion and benefit from a more "personalised style of management and [lack of] formal management structures" (p. 242). In the events sector, small businesses dominate, and therefore it can be argued that because of this, there is likely to be a close match between the owner/manager's personal values and the organisational values of the company. Kusyk and Lozano (2007) examined both drivers and barriers of social and environmental performance amongst SMEs. They found that the most commonly cited driver was "a reflection of the owner/manager's moral and ethical values", which gives further credence to the notion that such personal values may be an important driver in the greening of business (Kusyk & Lozano, 2007, p. 506).

It is worth noting at this juncture that not all researchers accept that the personal values or ethos of a manager will automatically translate into organisational or business decisions. Indeed, it has been argued (e.g. Bakan, 2004) that managers are simply not always in a position to be able to make business decisions based on personal considerations. However, in the context of music festivals, it seems that there is an element of "lifestyle" choice and personal passion in the decision to run or organise a festival in the first place, and therefore arguably, many music festival organisers are in a position to bring their personal values to bear on business decisions.

Drivers and barriers to greening of events

There is little research that considers drivers and barriers to greening of events and none in a festival context. One of the few existing studies that have applied this concept to business events was the Mair and Jago (2010) model. It proposed that competitive advantage, image enhancement, supply chain/customer corporate social responsibility policies and consumer demand (termed as "the hygiene factor") were all significant drivers of greening (Mair & Jago, 2010). A hygiene factor – the term derives originally from the work of Herzberg (1966) – refers to factors that tend to provide the basic conditions for satisfaction. It is often used by practitioners to refer to a factor or service that is assumed to be there and one without which business is unlikely to be won (Mair & Jago, 2010). Their research also highlighted that lack of time, resources and knowledge can be considered to be barriers. Further, their model suggests that levels of "greening" or sustainable behaviour will vary depending on the external context (including economic situation, consumer trends, available technology and political leadership) and the organisational context (business type and size, industry sector and organisational values). These two contexts are similar to the concept of the micro and macro environments in which organisations operate (Kotler & Lee, 2008). The micro environment includes strengths and weaknesses within the organisation (including resources, partnerships and management support), whilst the macro environment refers to opportunities and threats that exist externally to the organisation (such as political, economic, cultural and technological forces; Kotler & Lee, 2008). It can be hypothesised that these micro and macro environments will have a bearing on sustainability levels within an organisation, however little is currently known about how these environments affect the greening of events.

Mair and Jago's findings stress the importance of the personal or managerial values of the organisational leader and found that the presence of an eco-champion was a vital catalyst in determining how much effort would be put into greening in a particular organisation. Given that environmental values appear to be important in the business events context, it appears reasonable to suppose that they may also represent an important part of the greening decision in a festival context. However, it is important to note that as the only model of its kind in the events context, it may require significant alteration to make it applicable in the music festival context. Further, this model has only been tested on a small sample and may not be accurate in other business events contexts. This needs exploration and is a current gap in the literature.

There is a relatively well-developed literature on music festivals generally, mainly focused on attendee motivations (*inter alia* Bowen & Daniels, 2005; Crompton & McKay, 1997; Faulkner, Fredline, Larson, & Tomljenovic, 1999; Formica & Uysal, 1996; Nicholson & Pearce, 2000). However, there have been few studies that have examined the role of environmental sustainability at music festivals or, for that matter, at any type of events (exceptions include Hede, 2007; Laing & Frost, 2010; Mair & Jago, 2010; Park & Boo, 2010; Sherwood, 2007). Research is lacking both from the point of view of the attendees (e.g. does sustainability play a role in their attendance decision and are they aware of the environmental measures incorporated into the staging of the event by the organisers?) and the organisers (e.g. why do they/should they invest in sustainable practices and facilities?). This paper focuses on the latter dimension. It applies the greening framework used by Mair and Jago (2010) to a music festival context, and considers how these findings might be applied to achieve sustainable tourism outcomes.

Method

The focus of this study is the music festival. Music festivals can be considered a specific subset of festivals, with unique characteristics. They differ from a concert, in the sense that music festival attendees generally expect a very varied line-up. Music festivals may have a specific genre (such as jazz, rock or classical) or may involve a variety of talent and styles. According to Bowen and Daniels (2005), music festivals have broad appeal because they typically include activities and diversions beyond the music itself and may even include associated workshops in line with the theme of the festival.

These festivals are growing in popularity (Brennan-Horley, Connell, & Gibson, 2007; Frey, 1994), particularly the large outdoor festivals (Anderton, 2009), which often take place over several days and involve many attendees camping on site. They may make a large economic contribution through ticket sales and food and beverage sales. The potential however for a negative impact on the surrounding region, from a socio-cultural as well as an environmental perspective, is immense. Examples might include the amount of waste generated, levels of litter, water usage, noise and traffic pollution. Music festivals are also at the vanguard of promoting sustainability, especially those taking place in open spaces. Many of them have won national and international awards based on environmental criteria (Laing & Frost, 2010). A number of festivals organisers use their profile and popularity to deliver an environmental message.

In-depth interviews were carried out with one festival director and five managers responsible for sustainability issues as a part of their portfolio of duties, as well as the manager of one organisation which aims to help festivals become more sustainable. The precise titles of each of these interviewees are included in Table 1. These individuals were nominated by the festival organisers as having the expertise to discuss the role of "green" or

Table 1. Festival and interviewee details.

	Year started	Location	Average attendance	Festival type	Venue type	Interviewee title
Festival 1	1989	Australia	87,500 (over 5 days)	Blues and Roots Music	Dedicated green field site	Director
Festival 2	2004	Australia	24,000 (over 3 days)	Sustainable Arts and Music	Leased green field site	Sustainability & Community/ Government Manager
Festival 3	2007	United Kingdom	231,450 (over 18 days)	International Arts Festival	25 city centre venues	Head of Creative Learning
Festival 4	1993	Australia	32,000 (over 3 days)	Music and Arts Festival	Dedicated green field site	Artist, Commercial and Logistics Manager
Festival 5	1992	Australia	80,000 (over 4 days)	World of Music and Dance festival	City centre parkland	Site Manager
Festival 6	1962	United Kingdom	Approx. 200,000 (over 3 weeks)	Music and Arts Festival	City centre venues	General Manager

sustainability issues in the planning and management of their festival. Only one individual was interviewed from each festival organisation, given the exploratory nature of this study.

The festivals were selected from a list of those music festivals that had won either A Greener Festival or a Banksia Award. The Greener Festival Award "recognises and rewards festivals worldwide who have made significant steps in reducing their environmental impact" (A Greener Festival, 2011; http://www.agreenerfestival.com/). The Banksia Awards focus on Australian individuals and businesses in order "to raise the profile of the current environmental issues facing Australia and recognise those whose initiatives are an encouragement and an example for others to follow" (Banksia Foundation, 2011). This allowed us to examine the priority given to greening amongst those festivals that are well-known for their environmental focus. This information was available online, through A Greener Festival (2011; http://www.agreenerfestival.com/) and the Banksia Environmental Foundation (2011) websites.

The festivals were contacted through an email address obtained from their website and asked whether one of their managers would be available for an interview about the role of "green" or sustainability issues in the planning and management of their festival. Two of these festivals were based in the United Kingdom, with the other four based in regional Australia. The organisation assisting the sustainability of festivals was based in the United Kingdom but assists festivals world-wide. They aim to make environmental sustainability an intrinsic part of music and the arts and offer a range of advice and tools to event organisers to help with this. Australia and the United Kingdom were selected as they have the greatest number of festivals that are recipients of these awards and are arguably some of the most advanced in terms of sustainability issues. Each of the festivals selected for this study attracts tourists, as well as local people. They therefore play a role in tourism

development in their region and their environmental focus might be argued to contribute to sustainable tourism outcomes. Further information on each festival is provided in Table 1.

Each interview was carried out face-to-face and lasted between 45 and 75 minutes. Questions asked included definitions of sustainability, the aims and objectives of their event, motivations for incorporating greening into their event and any barriers or constraints that they encountered with respect to greening. Information was sought on the green elements of each festival, the priority given to greening within their event, the values and beliefs of the organisers, the influence (if any) of their stakeholders and the role of marketing and the media with respect to their level of greening. The organisation that assisted festivals with greening was asked about their views on these issues, based on their experience with and dealings with festivals over the past few years. With permission, the interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. Each transcript was returned to the interviewees to allow them to check it for accuracy and withdraw any statements they chose or clarify any ambiguities, a process known as member checking (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This process demonstrates the credibility and trustworthiness of the data, which in qualitative studies addresses the issue of validity (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). There were no major changes to the transcripts and so they were analysed using open coding. An outline copy of the prompts used by the researchers conducting the interviews can be found as an appendix to the Web-based version of this paper.

Open coding involves the researcher breaking down the data into its parts and looking for similarities and differences. As Strauss and Corbin (1990) note: "Through this process, one's own and others' assumptions about phenomena are questioned and explored, leading to new discoveries" (p. 62). All data were coded according to themes derived both from the literature (mainly using the elements of the Mair & Jago, 2010, model) and from the emergent data. Codes were developed in relation to drivers or motivators and then obstacles and barriers (see Table 2). Charmaz (1995) sees the coding stage as the "pivotal link" between data collection and theory development and advocates line-by-line coding, which allows close and scrupulous analysis and forces the researcher to stay close to their data. Coding "frames" the inquiry at the beginning of data collection, providing "leads to pursue" (Charmaz, 1995, p. 39). She then recommends the use of focused coding, which examines recurring codes in data collected early on in the research process and applies them to subsequent data collected during the study. Focused coding also assists in the creation of categories for data (Charmaz, 1995). These codes formed the basis of a theoretically informed analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Table 2. Drivers and barriers to festival greening.

Drivers	Obstacles/barriers
Main drivers	
Organisation/personal values	Financial costs/lack of financial/other support from stakeholders
Consumer demand	Lack of time
Desire to educate/advocate	Lack of control over individual venues/split incentive
Less significant drivers	Lack of control over patron behaviour
Financial benefits	Availability of sustainable suppliers/supplies
CSR policy/mission statement	
Competitive/marketing advantage	
Image/reputation	

Note: CSR, corporate social responsibility.

    Data were analysed without making comparisons between the two countries. This was in part due to the small number of interviewees per country in this exploratory study. It also reflected the fact that the responses were essentially similar across the two countries, and significant differences were not uncovered during the coding process. The analysis set out to consider the applicability or otherwise of the Mair and Jago model in the music festival context.

Findings

The findings from these interviews can be categorised into drivers or motivators and obstacles/barriers, based on the Mair and Jago (2010) model. In addition, there were findings that related to the external and organisational contexts referred to by Mair and Jago (2010) and to the catalysts for increased levels of sustainable behaviour identified in that study. Seven main motivators and five barriers were identified in this study. Each driver and barrier is discussed below, with vignettes drawn from the interview data to illustrate and illuminate the discussion. These are set out in Table 2.

Drivers

Organisational and personal values

The main driver for greening identified by interviewees was the organisational values or, more often, the personal values of the festival director. All festivals organisers interviewed stated that being sustainable, or greening the festival, was largely the result of the personal wishes and beliefs of the festival founder and/or current festival director. The repeated use by different interviewees of the term "*ethos*" supports the view that for these people, sustainability is a way of life, not a management choice. As one interviewee expressed it: "I think it is pretty strongly driven by the organisers. They have a strong commitment to the environment and everything in their personal lives and they take that as the driving ethos for the festival". Another referred to greening as "something our director feels reflects in a lot of ways his kind of core values and beliefs . . . it's always been close to his heart". Additionally, interviewees were keen to stress that their commitment was not restricted to the few days of the festival. The following quote illustrates the depth of feeling displayed by interviewees on this issue:

> I think it is our moral duty to talk about the things that we care about and our festival brings people together . . . our director was very concerned about [sustainable issues] and decided that music and events are an incredible way to bring people together.

    However, most interviewees were also realistic and accepted that festivals generally have to be run as a business and that using their sustainability credentials to improve their image or reputation and gain a competitive advantage over other festivals was an important business decision. This supports the work of Jenkins (2006) and Tzschentke et al. (2004), who note that there are often clear business benefits to engaging in green or socially responsible activities. There was an agreement amongst the participants in this study that greening their festivals, and in particular being awarded the Greener Festival Award or Banksia Award, had helped in attracting sponsors and in dealing with industry and stakeholders. Interviewees were clear that the awards were not their main focus but that they represented some recognition of their sustainable efforts: "It's certainly not what we are in it for and not why we do it, but you know, it always helps to have some recognition and make you feel like what you're doing is worth it". They also felt that they acted as

a "flag" of their greening activities in the community: "It's a visible sign of our goal to become a more sustainable festival and something that everyone can understand".

Competitive advantage

Respondents generally felt that winning awards was of less importance to the festival attendees, but nonetheless, they all used their awards in their marketing and public relations campaigns. As one interviewee explained:

> I think that there is a distinct marketing advantage for us because currently, what we're doing and how we're doing it, it feels like we are leading the charge for the kind of festival we are and that's a good position to be in.

There was also a perception that winning these awards sets the organisation apart and makes it distinctive in the eyes of festival-goers and the general public:

> It's not like everybody [is winning them] at the moment so without a doubt there is some marketing advantage to be having because you are unique. You present yourself as a member of a small group that is doing that little bit extra.

Consumer demand

This leads on to another driver identified by most festival organisers – consumer demand. Although arguably the general public has mixed levels of interest in sustainable behaviour (Gelissen, 2007; Moeller, Dolnicar, & Leisch, 2011), it seems that music festival attendees seem to be more aware of environmental sustainability. Interviewees felt that the audience that they were attracting tended to be made up of people who expected a certain level of sustainability from the festival organisers and to this extent could be said to represent consumer demand for sustainable practices and facilities.

> It gets to the point that if you are not seen to be doing them [sustainable practices] then you're not seen as being green . . . I think our customer sees us as having integrity in what we do.

As one festival organiser observed: "We recognise now that part of our crowd is really quite well informed, it's where environmentally aware people can come and have a really good time . . . you know, it's a real choice that people are making".

Desire to educate

The drivers identified so far appear to fit well with the existing literature and suggest that greening in the festival context can be understood to be similar to greening in other contexts. However, one final driver emerged that was not predicted by the literature, yet appears to play an extremely significant role in the decision by festival organisers to green their festivals. This is the desire to educate festival attendees and indeed to play an advocacy role. This equates to the environmental champion identified by Andersson and Bateman (2000). As one interviewee expressed it:

> The function of the festival is wholly educational . . . throughout the festival there's workshops that are fully attended . . . there's a big chunk of people that have gained significantly more knowledge and how to apply it to their lives than they had before . . . certainly there is a big up-skilling.

This led to a focus on behaviour change: "We are looking further at patron education and empowerment . . . trying to find ways to modify behaviour on site".

All festival organisers interviewed felt that they had an opportunity (and in some cases a moral duty) to educate festival-goers about sustainable practices and indeed about other issues including social justice and ethics. This moral dimension to greening was an example of environmental stewardship, in the sense used by Berry (2006). One interviewee (from the sustainability organisation) referred to the "need to share information with the public – that is part of being a responsible festival".

The festivals appear to represent an excellent opportunity to bring like-minded people together and provide both information and a good example of sustainable behaviour in practice. In this context of this study, these festivals were clearly understood as acting as a vehicle for social marketing goals, although they did not use this language to describe their activities. Instead, they talked about the fact that a festival was a unique arena for communicating messages: "We are definitely in a position of influence in which we have this captive audience for this set period of time". This is a key finding of this research and is something not yet discussed at length in the events or behaviour change literature: it is an important area for future research, perhaps adopting a social marketing framework. The following vignette illustrates this way of thinking:

> Festivals are a place of fun and I find that people are most receptive to information when they are having a good time . . . facts are not a good way to convince people . . . I think an event is a really good space to be talking about these issues and getting people on board.

The emotional quality of cultural activities, particularly when packaged up as a festival, was seen as the key to the power of these events as vehicles for change:

> That's something that arts and music does in a really special way – it kind of cuts through the facts level, not that facts are unimportant, but it kind of talks to the heart a little bit and that's the way that community advocacy works best a lot of the time.

Again, the reference to advocacy suggests the role of the festival manager as an environmental champion.

These findings support the work of Sharpe (2008), who argues that festivals might be a useful vehicle for delivering political messages but cautions that there are challenges associated with linking what is traditionally a hedonic experience with efforts to effect social change. These events might be more about "preaching to the converted" and supporting existing change agents within the community. Conversely however, it might be argued that the liminal space of a festival and its nexus with social protest (exemplified by the Woodstock music festival) might provide opportunities to deliver messages in a softer way to event attendees and thus influence behaviour (Laing & Frost, 2010; Sharpe, 2008).

Less significant drivers

Of the identified drivers, several did not appear to play a significant role. These included the financial benefits of greening – "occasionally in the long term it pays off and it's more beneficial cost-wise" and "the majority of things we have done to change our ways of working haven't cost us money and in fact, in a lot of cases, have saved us some money". It seems that although the costs benefits are desirable, they are unlikely to represent a major influence on the decision to be more sustainable.

Additionally, the question of whether having to comply with a corporate social responsibility policy or mission statement helps to encourage sustainable behaviour appears to

be of limited relevance in the festival context. For example, the comment "We do have an environmental policy [. . .] it's not massively prescriptive about the way we do things" suggests that although these things exist, they are not the driving force behind sustainable change.

Obstacles/barriers

As can be seen from Table 2, a number of barriers to greening were identified by the interviewees. However, it is important to note that none of these barriers actually prevented any festivals from engaging in sustainable behaviour but rather simply represented hurdles or difficulties which each had to overcome. These barriers are discussed below.

Lack of finance/lack of support from stakeholders

The financial costs of greening and the attendant lack of financial and other support from stakeholders (particularly local government) were seen as an irritant rather than a major obstacle, but were still brought up by interviewees as a barrier, without prompting. They tended to prevent large expenditure items. One interviewee noted: "I can't make a business case for the really big things that would make a difference". Others complained that lack of government support made these things expensive: "We've never had a government grant or support of any kind for what we do" and "I don't think that there has been a lot of government support in the green area". Sponsorship was also difficult to find: "There aren't a lot of sponsors of our Green Program". Concerns were raised about regulatory barriers. One interviewee referred to "local council regulations and requirements" as their biggest barrier.

Lack of time

One festival mentioned the lack of time available to them to implement green strategies and their manager noted: "We do the best we can in the timeframe we have available".

Lack of control over venues/split incentive

One issue that appears to be particularly relevant to festivals is that of control over venues. As some music festivals take place in a number of different venues (although others have their own green field sites), one of the main barriers to greening a festival was seen to be a lack of control over these different venues. As one festival manager explained: "We have 62 different venues, with 62 different attitudes towards sustainability!" In order to maintain their presence in a public space, which they saw as important for reasons of social inclusion and building community involvement, some festivals were unable to make any permanent changes: "One of the key things is that we're in a public park and . . . what lengths can we go to, to put things in – obviously we can't install permanent solar panels or anything". Another operated out of a building with multiple tenants and noted: "We don't always have separate metering of electricity, so even if we try hard to save electricity, the financial rewards (of lower bills) are not shared".

A further difficulty is the so-called "split incentive", where initiatives by a festival to be more environmentally friendly result in the festival bearing the cost, yet the venue reaps the reward in terms of lower costs. For example, a festival manager referred to the fact that

"Interestingly, if we install LED lights into a set in a venue, the venue is saving electricity, but we are spending money (on the LED lights)".

Lack of control over patron behaviour

One final barrier mentioned by several interviewees was a lack of control over patron behaviour. Notwithstanding the previous discussion about festivals often attracting attendees who were environmentally aware, a number of festivals have to deal with large amounts of waste left behind by attendees and this contributes to both the costs of waste disposal and the obstacles faced by the festival organisers in maintaining a green festival. This was particularly an issue with respect to outdoor music festivals, where attendees camped out over several days. As one interviewee noted: "People want to bring stuff . . . That's hard for us because it is the waste stream that we have least control over". Anecdotes were provided of attendees leaving furniture behind, such as couches, and the sea of tents that greeted organisers once attendees have departed: "Tents are a huge problem for us . . . people bring single man tents and then just leave them at the end of the festival". The need to overcome this with education was stressed: "Another issue is with people's education levels around this . . . we need to constantly find better and more engaging ways to get people on board".

Availability of sustainable suppliers/supplies

One interviewee (from the sustainability organisation) pointed out that it can sometimes be difficult to source the best suppliers and supplies to stage a fully green festival – "There aren't always a wealth of suppliers out there to choose from". It was noted however that the range of green suppliers was growing and that this made greening far more feasible than in the past, when festivals organisers either had little or no choice with respect to suppliers who adhered to environmental practices.

Context

Interviewees made a number of points that related to the idea suggested by Mair and Jago (2010) that the context of each event played a role in the sustainability of the event. However, unlike the findings of that study, interviewees in this study appeared to suggest that although important, the external and organisational environments did not play a large part in determining the level of sustainable practices undertaken by the festival.

External environment

The festival organisers interviewed mentioned that relationships with local community organisations and with local and state government were extremely important. In most cases, there was a good relationship with the local authorities – "the council have been really supportive and really keen for us to keep going with our green stuff". However, in some instances, the relationship with local government was not so healthy – "all these attempts to deal with compliance puts us in a constant situation of being directed away from the main game – booking talent, and developing our festival". Nonetheless, this festival (like the others in this study) had been the recipient of a sustainability award so it appears that they had successfully negotiated the difficulties with their local council.

Also related to the external environment is the question of consumer trends. One interviewee noted that "I guess a lot of people could say that it's almost expected of people

to have a concern and thought process behind the event's impact". This suggests that there is a trend amongst consumers to seek sustainability amongst festivals, which may also be indicative of a move towards sustainable practices becoming a hygiene factor at music festivals.

Organisational context

All the festivals organisers interviewed for this research were managed by small teams and were not associated with large organisations. Many interviewees spoke of the importance of team work and partnership, and this seems to support the suggestion from Mair and Jago (2010) that the organisational context, including business type and size, and organisational values, has an important role to play in determining how sustainable the festival is. In particular, the organisational values are often those of the festival founder, many of whom started festivals as a "reflection of their core values and beliefs".

Catalysts

The Mair and Jago (2010) model suggested that there were a number of catalysts that would have an impact on the level of uptake of sustainable practices in the business events context. The current research has found support for some of these aspects, but not all. Mair and Jago (2010) suggested that the catalysts were likely to be the media, culture and the presence of an eco-champion. No references were made to the role of the media or culture in influencing sustainable behaviour at the festivals interviewed, but the presence of an eco-champion (often the festival founder or director) appeared to be directly related to the levels of sustainability found at these festivals.

Conclusion

This paper has illustrated some of the key drivers of and barriers to greening applicable to the festival sector. It also suggests that greening is possible, by providing examples of festivals which have overcome barriers and championed the greening of the events sector. These festivals are examples of best practice and have demonstrated leadership that can act as an exemplar for other festivals and festival stakeholders. They may also play a part in achieving sustainable tourism outcomes, given the large numbers of tourists that attend these kinds of events. This study suggests that both championship and stewardship of greening is important in a festival context.

This paper also illustrates the utility of applying the Mair and Jago (2010) model of greening to a festival context. The findings suggest that similar drivers/motivators and obstacles/barriers are present in both business events and music festivals, although the small sample size in this study makes it difficult to draw firm conclusions, and further research should explore this aspect further. In addition, the current study has brought forward an additional driver – the desire to educate – which suggests that music festivals might be a valuable mechanism for achieving social marketing goals, including but not limited to sustainability issues. This also warrants a follow-up study to consider how this might be best achieved and what messages work best in a music festival context. The current study findings can also be distinguished from those of Mair and Jago (2010), in that the external and organisational environment was less important in a music festival context, whilst the presence of an eco-champion was found to be a significant catalyst, more so than for business events.

Even though these festivals have benefited from the presence of a manager or "champion" whose personal values/ethos espouse greening, they still represent a good example, and demonstrate a compelling business case, for those festivals whose event organisers are not personally motivated by green issues but can see benefits in terms of their public image or are facing pressure from stakeholders to adopt environmental practices. The festival managers in this study also acted as a steward. Through encouraging new suppliers to start up in business, they have "normalised" greening in the festival context, and they have negotiated planning and local government controls, demonstrating in the process that it is becoming easier to "green" a festival. In this respect, they have been an "early adopter" of greening (Frambach & Schillewaert, 2002) and have essentially developed a blueprint for running successful green events. Other festivals organisers simply need to follow their lead, without necessarily sharing their fervour for green outcomes or pro-environment behaviour change. This acknowledges the view (e.g. Bakan, 2004) that there need not necessarily be a relationship between the personal values of a manager and their actions at work. It does however appear from the current study that greening of music festivals is generally a reflection of the personal values of the organisers, at least those belonging to individuals with primary responsibility for green issues within the festival structure.

There are limitations in the current study that require further research. The study involved interviewing festival organisers in Australia and the United Kingdom and only those associated with award-winning festivals. This study could be extended to other geographical contexts and to festivals that are not "green" award winners. Interestingly, even though these festivals have won awards for sustainability, they still point to barriers and obstacles to greening. These mainly related to issues with access to resources and dealing with the supply chain, as well as lack of time. Other barriers/obstacles may be problematic for events which do not yet have a "green" reputation.

In addition, the researchers only interviewed a small sample of event organisers of music festivals and only one individual from each festival was interviewed, rather than multiple representatives. Therefore, not all conclusions drawn may be relevant to all festivals, or to other types of events, or even be generalisable across an organisation. It could be useful to interview multiple representatives of the one event and event organisers across a broad range of event contexts. For example, are there differences between festivals held in outdoor settings compared to indoor urban festivals? Do views about the importance of greening differ across an organisation, even though the official "line" is that sustainability issues are important? Different types of festivals, including arts festivals or food festivals, might elicit different findings.

There is scope to consider the role of the environmental champion in more detail, in particular whether they act mainly as a catalyst for sustainable behaviour or alternatively, also act as educators. Other areas for further research include an investigation into what is meant by "best practice" in greening events, the use of festivals as avenues for social marketing and research into the attendee perspective, which examines whether the environmental credentials of an event make a difference to the attendance decision. Research is also needed to explore the ways that venues benefit from the economic investment in sustainability made by festivals and whether this is also an educational opportunity, extending the social marketing undertaken by festivals beyond attendees to other community stakeholders.

To conclude, there is a great imperative to conduct research in an events setting on greening issues, given the burgeoning nature of this global industry, the implications for sustainable tourism development and the view of some festival managers that these events can raise awareness of and champion environmentally sustainable behaviour. This study

suggests that a festival is a good place to educate/advocate attendees to change behaviour, including environmental behaviour, but the success of this strategy has yet to be tested in an empirical sense. Further research could consider whether the organisers are correct to say that festivals cut through the facts and go "straight to the heart" and whether they leave any lasting legacy from a societal and environmental point of view.

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