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# Entrepreneurial implications, prospects and dilemmas in rural festivals

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### ABSTRACT

Festivals play an important role in rural communities, and they are typically embedded in the local ecosystems of sports, culture, business and other types of associations, where they might deliver elements of coherence, commitment and meaning, as well as occasional economic benefits. This study aims to showcase the business entrepreneurship aspect of festivals in Danish rural areas, and it is based on primary data from 315 festivals. Special emphasis is placed on the nature, prevalence and importance of business activities at such festivals and on the opportunities for entrepreneurs to utilize festivals as a means of business development in relation to sales, marketing, product testing, and customer feedback. On the one hand, the results show that very few of the surveyed festivals are entirely commercial and that commercial objectives are, due to ideological and relational reasons, generally low-ranked by organizers. On the other hand, there is strong evidence that local businesses actually participate in rural festivals' ecosystems and that there are numerous mutual interactions among local businesses, festival organizers and residents that together create an excellent means for driving entrepreneurial activity. It is a delicate undertaking to strengthen partnerships with entrepreneurs without compromising community objectives. Several potential courses of action are proposed.

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### 1. Introduction

Over the years, festivals have become vibrant elements of human and community life. Traditionally, they originated to cultivate local traditions and to celebrate momentous occasions such as the harvest or religious seasons. Intrinsically, their origins are strictly rural, even though many festivals have, over time, developed in scope, number and format (Andersson et al., 2013; Gibson et al., 2011; Jepson and Clarke, 2014).

There are many definitions of festivals. Inspired by Getz (2010) and Wilson et al. (2016), this study defines festivals using five characteristics: (1) Festivals are limited in time with a clearly defined start and end; (2) Festivals are confined to a specific location; (3) Festivals are planned occasions with predefined objectives, themes and programmes in recognizable structures, although they may contain some elements of spontaneity; (4) Festivals combine

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http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2017.02.019 0743-0167/© 2017 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved. several activities into beneficial symbioses; and, finally, (5) Festivals are open and inviting, meaning that anyone can join.

Rural festivals are regarded as contributors to pleasurable hedonism, as well as to the social and cultural cohesion of communities; they bring citizens together as visitors and organizers and they are often appreciated for their playful, integrative potential (Derrett, 2003; Jamieson, 2014; Reid, 2011). However, as a consequence of stronger competition, many festivals seem to rely on strategic planning and more rigid execution when commercial objectives and elements are more prevalent (Biaett, 2015; Getz and Page, 2015; Ziakas and Costa, 2011). The festival landscape is becoming more pluralistic and competitive, potentially allowing for more diversity in mutually beneficial structures, including for business purposes (Mackellar, 2006). Most business-related research on festivals is concerned with sponsoring issues and the gross economic impacts on communities, whereas less has been done to understand the many other facets of the business-festival relationship. The empirical analysis of business and entrepreneurial potential in multi-case settings may offer guidance for a wide range of festival stakeholders including festival organizers, business entrepreneurs and local governmental bodies.

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Against this backdrop, the study examines the current supply of festivals in rural areas in Denmark. It is based on a survey of 315 rural festivals in Denmark, and the respondents are the individuals with primary responsibility for each festival's organization. The questions raised in the study include: (a) What types of festivals take place in rural areas? and (b) To what extent are rural festivals considered to benefit the local business environment? In addition, the research scrutinizes forms of business involvement in the festivals' setup and the intensive collaboration with festivals organizations. To address the stakeholders' perspectives, the article eventually systematizes and elaborates policy measures.

Consequently, the main contributions of this study are identifying the essential entrepreneurial characteristics of festivals, addressing development constraints and success criteria, and providing examples of festivals that can serve as platforms for entrepreneurship without compromising the social and cultural objectives of the festivals. The priority given to business aspects and prospects will be discussed in the context of rural development challenges, among others, by examining to what extent rural festivals can increase their significance and value for rural entrepreneurs who seek to boost business, widen their market reach or test new products and services. This study offers the potential to advance the knowledge of the ways in which a host community can use festivals as incubators of local entrepreneurship in which local business can meet and work together, with each other and with other actors. Academically, the study offers the first examination of rural festivals on this scale, and it gives a rather comprehensive overview of the numerous mutual interactions among local business, festivals and residents that together create an excellent means for driving entrepreneurial activity.

The presentation of the study is structured as follows: First, the relevant literature is introduced. Next, the data collection and methodology used in the study are described. Then, the results regarding different aspects of festival operation in Danish rural areas are presented and the results are then summarized. In the final chapter, some practical and policy-related implications are discussed.

### 2. Literature review

Today, festivals contribute to the attractiveness and viability of rural areas for residents as well as visitors. Typically, festivals are embedded in the local ecosystems of sports, culture, business and other types of associations. All the interest groups in such ecosystems might contribute to and benefit from participation, as the amalgamation of elements provides coherence, commitment and meaning, as well as occasional economic benefits (Gibson, 2007; Gibson et al., 2011). For that reason, there is a growing interest in researching how festivals in rural areas are staged and how they contribute to the wider revitalization of host areas (Andersson et al., 2013; Blichfeldt and Halkier, 2014; Gibson et al., 2011; Wood and Thomas, 2008). Predominantly, however, scholarly research focuses on the social and cultural processes and significance of festivals (Jaeger and Mykletun, 2013). There is a strong research emphasis on the inclusion of local residents in festival organization as visitors and volunteers, which has led to a better understanding of the cohesive forces and the social sustainability of festivals in rural settings (Janiskee and Drews, 1998; Moscardo, 2007; Ziakas and Boukas, 2015). This strand of research stresses the importance of collaborative structures, in which the boundaries between different interest groups and stakeholders are often blurred (Andersson and Getz, 2008; Karlsen and Stenbacka Nordström, 2009; Reid, 2011).

Attendees' experience and satisfaction constitute another major research area, as observed, for example, in studies conducted by Bruwer (2014), Jung et al. (2015) or Wan and Chan (2013), to name but a few. Among other findings, this strand of research demonstrates that festivals are regarded as critical assets in the current experience landscape (Janiskee and Drews, 1998; Li et al., 2009). Visitors appreciate both tradition and novelty. Festivals constitute touristic resources in rural areas by contributing to the attractiveness of rural destinations and adding experience value and animation to specific local sights (Blichfeldt and Halkier, 2014; Lorentzen, 2012; Moscardo, 2007; Winkelhorn, 2015). Destination management offices eagerly promote festivals to create a variety of reasons to visit an area across the seasons, and Kostopoulou et al. (2013) show that festivals may act as mechanisms to encourage regional economic development and touristic attractiveness, and for these reasons, festivals are increasingly being integrated in rural tourism planning (Kostopoulou et al., 2015).

The economic aspects of festivals constitute a topic that has generated a long and substantive research history, but the studies have focused predominantly on single-case, economic impact analyses of (mega) sporting festivals (e.g., the Olympics, the FIFA World Cup, the Commonwealth Games) (Agha and Taks, 2015; Kwiatkowski, 2016a), rather than on smaller scale festivals. Impact studies of various types of festivals (e.g., music, culture, sport), including studies of festivals that are omnipresent in rural areas, are less prevalent (Getz and Page, 2015; Ziakas, 2013). Impact analyses tend to, in fairly standardized ways, investigate visitors' spending patterns (Thrane, 2002), and with use of economic modelling, they determine the local effects on business turnover and derived employment (Diedering and Kwiatkowski, 2015). Such examinations also include many variants of multiplier effects, and they address the difficulties of and set-backs for local economies; for example, the significance of economic leakages (Mair and Whitford, 2013) or the crowding out effect (Litvin, 2007). Chhabra et al. (2003) show that festivals have a certain economic impact on their host regions but that the benefits accrue mainly to the accommodation and catering sectors and that, altogether, these benefits are most often rather modest. The impact depends a great deal on the size and structure of the local economy, the composition of festival attendees and how well-rooted the festival is in the local economy (O'Sullivan and Jackson, 2002; Kwiatkowski, 2016b; Kwiatkowski et al., 2017).

Some studies dwell on incidences in which festivals help to showcase sponsors and highlight supplier products and services; however, this requires a proactive festival management to balance the outcomes for festivals and corporate stakeholders (Reid, 2011). Studies of the microeconomic aspects of festivals, including the motivation of exhibitors, stallholders, suppliers and service providers, are otherwise very infrequently observed in festival research (Mosely and Mowatt, 2011). This issue is largely underresearched in rural festivals, although it is gaining more attention with regard to food-related festivals and other types of festivals, possibly as a consequence of food being rooted in rural origins (Jung et al., 2015; Wood and Thomas, 2008). Reid (2011) and Jæger (2012) suggest that the relationships between stakeholders with business perspectives and other more community-related stakeholders may be somewhat strained, as their goals and motivations are not always compatible.

Festivals may provide opportunities for business entrepreneurs in particular, by serving as occasions for product testing and exhibition and as a platform for gaining initial market access. The entrepreneurial aspect is, however, addressed to a limited extent in the research, and the main focus of the existing studies is on festivals as platforms for entrepreneurs in the performing arts, particularly for those in music (George et al., 2015). For example, the study conducted by Caust and Glow (2011) suggests that the Adelaide Fringe Festival promotes an entrepreneurial approach by

participating artists, among others, by encouraging them to organize and promote their artistic efforts in enterprising ways, yet such entrepreneurialism is not focused on the profit maximization. Einarsen and Mykletun (2009) examined success factors of the food festival in Stavanger (Norway), and pointed out that the festival's success depends, among others, on festival's embedment in a network of local business partners (i.e. providers, organizations). and entrepreneurial leadership placed within simplified and nonexpensive organizational structure. Vestrum and Rasmussen (2013), based on data from music festivals hosted in rural communities in Norway, showed that the background of the community entrepreneurs, including their knowledge and networks, has an impact on the resource mobilization strategy. Specifically, the study conducted by Vestrum and Rasmussen (2013) provided evidence that entrepreneurs initially embedded in the local community tend to perform an incremental resource mobilization strategy, whereas those from outside the local community chose a more radical approaches through mobilizing resources from the external environment and networks. Saayman et al. (2008) conducted research on attributes of entrepreneurs at arts festivals in South Africa, and showed that the most important are a need for achievement, being successful, having the necessary organizing skills, self-edification, being explorative, and commitment. In the same vein, Klerk and Saayman (2012) investigated the level of networking skills and perceptions of entrepreneurs networking relationships at the art festivals and, among others, indicated that relationships and trust are important aspects of networking behavior. Other studies suggest that particularly food and drinks oriented festivals are experimenting with formats that are supportive to entrepreneurial endeavor, including for example competitions, awards, or products demonstrations, where the exhibitors achieve extra visibility and promotion (Telfer and Hashimoto, 2013; Everett and Slocum, 2013).

The entrepreneurial dimension also includes opportunities for innovation, as explained by Hjalager (2009) in the case of the Roskilde Festival, which provides space for creative entrepreneurs to work "in real time" on their entrepreneurial ideas with festival organizers and festival participants. As suggested by, for example, Kim et al. (2015) and Danson et al. (2015), ventures that originate from and range deeply into leisure-based interests are no less successful than other entrepreneurial companies. Leisure communities and events are repositories of indispensable knowledge and resources for establishing networks (Parsons and Rose, 2004). Although not often recognized for these effects, festivals, in which many people come together for a short period of time as organizers, visitors and other business stakeholders, can be "integrators" as well as the primary stimulators of entrepreneurial endeavours (Buch et al., 2011). As the number of rural festivals increases, competition for audience attention may arise. However, the competitiveness of festivals is a topic only marginally investigated in the literature (Andersson et al., 2013). Nevertheless, some festivals are developing successfully over time, and others are forced to close. There is limited insight into the lifecycles of festivals and their driving forces, including economic driving forces (Getz and Page, 2015; Getz, 2010).

This literature review shows that business and entrepreneurial aspects are included in studies of rural festivals but to a rather limited extent. In particular, there seems to be significant research gap with regard to understanding the potential for stimulating positive entrepreneurial dynamics. There is a need to develop a better empirically based understanding of how festivals can become better at contributing to rural revitalization and economic development through the integration of business agendas in ways that do not compromise other essential values expressed by organizers, residents and visitors.

The conducted literature review leads to the conclusion that the entrepreneurialism within rural festival pertains to: (a) foundation of an affordable and creative space for entrepreneurs, which facilitates recognition, engagement and exploitation of new business and artistic/craft opportunities rather than promotion of commercial and profit-maximization objectives; (b) encouragement and strengthening of collaborative structures (networks) among multilevel partners, through which they might benefit from each other by exchanging ideas, practices, and goods; and (c) providing an unique contextual framework that links social embeddedness (informal knowledge and local ties) with external factors (global trends, demand), which leads to facilitation of creative and innovative behaviors among festival entrepreneurs.

It is, however, noteworthy that an entrepreneurial inspiration in rural areas might stem from both local and trans-local sources, and entrepreneurs aspirations might range from local to global. For some rural companies which are "born global", or in other words detached from local relations, and characterized by an expansive business model from inception, working with rural festivals might be of limited value. Further research is needed to better understand what categories of firms (i.e., size, types of products/services, life phase) find a good value in rural festivals, but also what is entrepreneurs perception of festivals value and motivation to contribute.

### 3. Methodology

Most studies of rural festivals are case-based and provide evidence from one or a limited number of examples. While case studies present clear advantages for the purpose of generating deep and multifaceted insights, their weaknesses consist of a lack of comprehensiveness and overview of the entire festival landscape. This article is based on a survey of a large number of rural festivals in Denmark, with the main purpose of mapping the totality of the phenomenon and conducting a comprehensive inquiry into its characteristics, developments and geographical scope. This is the first study of its kind in Denmark, and comparable studies are also rare in other countries; the only relevant identified studies are surveys conducted in Northern Norway (Jaeger and Mykletun, 2013) and studies in rural areas across three Australian states (Gibson and Connell, 2011; Gibson and Stewart, 2009).

The definition of rural area in this study complies with the official Danish governmental definition. Denmark's geographic areas are divided into four categories: (1) Urban agglomerations, (2) Towns far away from agglomerations, (3) Rural areas in the vicinity of urban agglomerations, and (4) Rural areas far away from urban agglomerations. This study focuses on festivals in categories 3 and 4, although festivals staged in small villages in the second category are also included.

To collect the data, the following procedure was implemented. First, using Internet search engines, a tailored keyword search was conducted to identify as many festivals as possible in the rural areas of Denmark. This effort was supported by screening the webpages of local municipalities and reviewing resources from specific festival and tourism association webpages. Telephone inquiries with festival-related associations supplemented the list. A total of 521 rural festivals were identified.

In April 2015, each festival organizer was contacted by telephone and asked to fill in an online questionnaire. A link to the survey was sent by email. No incentives were provided for the organizers (respondents) to complete the questionnaire. The survey was designed to be answered by the key individuals related to each of the festivals (e.g., leaders, organizers or funders). The study, therefore, takes essentially an organizer's point of view and addresses only indirectly the views of visitors, exhibitors, artists, participants and the local population. The questionnaire was

designed in Danish by a native speaker and pretested before use.

The survey collected data about (1) the festival's theme, history, occurrence and duration; (2) the objectives of the festival; (3) the festival's organizational and cooperative structure; and (4) the importance of the festival for the local community and various stakeholders. The questionnaire consisted mainly of close-ended questions with a single or multiple choice answers. The responses were measured using a five-point Likert-type scale, in which a lower score indicated stronger agreement (i.e., 1 = strongly agree; 5 = strongly disagree). A space for comments was provided after most of the questions. To increase the response rate, two reminder emails were sent to the festival organizers in May 2015. Ultimately, 315 replied, resulting in a satisfactory response rate of 60.5% for this type of study. The data exploration was based on all the usable observations available for a given question, which ranged between 237 and 315 observations. The data were processed in SPSS, and the findings are described mainly by using cross-tabulations and binary correlations. No advanced statistical modelling was undertaken. The advantage of selecting organizers as the respondents is that this approach allows a large number of festivals to be reached in a systematic and comprehensive way. The disadvantage of this approach compared to single-case studies of individual festivals is that it is not possible to undertake a survey of the totality of business stakeholders.

The study also included 14 short case studies in which researchers visited different festivals and undertook supplementary interviews with the organizers. The 14 case studies were selected to represent different themes and geographic areas. The authors do not have any personal or other professional relationships with the festivals or festival stakeholders. This article utilizes mainly survey data.

### 4. The festival landscape in rural Denmark

Based on the 315 survey replies, it is possible to obtain a reliable insight into festivals in rural Denmark, including the numbers, types, locations, time, durations and activities of festivals. Table 1 presents an overview of the thematic coverage of the identified festivals. The respondents were asked to indicate up to three main thematic focus points.

Music is prevalent among the rural festivals, and sport is another important thematic focus. Table 1 shows that quite a few rural

**Table 1**Thematic scope of the examined festivals, number of times mentioned and percentage.

Theme	Number	Percentage
Music	133	42
Sport	64	20
Food and gastronomy	47	15
Arts and crafts	45	14
Fair (market)	44	14
Technology, vehicles	44	14
History	29	9
Hobby	26	8
Animals	18	6
Film and theatre	16	5
Health	14	4
Literature	14	4
Nature and environment	12	4
Group of people (age, ethnic group or similar)	8	3
Politics, citizenship, democracy	6	2
Religion, philosophy, spirituality	5	2
Other	16	5
Total	541	_
Number of observations	315	_

festivals are more "materialistic", in that they focus on food, arts and crafts, technology and hobby phenomena. It is likely that such themes invite commercial elements to a greater extent than both music and sports themes, as well as to greater extent than festivals in which the main emphasis is, for example, nature, politics, history, and literature.

An in-depth analysis of the data, not reported in the table, reveals that in addition to the increasing number of festivals being hosted in Danish rural areas, there has been a shift over time in their thematic coverage: from the music and culture festivals typical in the 1980s and 1990s to more highbrow art festivals (e.g., Art Festival Jelling) and niche food and gastronomy festivals (e.g., Wild Food Festival) coming to the fore in the new millennium. More recent festivals tend to have relatively more English names, which might indicate a more international orientation. Similarly, there is a tendency to extend the thematic coverage of these more recent festivals to several topics, target groups and specializations, and there is also a modernization movement away from the close connection to the farming community's characteristics. Popular festivals in Danish rural areas include, for example, tractor pull shows and competitions, as well as hobby-related activities such as those thematically related to gardening. Historical festivals range from medieval or Viking animation festivals to celebrations of historic people or landmarks. All these trends and new developments have also been observed internationally (Higham and Ritchie, 2001; Wood and Thomas, 2008).

The results of this study show that the surveyed festivals are highly diverse with respect to size, age and access principles. The smallest festival (Læsø Literature) has 35 participants, whereas the largest (Hjallerup Market) is estimated to attract 200,000 visitors. About a half of the surveyed festivals attract fewer than 2000 visitors. Another 27.5% attract between 2000 and 10,000, although less than one-fifth of the festivals have an audience size of 10,000 or more.

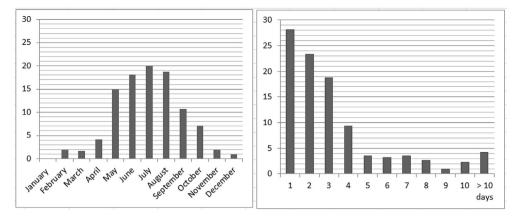
The majority of the surveyed festivals (56.2%) are fairly newly established, i.e., after 2000. Interestingly, among those, about half were introduced within the past five years. In contrast, approximately 14% were launched before 1980. This suggests a new and growing interest in hosting festivals in rural areas in Denmark. This finding is also concurrent with evidence presented in other international studies (Andersson et al., 2013; Gibson et al., 2011).

In addition, statistical analysis shows that there is a significant and positive correlation between festival age and attendance, indicating that older festivals tend to have larger audiences. This is also consistent with the international literature, which, however, also shows many exceptions (Andersson et al., 2013). This could be an indication that it takes time to build up and establish a festival. In contrast, there is no significant correlation between festival size and geographic location. Thus, both small and large festivals can be successfully developed and held in rural areas close to and far away from large cities. This result, however, stands in opposition to results presented by Gibson and Stewart (2009) with regard to festivals hosted in rural areas of three Australian states. Yet, when comparing both findings, one should be cautious and take into account the existing differences in what is understood to be rural/ peripheral in Denmark and Australia. In particularly, it is worth noting the difference in the population densities and physical distances to large urban areas of both countries, as these are less favourable in the case of Australia.

With regard to the length of the surveyed festivals and their timing during the week and year (Fig. 1), the majority consist of rather short-lived occasions that occur during weekends in the summer months (i.e., June—August). It can be a challenge to host festivals off-season in a temperate climate.

Just under half of all the festivals in the database are ticketed

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**Fig. 1.** The length (right plot) and timing (left plot) of the surveyed festivals. Note: N = 310; in %.

(45.2%). Another one-fourth features a mixture of ticketed and free festivals, and another third are entirely free of charge (12%). The free festivals have to rely more than the others on income generation through the sales of products and services, which also include fees for commercial exhibitors and stallholders.

To increase the credibility of the aforementioned results, a test of whether the results change across Denmark was undertaken. As a reference for this analysis, the four types of rural areas as described in Section 3 were used. The performed analysis, however, did not reveal any significant differences. This suggests that the findings presented are, to a non-negligible extent, representative of the surveyed festivals, regardless of their geographic location.

This section shows that rural festivals are alive and kicking and that they are potential platforms for entrepreneurial activity.

# 5. The entrepreneurial and business intentions of rural festivals

This section addresses to what extent do festivals officially and directly include aims that have commercial connotations, and it examines the priority of such aims compared to other festival objectives. Assessing this can be undertaken using a question in which the respondents were asked to indicate the festivals' main goals. Table 2 presents the twelve items ranked using five-point Likerttype scale (i.e., 1 = strongly agree; 5 = strongly disagree). As a festival rarely serves a single purpose, multiple answers were possible.

Specifically, the results show that the most overriding goal

stressed by the festival organizers is 'to promote interest in the activities and topics directly associated with the festival'; for example, sport/cycling during a cycling festival or growing fuchsia for a gardening festival. The average assessment of this item is 1.4, which indicates that almost all the respondents (i.e., festival organizers) highly prioritize this goal. In fact, only four respondents found this purpose irrelevant, including three market organizers. The second-highest ranked item was 'to entertain', which has an average score of 1.7. This result seems to be straightforward, as it is a somewhat inherent feature of all leisure festivals to provide some degree of fun and enjoyment for the audience. An additional analysis of variance conducted for different types of festivals (e.g., music, sport, and others.) did not reveal any significant associations.

With an average score of 1.8, the next goal is 'to promote and market the local area where the festival takes place'. This item also does not vary across different types of festivals, expect for a few sporting festivals and tractor pulling shows that do not stress this goal to a large extent. This is perhaps because such festivals are rather self-oriented, meaning that they are not directly based on or related to the specific location. The next goal related to the creation of better community integration. Despite a few festivals with a purely commercial focus, for which the local area was only a platform for business activities, this item was ranked highly (on average 1.9). The goal of attracting tourists to the local area received the same score. Interestingly, although these last two items were ranked equally high, a different planning approach to local development is required (Boukas and Ziakas, 2016). Specifically, as suggested by Boukas and Ziakas (2016, p. 44) this may require a re-

**Table 2**The importance of the purposes of the festivals.

Item	Average assessment <sup>a</sup>
To promote interest in the activities and topics directly associated with the festival	1.4
To entertain	1.7
To promote and market the local area where the festival takes place	1.8
To create more social cohesion in the local area	1.9
To attract tourists to the area	1.9
To keep old traditions and culture alive	2.1
To enhance creativity and resourcefulness	2.2
To establish contacts between stockholders from and outside the local area	2.2
To strengthen member engagement in associations, organizations	2.2
To utilize and expose a specific local resource and specific characteristics	2.2
To create economic wealth for the festival organizers	2.8
To fundraise for associations and voluntary organizations	2.9
Number of observations	237–315

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm a}$  Likert-type scale, where 1= strongly agree; 5= strongly disagree.

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**Table 3**Main activities offered at festivals.

Activity	Number of hits	Percentage of festivals
Opportunity to purchase food and drink	236	76.3
Performance of professional practitioners directly related to the festival's theme	216	70.5
Exhibitions of products and other things directly related to the festival's theme	139	44.9
Opportunity to purchase products and services directly related to the festival's theme	123	39.8
Competitions where visitors can participate as amateurs	87	28.2
Possibility of accommodation	83	26.9
Information and interpretation; for example, on video screens	77	24.9
Involvement and engagement of visitors in debates, discussions and exchange of ideas	73	23.6
Teaching and learning activities	65	21.0
Promotion of sponsors	63	20.3
Production and sale of merchandise related to the festival's theme	57	18.4
Competition between practitioners	49	15.9
Recruitment for charity members	39	12.6
VIP activities in which visitors can meet performers	35	11.3
Total number of hits	1342	434
Number of observations	309	

orientation of the tourism policy focus from primarily meeting the needs of visitors (an 'outside-in' approach) to simultaneously and in a clearer manner catering to the well-being of local residents (an 'inside-out' approach).

The middle-ranked priorities represent various objectives aimed at keeping old traditions alive, enhancing local creativity, increasing business collaboration and networking, increasing local citizen commitment and better promoting local assets.

The lowest-ranked priority purposes reflect economic oriented goals, including creating revenue for owners, organizers and exhibitors or fundraising for associations. The low rating of these two items emphasizes the fact that the organizers see festivals as a type of 'public' good with a strongly and very explicitly expressed non-commercial and community focus.

As shown above, the surveyed festivals vary in terms of thematic coverage and purpose. Table 3 shows their range of activities, and it can be observed that on average, there are more than four different activities integrated into a single festival.

The festivals' commercial elements are revealed in various ways in Table 3. More specifically, the results show that at almost all the surveyed festivals there is an opportunity to purchase food and beverages, although the way such services are organized and who is responsible for them differs across the festivals. An additional data analysis, not reported in the table, shows that smaller or thematically defined festivals are supplied mainly by the restaurants and shops from the nearest neighbourhood, whereas larger festivals mobilize the voluntary sector to organize the necessary catering. For these reasons, the festival landscape is often characterized by temporary fast foods stands, coffee stalls and beer tents. However, many festivals exhibit and sell a wider range of products, often with a greater emphasis on quality factors and regional characteristics. For example, food festivals frequently offer products that are not available in supermarkets, and perhaps in terms of taste these are special. These festivals also give visitors inspiration for spectacular gifts. Similarly, wool and knitting festivals are predominantly commercial, and their attraction for visitors and exhibitors can be found in the very large concentration and supply of yarns and accessories.

Importantly, many commercial activities at the festival venues are two-sided, meaning that the first business objective is to provide necessary services for attendees, whereas the second is to create a business platform for financing the festival. Taking into account the specific types of festivals, the results show that in many cases, performances by professional practitioners who are relevant to the festival's theme is a core activity. This is typical to a large extent for music, sport and cultural festivals, as well as for other

festivals that invite "names" to provide entertainment. Famous artists are often an important reason that visitors choose to attend. Food-related events can create awareness of the local culinary culture and typical products by having celebrity chefs cook, talk about the local culinary tradition and hand out samples. Exhibits are also a well-known element; for example, cattle shows exhibit live animals. However, festivals can also display machines and other products that can impress due to their special or unique qualities. This review demonstrates that rural festivals offer many activities in a complex pattern. The choice of activities depends on core themes, and there are some basic components that are relevant to the purpose.

### 6. Organizers' perception of economic benefits

Only 5% of the festival organizers conduct any type of professional economic impact assessment. Such analyses are prioritized primarily by those festival organizers who value highly economic aims. Moreover, the survey reveals that is primarily the larger festivals that have developed assessment procedures. This underpins the conclusion that business and entrepreneurship issues and prospects do not receive much attention in the organizing bodies' management practices.

Nevertheless, to gain an insight into the organizers' perceptions of the impact of festivals on local business, the festival organizers were asked for the best assessment they could provide. The results presented in Table 4 clearly show that the majority believes that the revenue effect on the local businesses outside the festival area is probably the most visible result of the festival (meals, accommodation and retail); however, considerably fewer believe that there is a large additional revenue benefit for exhibitors and local service providers resulting from the festival. These results correspond with the findings of other international studies (Chhabra et al., 2003).

Furthermore, there is a significant relationship between festival size as measured by audience size and the organizers' assessment of the revenue increase, which accounts for all three categories. Thus, the larger a festival is, the greater the propensity it will have to induce an economic impact on the surrounding business environment, insofar as the organizers can assess this.

### 7. Business partnerships in the organization of festivals

Staging a festival is not a trivial task. It starts long before the festival actually takes place and requires an efficient organizational structure and usually a collaborative operational mode as well. This section provides an insight into who is responsible for festival

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 Table 4

 Organizers' assessment of the festivals' impact on local business.

	Local exhibitors	Local service providers	Other local businesses (restaurants, accommodation, retail, etc.)
Strongly agree	10.5	12.3	22.0
Agree	26.2	33.3	38.2
Neither agree nor disagree	46.4	40.3	28.0
Disagree	13.1	10,7	8.3
Strongly disagree	3.8	3.3	3.5
Number of observations	237	243	254

Note: Revenue increased by (%).

organization. The emphasis is on the extent to which and form in which commercial stakeholders are integrated into festival partnerships.

The results presented in Table 5 provide strong evidence that, to a large extent, the examined festivals are supported by partnerships of citizen-based organizations and other groups. This illustrates the fact that rural festivals are considered to be joint ventures in communities. It is typical to establish a dedicated festival organization that has the sole task of organizing the festival. However, such organizations typically recruit members from other organizations, mainly sports associations, as well as particularly committed individuals.

Table 5 also shows that a smaller number of festivals are organized by commercial associations and tourist bodies. Even if such associations have a commercial interest, they usually place greater emphasis on the notion that they are working towards the creation of vigour and activity in the local area. Such festivals include, for example, some of the markets, cattle shows, and festivals with a broader thematic festival agenda; however, they are also deeply embedded in local networks and involve volunteers from sports and youth organizations, which receive a share of the surplus to boost their own activities.

The private companies and foundations mentioned in the list include, for example, some of the Danish manor houses that have the capacity to organize food markets or historic shows, among others, very often in close collaboration with other local stakeholders, both commercial and non-commercial.

In the sample, there are a few professional festival managers who operate in several rural locations. Their business model consists of a structure for markets and festivals that are, for example, based on food, and the festival bureau undertakes all the organizing activities connected to the identification and preparation of the location, the involvement of exhibitors, the staging of entertainment, marketing and PR. They generate revenue through ticketing and stallholder fees, and they usually operate without volunteers.

There is strong evidence in the international literature that the operation of any festival depends greatly on the number of volunteers participating (Allen and Bartle, 2014; Doherty, 2009; Monga, 2006). This is also true for this study, as 95% of the surveyed festivals profit from volunteers' work. Festivals that do not have

volunteers are more commercially oriented, and their organization comprises mainly paid staff. Table 6 shows that sports and music festivals in particular draw heavily on voluntary labour. In contrast, markets and art festivals are the least volunteer dependent. The difference might lie in how long the audience typically attends a festival. It is common among sports and music festivals for the audience to be present throughout the entire festival, whereas, for example, market festivals tend to have more fluctuation in this regard.

Yet, who are the volunteers in rural festivals? Table 7 provides evidence that they are mainly local people, both 'ordinary' individuals and members of local associations, clubs, and the like. There are also quite a large number of festivals that obtain volunteers through cooperation with local firms. This result once again clearly demonstrates that rural festivals are deeply embedded in local ecosystems, including the business sector. Table 7 also shows that many festivals recruit volunteers outside the local area but that business actors from outside seem, perhaps understandably, to be less willing to become involved. This highlights the symbiosis of festivals and local entrepreneurs.

The respondents claim that a substantial majority of the festivals are mainly locally based, and this section confirms that the business-related activities of the festivals are also predominantly local. Local businesses participate in rural festival ecosystems, and there are numerous mutual interactions among local businesses, festival organizers and residents. Overall, this strengthens local vigour and business activities in rural areas and contributes to the local well-being.

There are, however, "footloose" festivals that are predominantly initiated by professional event businesses and that take advantage of rural areas' amenities and access to markets (e.g., in mature tourist destinations). They are less involved in local partnerships. However, although the share of such festivals is small, it can be observed from this study that these festivals are increasing gradually in number.

### 8. The perception of competition

As indicated earlier, there has been a growing interest in hosting festivals in rural areas. However, to-date, the question of how

**Table 5**Main responsibility for the organization of festivals.

Item	Number	Percentage
Dedicated organization with the sole task of organizing the festival	119	40.2
Interest groups within the thematic scope of the festival	44	14.9
Commercial associations and tourist DMOs	38	12.8
Sports associations	36	12.2
Museums and other cultural institutions	27	9.1
Private companies and foundations	12	4.1
Municipalities and other public authorities	7	2.4
Professional festival agencies	7	2.4
Other	6	2.0
Number of observations	296	100

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**Table 6**Number of festival participants per volunteer.

Type of festival	Number of festival participants per volunteer	Number of observations
Sport	35.2	78
Music	33.2	105
Arts and crafts	124.3	47
Market	137.7	36
Specialized topics	73.0	104
Total	43.0	245

**Table 7**Origin of volunteers at rural festivals.

Item	Number of festivals	Percentage of festivals
'Ordinary' people from the local area	210	75.8
Members of local clubs, associations and the like	196	70.8
Employees and owners of businesses in the local area	83	30.0
'Ordinary' people from outside the local area	109	39.4
Members of clubs and associations outside the local area	52	18.8
Employees and owners of businesses outside the local area	21	7.6
Number of observations	277	

festival organizers perceive the effects of exposure to competition from other festivals on their business operation has not been addressed to a great extent. This study provides some evidence in this regard, and, as indicated in Table 8, there is a strong agreement among festival organizers that running a festival is financially risky. This may translate into a risk for associated business operators such as suppliers, sponsors and exhibitors. Examples from the case studies show that exhibitors consider carefully whether it is worthwhile to allocate time and money to participate in a festival. Their considerations include issues such as attendance figures and competition from other festivals that are staged at approximately the same time in the local area. In that sense, they address the competitiveness of festivals. Local business actors are less likely to withdraw their participation from a festival, arguing that they need to demonstrate their commitment to the local endeavour no matter what.

Gaining the local council's support (subsidies) and other sponsorship benefits is not easy task. In this regard, the interviews conducted with organizers suggest that ensuring appropriate sponsorships requires great commitment, and Table 8 also suggests that there is increased competition in this respect.

Attracting good performers, artists, or exhibitors to hosted festivals is essential to their appeal. Not all festivals attract the same segment of performers, artists, or exhibitors. Here, the results show that only 6.4% of the respondents strongly agree that the existing

competition reduces their ability to attract good performers, artists, or exhibitors, and another 28.8% agree with this statement. Interestingly, over 40% of the respondents neither agree nor disagree with the statement, and another 8.2% do not know. From the organizers' perspective, this result indicates that there seems to be a fairly adequate supply of performers, artists and exhibitors with whom to work.

These results do not systematically vary according to festival size, duration or age. Both well-established and new festivals can be said to have a strong competitive understanding and awareness of the existing competition. However, taking into account the thematic scope of festivals, it can be concluded that more specialized festivals, such as those with history, food or hobby-oriented themes, are less exposed to competition than other festival types. Of late, there have been many new and specialized festivals, and this diversification may be the reason for the lower exposure to competition. This seems to correspond to the findings of international research, which also point to innovation as the source of business advantage (Larson, 2009). Further, the study found that art and craft-oriented festivals are more favoured by municipalities and exhibitors. This result corresponds with other studies of artists and the economic potential of art.

This section provides indications that festivals constitute local platforms for entrepreneurs and that there is a need for creative business behaviour among festival organizers if their festivals are to

**Table 8**Festival organizers' assessment of exposure to competition.

	To run the festival is a financially risky activity	The competition from other festivals reduces the ability		
		() to gain local councils' support and sponsorship benefits	() to increase the audience size	() to attract good performers, artists or exhibitors
Strongly agree	25.3*	20.1	12.0	6.4
Agree	30.9	28.1	30.3	28.8
Neither agree nor disagree	20.5	28.8	35.2	40.6
Disagree	15.6	15.6	151	11.7
Strongly disagree	6.6	4.5	4.6	4.3
Do not know	1.0	28	2.8	8.2
Number of observations	288	288	284	281

Note: in %.

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 $<sup>^</sup>st$  should indicate that the presented results are in %.

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become even more competitive in the crowded festival market. Furthermore, it shows that existing competition among different festivals may lead to innovative practices.

# 9. Sources of innovation and business involvement in rural festivals

Festivals are changing and renewing continuously over time. It is a great challenge to ensure that there is a balance between the maintenance of valuable traditions and purposeful progression, and addressing this challenge requires knowledge and ideas. In the following section, a closer look at the sources of innovation among rural festivals is provided.

Table 9 shows, according to festivals organizers, that the audience in particular offers both praise and criticism and that this feedback is the most valuable source of information and ideas for festival organizers. As such, the audience might serve as a catalyst for different business endeavours; for example, for the introduction (or adjustment of existing) products and services on the market.

Volunteers are also a very important source of information and knowledge. They might visit other festivals, and they might bring (new) ideas back. Furthermore, they are often part of a community related to this very theme, which is another source of inspiration. Volunteers' knowledge also comes from other contexts, including work, study and leisure activities, which can be leveraged at the festivals (Hjalager, 2009; Smith and Lockstone, 2009). Drawing on the results presented in Table 9, particularly the high score received by the category related to feedback from volunteers, it can be stated that the Danish rural festival organizers in this study have a very good understanding that volunteers are not only labour but also key agents of change.

The third most important source of information and ideas comes from performers, artists and exhibitors. It is common for some of them to have volunteered at other festivals, and they carry that knowledge and experience to each new volunteer role. The case studies demonstrate that organizers are keen to have dialogues with the performers, artists and exhibitors to jointly make the best use of their capabilities. This practice also holds true for suppliers and other professional partners and the media.

These results indicate that festival organizers are rather openminded individuals who are willing to listen to and learn from different groups for the benefit of a festival's development. However, the possibility of strategically teaming up with businesses and entrepreneurs to increase the mutual innovativeness of both the festivals and the entrepreneurs is not evidently in focus.

However, there is also a question regarding whether suppliers and exhibitors make the best of their festival involvement with respect to their own innovative development. For food producers, for example, food festivals represent an opportunity to not only market new and existing products but also collect opinions and suggestions from consumers.

**Table 9**Source of information, inspiration and ideas for festival organizers.

Item	Average assessment
Feedback from the audience	1.72
Feedback from volunteers	1.74
Feedback from performers, artists and exhibitors	1.94
Feedback from people in the community in general	2.04
Visits to other festivals in Denmark	2.17
Cooperation with suppliers and professional partners	2.32
Media	2.61
Cooperation with authorities and organizations	2,78
Visits to other festivals abroad	2,84
Number of observations	270

#### 10. Discussion and conclusion

Festivals are common in rural areas in Denmark. They are of significant importance for the quality of life and for local identity, and they are growing in number (cf. Section 4). Music, sports, arts and crafts, food, markets and hobby-related interests constitute the main themes of the festivals: however, under the surface, very wide variation can be found in terms of styles, formats, target groups. content, and local objectives. The festivals' main objectives are to encourage an interest in their relevant themes, to entertain, to promote the local area and to support the community's identity and pride. However, the survey demonstrates that business goals and commercial elements are, in practice, given lower priority. This result is line with the earlier studies conducted by Caust and Glow (2011) as well as Gursoy et al. (2004). Festival organizers demonstrate limited ambition with regard to productively combining community and social objectives with the objective of enhancing a festival's effects on economy and employment. Accordingly (small) rural festivals are quite distinctly different from urban hallmark events and larger festivals which typically have less inclusive scope (Agha and Taks, 2015). This underlines the need for analysis of the specific feature of business relationships in smaller festivals staged in rural settings. Economic and entrepreneurial features in such festivals are not absent, but present in a "low-key" way.

The study provides evidence that festival activity is a remarkable element of rural life and in that sense the situation in Denmark resembles that in other countries (Gibson and Connell, 2011). In total in Denmark, rural festivals are estimated to attract between 3 and 4 million visitors annually. The audience consists of both locals and visitors from elsewhere, and rural festivals are assets with respect to rural and coastal tourism. According to the respondents, the contributions of festivals to coastal and rural touristic attractiveness and development is imperative. The festivals also generate business revenues of some significance, in spite of the fact that much of the related activity is free of charge or handled by volunteers.

There are several dilemmas in terms of the future growth of the entrepreneurial and business potential of rural festivals. On the positive side, the operation of the current number of festivals would hardly be possible without active and socially wellestablished local networks of community groups. This aspect has been also acknowledged by Vestrum and Rasmussen (2013), Edwards (2012) as well as Shaw et al. (2016). Almost all festivals in this inquiry are deeply embedded in the local ecosystems of sports, culture, business and other types of associations. These ecosystems motivate dedicated organizers to undertake various activities, and they ensure the mobilization of human resources, including committed business entrepreneurs, for numerous practical tasks. This finding is concurrent with earlier studies conducted by Buch et al. (2011). Community-based organizations benefit from their participation in such activities, as these activities deliver elements of coherence, commitment and meaning, while also sometimes providing financial support for the organizations' core activities (George et al., 2015). Very few festivals are entirely commercial; the large majority are "homegrown" and well-integrated into community life. However, pockets of innovative and successful business activity do thrive in most festivals, although they receive limited attention from organizers. The Roskilde festival, which is the largest urban Danish festival, has a co-creation element and invites business enterprises to work with participants (Hjalager, 2009), but the current study enlightens a fairly modest similar ambition with the rural festivals.

When analysing the nature of festivals in rural Denmark, it becomes clear that there is a need for a better inclusion of business aspects, albeit without compromising other main objectives. Many

festivals lack a full range of quality products and services in their offerings that could better meet visitors' needs and demands and that could increase the business impact of these festivals on their host areas. However, it is a challenge to introduce and work with business organizations whose main objective is to create revenue (Gursoy et al., 2004). It should be taken into account that most organizers as well as participants consider festivals to be recreational pursuits, in which economic alliances have to be at "armslength". Those desiring to stimulate the entrepreneurial potential of festivals cannot ignore this fact (Gursoy et al., 2004; Shaw et al., 2016). Efforts to enhance rural festivalization must regard this as a condition for a success rather than an obstacle.

This study has demonstrated the intensive "mushrooming" of festival themes; for example, into food tracks, sports specialties, artistic domains and retail niches. This mushrooming is a phenomenon that can be regarded as a highly beneficial for communities and tourists in rural areas, and it contributes to the creation of new markets for festivals. However, the wider span of thrilling themes and specialties also becomes both the effect of and a stimulator for entrepreneurship. As indicated in the literature, new companies may grow out of and be heavily influenced by leisure and hobby practices, and such enterprises are in no way less interesting with respect to rural development than enterprises with a more "traditional" focus (Shaw et al., 2016). In this sense, the study of spin-offs from festival environments is an area that calls for more investigation than was possible in this study, issue also noticed by Wilson et al. (2016). In particular, longitudinal studies of the entrepreneurial stakeholders of festivals are missing from the academic debate (Wilson et al., 2014).

# 11. Business and entrepreneurial perspectives of rural festivals

The analysis reveals the considerable capacity and dynamics of the rural festival arena and the impressive voluntary contributions of different groups. However, the survey also indicates that, so far, the potential in rural Denmark for further festivalization has not been fully exploited. In the process of expanded festivalization, there is opportunity for entrepreneurial endeavour.

A number of areas can be noted for further development, all of which follow from the conclusion above, including the need to build alliances and balance the different and partially conflicting purposes of rural festivals.

# 11.1. Building a new portfolio of festivals and the renewal of traditions

There is a devoted inclination to base new and existing festivals on well-founded and much-loved traditions, while at the same time allowing some innovation and repositioning. However, the survey suggests that, over time, some festivals tend to become inflexible. There is a need for festival organizers to seek outside inspiration and build strategic alliances including business partnerships that can stimulate revitalization. Danish nature, culture, history, traditions and so forth encompass elements that, through creative processes, can originate entirely new categories and formats in the festival landscape. For organizers and other stakeholders, the reinvention of existing festivals or the introduction of entirely new events may address critical rural development issues such as considerable seasonal fluctuations. In this case, there might be potential for building new relationships with both local and external partners. Incremental changes and thematic alignments may ensure better profitability for exhibitors, artists and shopkeepers in the festival arena and the surrounding rural fabric.

#### 11.2. Proactive dialogue with exhibitors, stall owners and others

In a more incremental style of change, organizers may initiate proactive actions with exhibitors, stall owners, suppliers, sponsors and others. This dialogue can include an exchange of ideas regarding the range and quality of the products on offer, as well as on potential marketing endeavours. It may be possible for exhibitors and stalls to be more active; for example, by demonstrating methods of production and ensuring that any of the products or services on offer can be sampled. Successful festivals are characterized by the fact that 'something happens' and by offerings that are attractive and dynamic. The contribution of commercial actors is particularly important. It is essential that they can see a business angle; for example by direct sales or by subsequent increased activity in on-line sales.

#### 11.3. Thematic coordination with local area businesses

The results show that accommodation providers and retailers can experience a positive impact of festivals on their daily operation and profits. They can benefit from both personal sales and the festival's support for the theme. Thus, restaurants can have apple-based dishes during an apple festival, some stores can play chamber music during a chamber music festival, and others shops can offer particularly good deals on products that fit the festival's main topic. These efforts should be coordinated by, for example, community business advisory bodies, trade associations or destination management organizations.

### 11.4. Co-branding – symbiotic image promotion

This might include efforts to weave the host region's image into the festival theme. Co-branding between festivals and businesses in the local area can be strengthened by publishing (cook) books, releasing travel films and much more, and in that context, festivals can be start-ups for co-branding.

### 11.5. Merchandise

Bearing in mind that sales of goods and services at the vast majority of festivals rarely extend beyond the merchandising of inferior goods (e.g., hats, umbrellas, or simple souvenirs), there is a need, and a potential, for the expansion of merchandising offerings into a larger and more interesting portfolio of products and services that better fit festivals' themes. In that sense, merchandise must be viewed as both a promotion tool via souvenirs and a source of revenue for festival organizers and exhibitors. Interestingly, this activity might extend beyond the time and the place of the festival to, for example, an online presence; thereby extending the scope of entrepreneurial opportunities beyond festival attendees.

### 11.6. Innovation platforms

Some major festivals offer entrepreneurs the opportunity to test new business ideas and concepts (Hjalager, 2009), and this practice should also be implemented at smaller festivals, as it has the potential to contribute to rural business development (Freire-Gibb and Lorentzen, 2011).

### 11.7. Stronger touristic linkages

There is a need to strengthen tourism operators' marketing of festivals in rural areas, including through festival calendars that are available in shops, on ferries, and in other places. Festivals can be better represented on international platforms; for example, on

TripAdvisor. This can possibly be achieved by closer cooperation with destination marketing organizations, accommodation businesses, restaurants, hotel owners, ferry companies and others. Festivals can also collaborate with existing volunteer associations or guide corps to appeal to potential attendees from special interest groups and niche areas. They can also be more actively engaged in social media to build their festival communities prior to and after the event

### 11.8. Strategic alliances with sponsors

Festivals often rely on sponsorship deals with primarily local companies and organizations. These alliances often involve monetary contributions and the provision of materials. Alternatively, it is possible to strengthen relationships with sponsors in other ways; for example by agreeing to non-monetary sponsorship opportunities such as food and drinks for performers, prizes for competitions, and "voluntary" help from the employees of local companies, which could include suppling transportation, Internet access, office facilities and services, among others. This can be supplemented by strategic media alliances to provide a strong basis for communication with potential and current festival visitors, while also reinforcing the argument of potential benefits for sponsors.

The study of rural festivals in Denmark indicates that festival organizers are not only committed but also have a considerable capacity for taking action individually and through partnerships. Initiatives such as those mentioned above are realistic for both small and larger festivals and for festivals of all thematic types. The study also ensures that even remotely located festivals are capable of developing their capacity and attractiveness, thus contributing to rural development processes. This challenges the general trend of depopulation and economic decline in observed in rural areas of Denmark and most other European countries. Attaching a stronger entrepreneurial element while still respecting the intrinsic qualities of rural areas is the key challenge for the future.

Drawing on primary data from 315 festival organizers, this study contributes to strengthening the existing research on rural festivals and to extending the evidence regarding these festivals' assessed importance, dilemmas and potential. However, a limitation is that the study addresses economic considerations from the organizers' perspective rather than from the business partners' and entrepreneurs' view. In future research, the mechanisms of business involvement in festivals, the implications of participation in different stages of festival planning and implementation, and the prospects for businesses and communities will need to be further examined. For this purpose, there is a need to renew traditional and somewhat inflexible impact study methods.

Formulated recommendations assume that there is potential to better align entrepreneurship with festivalization, and this is supported to some extent by the literature. The empirical analysis also demonstrates the gap in attention, potentially of negative importance, to both the quality of the festivals for visitors, but also in terms of lost business opportunities. However, there might also be good reasons for lagging attention to the entrepreneurial elements, some of them already mentioned, as for example the contradictive festival objectives. Motivation might also lack on the side of the enterprises. It is rather straightforward that some companies (e.g., born global) do not find it worthwhile using time and money on an appearance at rural festivals. Although earlier studies provided evidence on the attributes of festival's entrepreneurs, there is still insufficient understanding of what motivates and demotivates them, including insight into the importance of size, trade, development stage, type of networks, and the nature of attachment to the local place. Further, both earlier studies as well as the empirical analysis offered by this study indicate that local embeddedness is central to many rural festivals, yet it does not mean that all firms involved in festivals are local. Some of the enterprises in for example catering, souvenir sale, and in performing arts, "tour" different festivals over the year and in that sense, they become professional in supplying content to festivals that, on the surface, appears to be "local". There is still little understanding of "footloose" festival's entrepreneurship, and thus it would be worthwhile to investigate this phenomenon in future.

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