



Producing Extreme Metal festivals: An analysis from Lacan's gaze



Grace Yan ^{a,*}, Mark Kloeppel ^c, Xiang (Robert) Li ^b

^a Department of Health, Exercise Science, and Recreation Management, University of Mississippi, 642All-American Drive (Suite- 215 Turner Center), Oxford, MS 38677, United States

^b School of Tourism and Hospitality Management, Speakman Hall SP305, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA 19122, United States

^c Independent Researcher

HIGHLIGHTS

- The study employs Lacan's thesis of gaze to examine Extreme Metal festival producers.
- In-depth interviews are conducted.
- The findings reveal that festival producers deal with contested roles and voices.
- Implications of festival operations and Lacan's thesis are discussed.

ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received 29 April 2015

Received in revised form

13 September 2016

Accepted 17 September 2016

Keywords:

Tourism festivals

Metal music

Gaze

Lacan

ABSTRACT

By employing Lacan's theoretical framework of gaze, this study provides a narrative analysis to examine the managerial experiences of the producers for Extreme Metal festivals. Specifically, it explores meanings and struggles of tourism festival making that connects individual subjectivities and politics of culture production. As such, it offers a broad conceptual framework merging the Lacanian gaze into tourism research and MacCannell's theory. The findings reveal that festival producers are constantly dealing with various contested roles and voices, revealing in-depth psychological complexities situated within managerial experiences. Meanwhile, the process of festival management must be seen as significantly influenced by the mechanism of cultural offering that the producers attempt to assert and define through the festival space. Finally, implications related to the greater realms of psychoanalytic insights and their potential connections with tourism management are discussed.

© 2016 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

1. Introduction

This study examines managerial experiences of producers for Extreme Metal festivals in Europe by considering Lacan's framework of gaze. In tourism scholarship, the analytic concept of gaze is firstly and most famously discussed by Urry (1990; Urry & Larsen, 2011). Accordingly, tourism provides the specific context through which the gaze is generated; tourists possess the gaze and, in turn, the locals and destination society are held as gazed objects. Urry's theory enables us to view tourism as practices of power relationships along a fundamental logic of *seeing* and *being seen* (Cheong & Miller, 2000; Crang, 1997; Ryan & Gu, 2010). Other philosophers, such as Lacan (1977, 1981), instead of confining *gazing* and *being*

gazed upon to certain concrete roles, depicts gaze as a universal condition for all beings, which fundamentally shapes our ontological ground for knowing. More importantly, the idea of power is not negated in Lacan's thesis, but circulated through an internal split of the gaze: an actual look as well as a large, uncanny gaze, which we continuously struggle to recognize. It is this split between actual gaze and larger gaze that is haunting, demanding, and providing possibilities to locate meanings and subjectivities (Lacan, 1977).

In this study, Lacan's gaze constitutes an intriguing lens to examine the makings of Extreme Metal festivals. Extreme Metal is a form of dark tourism and leisure activity whose artistic radicalism and underground scenes invoke intense debates from musicians as well as festival participants - "Extreme Metal teeters on the edge of music" (Kahn-Harris, 2007, p.25). The phenomenon of Extreme Metal events and its offering of transgressive, dark experiences have intrigued discussions from a variety of fields (Kahn-Harris, 2002, 2007; Phillipov, 2006b; Podoshen, Venkatesh, & Jin, 2014;

* Corresponding author.

E-mail addresses: cyan@olemiss.edu (G. Yan), emg.markkloeppel@gmail.com (M. Kloeppel), robertli@temple.edu (X. Li).

Spraklen, 2006; 2014). Festivals of Extreme Metal, in particular, constitute a concentrated space to present counter-hegemonic rituals, as radical aesthetics along with transgressive themes keep stirring up feelings of aggression, anger, violence and brutality (Weinstein, 2000). Meanwhile, a primary focus in studying Extreme Metal events, and dark tourism in general, is through the milieu of consumption (Lennon & Foley, 1999; Podoshen, Andrzejewski, Venkatesh, & Wallin, 2015; Stone & Sharpley, 2008; Stone, 2006), seeking to examine tourists' emotional and psychological encounters with subjects of "death, disaster and atrocity" (Buda & McIntosh, 2013, p. 216). However, experiences in producing and creating dark tourism - complexities and depths involved in this process - have been rarely discussed. Such lack can be critical to advance the development, design and marketing of dark tourism, considering various forms of struggles are involved in providing cultural experiences of counter-narratives to the appropriated mainstream aesthetics and values.

In the particular context of Extreme Metal festivals, regardless of their relative cultural and economic autonomy, they are subject to a socio-economic process where culture is represented, packaged, and sold (Kahn-Harris, 2007). That is, on one hand, festivals enable the Extreme Metal culture to take an identity in-the-making in the phenomenological sense. On the other hand, making festivals inevitably submits the delivery of culture to an institutionalized planning process which considers evolving market demand, internal hierarchies of music development, and so forth. How to enable festival operations to be practiced along the radical identity of the art genre thus presents a persistent question, which keeps contesting and destabilizing the "identity, commitment, consistent distinctiveness and autonomy" (Hodkinson, 2002, p. 29) of Extreme Metal.

As such, the experiences of individuals who play primary roles in operating and promoting Extreme Metal festivals provide a particularly intriguing discourse to be examined. Within this study, they are self-identified as festival producers, considering their dual roles in managing the business while serving as culture brokers for Extreme Metal. Two perspectives from Lacan's thesis of gaze must be emphasized in exploring their roles and identities. Firstly, Lacan's gaze proposes that the act of looking itself results in gaze as the scene looks back and identifies the visibility of the subject, which in turn asserts the agency of the gaze as within the subject himself/herself (Dash & Cater, 2015). In this sense, as the producers reflect upon the music festivals, it is the subjects themselves that are brought to the critical forefront of the gaze, with perpetuated desires and haunted lack (Lacan, 1977) in relation to festival operations. Furthermore, it must be noted that Lacan's emphasis of a split between the actual vision and a larger gaze has been adopted by scholars in an array of fields to connect to a wider analysis of society and its impact on human conditions (Hansen, 2012; Wilton, 1998). That is, by exploring the duality of gaze, it gives visibility to complex subjectivities and struggles of festival producers situated in the split, thus enabling more fundamental propensities which give meanings to the festival operations to be revealed.

With this in mind, this study employs a narrative inquiry approach to examine experiences of festival production by interviewing individual producers of Extreme Metal festivals in Europe. Specifically, the analysis contains two major research objectives: a). To interpret the larger gaze circulating festivals by focusing on the extraordinary operational procedures taken by the producers; b). To delineate struggles and contestations rooted in the duality of gaze, in searching for individualized and meaningful space underneath the ordinary fabric of festival operations. In so doing, it seeks to make multiple contributions to tourism knowledge. To begin with, by examining festival producers who struggle to negotiate with socio-economic forces to provide dark tourism experience and

assert identities through the festival space, it provides a response to Stone's (2011) suggestion that new paradigm of dark tourism research needs to explore "fundamental interrelationships between dark tourism and the socio-cultural condition of society" (p.324). Further, much event management research implicitly takes a corporate view and examine the business operation/commercial performance of events, whereas the present study focuses on nonprofit, independent festivals, an area that has been understudied. Finally, as MacCannell (2001) proposes, nuanced psychological complexities from Lacan's gaze enables tourism analysis to be deepened. While Lacan's theory has been theoretically discussed (Dash & Cater, 2015; MacCannell, 2001), this study is an attempt to bridge theory and practices by connecting Lacan's gaze to specific context, subjects, and tourism managerial experiences.

2. Gaze and tourism: from Urry to MacCannell and Lacan

Urry's (1990) gaze theory has been intensively discussed and studied in tourism (see e.g., Brohman, 1996; Maoz, 2006). One powerful premise of Urry's gaze is that it is not a natural product of atomized individuals, but a scopic regime (Foucault, 1973) which depicts a process of social construction. Meanwhile, Urry's gaze metaphor has also drawn criticism (see Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 190 for a summary). Of particular relevance to this study are two challenges. Firstly, its uni-directional tendency prescribes an asymmetrical formation of power in privileging the tourists (Brohman, 1996; Maoz, 2006). Secondly, its exclusion of agency over-determines the subjectivities of tourists (Gillespie, 2006; MacCannell, 2001). It is, as MacCannell (2001) believes, Urry's gaze reveals too much a reliance on Foucault's medic gaze, "if we go to Satre, Merleau-Ponty or Lacan, we will get a very different version of gaze" (p.28).

In comparing the approaches adopted by Foucault (1973) and Lacan (1977, 1981), two major analytic points need to be made. First of all, one major difference resides in the dialectics of the visible and the invisible and their relationship to power. Foucault's (1973) articulation takes the belief that while the inside of the patient's body is invisible to the patient, the clinical gaze sees through it. This medic gaze is thus mighty and powerful, due to its procurement of vision. Lacan (1977, 1981), however, avoids the absolute construction of visibility and invisibility by elaborating a split of gaze. That is, what appears as a familiar gaze is composed of, on one hand, an actual physical gaze; on the other, a phantasmic gaze, which is associated with desires and powerful truths underneath the appearance. It is this larger gaze that structures and gives meanings to what is actual and visible, with the illumination of a schema of ideology (Hansen, 2012). Following Lacan, MacCannell (2001) proposes a second gaze to Urry's tourist gaze: a larger gaze that highlights the unseen while disrupting touristic representations with doubts and incompleteness.

Secondly, Lacan believes that the concept of gaze not only depicts the action of looking, but also the gazed object which functions as a source of self-scrutiny. As such, gazing is a process where a conscious look directed outwards is transformed into a self-consciousness in relation to the scrutiny of an externalized anonymous Other – switching from *I look to I am looked at* (Krips, 2010). Such self-consciousness then produces an internal anxiety in relation to the scrutiny of an externalized Other. Embedded is a proposition that power does not unambiguously arise from the privilege of gazing, where gazing also means to receive gaze and it is the gazing subject that is "caught, manipulated and captured in the field" (MacCannell, 2001, p. 30). In this sense, to relate the possession of gaze to a universal group of individuals – often believed to be tourists who purchase the experiences - is an overtly simplified approach. Instead, following Lacan, we are inspired to

explore complex and critical psychological dynamics that are invoked for both tourists and tourism providers through a process of gazing while being gazed upon by people, culture, tourism objects, and power.

In a variety of tourism-related disciplines, Lacan's gaze theory has been actively sought after – cultural geography (Hoggett, 1992; Wilton, 1998), anthropology (Hansen, 2012), sociology (Chodorow, 1999; Erikson, 1993), among others. One important purpose of employing Lacan's theory of gaze is to seek to explain complex individual psyche through the morphology of social landscape. Hansen's (2012) work, for instance, takes an ethnographic approach to examine the larger racialized gaze left by the apartheid regime on various facets of social life in South Africa. In the field of tourism research, there is very limited exploration of Lacan and his theories. Indeed, the discussion of psychoanalytical concepts in tourism is “cursory at best”, as stated by both Kingsbury (2005, p.118) and Buda (2015, p.41). A review of the literature reveals the study by Uriely et al. (2011), which follows a Freudian approach to articulate how tourism experience is a perpetual outcome of an internal conflict between instinctual drives and the desire to comply with social demands. Additionally, by considering death instinct as a primordial drive towards the unity of ego, Buda (2015) explores tourist experiences in conflict zones. Moreover, Kingsbury (2005) has provided a theoretical conceptualization of enjoyment in Caribbean tourism by referring to the work of Lacan and Žižek. In all three studies, the authors call for a genuine dialogue between tourism and psychoanalytical concepts.

3. Extreme Metal festivals

Tourism festivals are events consisting of a series of performances and programs, often devoted to a single genre infused with gaiety, conviviality, and cheerfulness (Turner, 1982; Waterman, 1998). According to Patterson and Getz (2013), the extant knowledge of tourism festivals can be summarized into three major categories: planning and managing events from the supply side (e.g. Felsenstein & Fleischer, 2003); antecedents to participation from the demand side (e.g. Crompton & McKay, 1997; Nicholson & Pearce, 2001); as well as the measured outcomes of festivals (e.g., Besculides, Lee & McCormick, 2002). As such, a primary focus has been placed upon the applied management of events, including place marketing, economic impact, and so forth; thus producing a largely instrumentalist knowledge discourse towards offering empirical marketing strategies (Getz, 2008). With this background, many have called for an interpretative paradigm with cross-disciplinary perspectives to examine the organization and planning of festivals (Patterson & Getz, 2013; Podoshen et al., 2015; Robinson, Picard & Long, 2004).

In the context of Metal music festivals, much has been discussed that they have demonstrated a growing music subculture striving for viability and existence (Weinstein, 2000). The Grasspop Metal Meeting in Belgium, for instance, is considered the largest Metal festival in the world at a capacity of 90,000 (Festival Lists, 2014). The intersection of Metal festivals and tourism has been increasingly noticed, where the term “backpackers” is given to fans who travel to engage in activity in Black Metal (Podoshen et al., 2015). In previous discussions, Metal festivals have been primarily framed as a celebration of contemporary youth culture (Phillipov, 2006b). Recent observations attempt to capture a more nuanced shift of demographics, noting that Metal events draw participants from teenagers to those over the age of 50 who have been listening to Metal for decades (Podoshen et al., 2014).

From the surface of it, the mentioning of a Metal festival invokes many stereotypical assumptions – thundering drums and raging guitar melodies, long hair, headbanging, black leather, outrageous

behavior and excess (Kahn-Harris, 2007). In relation to the broader dark tourism literature, discussions on tourism sites have traditionally considered those that involve historic incidences of death and disaster – such as holocaust camps (Miles, 2002), debris of the World Trade Center immediately after 9/11 (Lisle, 2004), among others. The tourism process thus typically contains aspects of commemorating the tragedy, inquiring the authenticity of atrocity, and reconstructing historic narratives of darkness (Wight, 2006). At Extreme Metal festivals, however, experiences of difference, dark or danger are sustained by radical and transgressive forms of musical performance, lyrics and ambience; presented within the liminality of the festival space. Among the literature that explores psychological complexities, the dynamics of utopia and dystopia by Podoshen et al. (2014) provides a fitting lens in viewing the festival experience.

Specifically, in terms of music experience delivered, the Extreme Metal is comprised of a set of closely related sub-genres, including Doom Metal, Black Metal, and Death Metal (Kahn-Harris, 2007). In contrast to Heavy Metal's massive popularity, Extreme Metal is often circulated through a relatively small-scale underground institution. Moreover, what binds these sub-categories together is their common practice of transgressive themes, such as occult, death, violence and mutilation (Kahn-Harris, 2007). While each sub-category carries a different rebellious approach – such as Black Metal attacks Christianity by resorting to paganism and Satanism, and that Death Metal reveals a stronger continuation of progressive Punk with a further exploration of horror – they share a sense of radicalism that challenges the acceptable norm of music (Weinstein, 2000). In traditional cultural studies, the radicalism displayed through Extreme Metal – including its aesthetics, music form, intelligent components, and a disregard for the elite or the popular – has been framed as consciously seeking to fight against dominant ideologies and to empower individuals. Phillipov (2006b) however warns committing Extreme Metal to an over-determined political intervention; its transgressive themes may also be perceived as commercial appeals. After all, as Kahn-Harris (2007) notes, the Extreme Metal scene displays controversially radical subjectivities, from the far-left to Black Metal's right-wing infringement. The music has variously embraced, rejected, played with and tried to ignore its controversies.

Meanwhile, questions of aesthetics and style cannot be divorced from the political economy of music production. In regards to Extreme Metal, its origin of tape trading and associations with underground scenes are often perceived as genuine material forms in resisting the dominant market logic (Kahn-Harris, 2007). Meanwhile, some argue that Extreme Metal has never possessed an entire DIY (do-it-yourself) ethics: an untainted independence from industrialized production (Dale, 2009). Nowadays, however, it is hard to distinguish it from any form of popular culture production, making it an extremely difficult project for the identity articulation of Extreme Metal. More importantly, such contested interpretations are naturally carried into the discourse of festival management and operation. Indeed, considering festivals as an apparatus that serves to both expose and reproduce culture (Getz, 2007), it lays bare Extreme Metal's identity struggles in negotiating various forces upon the condition of festival making. The festival producers are surrounded by the larger gaze where precarious desires and subjectivities interplay to assert the identity of Extreme Metal in negotiating socio-economic forces upon the condition of festival making.

As such, there is a particular need to understand the producers of Extreme Metal festivals, who interact with festival resources and the market system to engage artists, arrange programs, and create the final delivery of cultural experiences. In so doing, while each festival management practice is inevitably towards the

performance of a particular version of festival identity, each designation of art and musician must be seen as seeking empowerment (Waterman, 1998). To recognize this is also to acknowledge that the making of festivals harbors agendas: they are carefully programmed, planned, and constructed for visitors to hear and see (Quinn, 2005a,b). Examining the experiences of Extreme Metal festival producers thus serve to deconstruct a process of how individuals actively exercise agencies to seek appropriated representations of Extreme Metal through the festival place, sustaining a critical dialogue of tourism festivals and identities in the making.

4. Study methods

4.1. Narrative inquiry: philosophies and interlinkages with psychoanalysis

This study chooses a narrative analysis approach (Denzin, 1997; Ricoeur, 1974, 1979, 1991) to examine in-depth interviews with the producers of five major Extreme Metal festivals in Europe. According to Riessman (1993), personal narratives constitute an essential resource in the struggle to bring experiences into conscious awareness. Deeply rooted in Paul Ricoeur's (1974, 1979) philosophies of hermeneutics, narrative analysis seeks to reveal the presuppositions and implicit meanings embedded in the symbols of language, and allowing for multiple truths as well as different prisms to be delineated through narrative construction.

Notably, narrative analysis shares profound internal linkages with philosophies rooted in psychoanalysis (Frosh, 2007; Simms, 2007). According to Gellner (1985), within a span of less than half a century, psychoanalysis has become “the dominant idiom for the discussion of the human personality and relations” (p.5). Since this study is inspired by the Lacanian framework of gaze, such linkages are important reasons for narrative inquiry to be considered. To begin with, Lacan's readings of Freud emphasizes the various linkages between the unconscious, preconscious and conscious. The interpretations of self, other, and culture are then based upon such symbolic system embedded in people's narratives of events (Ewing, 1987). In a similar lens, narrative inquiry also takes the stance that analysis is not to be confined by a narrow conception of consciousness as strictly reflected from the surface of language (Ricoeur, 1974, 1979). Accordingly, the interpretation of narratives begins by a humiliation of the knowledge belonging to immediate consciousness (Simms, 2007). In other words, narrative inquiry and psychoanalysis interlope as they both seek to locate junctures between the natural and the intentional, as well as the instinct and its representations (Franke, 1998). From there, both frameworks highlight the process of drawing meanings from interpreting symbols in language and narratives, where language is seen as composed of a dialectic of presence and absence (Ricoeur, 1979, 1991). In other words, the nature of symbols invokes (at least) a double meaning, operated in all forms of human experience and at all levels (Simms, 2007). In relation to the Lacanian theory of gaze, it means that the signified actual vision is not to be immediately recognized without looking for a conventional system of social and cultural signifiers (Ewing, 1987; Frosh, 2007). In this lens, an examination of personal narratives provided by the festival producers leads to a wider understanding of a community of culture in producing Extreme Metal festivals.

Despite the mutual and internal links between the two methodological approaches, the practices of psychoanalysis have been hardly seen outside of clinical settings. This is partly due to the notorious ambiguities in performing psychoanalysis – such as drawing references in speeches, maintaining complex relationships of working alliances between the interviewer and the interviewees, among others (Midgley, 2006). Thus, increasing interest has been

invested to explore how a mode of psychoanalysis can be integrated into the narratives of interview studies to bring out broad patterns of social relations (Riessman, 1993). For instance, in the sphere of tourism, Kingsbury (2005) proposes that psychoanalytic concepts such as active listening, free-association, and (counter) transference can be employed in the interviews to reveal societal conditions by which the tourist is shaped who is at the same time a shaping agent. Furthermore, in terms of analyzing interview narratives, Ricoeur (1979, 1991) takes the belief that in building and performing the discourse, individuals are subjugated to a process that consciously suppress inconsistencies (Quinn, 2005a,b). This means to identify the unspeakable, incoherencies and embedded dynamics in the interviews is crucial, for they reflect an interplay between the conscious and the unconscious and, as in the words of MacCannell (2001), an attempt at truth. In brief, the above have introduced narrative inquiry and its interlinkages with traditions established by Freud and Lacan, which serves as a foundation for the following explanations of interview procedures and analytical approach of this study.

4.2. Interview context, procedures and the interviewees

There were two rounds of interviews that were conducted for this research. Between June and July 2014, one author travelled to 5 major Extreme Metal festivals in Europe to meet the festival producers and conduct the first round of interviews. A purposive sampling was organized prior to this round of interviews, with the goal to identify individuals whose on-the-job experiences were directly related to the promotion of Metal festivals. The 5 festivals were: “Neurotic Deathfest” (2014, Tilburg, Netherlands), “Ieper-Fest” (2014, Ieper, Belgium), “Brutal Assault” (2014, Jaromer, Czech), “Rockstadt Extremefest” (2014, Rasnov, Romania), and “Bloodshed Grindcore Fest” (2014, Endhoven, Netherland). All the festivals are held annually, and mostly in summer, normally lasting for 3–5 days. Because many Extreme Metal bands start as a part of the underground scene, the festivals listed above are witnessed as having grown from relatively small-scale events to internationally recognized Metal music festivals. “Brutal Assault”, for instance, was established in 1996 in Prague, and has since then switched to different venues to accommodate the growth in the number of participants. Among them all, “Neurotic Deathfest” boasted to be the largest indoor festival for Extreme Metal in Europe, with visitors from more than 40 countries (Retrieved from: www.neuroticdeathfest.com). Moreover, all festivals had standard components such as performance stages, vending areas, alcohol and food bars, communal areas, and varying styles Extreme Metal music and visuals. Furthermore, the idea of *communitas* (Turner, 1982) – associated with an atmosphere of social equality, sharing and intimacy – is very quintessential in these festivals. Some festivals provided tent farm camping ground for the visitors, allowing the attendees and the bands to interact with each other.

All of the individual interviewees were males, which was not surprising given that Extreme Metal was often considered as a male-dominated culture (Weinstein, 2000). They aged between late 20's to early 50's, and came from a mixture of places in Europe: the Netherlands, Romania, Belgium, and Czech. Before becoming a Metal festival producer, some were already involved in the Metal-Punk music scene. For instance, one individual started as an underground Metal musician himself, who later developed career connections with booking agents and label managers, which eventually led to the job of managing major Metal festivals. A continuous immersion in the Metal scene served as a common identifier for the interviewees: some also operated companies of music production, worked for music booking agencies, and so forth.

For the initial round, face-to-face interviews were conducted in

each producer's office at the festival site, including some occurred while the music was being performed on the stage. Being closely surrounded by the festival scene initiated powerful and intimate context for the producers to reflect on their individual involvements in festival management. Owing to the topics that this research aimed to touch on, a *one-to-one* setting of in-depth interview created a flexible discourse structure, enabling deep-down feelings and individualized thoughts to be conveyed (Briggs, 1986). In this round, a semi-structured interview question list was used. The interview questions revolved around three major aspects: 1). How have the individuals come to their current position as a producer for Extreme Metal festivals; 2). What were their everyday business activities in regards to festival management; 3). What were their interpretations of Extreme Metal culture and festival organization. English was used as the only communicative language in the process of conducting interviews. It should be noted that the conversational flexibility of these interviews elicited a personal manner of narrative, which was known to stimulate personally meaningful responses (Fontana & Frey, 1994). Meanwhile, observations, informal conversations and reflective notes were also utilized to explore and further contextualize the findings.

All the interviews were recorded and notated in real-time, which were transcribed and described by researchers for significant themes, contrasts, congruencies, and emergent themes "common to most or all of the interviews as well as the individual variations" (Hycner, 1999, p. 154). Based on that, a second round of interviews with all interviewees were arranged between December 2014 and January 2015. Whereas the previous interviews occurred during the festivals, this round of interviews took place after the festivals and utilized the format of Skype. All interviews were transcribed into the Jefferson system of transcription notation (Jefferson, 2004) to present the multifaceted flux of discourse (Du Bois, 1991). Specifically, the transcriptions included all decipherable and indecipherable utterances, notable pauses in speech, and relevantly contextualizing background noise notated with the text representation of what was said. These transcripts, in addition to the audio recordings, served as the basis for narrative analysis.

4.3. Positionality and reflexivity in the interviews

In this study, it must be acknowledged that a relatively small sample size was considered. Meanwhile, unlike quantitative research where the size of sample often provides an indication of validity, qualitative inquiry approaches validity by considering how accurately the account represents participants' realities of the social phenomena and is credible to them (Creswell & Miller, 2000). As such, validity procedures mostly commonly involve researchers' engagements of self-disclosure and collaboration with participants in a study (Denzin, 1997). The following analysis on the researcher's positionality and reflexivity will further elaborate this discussion by recounting for questions of subjectivities to uncover potential assumptions, beliefs, and biases that have shaped the inquiry.

To begin with, one author's role as a member of a notable Extreme Metal band and the relationships that he has built with the festival producers must be recounted, as they may have led to particular ways of asking, seeing, and hearing during the interview process. Before the interviews, this author, who was also the major interview investigator, already knew some of the producers through different musical occasions. Some of them may perceive the author as peers in the field of Extreme Metal festivals and thus, fighting together for the existence of a small music genre. Some of them may have even perceived the interview as an opportunity to seek a closer relationship with the author, and to exchange thoughts on matters pertaining to the future of festivals, their cultural offerings, and so forth. On one hand, shared identities and

knowledge of the Extreme Metal field enabled the interviewer to obtain a relatively full grip of *communicative competence* (Briggs, 1986), allowing for revealing in-depth explanations. In the meantime, the interviewer was also acutely aware that his identification may have led to a tendency to romanticize their voices and subjectivities, especially regarding stories that echoed similar life experiences. The interview dynamics thus involved a mixture of distance, cultural intimacy, as well as shared values; the complexities of which were instilled in the formation of interview narratives.

4.4. The analytical approach

The analysis of the narratives provided by Extreme Metal festival producers follows the framework suggested by Ricoeur (1974, 1979, 1991). Accordingly, narrative analysis begins working around a quandary of context where the researchers explores *what is said*, *how it is said*, in *what contexts*, *how context* is at play, and what can be derived from this process (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009). Specific techniques include observing different versions of event telling along the development of time, as well as locating the sameness and variability of telling, with the goals to search for narrative dilemmas situated within the construction of narratives (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009; Ricoeur, 1991). For instance, considering that narrative provides an opportunity to symbolize and transform a stretch of past experience to unite with those of the present, and even with the projected future, narratives of the event along different points of time is often where dilemmas are situated in (Ricoeur, 1991). Meanwhile, such narratives dilemmas, as informed by incoherencies and inconsistencies in the structure, are exactly where knowledge about the interviewee can be obtained beyond surface (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009). A similar philosophy is echoed in psychoanalysis that making coherent narrative can be seen as a defensive process of the individual (Wilton, 1998), whereas dissonances between the character and the prescribed characterization in personal narratives provide critical access to the individual psyche. In this study, through locating dilemmas as "recurring regularities" (Denzin, 1997, p. 53), the analysis seeks to systematically explore the meanings of the larger gaze as well as the duality of gaze - in the condition of making Extreme Metal festivals.

5. Framed by the larger gaze: radical practices of festival management

As discussed in the literature review, the operations of Extreme Metal festivals were propagated with managerial activities that sought to be radical and non-conventional. Indeed, the analysis of festival producers' accounts revealed that engagements with radical practices in festival management were critically pertained to the order and content of the larger gaze. To begin with, the radical values of Extreme Metal - conscious resistance to the dominant and hegemonic social formation - was often embodied by the concept of DIY (Phillipov, 2006a). DIY was a desirable identity marker, where the ideological propositions of musical texts and aesthetics may be linked to a process where Extreme Metal was made available to the audiences.

In the interviews, DIY was firstly framed by the festival producers as a symbolic resistance towards commercialism. One festival producer appeared to be rather insistent about the festival's non-affiliation with corporate sponsorships: "No corporate sponsorship. No 'Monster' (energy drink) and 'Red Bull' that kind of stuff. It will push you to do things that you don't want to do. I don't need to be too preachy about our festival. People always see that our venue is clean, free of ads."

In the above, the roles of sponsors as gatekeepers in intervening with the festival representations and meaning makings were clearly recognized by the producer. Moreover, the resistance to sponsorship deals must also be seen as a conscious strategy, created for the festival participants to identify with. It was thus a unique component of the festival management discourse, which constituted a scopic drive for the Extreme Metal festival as an object – an actual gaze suggested by Lacan. More importantly, what gave meaning to this actual gaze was a larger gaze, an awareness that there was always something concealed and missing from the picture (MacCannell, 2001). In this sense, the festival practices could be seen as seeking to consolidate the radical positionality of Extreme Metal, in response to insinuating struggles of Extreme Metal. The identity apparatus of Extreme Metal, in this sense, constituted a larger gaze that circulated the exterior schema of the festivals.

In a further exploration, the analysis revealed an array of ecological practices, which have further enriched the themes of DIY. Curiously, whereas a denial of capitalist world of socio-economic order used to be revealed as an anarchist attitude in Extreme Metal music, now it took on an ideology of ecology in the festival makings. Some activities such as turning fans into volunteers to assist cleaning and recycling were commonly found among all festivals. In particular, one festival insisted on only catering vegan food to the bands and fans. In regards to this, the festival producer commented:

We try to feed the bands as vegan as possible. Most bands have no problems at all. We try to do it in a good way. But there are always a few bands would go 'ah-vu-vu-vu' (sound). If they really think that they cannot survive, well, then ... You know, things like cookies and pastries cannot even taste the differences.

Practices as such have purposefully drawn a zone disavowed from normative standard of festival catering. To a degree, this dietary regulation was also imposed on the bands; despite that within the circle of bands, there may have existed varied individual subjectivities and contested opinions. *Vegan food only* thus instilled a moral sentiment, reflecting DIY ethics that emerged in various forces around the festival management. Importantly, embedded in such recounting, there was a strong sense of pride, underpinned by a consciousness of being watched, and after all, inviting to be watched. The festival was, as in the words of this producer, "a combination of hardcore and vegan food." (Figs. 1 and 2).

This drive for ecology turned more radicalized, as one festival promotion website explicitly advocated that "the most ecological thing we could do is to not organize festival at all" (Retrieved from: www.ieperfest.com/2014/green-policy). That was, just like any form of travel and human gathering, Metal festivals would necessarily trigger a system of pollution and waste. The promotion was certainly attention-grabbing, with an instilled nihilism that challenged participants to re-consider the meanings of music festivals, traveling and above all, the ironies of living. It was, on one hand, musical features that were radically violent and grotesque; and on the other, festival policies which were radically, progressively ecological. With a degree of excessiveness were ecological practices seen and presented, framed by a larger gaze mediated by a thick context. While ecological strategies in festival management must be seen as efforts to confirm the gaze arose from the larger identity discourse of Extreme Metal, questions of what constituted new forms of radicalness and how could they serve to further the boundary between Extreme Metal festivals and other categories of festivals were pounding underneath.

The above revealed how concrete examples of festival

management sought to follow and confirm a detected larger gaze that represented the contested identity of Extreme Metal. In the meantime, the larger gaze also revealed a side which delivered disciplining and regulative power. That was, in regards to the imageries for the Extreme Metal festival promoters, certain imageries associated with DIY-sensibilities were appropriated: working with small and independent agencies, not purely focusing on filling the venue and making profit, etc. As such, a strong self-consciousness arose when one departed from such path. For instance, one festival producer described how he started as a manager for a small Dutch Death Metal festival and was now employed by one of the biggest booking agencies in the world. His job now included producing festivals for a variety of music genres of different sizes. In regards to this, he depicted it as a natural progress:

When you were a teenager, you always thought there was something evil about it – to be around all those big agencies and fat festivals. As you got there, you realized that there were not so many differences after all. The sizes of festivals are different, of course. But it's the same process where you have to bring in different bands; sticking to similar but somewhat different experience each year.

While there was perhaps an antagonist perception of working for dominant agencies to create popular music festivals, it was now framed as *not too different*. After all, different festivals shared similar management principles. Yet, in the meantime, as if chased by a degree of embarrassment, the producer also carefully preserved a boundary:

In this job, you are around a lot of people who only know Iron Maiden or Slayer. They only like the big commercial bands that get forced upon them by media and labels. But sometimes it's needed to make a bit difference. You know I do an individual festival as well, an underground Grindcore Fest.

An acknowledgement was made in regards to the complicit roles of media and labels in leading audiences to the choices of popular bands. More importantly, it created a space for the producer to deliver a faithfulness to Extreme Metal, where a separated individual festival was brought up almost as a compensation. This amounted to what Žižek (1994) believed as a logic of anticipatory identification: the desire to perform the part assigned by powerful modalities of external gaze. When this external gaze was not fulfilled, however, it invoked an anxiety about the true – in this case, what a true Extreme Metal festival producer was supposed to be. Such responses to the gazes produced fine-grained readings for tourism festivals.

Moreover, a further exploration of the larger gaze invoked a retrospective interpretative gesture as a form of response from the festival producers. Such responses were captured by a degree of indeterminacy, where one's propositions towards festival makings resisted to be fully and coherently articulated. In the following excerpt, the interviewee recounted a long list of festival logistics through DIY efforts co-created with the volunteers:

It was all about DIY. Let's see: Friday, I did the tents. And the volunteers helped with scheduling. They had to work on putting the bands on the right plane, van, or ferry. There were ferries from Scandinavian regions. Even with that, some band still called on the way: hey, our van broke down, can you help? Then we had to help, so they could arrive on time.

In this narration, DIY was approached as a non-hierarchical



Fig. 1. Iperfest compost toilets.



Fig. 2. Iperfest vegan catering.

structure in organizing the festivals. On the surface, the logistic arrangements seemed unbearably mundane. Underneath the actual gaze, however, an array of emotions could be identified which were partly reflected from the tone that was used in narrating: cynic, bitter, yet with a degree of inevitableness, and almost happiness. It had to be painfully enjoyed, as if gripped by some unarticulated motive. For a further discussion, it must be connected to the following narrative:

I have been running this festival for more than ten years now. Every year I have to ask myself the same question – shall we continue, shall we start all over again? To start again means that immediately after the festival there needs to recruit new

volunteers. Then we have meetings every few months; all year long until the festival kicks off again. Atrocious, if you think about this. But there will be the next edition, and the next after that. There will always be.

A similar motive was revealed from the above account, as the producer recounted a constant on-going cycle of festival planning with DIY volunteers. It created a narrative space that was underpinned by self-questioning, where one struggled to recognize the desire underneath. The idea of desire occupied a central place in Lacan's thesis (1977, 1981), linked to many critical concepts including the unconscious, fantasies, the Other, and so forth. Within

this collection of thoughts, it was believed that at the heart of the desire identified a lack, and it was this lack that ensured us to continue to desire. In this sense, the lack of an available and coherent discourse of Extreme Metal was highlighted towards an understanding of the larger gaze. There was no single formulated interpretation on Extreme Metal, but instead a heteroglossia of voices on the meanings and appropriations of its existence. As such, circulated by the larger gaze, the producers continued the struggles to define and create the discursive space of Extreme Metal festivals.

6. Duality of gaze: ordinary practices of festival planning

While the above provided an elaboration on festival operations that sought to embrace radicalized strategies, the management of Metal festivals also inevitably contained frequent encountering of routine and regular festival planning activities. The following analysis would be devoted to analyzing this second component of festival management by focusing on delineating the duality of gaze and its cultural meanings. That was, the surface of this gaze was largely identified with festival management as a set of regulated, material disciplines – the homogeneity of gaze. On the other hand, a second gaze produced constant second guessing, where meanings beneath the appearance challenged and contradicted the impositions from the actual gaze, invoking a duality (MacCannell, 2001). It was through an exploration of the dialectics between the actual and the phantasmic, that subjectivities and meanings were to be located (Lacan, 1977, 1981).

To begin with, the actual experiences of festival management were often depicted as highly institutionalized and structured, as conveyed by one interviewee: “You know, it’s just like any other job. Come in at Nine o’clock to do my emails. Then start contacting bands and organizing the venue.” Mundane activities of booking, planning, and communicating were assumed as a central place where the actual gaze was supposed to lay upon. It was, after all, a professional life that must be lived to gain survival in the Metal festival market. One interviewee commented: “If we break even, then we do a good job. The goal is just to make sure that we are not losing money in the end, so everybody gets to keep this office job and we can keep this venue.”

Governed by these ordinary activities, the producers appeared resourceful and strategic, dealing with the orientation of the market with an interiorized self-discipline. One interviewee provided an analytical reading:

Imagine that there are three people – one that is into old-school Death Metal; one that likes more of the technical stuff, the U.S. stuff; and one that doesn’t really care about anything, just come here for the party. You have to create a festival for all three people. And that’s how you bring them together.

The above revealed a crudely simple account. It sensibly considered festival participants as modern consumers, who were segmented along their musical preferences to provide marketing rationales. Thus, on the surface of the gaze, the narratives were unmistakably captivated by a conscious conformance to the ordinary rules of festival business management. On the other hand, however, the same discourse of festival management was also surrounded by a second gaze which questioned the corporeal and ordinary reality of festivals. The following example of self-deprecating humor invoked by the producers served as a powerful illustration.

The same interviewee, who recounted his daily job as getting into office at Nine o’clock and doing emails, continued his description by pondering upon an intriguing past:

In 2009, we lost 50 thousand Euros on the festival. So I had to call many ‘big bosses’: ‘hey, we have lost money. Can you do something to help us?’ I made about thousands of phone calls at that time. They either gave me something, or nothing. I managed everything at the time: accounting, financing, booking, promotion, etc. Every day I would just sit in this empty bunker, dialing numbers.

It delivered the imagery of a *real festival producer*, who had to use all methods to beg, convince, and sell to the anonymous yet taken-for-granted *big bosses*. The role led one to be submitted to the chain of the market, while the glamor associated with the promotion of a major European Metal festival was largely diffused.

The interviewee continued: “So you know that in their mind, the flow of bands was called ‘the traffic’. ‘How is the traffic’, someone would ask. The traffic is good. The traffic is bad. It’s like a bunch of stuffs moving around. Like a box of oranges I guess. But if they are oranges, aren’t we just chimpanzees? Grab a bunch of oranges from here and put some in there.”

By assigning oneself to a dehumanized imagery, a degree of playful self-deprecating humor was implied from the above. In so doing, however, the role of a festival business organizer was no longer submitted to a homogeneous gaze, but instead carried ambivalent connotations that ranged from disdain to affection. More importantly, the self-deprecated joke also shielded an intimate embarrassment. It was exactly through this intimate embarrassment – as chimpanzees and oranges – an uncanny sense of comfort was created. The ordinary and self-ridiculed management role in the actual gaze was thus contested, whereas a sense of individuality and depth was conveyed through an exhibitionistic impulse of gaze.

A final analysis of the duality of gaze led to a specific discussion of the unequal developments embedded within the system of Extreme Metal Festivals. While the music was meant to transcend geographic and socio-economic boundaries, Extreme Metal remained a largely Western phenomenon (Kahn-Harris, 2002). Among the producers, those coming from Eastern Europe carried a strong consciousness of their marginal status. Indeed, in observing one particular producer from Romania, one may conclude that no gesture and statement could be made without being linked to the specific complexities of hosting Extreme Metal festivals in Romania.

On the surface of the gaze, it was perpetuated with the gaze of Romania as a largely forgotten place in the scene of Metal festivals. The producer recounted: “I was fed up seeing the same bands over and over in Romania. No one wanted to come. So basically I just thought that well, if no one would start a serious festival in Romania, I would do it.” For the interviewee, being seen as Romanian and having to face its full cultural connotations provided the script and the interpretive grid of festival management experiences. Specifically, the discourse construction largely depended on drawing differences between Romania and other Western European countries. Germany, in particular, often appeared in the narrator’s account as emphatic and unprompted. For example, It is too different in Eastern Europe. For example, if you go to Germany, everybody at the festival will just drink a beer and watch the shows. They are cool. They wouldn’t do too crazy things. They are so stoic, you know, for they have seen every band in the world.

There might be a sociological truth to such observations. In Germany, socio-economic circumstances have enabled the Metal culture to obtain a relatively stronger rapport, and thus having festivals and seeing all kinds of bands was a norm. The above words indicated an inherent privilege and to some degree, an ensuing power struggle between the center and the periphery which have

infiltrated the market system. It delineated visible and categorical differences, pertaining to a variety facets of festival operations: the economic return, the willingness for bands to join in the festivals, the social imagination of Romania as a destination, and so forth. As the interviewee commented: “If you think about festival planning, most bands would draw a map with Germany in the center. Then they would calculate how far they would like to travel to perform at festivals in the surrounding countries, so they can hit a wide base of audiences within a short amount of time. There is Hungary, Bulgaria, and there, on that corner, Romania.”

The imagery of Romania as an underdeveloped and unworthy place in the Extreme Metal festival system had thus largely penetrated the surface of the gaze. It gazed back at the Romanian self, which was inhabited by an anxious flatness. As this gaze powerfully scrutinized the scenes, it also captured a larger Romanian public that had little conception of Extreme Metal festivals. The interviewee recounted: “The problem is that, all these people have to learn what this Metal festival really means. They didn’t understand the sound. They thought us strange. They laughed at us. They just really didn’t know why we were here.” And sometimes the Metal festival was simply assumed as a Western thing: “Some people thought it would just be the same as having bands come to the ‘Hard Rock Cafe’. Look, there are some Germans and Americans here, loud and crazy with their electric guitars.” An absurd, dislocated reality of Extreme Metal festival was delineated. A wider Romanian public failed to capture the nuances of Metal culture, where the festival was seen as a source of incomprehension as well as derision.

As such, on the surface of the gaze, the differences of the Metal festival in Romania and Western Europe were unmistakable: the festival scale, the scene, the bands, and so forth. Deeper down, however, a larger invisible gaze could not be entirely closed or fixed, constantly seeking to depart from the overriding surface. In the interview, the producer delivered another portrayal of the Romanian festival: (Fig. 3)

There are only a few cities in Romania. Only a few places can hold this kind of festival. So I know that there are fans who have

to travel from very remote areas to our fest. If you come, you would see so many crazy fans. They are wild. They know that the bands have driven 20 hours just to get here. So it’s a whole different connection between the bands and the crowd. Beautiful.

Precisely because of the marginality of Romania as a festival destination, the festival was perceived with a more valuable genuineness. The truth about unequal development of the system and its discrimination against Romania was once accepted and resisted. The Romanian self thus constituted a complicated duality. While the perceptions on festival operations in Romania were largely imprisoned, a second gaze kept searching for individualized meanings: as pride, shame, and disavowal. For the producer, caught in between the duality was not a matter of free choice, but an existential condition that must be lived. It must be accepted and negotiated as a condition in hosting festivals:

A lot of my daily jobs involves convincing bands to come. It’s annoying that you cannot send mails. Of course, some won’t even take a look since the mails are from Romania. You know what I really want? I want to sit down with them, with a beer on the table, at this place that used to be an armory factory. Look, this is Romania.

The account delineated a complex array of emotions: Romania as a place that was despised, which also invoked a cherished interiority of life. Two conjoined bodies of surface and substance thus fundamentally defined an individualized discourse of festival operation. Findings as such could be pertained to wider discussions of power struggles in the post-colonial discourse of tourism and culture (see [Morgan & Pritchard, 1998](#); [Palmer, 1994](#)).

7. Conclusions and discussions

In this study, the Lacanian notion of gaze is employed as a framework to provide an in-depth account of managerial



Fig. 3. Rockstadt crowd scene.

experiences for Extreme Metal festivals. Firstly, the analysis explores radical procedures and representations that have been adopted by the Extreme Metal festivals. In so doing, it delineates a large and imagined gaze which represents the cultural apparatus of Extreme Metal that consistently questions the meanings of festivals, circulating the discourse of festival management. Secondly, the duality of gaze is discussed, where an individualized and meaningful space is powerfully made visible underneath the mundane discourse of festival operations. Combining both parts, the construction of Extreme Metal festivals is articulated through a network of social relations and individual subjectivities. Furthermore, in Lacan's (1981) thesis, a gaze is also a perpetual enigma. "Gaze is always a play of light and opacity ... presented to us only in the form of a strange contingency" (Lacan, 1981, pp. 72–73). In the context of Extreme Metal festivals, it can be that the cultural apparatus of Extreme Metal may never be fully comprehended: its controversial positioning towards the ideology of culture production, and its transgressive themes that challenges our perceptions of morality, pleasure and resistance, among others. It thus presents perpetual struggles for the producers to assert and define the festival space.

Although the focus of the study is less about managerial tactics or customer experience delivery, insights shared by the respondents help to illustrate the challenges and struggles special event organizers constantly face, and the cultural context behind their thoughts. Two major implications for festival management must be discussed. Firstly, findings from the larger gaze indicate that it is critical to obtain understandings of the cultural apparatus of festivals and its profound influences on operations and management. From bands selection, choice of sponsorship to logistics arrangement, the unique cultural positioning of Extreme Metal certainly makes such knowledge more acute. Similar understanding can be applied to any small enterprises producing niche products and committed to a less mainstream market position, illustrating facets of business logic (Novatorov & Crompton, 2001) that have not been well documented in the tourism literature. Secondly, an understanding of the duality of gaze reveals that the festival producers are constantly dealing with multiple contested roles and identities – as business operators, identity creators, and negotiators. Managing the festivals is thus also to manage these often conflicting roles for oneself as well as for the staff members. On one hand, constant negotiations of varied roles produce vivid and individualized meanings, enabling the festivals and their producers to be sustained and empowered. On the other, failure to effectively conduct negotiations can lead to inadequacy in producing meanings and identities through the festival space. Altogether, the employment of the Lacanian gaze captures the ever-increasing complexity and diversity of festival management.

Meanwhile, considering that the narratives are dedicated to portray a small group of individuals committed to festival production, it presents a limited scope of inquiry. All the festivals of investigation were held in Europe, where there was relatively more embracing attitude towards tourism activities that Extreme Metal festivals represent. One can certainly imagine that hosting events located in regions where Extreme Metal is less developed and culturally accepted may be surrounded by gaze structured by very different questions. Moreover, this study primarily focused on producers as a particular group in studying festivals, while missing in the discussion are the pursuits and desires of visitors, staff members, as well as volunteers in organizing and making meanings of festivals. In the future, incorporating an array of roles can more comprehensively illuminate the cultural dynamics. Further research may also consider using ethnography as a methodological approach to similar subjects, as it allows for thorough and nuanced accounts to explore the inter-connections between individual

psyche, cultural offering, and festival productions. Finally, while this research serves one small step that seeks to bridge the literature and disciplines, there is a lot more that can be applied and discussed in regards to Lacan's gaze theory and tourism. How future tourism scholarship can further reach out to psychoanalysis is a question to be asked and answered. As reminded by Kohon (1986), psychoanalysis provides a hermeneutics of culture which "exceeds custom and reason ... courageously explores beyond the prescribed authorities of modern thought" (p.95). It is perhaps time for tourism to consider this.

References

- Besculides, A., Lee, M. E., & McCormick, P. J. (2002). Residents' perceptions of the cultural benefits of tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29(2), 303–319.
- Briggs, C. (1986). *Learning how to ask: A sociolinguistic appraisal of the role of the interview in social science*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brohman, J. (1996). New directions in tourism for third world development. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 23(1), 48–70.
- Buda, D. M. (2015). The death drive in tourism studies. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 50, 39–51.
- Buda, D. M., & McIntosh, A. J. (2013). Dark tourism and voyeurism: Tourist arrested for "spying" in Iran. *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 7(3), 214–226.
- Cheong, S. M., & Miller, M. L. (2000). Power and tourism: A Foucaultian observation. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27(2), 371–390.
- Chodorow, N. J. (1999). *The reproduction of mothering: Psychoanalysis and the sociology of gender*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Crang, M. (1997). Picturing practices: Research through the tourist gaze. *Progress in Human Geography*, 21(3), 359–373.
- Creswell, J. W., & Miller, D. L. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory Into Practice*, 39(3), 124–130.
- Crompton, J. L., & McKay, S. L. (1997). Motives of visitors attending festival events. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 24(2), 425–439.
- Dale, P. (2009). It was easy, it was cheap, so what? Reconsidering the DIY principle of punk and indie music. *Popular Music History*, 3(2), 171–193.
- Dash, G., & Cater, C. (2015). Gazing awry: Reconsidering the tourist gaze and natural tourism through a Lacanian–Marxist theoretical framework. *Tourist Studies*, 15(3), 1–16.
- Denzin, N. K. (1997). *Interpretive ethnography: Ethnographic practices for the 21st century*. London: Sage.
- Du Bois, J. W. (1991). Transcription design principles for spoken discourse research. *Pragmatics*, 1, 71–106.
- Erikson, E. H. (1993). *Childhood and society*. New York: WW Norton & Company.
- Ewing, K. P. (1987). Clinical psychoanalysis as an ethnographic tool. *Ethos*, 15(1), 16–39.
- Felsenstein, D., & Fleischer, A. (2003). Local festivals and tourism promotion: The role of public assistance and visitor expenditure. *Journal of Travel Research*, 41(4), 385–392. Festival Lists (n.d.). Retrieved October 10, 2014, from <http://www.festivalsearcher.com/festivalists.aspx?region=europe&genre=metal>.
- Fontana, A., & Frey, J. (1994). The art of science. In N. Denzin, & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 361–376). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Foucault, M. (1973). *The birth of the clinic: An archaeology of medical perception*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Franke, W. (1998). Psychoanalysis as a hermeneutics of the subject: Freud, Ricoeur, Lacan. *Dialogue*, 37(01), 65–82.
- Frosh, S. (2007). Disintegrating qualitative research. *Theory & Psychology*, 17(5), 635–653.
- Gellner, E. (1985). *The psychoanalytic movement*. London: Paladin.
- Getz, D. (2007). *Event studies: Theory, research and policy for planned events*. Oxford: Heinemann.
- Getz, D. (2008). Event tourism: Definition, evolution, and research. *Tourism Management*, 29(3), 403–428.
- Gillespie, A. (2006). Tourist photography and the reverse gaze. *Ethos*, 34(3), 343–366.
- Gubrium, J. F., & Holstein, J. A. (2009). *Analyzing narrative reality*. New York: Sage.
- Hansen, T. B. (2012). *Melancholia of freedom: Social life in an Indian township in South Africa*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hodkinson, P. (2002). *Goth: Identity, style and subculture*. Oxford: Berg.
- Hoggett, P. (1992). A place for experience: A psychoanalytic perspective on boundary, identity, and culture. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 10(3), 345–356.
- Hycner, R. (1999). Some guidelines for the phenomenological analysis of interview data. In A. Bryman, & R. Burgess (Eds.), *Qualitative research* (pp. 143–164). London: Sage.
- Jefferson, G. (2004). Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction. In G. H. Lerner (Ed.), *Conversation analysis: Studies from the first generation* (pp. 13–31). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kahn-Harris, K. (2002). "I hate this fucking country": Dealing with the global and the local in the Israeli Extreme metal scene. *Critical Studies*, 19(1), 119–136.
- Kahn-Harris, K. (2007). *Extreme metal: Music and culture on the edge*. New York:

- Berg.
- Kingsbury, P. (2005). Jamaican tourism and the politics of enjoyment. *Geoforum*, 36(1), 113–132.
- Kohon, G. (1986). *The British school of psychoanalysis: The independent tradition*. London: Free Association Books.
- Krips, H. (2010). The politics of the gaze: Foucault, Lacan and Žižek. *Culture Unbound*, 2, 91–102.
- Lacan, J. (1977). *Ecrits: A selection*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Lacan, J. (1981). *The four fundamental concepts of psychoanalysis*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Lennon, J. J., & Foley, M. (1999). Interpretation of the unimaginable: The US holocaust memorial museum, Washington, D.C. and 'dark tourism'. *Journal of Travel Research*, 38(1), 46–50.
- Lisle, D. (2004). Gazing at ground zero: Tourism, voyeurism and spectacle. *Journal for Cultural Research*, 8(1), 3–21.
- MacCannell, D. (2001). Tourist agency. *Tourist Studies*, 1(1), 23–37.
- Maoz, D. (2006). The mutual gaze. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 33(1), 221–239.
- Midgley, N. (2006). Psychoanalysis and qualitative psychology: Complementary or contradictory paradigms? *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(3), 213–231.
- Miles, W. F. (2002). Auschwitz: Museum interpretation and darker tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29(4), 1175–1178.
- Morgan, N., & Pritchard, A. (1998). *Tourism promotion and power: Creating images, creating identities*. John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Nicholson, R. E., & Pearce, D. G. (2001). Why do people attend events: A comparative analysis of visitor motivations at four South Island events. *Journal of Travel Research*, 39(4), 449–460.
- Novatorov, E. V., & Crompton, J. L. (2001). Reformulating the conceptualization of marketing in the context of public leisure services. *Leisure Studies*, 20, 61–75.
- Palmer, C. A. (1994). Tourism and colonialism: The experience of the Bahamas. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 21(4), 792–811.
- Patterson, I., & Getz, D. (2013). At the nexus of leisure and event studies. *Event Management*, 17(3), 227–240.
- Phillipov, M. (2006a). Haunted by the Spirit of 77: Punk studies and the persistence of politics. *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies*, 20(3), 383–393.
- Phillipov, M. (2006b). 'None so Vile'? Towards an ethics of death metal. *Southern Review: Communication, Politics & Culture*, 38(2), 74–85.
- Podoshen, J. S., Andrzejewski, S., Venkatesh, V., & Wallin, J. (2015). New approaches to dark tourism inquiry: A response to Isaac. *Tourism Management*, 51, 331–334.
- Podoshen, J. S., Venkatesh, V., & Jin, Z. (2014). Theoretical reflections on dystopian consumer culture: Black metal. *Marketing Theory*, 14(2), 207–227.
- Quinn, B. (2005a). Changing festival places: Insights from galway. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 6(2), 237–252.
- Quinn, N. (2005b). *Finding culture in talk*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ricoeur, P. (1974). Consciousness and unconsciousness. In D. Ihde (Ed.), *The conflict of interpretations: Essays in Hermeneutics*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Ricoeur, P. (1979). Psychoanalysis and the movement of contemporary culture. In P. Rabinow, & W. M. Sullivan (Eds.), *Interpretive social science: A reader* (pp. 301–379). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ricoeur, P. (1991). Narrative identity. *Philosophy Today*, 35(1), 73–81.
- Riessman, C. K. (1993). *Narrative analysis*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Robinson, M., Picard, D., & Long, P. (2004). Festival tourism: Producing, translating, and consuming expressions of culture (s). *Event Management*, 8(4), 187–242.
- Ryan, C., & Gu, H. (2010). Constructionism and culture in research: Understandings of the fourth buddhist festival, Wutaishan, China. *Tourism Management*, 31(2), 167–178.
- Simms, K. (2007). *Ricoeur and lacan*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Spracklen, K. (2014). There is (almost) no alternative: The slow 'heat death' of music subcultures and the instrumentalization of contemporary leisure. *Annals of Leisure Research*, 17(3), 252–266.
- Spracklen, K. (2006). Leisure, consumption, and a blaze in the northern sky: Developing an understanding of leisure at the end of modernity through a Habermasian framework of communicative and instrumental rationality. *World Leisure*, 48, 33–44.
- Stone, P. R. (2006). A dark tourism spectrum: Towards a typology of death and macabre related tourist sites, attractions and exhibitions. *Tourism: An Interdisciplinary International Journal*, 54(2), 145–160.
- Stone, P. R. (2011). Dark tourism: Towards a new post-disciplinary research agenda. *International Journal of Tourism Anthropology*, 1, 318–332.
- Stone, P., & Sharpley, R. (2008). Consuming dark tourism: A thanatological perspective. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35(2), 574–595.
- Turner, V. T. (1982). *Celebration: Studies in festivity and ritual*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.
- Uriely, N., Ram, Y., & Malach-Pines, A. (2011). Psychoanalytic sociology of deviant tourist behavior. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38(3), 1051–1069.
- Urry, J. (1990). *The tourist gaze*. London: Sage.
- Urry, J., & Larsen, J. (2011). *The tourist gaze 3.0* (3rd ed.). London: Sage.
- Waterman, S. (1998). Carnivals for elites? The cultural politics of arts festivals. *Progress in Human Geography*, 22(1), 54–74.
- Weinstein, D. (2000). *Heavy metal: The music and its culture*. Cambridge: Da Capo Press.
- Wight, A. C. (2006). Philosophical and methodological praxes in dark tourism: Controversy, contention and the evolving paradigm. *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 12(2), 119–129.
- Wilton, R. D. (1998). The constitution of difference: Space and psyche in landscapes of exclusion. *Geoforum*, 29(2), 173–185.
- Žižek, S. (1994). Identity and its vicissitudes: Hegel's 'Logic of Essence' as theory of ideology. In E. Laclau (Ed.), *The making of political identities* (pp. 40–75). London: Verso.



Grace Yan is an Assistant Professor at the University of Mississippi. She is interested in event, society, and cultural theories. cyan@olemiss.edu



Mark Kloeppel is a scholar and an artist of Extreme Metal. He is a guitarist and songwriter for the Death Metal band "Misery Index." emg.markkloeppel@gmail.com



Xiang (Robert) Li is a Professor at Temple University. His research interests include tourist behavior and psychology, destination marketing, and tourism knowledge development. robertli@temple.edu