

EVENT

MINNI HAANPÄÄ

GO-CREATION

AUTOETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY ON
EVENT VOLUNTEER KNOWING



AS
CHOREOGRAPHY

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Minni Haanpää

Event co-creation as choreography

Autoethnographic study on event volunteer knowing

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UNIVERSITY OF LAPLAND

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Abstract

Event Co-Creation as Choreography

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Events are an ever-growing phenomenon in contemporary society. They are used to make different places and spaces more visitable and to market places, products and services. Volunteers are often a significant social and economic interest group in the creation of events and festivals. The significance of the group has been recognised in event (management) literature, but little attention has been paid to the group's knowledge and its role in event creation. Volunteers have mostly been considered as manageable objects, and the group's knowledge and agency have been excluded.

This research focuses on volunteer knowledge and its role in the implementation of events. The research task is tackled by using the concept of co-creation to examine the event context. Co-creation discussion, originating from services marketing, relies heavily on the concept of knowledge in explaining value-creation for different offerings. In this study, event and festival environments are understood as co-creational arenas where actors practice their knowledge. To further the idea of knowledge in co-creation discussion the concept of choreography is used as an analytical framework. The concept originates from cultural and performance studies and gives access to the relationship between place, space, experiences and knowledge. Choreography constructs knowledge as active doings performed through the body that is referred to as 'knowing' in this study.

Empirically, the phenomenon of volunteer knowing is explored through a multi-sited, longitudinal affective autoethnography, based on the author's work as a volunteer at Finnish festivals and events for more than ten years. In addition to personal fieldwork diaries, the data consists of stories written by other volunteers, photographs, event and festival materials for volunteers and general audiences, and a variety of traditional and social media materials, including videos. The autoethnographic approach provides an opportunity to explore the way volunteer knowledge plays a role in event co-creation.

The analysis shows how volunteer knowing manifests at different levels. At a macro-level, the study casts light on how the knowing from different life spheres, embodied by the volunteers, comes to operate in event choreography. At a meso-level, the ways in which the social, material and temporal pre-choreographies of events guide volunteer knowing are analysed. At a micro-level, the way knowing builds as kinaesthetic and affective practice is shown. The theoretical contribution of this study is threefold, and it extends to different fields of study. First, through exploring the character of volunteer, the study contributes to marketing research and furthers the understanding of the relationship between production and consumption in the co-creation discussion. The second contribution lies in event management studies, in constructing volunteer knowledge as an active phenomenon built longitudinally through different experiences. The third contribution is made to event co-creation discussions, by constructing volunteers as an active party in event co-creation. The managerial implications of the study cast light on the power structures, materialities and affectivity guiding volunteer knowing.

Keywords: event, co-creation, choreography, volunteers, knowing, autoethnography

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Rovaniemi, July 23, 2017

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1 Introduction

1.1 “Let’s make a memorable experience together!”

I do my hair and make-up and check that I have all things needed in my back pack. I take my bike and cycle the four-kilometre route to the festival site. I’m excited, but try to look cool. On my way I see people walking and cycling towards the area. They look happy, excited and some a bit tipsy as well. As I approach the area, I go to collect my badge from the service gate and walk in. I look at the crowd entering the gates, getting their wristbands and being security checked. I walk towards the back stage and get in, showing my badge to the security guard at the gate.

The excerpt above describes the beginning of a festival volunteer experience; the excitement and enthusiasm of the beginning of an annual, yet always different, festival. The origin of this study arises from such an experience; my personal pursuits as a volunteer in festivals and events. Volunteering was, and has been, my hobby and later professional interest for several years. I was first involved in volunteering as a university student and have continued to volunteer at several events since. Volunteering has been professional development, a way of gaining new experiences and making them for others but also a way to travel and spend time with friends. Along my volunteering experiences I began to wonder why the same kinds of challenges were often encountered when running events, and why were these not developed, even though they were reported to team leaders and could have been fixed for the next year. This rather practical discrepancy was what got me interested in volunteer knowing, and its role in event production in the first place.

Many events and festivals depend heavily on a volunteer workforce. Volunteering is often a major source of economy in event organisation practice (e.g. Andersson & Getz, 2009, p. 259; Pesonen, Holmberg, & Komppula, 2016,

p. 10), since it is “work done with no or at most token pay for the benefit of both other people and the volunteer” (Stebbins, 2004, p. 5). Volunteering also has a significant effect in creating the event experience and image for the audience, in many cases. As stated by Niina Hattunen, the executive director of Ilosaarirock, a major Finnish rock festival: “Volunteers are an economic investment, but it is impossible to try and buy the atmosphere they bring to the festival” (Juvonen, 2016). This is in many cases the expectation of volunteers, as the heading of this chapter is seen as a common phrase in the volunteer training materials for a number of events. Volunteers perform various tasks at events and festivals, such as site building and dismantling, merchandise sales, ticket sales, information and media centre work, roading, participant accreditation, and VIP- or backstage hosting, depending on the event. A national survey of 34 Finnish festivals about their use of volunteers revealed that the most common volunteer tasks are audience services, for example at the festival information desk, ticket sales, and security control. About half the festivals studied reported that they use a voluntary workforce for artist services, such as hosting (Iso-Aho, 2011, p. 19).

In general, the work of volunteers largely concentrates on the execution phase of the festivals and events (e.g. Smith, Baum, Holmes, & Lockstone-Binney, 2014). According to Finland Festivals, the national collaboration forum for Finland’s leading cultural events, the number of volunteers at member festivals organised in 2014 was approximately 7400, compared to a total of 1761 full-time and part-time employed staff* (Finland Festivals, 2015). In comparison, at the 2012 London Olympics there were 70 000 volunteers performing over 800 different tasks during the games (e.g. *Volunteers: Helping to make the...*). In another comparison, at the World Athletic Championships 2005 in Helsinki, Finland, the value of the 420 000 working hours undertaken by the 3000 volunteers in the event was estimated to be around five million Euros (Laakso, Kilpeläinen, Kostiainen, & Susiluoto, 2006).

Even though volunteers are a powerful group in events, their ties to the event organisation may be different: some work directly under the organisation, some are involved through different associations and clubs. In the

* Of whom there were 174 working full-time and 1587 temporary and/or part-time workers.

international volunteer field, a growing number of volunteers also volunteer through the agencies that organise workforces for events. In the latter cases, the festival organisation usually pays for the associations and the people volunteer to support their own organisation. In Finland organisational volunteering is less common, but in Britain, for example, there are many organisations and associations that offer volunteers for festivals.

According to Iso-Aho (2011, p. 20) the profile of volunteers resembles the audience profile to some extent. Many volunteers return annually, but in order to establish volunteer retention, the rhetorics and understanding of the volunteer experience are important.

In Finland, the youngest volunteers can be found at rock festivals (18-25 years). Generally the volunteers at all cultural events are quite young, but there are also older people present. Event organisers usually expect volunteers to be of legal age (18 years old in Finland). People aged 30-40 years old seem to be mostly missing from the volunteer scene. A possible explanation for this might be that they have other obligations in life at that age. Ageing is also a challenge in some Finnish festivals. Retention is important for events that are annual. Again, as the heading of this chapter illustrates, event organisers tend to approach the recruited volunteers, but also potential volunteers, through different metaphors involving experiences, fun and family. A leisure and free-time rhetoric is used rather than one based on pursuing work or working life experiences. Family metaphors are also commonly used (Iso-Aho, 2011, pp. 21-25).

Events have been studied in numerous disciplines, such as anthropology, geography and economics (Getz, 2008, p. 405). Events have also been a popular topic of study in the tourism literature (see Getz & Page, 2016). According to Goldblatt (1990) events are unique moments in time which include a ceremony or ritual to fulfill certain needs. Festivals, which are often also discussed under the term 'events,' as they are in this study, stand out from other events on the basis of their content, which is an artistic endeavour, by being limited in their duration, and by their recurrent nature (e.g. Silvano, 2016, p. 8). In general, events are attached to certain spaces, places and times, and even if they are organised repeatedly, they are always unique because of the interplay between the place, people and management practices (Getz, 2008).

There is a vast number of studies focusing on events and their role in tourism, and event (management) studies have gradually gained ground as their own area of study. According to Getz (2002), however, event studies (and/or management) cannot be described as an academic discipline, but have rather been the focus of empirical enquiries. Accordingly, (economic) impact studies are one of the largest streams of literature (e.g. Getz, 2008). Other common subjects of study include event attendee motivations and different aspects of destination marketing through events (e.g. Quinn, 2013). Management-oriented event research has by and large been dominated by empiricism rather than theorising (Getz, 2008). As a result of such practices, the interpretive and socially constructed accounts that might result in a deeper understanding of the phenomenon have received little attention (Lamond & Platt, 2016; see also Tribe, 2008, p. 246). Socio-psychological issues were ignored for a long period of time in event management research, resulting in a potential loss of understanding regarding several success factors (Formica, 1998, in Getz, 2002, p. 14; Lamond & Platt, 2016). In order to produce a more accurate understanding on the challenges facing the management and development of events nowadays, complementary methodological stances are needed (Getz, 2008, p. 422).

This study takes part in the discussions of marketing and event (management) studies. I examine the concept of co-creation, a remarkable paradigm in today's marketing, in event context. More specifically, I analyse the concept of knowledge which lies in the heart of co-creation. By doing this I hope to cast light on the latter issues by considering new ways of understanding volunteer knowledge in event production and consumption. Previous research suggests that the volunteers' important role must be recognised for the creation of sustainable event management practices (see Ralston, Lumsdon, & Downward, 2005, p. 515). The co-creation paradigm has its foundations in knowledge about, and of, the customers (Prahalad & Ramaswamy, 2004; Vargo & Lusch, 2004). Market knowledge is negotiated between different groups of actors (Jaworski & Kohli, 2006; Li & Petrick, 2008). The importance of knowledge lies in the value it creates for the service (Vargo & Lusch, 2004). Volunteers take part in the co-creation of an event and are important actors and informants in producing the event's service culture (see Arnould, Price, & Malshe, 2006).

The productisation of spaces and places, which is in action in the case of events, is always the result of leaning on someone's knowledge (e.g. Johansson & Kociatkiewicz, 2011; Luonila, 2016; Tribe 2008), however, the concept of co-creation remains relatively untreated in the literature concerning events (e.g. Larson, 2009; cf. Rihova, 2013). I claim that volunteers possess and gain a great deal of knowledge in the event production process. This can originate from many different sources. For example, volunteers may be enthusiasts about the subject they are volunteering in, they can possess relevant knowledge from their paid work or they might be representatives or experts on the local culture and conditions (e.g. Jones, 2005; Smith, 2003). During an event they also encounter many situations where social, bodily and affective knowledge is gained (see e.g. Veijola & Valtonen, 2007). Here, the aim is to examine the different forms of knowledge used and created in the co-creation process.

In this study, I set out to examine volunteer knowing in event co-creation. I shall employ - and develop - the concept of choreography as a lens through which to understand volunteer knowing in event co-creation, which opens up the phenomenon at hand as embodied and based on movement. I have conducted multi-sited autoethnographical fieldwork, and ask three research questions:

How can volunteers be understood as co-creators moving between production and consumption?

How do the pre-choreographies of the events guide volunteer knowing?

How do volunteers know in the events, through moving and affective bodies?

1.2 Volunteering defined

There are number of definitions of volunteering that range from academic definitions to policy level specifications. Volunteering has been studied and defined extensively in the academic literature, however, both academic and policy accounts tend to focus on the volunteering done in the most obvious third sector of society; the health, welfare and social sector. The other major volunteering sector that has gained attention is sport. Smith, Baum, Holmes

and Lockstone-Binney (2014, p. 2) suggest in their recent book on event volunteering, following the statement of Cuskelly et al. (2004, in Smith et al., 2014), that the phenomenon is complex and there is no consensus about what the term means.

The general definitions at a policy level view volunteering as unpaid altruistic activity. The European Youth Forum has defined volunteering as “an activity undertaken of a person’s own free will and involves the commitment of time and energy to actions of benefit to others and to society as a whole; the activity is unpaid but can include reimbursement of expenses directly related to the voluntary activity; it is for a non-profit cause and is primarily undertaken within a nongovernmental organization and therefore cannot be motivated by material or financial gain; volunteering should not be used to substitute or replace paid employment” (Youth Forum, 2004). In a statement that reviews the EU member states laws and regulations, volunteering is commonly described as an activity that is: performed with the free will of the individual; is developed in the framework of non-profit, non-governmental organisations; has no professional character; is non-paid; and carried out for the benefit of the community or a third party (GHK, 2010, p. 55). Policy-level definitions are strongly based on third sector-based volunteering, and as such do not capture all aspects of the current event volunteering phenomenon. For example, many festivals are no longer non-profit-making, and volunteering is also used for educational/professional purposes. When considering event volunteering, policy level reviews tend to omit event volunteering done in the cultural sector, but the well-represented sports sector probably includes most volunteering at sports events (e.g. GHK, 2010; see also Iso-Aho, 2011, p. 11). This may be due to the relatively small volume of volunteering, compared to that in the other sectors, as well as a view of volunteering as more a hobby than a serious activity (Iso-Aho, 2011, p. 11).

To better define event volunteering, I consider the different paradigms presented for volunteering in the academic literature (Rochester, Paine, & Howlett, 2010; see also Pessi & Oravasaari, 2010, p. 10-11). According to Rochester, Paine & Howlett (2010), volunteering can be viewed from (at least) three different perspectives, and this affects the way it is defined. The non-profit paradigm is the most traditional understanding of voluntary work,

which is visible in the EU-level policy statements noted above. It understands the phenomenon as an unpaid, altruistic community service in third sector organisations. The roles of volunteers are generally clearly predefined by the organisations and associations arranging the volunteering activity. The second approach, the civil society paradigm, adds to the non-profit paradigm by also taking into consideration different forms of peer help and civic activism, which are also major motivations for volunteering. According to this paradigm, the organisations where volunteering is performed can also be informal, and the roles performed are commonly created based on the interests and capacities of the volunteers. The third volunteering paradigm views the phenomenon from the individual's point-of-view and constructs volunteering as useful free time (serious leisure) (see also Stebbins, 2004). The motivation to volunteer in this case is mainly intrinsic, such as learning new skills or networking, concentrating on the goals of the actor/person over communal goals. The range of operation is diverse, but concentrates on the fields of sports and culture (Rochester et al., 2010).

Societal trends also affect the ways that volunteering is valued and performed. Rochester, Paine and Howlett (2010) have listed specific trends affecting volunteering in general. These are individualism, consumer society, a culture of aspirations and desires, religion and secularisation, increased risk and control over the fore mentioned, the rise of (new) technology and a longing for community. These trends affect volunteering in different ways. The rise of individualism in western societies, which emphasises the choices of individuals, has diminished interest in the work of associations. Consumer society trends point in the same direction, where individual values and lifestyles are presented through consumption, and consumption is generally considered a virtue in contemporary society. The culture of aspiration and desires arises from increased educational levels, and causes people to be more demanding in their endeavours since they are used to expecting a high quality of life. There is also less interest in religion and the values that it represents. On the other hand, the alternative spiritual market is rising. The societal trend to anticipate and control risks has led to more visible and restrictive preparation for them, which results in greater qualification requirements for volunteering, such as the different licenses needed for various tasks. The rise of technol-

ogy has been obvious and rapid. Media devices are affecting ways of being together and engaging in social activity. In the age of individualisation in the western societies, the longing for community is also on the rise, yet these new communities are selected through individual needs (Rochester et al., 2010).

These trends have different consequences for the voluntary field, some of them being in favour of event volunteering. The valuing of individual aspirations and interests has led to project-based action in all levels of society. Event volunteering is considered a typical example of this; as Smith and Holmes (2009, p. 406) have explained, it is in many cases episodic and as such infrequent, occasional and short term. Volunteering is one way of presenting individual values and lifestyles, to develop personally and/or professionally as well as joining communities of like-minded people. International event volunteering reflects this phenomenon. For example the Roskilde festival in Denmark gathers much of its voluntary workforce from Poland (see Iso-Aho, 2011, p. 14). Individual interests and values are also represented through civic event organising, where carnivals and festivals are organised in loose interest-based networks. One very popular example in Finland, during recent years, has been the Restaurant Day food carnival, which has no official organisation. Civil societal causes are also expressed through events, such as the Reclaim the Streets street party.

Stebbins (1992, 2004) has theorised volunteering as a leisure activity, and his ideas are commonly cited in event volunteering discussions. He constructs leisure from three different viewpoints, which highlight the commitment of volunteers towards the activity: serious, casual and project-based leisure. Stebbins explains serious leisure as “a systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer core activity that is highly substantial, interesting, and fulfilling and where, in the typical case, participants find a career in acquiring and expressing a combination of its special skills, knowledge, and experience” (Stebbins, 1992, p. 3). Casual leisure is again flexible. It is not work-like and does not involve personal obligations. Relative freedom is maintained towards the commitments made. Project-based leisure is “a short-term, moderately complicated, either one-shot or occasional, though infrequent, creative undertaking carried out in free time ... involves considerable planning, effort, and sometimes skill or knowledge, but for all that is not of the serious variety nor intended to develop

into such”. It is also not casual leisure, since it takes place on regular occasions, even though they might be widely spaced, such as festivals (Stebbins, 2005).

Event volunteering has been considered through the different paradigms presented in this sub-chapter. The paradigms of civic engagement and useful free-time or serious leisure seem to be more accurate when defining event volunteering. Casual volunteering is also seen as a way of event volunteering. As Smith, Baum, Holmes and Lockstone-Binney (2014, p. 2) bring forward, the definition of event volunteering is not stable but more of a continuum between paradigms, depending on the study. It has been claimed, however, that despite extant social scientific study on volunteering, “a complete understanding on why people initiate and continue to volunteer remains elusive” (Lockstone-Binney, Holmes, Smith, & Baum, 2010, p. 447).

1.3 Previous research on event volunteering

The literature on event volunteering has been growing during the last decade (e.g. Smith et al., 2014, p. 5). In their recent edited book on event volunteering, Smith, Baum, Holmes and Lockstone-Binney (2014, pp. 5-10) undertook a thorough literature review on the subject. In this exhaustive review of articles over a 25 year time period from three academic databases (ABI Inform, Hospitality & Tourism Complete and ProQuest), they identified a total of 59 articles that concentrated on event volunteers. Among these, there are certain main characteristics to be noted. The researchers recognised that most focus has been on case studies of large-scale sporting events. There are many fewer studies on arts and cultural festivals. The studies performed tend to be single event studies and only a few compare events. Methodologically, quantitative approaches have been dominant and the most typical way of collecting data has been surveying the volunteers in a certain point of the event life cycle. More recent studies include qualitative approaches. Most of the studies were carried out from the view point of the volunteers. According to the literature review, the researchers were able to identify certain themes in event volunteering research, the most popular of which were studies that focused on volunteer motivations, their experiences and satisfaction.

Since the literature review only extends to 2013, I conducted a follow-up review using the same criteria as Smith, Baum, Holmes and Lockstone-Binney (2014). From the year 2013 until 2016 (June) I searched the three databases noted, with the same search terms used in the original literature review: 'volunteer AND event' and 'volunteer AND festival', examining the articles that included these terms either in their abstract and/or keywords. I excluded the articles from 2013 that were already in the literature review made by the previous authors. Following the principles of the previous literature review I also excluded articles where the volunteers were not the main focus. This practice left me with the total of 41 articles. The obvious finding when compared to the previous literature review is that the topic of event volunteering has flourished over the last three years: using the same criteria, 59 articles were found during a 25 year period, compared to 41 articles in a three year period. I entered the articles found on an Excel spreadsheet, categorising them with the following criteria: author(s), title, journal title, year of publication, journal volume, DOI, theme of the article, methodological approach, the exact research method, type of event, case/longitudinal study, database, type of journal. Of these categories the theme of article, methodological approach and method, event type, type of study and journal were drawn from Smith, Baum, Holmes and Lockstone-Binney's (2014) literature review, in order to produce comparable data. As noted by the authors of the original literature review, the same biases applied to the follow-up: it "did not capture a small number of other known studies and book chapters were not included" (Smith et al., 2014, p. 6). For example the chapters of the edited book on event volunteer experiences by Smith, Lockstone-Binney, Holmes and Baum (2014) do not appear in the results. Despite this, the review can be seen as a representative sample of the topic.

The results of the follow-up literature review were very similar to those of the original review. There has been no significant changes in the publications, focus, themes or methods of the studies (see Tables 1 and 2). Tables 1 and 2 combine the results of the original literature review and the follow up made for this study; altogether 100 articles. There were no significant changes in the publication forums, other than the number of publications in non-profit journals increasing notably (Table 1). There are more publications in manage-

ment journals than non-profit journals in the original literature review, but when adding the results from the follow-up review, the order of the two was exchanged. This might be due to an observation made by Smith, Baum, Holmes and Lockstone-Binney (2014), who proposed that the interest in episodic volunteering has increased, and events are good examples of such activity in general. Otherwise, the results of the follow-up resemble the original review. Case studies of large-scale sporting events still dominate the research into event volunteers. Altogether nine studies out of 41 articles in the follow-up review were not case studies. Methodologically, quantitative methods were still the most common means of researching event volunteers. The trend recognised by Smith, Baum, Holmes and Lockstone-Binney (2014, p. 8) in the original literature review, is also visible in the follow-up: the number of qualitative studies continues to grow, even though they are still a minority.

Table 1. Event volunteer studies categorised by journals.

Journal category	Journal name	Articles
Event journals (29 articles)	Event Management (18)	Aisbett and Hoye (2014); Bachman et al. (2016); Bang (2009); Bang et al. (2008); Bang et al. (2014a); Bang et al. (2009); Cuskelly et al. (2004); Darcy et al. (2014); Dickson et al. (2013); Elstad (2003); Fairley et al. (2013); Giannoulakis et al. (2007); Kim et al. (2010a); Lockstone-Binney et al. (2015); Love et al. (2012); Monga (2006); Ralston et al. (2004); Wakelin (2013)
	International Journal of Event Management Research (4)	Baum and Lockstone (2007); Bendle and Patterson (2008); Leigh et al. (2013); Pauline (2011)
	International Journal Of Event & Festival Management (4)	Dickson et al. (2014); Giannoulakis et al. (2015); Ragsdell and Jepson (2014); VanSickle et al. (2015)
	Journal of Convention and Event Tourism (3)*	Bachman et al. (2014); Landey and Silvers (2004); Lee et al. (2013)
Leisure journals (16 articles)	Managing Leisure (9)	Allen and Bartle (2014); Downward et al. (2005); Hede and Rentschler (2007); Lockstone and Baum (2009); Lockstone et al. (2010); Skirstad and Hanstad (2013); Solberg (2003); Treuren (2014); Zhuang and Girginov (2012)
	Leisure/Loisir: journal of the Canadian Association for Leisure Studies (4)	Grammatikopoulos et al. (2006); Long and Goldenberg (2010); MacLean and Hamm (2007); Treuren (2009)
	World Leisure Journal (2)	Campbell (2010); Gravelle and Larocque (2005)
	Annals of Leisure Research (1)	Aisbett et al. (2015)
Sport and physical activity journals (16 articles)	Sport Management Review (5)	Allen and Shaw (2009); Hoeber (2010); Kim et al. (2010b); Kristiansen et al. (2015); Shaw (2009)
	Journal of Sport Management (3)	Fairley et al. (2007); Filo et al. (2009); Peachey et al. (2015)
	Journal of Sport and Tourism (2)*	Fairley et al. (2014); Jarvis and Blank (2011)
	Sport in Society (2)	Bladen (2010); Skille and Hanstad (2013)
	Other sport journals (1 in each publication)	Chanavat and Ferrand (2010); Han et al. (2013); Khoo and Engelhorn (2011); Kodama et al. (2013); Surujlal (2010); Wollebaek et al. (2014)

Tourism journals (13 articles)	Journal of Convention and Event Tourism (3)*	Bachman et al. (2014); Landey and Silvers (2004); Lee et al. (2013)
	Journal of Sport and Tourism (2)*	Fairley et al. (2014); Jarvis and Blank (2011)
	Tourism and Hospitality: Planning and Development (2)	Downward and Ralston (2005); Khoo and Engelhorn (2007)
	Other tourism journals (1 in each publication)	Gallarza et al. (2009); Gallarza et al. (2013); Lee et al. (2014a); Nassar and Talaat (2009); Ralston et al. (2005); Wang and Yu (2015)
Non-profit journals (12 articles)	Voluntas (6)	Fayos Gardó et al. (2014); Kumnig et al. (2015); Nichols and Ojala (2009); Sheptak and Menaker (2016); Tomazos and Luke (2015); Wang and Wu (2014)
	Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly (2)	Güntert et al. (2015); Peachey et al. (2014)
	Other non-profit journals (1 in each publication)	Lee et al. (2014b); Parris and Peachey (2012); Wilks (2015)
Management journals (8 articles)	(1 in each publication)	Aisbett and Hoye (2015); Bang et al. (2014b); Clayton (2016); Gordon and Erkut (2005); John Lucas (2014); Katzeff and Ware (2007); Kemp (2002); Pauline and Pauline (2009)
Other journals (7 articles)	(1 in each publication)	Benson et al. (2014); Fanshan et al. (2013); Gordon and Erkut (2004); Nichols and Ralston (2011, 2012); Webber (2012); Wu et al. (2014)

Source: Smith, Baum, Holmes and Lockstone-Binney (2014, p. 7), with the follow-up literature review by the author added.

The results of the follow-up literature review again resemble the original regarding the research themes of the event volunteer studies (see Smith et al., 2014, p. 9). I construed the themes according to the keywords and article content. The studies found fit easily under the themes of the original literature review and there was no need to create new categories (see Smith et al., 2014). Seven articles could not be fitted neatly into a single theme, and they were placed in two categories in the review. Table 2 shows the themes of the research, combined from both literature reviews. Volunteer motivations are by far the most popular theme in the literature. A little over a third of all

the articles (37) concentrate on them. The popularity of the topic largely arises from an assumption that understanding motivations leads to effective volunteer recruitment and retention strategies. The studies on motivations tend to be quantitatively influenced. Despite the vast amount of research done on the topic of motivations, there is no overall answer about what motivates event volunteers.

Motives differ depending on the nature of the volunteering activity, the context where they are measured, and the demographics of the target group. Generally, the motives can be categorised under affiliatory and egoistic motives. Affiliatory motives involve interest in the event activity and the community around it; wanting to make the event a success. Conversely, egoistic motives are based on the benefits of volunteering to the individual volunteer. They are more instrumental; such as achieving personal goals (e.g. building stronger CV) or enhancing feelings of worthiness and self-esteem. According to research, the latter motives may be stronger among the younger volunteers at the moment. In order to take advantage of this trend, events should be building effective volunteer programmes that develop skills and knowledge (e.g. Barron & Rihova, 2011; Bassett & Lomax, 2014; Quinn, 2013).

Table 2. The main themes of research on event volunteering.

Theme	Articles
Motivation (37 articles)	Allen and Bartle (2014); Allen and Shaw (2009); Bachman et al. (2014); Bachman et al. (2016); Bang et al. (2008); Bang et al. (2009); Bang et al. (2014b); Dickson et al. (2013); Dickson et al. (2014); Dickson et al. (2015); Downward and Ralston (2005); Giannoulakis et al. (2007); Giannoulakis et al. (2015); Grammatikopoulos et al. (2006); Güntert et al. (2015); Han et al. (2013); Jarvis and Blank (2011); Khoo and Engelhorn (2007, 2011); Kim et al. (2010b); Kumnig et al. (2015); Lee et al. (2013); Lee et al. (2014a); Lockstone-Binney et al. (2015); MacLean and Hamm (2007); Monga (2006); Nassar and Talaat (2009); Peachey et al. (2014); Skille and Hanstad (2013); Skirstad and Hanstad (2013); Surujlal (2010); Treuren (2009); Treuren (2014); Wakelin (2013); Wang and Wu (2014); Wang and Yu (2015); VanSickle et al. (2015)
Experiences and satisfaction (28 articles)	Aisbett and Hoye (2014); Bladen (2010); Campbell (2010); Clayton (2016); Downward et al. (2005); Fairley et al. (2013); Fairley et al. (2014); Fayos Gardó et al. (2014); Filo et al. (2009); Gallarza et al. (2009); Gallarza et al. (2013); Giannoulakis et al. (2015); Gravelle and Larocque (2005); Hoerber (2010); Katzeff and Ware (2007); Kemp (2002); Kim et al. (2010a); Kodama et al. (2013); Leigh et al. (2013); Long and Goldenberg (2010); Nichols and Ojala (2009); Ralston et al. (2004, 2005); Shaw (2009); Sheptak and Menaker (2016); Tomazos and Luke (2015); Wood et al. (2010); Wu et al. (2014)
Commitment and retention (18 articles)	Aisbett et al. (2015); Bachman et al. (2014); Bachman et al. (2016); Bang (2009); Bang et al. (2014a); Bang et al. (2016); Cuskelly et al. (2004); Elstad (2003); Fairley et al. (2013); Han et al. (2013); Kristiansen et al. (2015); Lee et al. (2014b); Love et al. (2012); MacLean and Hamm (2007); Pauline (2011); Pauline and Pauline (2009); Peachey et al. (2014); Webber (2012); Wollebaek et al. (2014)
Aspects of management (e.g. selection, training, scheduling) (14 articles)	Aisbett and Hoye (2015); Chanavat and Ferrand (2010); Elandu and Ogujiofor (2012); Fanshan et al. (2013); Gordon and Erkut (2004, 2005); Hede and Rentschler (2007); Landey and Silvers (2004); Leigh et al. (2013); Lockstone et al. (2010); Ragsdell and Jepson (2014); Shae (2009); Wilks (2015); Zhuang and Girginov (2012)
Impacts and legacies (8 articles)	Benson et al. (2014), Darcy et al. (2014); Dickson et al. (2015); Nichols and Ralston (2011, 2012); Peachey et al. (2015); Parris and Peachey (2012); Solberg (2003)
Other (2 articles)	Baum and Lockstone (2007); John Lucas (2014)

Source: Smith, Baum, Holmes and Lockstone-Binney (2014, p. 9), with the follow-up literature review by the author added.

The second biggest theme of research into event volunteers was experiences and satisfaction (28 articles) (Table 2), which includes various subthemes. Experiences and satisfaction are affected by various factors. If an event has a good reputation in general, then expectations of volunteer experiences are also higher. Events with a good reputation are expected to offer good volunteering experiences as well. Experiences and satisfaction are strongly dependent on the quality of the tasks assigned to the volunteer and the treatment they receive from the event organisation, in the manner of professional operational skills and quality volunteer management. Experiences and satisfaction are on the same continuum as motivations. Expectations set by motivations affect the expectations that are set for the event, and how it is experienced. Satisfaction with a volunteer experience affects the decision to volunteer in the future. If emotions involving a volunteering experience are positive, it is likely to lead to the retention of volunteers (e.g. Bang, 2009; Quinn, 2013). Commitment and retention are also a separate theme in event volunteer studies and research on the topic has been increasing during the last couple of years. Eighteen articles were found on the topic in the literature review.

Research into other aspects of management in operational contexts includes recruitment, allocation and training volunteers and planning their work-flow. This stream of research generally concentrates on how to manage volunteers so that they contribute effectively, however, there were only 14 articles found about managing volunteers. As Quinn (2013, p. 156-157) notes, it is interesting that studies on event volunteers put great effort into recruitment, but more effort on volunteer management is needed. According to Iso-Aho (2011) focus on the management of volunteers in the event management textbooks is also scant. Many take the viewpoint of traditional project management in volunteer management where the motivations for the work maybe radically different than when committing to paid work. A different approach is called for handling volunteers as a technical resource in event production (Iso-Aho, 2011).

The final theme identified in the literature was impact and legacy studies, focusing especially on major sports events. This research focuses on the more permanent impacts of events on the areas in which they are held at. Legacies to volunteering have been understood as building lasting volunteering schemes,

developing a sense of community in an area, and through these actions, improving the capacity of the places where events are held (e.g. Doherty, 2009).

Compared to the positions taken by previous research into event volunteering, my study will shed light from the experiential point of view of the volunteers on the management of the events. Methodologically it joins the increasing number of qualitative accounts of the phenomenon. The use of ethnographic methods in researching event volunteers or events in general has been rare. Only four studies out of one hundred articles reviewed used ethnographic methods (Campbell, 2010; John Lucas, 2014; Kodama, Doherty, & Popovic, 2013; Sheptak & Menaker, 2016; see also Leigh, Lamont, & Cairncross, 2014). More broadly in event studies, ethnography has gained ground (e.g. Stadler, Reid, & Fullagar, 2013). My aim in this study is therefore to continue to use and develop the emerging methodological enquiry in the field through the method of autoethnography which I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 3.

There is a clear gap in longitudinal studies on event volunteering. Case studies have been prevalent in the literature and longitudinal studies tend to focus on a single event. The study at hand is a longitudinal study of a volunteer experience and the development of knowing through different events, festivals and other life events. It draws on different event settings to analyse knowing and the experiences built and gained through volunteering. The nature of events as “one-time spectacles” and the use of quantitative methods has possibly guided the research into the volunteering phenomenon towards the prevailing research setting of single event case studies. The aim of this study is to construct the phenomenon from the point of view of knowing, where the focus shifts from the individual event to the multi-sited phenomenon in and through which the knowing builds.

1.4 Choreography as a way of understanding co-creation

Knowledge has been a central concept from the very beginning of this study. The emerging discussion on co-creation in marketing studies at the beginning of the 2000s offered a fitting conceptual construct with which to analyse

events. The use of knowledge in building services and experiences gave a good premise for the study, but I struggled to make the theory “fit” my research approach. The managerial view point and the instrumental nature of theorising knowledge did not depict the empirical experiences that were more complex than the managerial co-creation discussion. In 2011 I happened to participate in the Science Forum in the University of Lapland and heard philosopher Jaana Parviainen give a lecture on the choreographies of power and resistance in the city space (see Parviainen, 2010). It immediately struck me that there was something very fitting in using the concept of choreography to analyse events and the volunteer knowledge in action. The movement related approach, where knowledge is approached through such vehicles as affect and body, felt like the missing puzzle piece that fitted my experiences of volunteer knowledge (see also Parviainen, 2011a).

In this study, I understand events and festivals as co-creational contexts where actors practice their knowledge. To further the idea of knowledge inside the co-creation discussion the concept of choreography is used as an analytical framework. The concept originates from cultural and performance studies and gives access to the relationship between place, space, experiences and knowledge (e.g. Laine, 2015; Parviainen, 2010; Puumala & Pehkonen, 2010). Choreography constructs knowledge as active doings performed through the body, which is referred to as ‘knowing’ in this study. In the event management literature, events are often described as choreographed entities staged by the event managers (e.g. Getz, 1997). In this study, I also adopt the concept of choreography but understand it as an arrangement of place built constantly by the people participating in it (e.g. Edensor, 2001; Parviainen, 2010). In addition to the social reality, the material aspects of place also play a substantial role in this process. Different temporary materialities are central in the production of the meanings attached to a place. These also include the recognition of the body as “an affective vehicle through which we sense place and movement” (Hannam, Sheller, & Urry, 2006, p. 14; see also Veijola & Valtonen, 2007). Choreographing can be understood as guided improvisation, since the volunteers are in most cases given training and guidance in their tasks, but the temporary arrangements of the event leave room for, and oftentimes even require, improvisation (see Yakhlef & Essen, 2013).

By viewing event co-creation as choreography I wish to further discuss the dichotomy of production and consumption sustained in many of the previous studies on the phenomenon. I also wish to understand knowledge as an actively constructed entity that is profoundly connected in movement and embodiment. Choreography as an analytical framework offers insight to affective and aesthetic embodied knowing and provides possibilities to understand knowledge as personal, collective and structural phenomenon, and how these intertwine and manifest in the event context. A more versatile understanding of knowing leverages possibilities to understand value.

1.5 The structure of the study

This first chapter of the study has introduced the empirical phenomenon and conceptual definitions of volunteering. It has also briefly introduced the main theoretical framework of the study. In Chapter Two, I move on to discuss the concept of co-creation in more detail and propose choreography as a novel analytical lens to leverage the theorising of co-creation. I also review previous studies on event co-creation and position this study in relation to them. The third chapter introduces the methodological choices of this study in detail. The study was conducted as a multi-sited, autoethnographic account, and I describe the methodological and ethical choices made as well as present the method of analysing the data. In the fourth chapter I present the findings of this study on volunteer knowing. Each sub-chapter makes an independent analysis of the different levels of volunteer knowing in action in event choreography. Finally, in Chapter Five, I draw conclusions based on the findings of the study, but also evaluate the research process and suggest future avenues for research on both co-creation and event volunteering. I also present the managerial implications of the study.

2 Co-creation through the analytic lens of choreography

2.1 Co-creation paradigm in marketing

In this chapter I set out to explore the notion of knowledge in event co-creation (e.g. Björner & Berg, 2012; Lugosi, 2014; Rihova, 2013; Van Limburg, 2008) and do so by proposing the concept of choreography as an analytical concept through which to understand it (e.g. Parviainen, 2010, 2011a; Pehkonen & Puumala, 2008). The concept of co-creation originates from the marketing literature and concentrates on the process of value creation and the role of knowledge within it (e.g. Prahalad & Ramaswamy, 2004; Vargo & Lusch, 2004). The very concept of knowledge has been left somewhat unexplored in both services marketing and event management literature (cf. Ragsdell & Jepson, 2014; Stadler et al., 2013). Since knowledge is considered a central resource for building value in the co-creation processes, it should be put under more careful scrutiny in order to better understand the different forms of knowledge that are being mobilised in event value co-creation.

The concept of co-creation has been a contemporary topic in marketing theory over the last decade (see Galvagno & Dalli, 2014). When introducing the concept, scholars Vargo and Lusch (2004) proposed that it relates to the shift in the marketing discussion from goods to services, meaning that skills and knowledge become the fundamental unit of exchange. Value is created in a continuous learning process with the customers, who are the primary tangible resources for the firms. Value is negotiated between firm and customer in this process (e.g. Prahalad & Ramaswamy, 2004; Vargo & Lusch, 2004, pp. 1-11), however, value not only resides in this relationship, but is also created in the practices and actions of communities (e.g. Peñaloza & Mish, 2011, pp. 10-12; Peñaloza & Venkatesh, 2006, p. 309; Vargo & Lusch, 2008; also Haanpää, García-Rosell & Kyyrä, 2013; Rihova, 2013). To understand such value, an understanding of the knowledge through which it builds is vital.

The discussion of the concept of co-creation has developed and taken different streams during the years. These understand the positions and roles of the companies and consumers in the co-creation process differently and their theoretical premises rest on different backgrounds. They can be divided roughly in two: management-oriented and cultural. The management-oriented discussion has taken place primarily in mainstream marketing journals and in the fields of services and industrial marketing (see Galvagno & Dalli, 2014). Conversely, the cultural co-creation discussion has taken place in journals and by scholars concentrating on cultural theorisations of marketing, and on the other hand in consumer research, especially consumer culture theory (Cova, Dalli, & Zwick, 2011; Cova, Pace, & Skålén, 2015; Echeverri & Skålén, 2011). A critical stream of thought that basically questions the whole idea of co-creation can be identified in the cultural co-creation discussion (e.g. Zwick, Bonsu, & Darmody, 2008; see also Hietanen, Andéhn, & Bradshaw, 2017). Over the years, the management-oriented stream of research has occasionally approached the ideas of the cultural stream that are drawn from social sciences (e.g. Edvardsson, Tronvoll, & Gruber, 2011; see also Akaka, Vargo, & Jensen Schau, 2015). In this sub-chapter I briefly discuss the different streams of thought as an introduction to the conceptual framework of this study.

The *management-oriented* co-creation discussion was started by Prahalad and Ramaswamy (2004) and made mainstream by Vargo and Lusch (2004). The co-creation concept is at the heart of the services dominant logic (SDL) introduced by Vargo and Lusch, in which they proposed a paradigm shift in marketing theory from goods to services, where the role of the consumer in the production process was also widened (Vargo & Lusch, 2004). This proposal was accepted overall and the concept of co-creation can nowadays be found in most versatile connections. It has been used extensively in theoretical and practical enquiries in the field of marketing and beyond. When services are viewed as co-created, skills and knowledge and their use are considered a company's key resources in creating value for their offerings and thus the fundamental unit of exchange (Vargo & Lusch, 2004, p. 6). According to Vargo and Lusch (2004), value is negotiated between the firm and the customers in the market in collaboration and mutual learning. The identification of core

competences and skills is central, since these create the competitive advantage (Vargo & Lusch, 2004, p. 5). The resources available for the companies are both operand (invisible) and operant (tangible), and customers are the most important operant resources as co-producers of value (Vargo & Lusch, 2004, p. 2, 11). The co-creation of value happens through collaboration and continuous learning from customers. In their very first theorisation on co-creation Vargo and Lusch proposed that companies should focus on the processes that create value and maximise consumer involvement in order to create the offering best suited to customer needs (2004, pp. 11-12).

The idea of co-creation was well received in marketing research, but along the way original authors amongst many other marketing scholars have evaluated, critiqued and developed further the thoughts that were put forward. This happened inside the management-oriented stream of thought where ideas have been developed, but also through a more critical cultural marketing approach. In the management-oriented stream recent critiques and developments have been directed, for example, towards the vagueness of the concept of value and how it builds (e.g. Grönroos & Voima, 2013). Value is described as constructed as a rather metaphorical concept in the original theorising of Vargo & Lusch (2004), and it is suggested, for example by Grönroos (2012), that instead of treating it metaphorically, an interactional, contextual treatment of the concept in direct customer-provider relations would provide better theorising. To further understand the interaction and context in co-creation scholars have moved towards social constructionist, and more recently also practice-based, approaches (see e.g. Edvardsson et al., 2011; Rihova, Buhalis, Moital, & Gouthro, 2013; Storbacka, Frow, Nenonen, & Payne, 2012). The possibility of co-destruction instead of a successful co-creation process has also received attention (Plé & Chumpitaz Cáceres, 2010; see also Echeverri & Skålén, 2011).

The *cultural marketing* approach first emerged as a critical stream of research in mainstream marketing research. It has worked on, for example, experiential, feminist, interpretive, and post-positivist perspectives to marketing. The research done in the field has typically been qualitative (e.g. Moisander & Valtonen, 2006). The cultural stream has produced critique of the service dominant logic of marketing and simultaneously aimed to examine more

responsible theorisations and practices for value co-creation. Peñaloza and Venkatesh (2006, p. 307) proposed that the epistemological premises of the SDL-paradigm are rooted in the prevailing ways of thinking in marketing, constructing the study of marketing from the marketers' point-of-view. The theorisation of consumers as operant resources continues the subject-object treatment of customers. Peñaloza and Venkatesh were among the first scholars to call for a paradigmatic shift to study markets as a social construction, which meant more radically transformative marketing practice than suggested by Vargo and Lusch (2004). This would, in their view, lead to a more just treatment of the different parties involved in the process. The cultural marketing, or interpretive consumer research, informed accounts have focused on consumers as mutual subjects of the markets. The studies have discussed, for example, the political aspects of co-creation, consumer communities and practices (e.g. Cova et al., 2011; Echeverri & Skålén, 2011; Pongsakornrungrungsilp & Schroeder, 2011). In the recent years, different experience contexts, such as events, have also received increasing attention (e.g. Carù & Cova, 2015; Fyrberg Yngfalk, 2013).

The SDL paradigm has also received more fundamental critique from cultural marketing scholars. This arises from the epistemological stances mentioned before. The critical scholars view the optimism and unproblematization surrounding the relationship between customers and companies as naïve. The SDL paradigm takes the premises of co-creation; the willingness of customers to interact with companies, somewhat for granted. Even though the customer groups and communities are discussed, ultimately value creation is always viewed from the standpoint of the individual. The ultimate goal of the co-creation process is understood to be customer satisfaction and through this, value creation for the company through the services purchased. Scholars Zwick, Bonsu and Darmody (2008) even claim that the whole co-creation process can be seen as a political form of power, generating control over consumer life.

It has been claimed by critical scholars that the idea of co-creation turns the customers being in charge of the process, even though they do not get monetary compensation from handing their resources over to the corporations. This practice constructs marketing discursively as a technology of consumer

exploitation and control in global information capitalism. According to Zwick et al. (2008) companies are consciously reducing the distance between production and consumption. The techniques of co-creation are used to reduce the risk of consumers performing in ways the company would not want, and even resistance acts are turned into innovation (e.g. Zwick et al., 2008). The critique presented must be carefully considered, however, the picture of the consumer drawn in this stream of thinking makes them rather thoughtless of the consequences or the choices of their own acts. It has also been suggested by Arnould (2007) that the emphasis placed on monetary value in consumer life seems rather overstated. When considering voluntary work and its role and premises in modern day consumption contexts, the proposition seems somewhat over pessimistic. In the next sub-chapter I discuss the character of volunteers with regard to co-creation theorising.

2.2 Volunteers on the boundary of production and consumption

Even though the co-creation literature emphasises the blurring boundary between production and consumption, or producers and consumers, it in many cases constructs the markets very traditionally, dividing between the two. In volunteering, the practices and knowing about production and consumption reside in same the character and I consider the implications of this figure to the co-creation discussion. Recently Vargo & Lusch (2014) have suggested that the parties in co-creation should instead be called as actors rather than producers and consumers, since all parties are doing the same thing, which is co-creating value through the resources they possess.

There have been some openings about volunteering in the co-creation discussion (e.g. Cova et al., 2015). In 2009 Cova and Dalli reviewed different approaches to consumer work, a viewpoint central to co-creation thought. They identified eight different theoretical standpoints for consumer work in marketing theory (Cova & Dalli, 2009, pp. 317-323). In these, the consumer work role is considered from the company side in the co-creation process. They range from increased involvement to efficiency and effective-

ness. Recently in the co-creation discussion, Cova et al. (2015) proposed a brand volunteer as a new “face” for co-creation theorisation. Volunteering as a conceptual construct is a novel way of understanding co-creation. In co-creation theorisation firms and consumers are for the most part constructed as key roles of the process. The authors explore volunteering in a process of co-creating consumer brands. They make a distinction between volunteers and the prosumer concept, because (brand) volunteers are willing to accept work rules laid down by the producers where as prosumers can sometimes act according to their own principles and rules. The authors argue that more investigation is still needed into the relationship between the notion of work and the concept of value co-creation, and that theories of volunteering may bring novel viewpoints to this line of thinking (Cova et al., 2015, p. 4).

In their review of service experience co-creation, Jaakkola, Helkkula and Aarikka-Stenroos (2015, p. 196) propose that the shortcomings of the current co-creation research include, for example, a fragmented understanding about knowledge of managerial and organisational aspects, and it would be necessary to extend contextual, spatial and temporal analysis of the phenomenon. They continue to suggest that future research would be needed on the relevant actors involved in service experience co-creation and facilitating their engagement, as well as exploring service experience co-creation in different industry contexts. Event volunteers as a topic of study provide a fresh viewpoint on co-creation study. Until recent years, the knowledge of the volunteers and their role in events has gone mostly unexplored in event studies (see Larson, 2009). There is an emergent stream of literature on volunteer knowledge, however, these contributions approach the phenomenon mainly from the viewpoint of knowledge management (e.g. Clayton, 2016; Ragsdell & Jepson, 2014; Stadler et al., 2013). In the case of events, the production and consumption of the event experience are intertwined and the volunteers embody the practices of both. In the next sub-chapter I move on to discuss how co-creation has been studied in the field of event management.

2.3 Former studies on event co-creation

In 2009, Larson (p. 304) claimed that the concept of co-creation could build a fruitful point of examination for event innovation and development processes. There are only a limited number of studies on event co-creation to date, however (e.g. Lugosi, 2014; Prebensen, 2010; Rihova, 2013; Rihova, Buhalis, Moital, & Gouthro, 2014; Van Limburg, 2008). The discussion is scattered between different journals and other publications, and the studies approach the co-creation of event experience value from a multitude of viewpoints. The brief literature review here was performed using the search word “co-creation” in all fields in the web pages of three major event management/studies journals (Event Management, International Journal of Event Management Research and International Journal of Event and Festival Management) and search words “co-creation event” and “co-creation festival” in Google Scholar. I reviewed the content of the publications, and only the articles where co-creation was the main theme of the article were selected, and they are all discussed in this chapter. In summary, it can be somewhat concluded that the management-oriented paradigm has dominated the discussion of co-creation in the field of event studies. The SDL paradigm and collaborative innovation approach have been the premises for most publications. Recently, more cultural oriented approaches have also been presented (e.g. Lugosi, 2014), but these do not usually draw their conceptual discussion from the cultural marketing literature but rather from the discussions of cultural studies and tourism studies (see Lugosi, 2014).

One of the first scholars to introduce the concept of co-creation in event literature was Van Limburg (2008). In his article, co-creation is offered as a new management tool for pop festivals to tackle the modern day competition environment. Co-creation is discussed as an avenue to more accurate knowledge on festival customer experiences compared to, for example, questionnaires. The study “gives an explorative insight on how cocreation can be implemented in the multiday pop festival branch” (Van Limburg, 2008, pp.105-106). The author constructs co-creation as interaction between customer, producer and the network of stakeholders, but the idea lies in customer interaction. Value creation is understood as a joint process involving consum-

ers and the producer, working together to build a product or service from the bottom up (Van Limburg, 2008, pp. 107-110). The exchange of knowledge in the study takes place in internet-based discussion groups where the lead user communities interact with each other. By reviewing this information practical suggestions are offered for developing festival experiences (ibid., pp. 109-114). The author concludes that “subsequent research on cocreation has to be done, not only on the consequences of cocreation, but also on the environment in which cocreation develops itself” (ibid., p. 116).

According to Van Limburg’s (2008) proposition, the co-creation studies undertaken since have been mainly exploring the event context itself. Bridging co-creation with different theoretical standpoints, they explore the practices through which value is created in the social and material context of events. Co-creation is explored inside and between different stakeholder groups, between event customers and as an identity formation practice, for example (e.g. Haanpää, García-Rosell, & Tuulentie, 2016; Lugosi 2014; Prebensen, 2010; Rihova, 2013; Rihova et al., 2014). Recent studies have also expanded the study of co-creation practice from the event environment back to the virtual communities of events (Gyimóthy & Larson, 2015). The studies show that different groups participate in both producing and consuming the event, creating experience value for themselves and others (Prebensen, 2010, p. 38; Rihova, 2013). The reasons for participation vary from personal goals such as having fun and socialising to instrumental reasons such as making new friends and contacts, learning from or identifying with or immersing in the event (Prebensen, 2010, p. 41). The consumption and production of events are integrated and creative processes. The resources that the stakeholders bring to these processes vary, and events can be arenas of exchange for several forms of knowledge (Prebensen, 2010, pp. 49-50).

Stakeholders of events appreciate the emotional and cognitive elements of event co-creation (Prebensen, 2010, p. 49). There are implications in the literature on what these elements are, yet the processes and practices in which and how these develop have been underexplored. The social practices of festival environments in which the value is formed have been under-analysed in the co-creation literature (Björner & Berg, 2012, p. 35; Rihova, 2013, pp. 16-18; see also Kinnunen & Hahti, 2015). There has been a theoretical gap

between social sciences which describe the cultural values, and experience management that gives guidance for staging events (Lugosi, 2014, p. 165). Different concepts, such as dramaturgy, have been used to help to understand the symbolic dimensions and meanings of event experiences, but understanding of the non-symbolic practices that build up the experience should also be considered (e.g. Ziakas & Costa, 2012; see Lugosi, 2014, p.173). Recent studies have treated co-creation not only as a social practice but also as a practice tapping into the materialities and physical features of event environments (Haanpää et al., 2016; Lugosi, 2014; Rihova, 2013; Rihova et al., 2014). Through these, symbolic value is produced for different participants of the events (e.g. Rihova, 2013; Rihova et al., 2014). It is based on meanings created in the event context and should receive more attention, rather than being focused on just the output-centred impacts-oriented view.

In his recent study Lugosi (2014) explores co-creation as “how cultural values and notions of identities are incorporated into experience production”. He points out that experience management, including in the case of events, has been overly concerned with controlling and guiding experiences, basing the development on dramaturgical conceptions and tools, and narrating spaces through theming. The critique of this production-oriented view has required shifting the viewpoint to co-creation. The co-creation of experiences happens between different stakeholders of an event and demands the mobilisation of intellectual, physical and emotional competencies (Lugosi, 2014, pp. 166-167; see also Gyimóthy & Larson, 2015). Lugosi’s study makes a detailed analysis of how value is co-created by the participants on the basis of a regularly occurring event, by producing notions of common identity. This is realised through spatial, material, performative and representational practices and “involves the continual mobilisation of labor and capital, the manipulation of the servicescape, juxtaposing of objects and sounds, representational acts and embodied performances of selves that perpetuate experiential possibilities” (Lugosi, 2014, pp. 173-177).

The perspective on experience co-creation as a “dynamic process in which multiple objects, actions and agencies interact” (Lugosi, 2014, p. 177) better communicates the context of events where there are multiple actors creating the experience (see also Gyimóthy & Larson, 2015), however, even though the

concept of knowledge is at the centre of co-creation theoritisations, studies only consider it in a very limited way. The process of co-creation is described through motives, reasons and practices, for example, but the knowledge(s) that builds up the co-creation process has been underanalysed. Following the ideas put forward by, for example, Lugosi (2014) and the cultural marketing scholars, I wish to continue discussing co-creation, and specifically the knowing used in it, by proposing the concept of choreography. Choreographing has been seen in the event literature as a practical managerial construct for directing the movement inside events, but it has not been used as an analytical construct in event studies. The concept leverages the understanding of knowledge inside event co-creation. In addition to the social, it is largely based on the materialities of place and space.

2.4 Understanding event co-creation as choreography

In this chapter I draw from cultural studies-oriented discussions to propose choreography as an analytical construct to understand knowledge in co-creation practice. Originating from the practice of dance, the concept of choreography has been adopted as a conceptual construct in various social sciences, such as cultural studies, sociology, and political sciences (e.g. Campbell, 2012; Doucet, 2013; Parviainen, 2010; Puumala & Pehkonen, 2010; Whalen, Whalen, & Henderson, 2002). Choreography draws heavily on the scholarly discussions of performativity and embodiment (e.g. Nash, 2000). The research accounts produced have largely been phenomenological (e.g. Parviainen, 2010; 2011b). Knowledge and experiences are performed through the body (see e.g. Veijola & Jokinen, 1994). The memory of the body carries the places we have experienced and thus this knowledge builds us as subjects. Again, the places we are in embody the forms of knowledge of us, subjects (Pehkonen & Puumala, 2008, pp. 162-164).

In this study I draw from the phenomenological first person experience, but the idea of choreography is also linked to non-representational theorist thinking about the connectedness of the body(-ies) to the materialities of spaces and places, and the sensations and affectivity of action (e.g. Lefebvre,

1991; Thrift, 2008; see also Jóhannesson & Lund, 2017). Different temporary and permanent materialities are central to the production of the meanings attached to a place. Movement within the (designed) event space is one of the key elements in creating the event experience. It evokes effects and emotions which produce the meanings and value to the audience (e.g. Oakes & Warnaby, 2011; Parviainen, 2010, p. 317; cf. Tumbat, 2011). In this way, choreographic thinking has confluences with atmospheric thinking which explores the collective affectivity of spaces and places (e.g. Anderson, 2009; Bille, Bjerregaard, & Sørensen, 2015). Differing from atmospherics, choreography focuses specifically on movement in and through places and spaces.

Political scientists Pehkonen and Puumala (2008, p. 161) describe the origin of the concept from the practice of dance. The word choreography has traditionally meant "writing the dance". In present day dance practice choreography encapsulates both the dance written to be performed and the performed piece. The etymology of the word originates from ancient Greek language and reveals its connectedness to geographical thinking (Kymäläinen & Lehtinen, 2010, p. 252). The origin of the word choreography can be traced back to the concept of "chora" used by Plato (Kymäläinen & Lehtinen, 2010, p. 252). Chora is a place that is complex and unstable, in comparison to the modern understanding of a theoretical construct of place which, as originating from the word *Topos*, means something defined and known. According to geographers Kymäläinen and Lehtinen (2010, p. 253) Plato introduced the concept of chora to explain the passage from intelligible to sensible. Chora is a place in process. It can be translated as a being in, moving to and receiving the space (Pehkonen & Puumala, 2008, p. 161). Choreography as I use it in this study, connects place and movement, and by doing so gives access to knowledge that is on the move. According to Wearing, chora is by its nature an interactive space and the meanings of it are "can be constantly redefined by its inhabitants" (Wearing, 1998; see also German Molz, 2014).

Choreography opens an avenue to analysing being in space and taking control of the space through practices. Pehkonen and Puumala follow the thought of Jean-Luc Nancy in defining the ontology of choreography in "co-being" or "being with" (Pehkonen & Puumala, 2008, p. 161; see also Veijola & Falin, 2016). According to Nancy, the constitutive way of experiencing the

world is through embodiment and in relation to others (Heikkilä, 2008, pp. 135-137; Nancy, 1992/1996; Veijola, 2014; Watkin, 2009, p. 179). Following Nancy's ontology, the concept of choreography gives access to the relationship between people, space, experiences and knowledge. Choreography views movement as knowledge and knowledge as movement. This is well-suited to the purposes of events where the purpose is through the alteration of place and space to create something different, out of the everyday ordinary. This process creates different kinds of movement, and organising, taking part in and altering this movement creates value for the different participants in the co-creation process of events.

In choreography the space is filled through movement and it consists of moving parts that cross paths. Choreography highlights the relationship between space and place: it transforms a place temporarily into space, and yet the physical context comes alive in interaction. It gives access to space and temporariness (Nancy, 1996, in Pehkonen & Puumala, 2008, p. 161; Kymäläinen, 2003). "Performance as choreography selects from, mobilises, and incites into action certain conventions, knowledges, discourses and systems of representation and as such constitutes the meaning of specific historico-cultural movements which bodies inhabit". Choreography performed articulates the connectedness of the body to the certain surroundings (Foster, 1998, in Campbell, 2012, p. 404; see also Ravn, 2017). As an analytical framework, choreography posits an approach to reading movement, between discourse and bodily practice, ideology and performance (Hewitt, 2005).

Events indeed transform ordinary, known places to events spaces by altering the usual movement and order of things inside them. This is actually the meaning of events; to produce experiences outside the everyday experience (see Johansson & Kotkiakiewicz, 2011), and for this reason choreography as an analytical framework gives access to understanding the knowledge that builds value in the event space. It provides analytical tools to understand the formation and shaping of movement, based on kinaesthetic intelligence (Gardner, 1983, in Parviainen, 2010). Knowledge builds in interaction between movement-related personal and social experiences and discursive practices. These travel back and forth and shape one another, as I will illustrate in the example on volunteers. In the event this very practice of the knowledge

of all participants in the shared space builds the event experience. The event experience can be described as a *social choreography* (Parviainen, 2011a). Social choreography has been used to describe dance pieces where, in addition to the professional dancers and audience, there might also be random passers-by as a part of the performance (e.g. Monni, 2007). Social choreography refers to the physical environment and the social and political systems that strategically encourage people to perform in certain ways (Parviainen, 2011a; see also Rantala, 2010).

The physical environment, permanent and temporarily built environments and the natural environment of an event set out a “pre-choreography which allows and/or denies the participants to certain ways of moving” (Parviainen 2011a; Parviainen, 2011b). Pre-choreography is not only limited to the physical environment, but inside choreography there are shared expectations about how to behave, acceptable or wanted gestures, expressions, positions or movements. These social expectations and possibilities to act are different for different members of the event community, for example the audience or the voluntary workers. The political aspect of choreographing an event is, for example, how different flows of people are guided and controlled (Parviainen 2011a, p.116). The movement and action within the social choreography evoke emotions and feelings, and are therefore powerful influences in the creation of the shared meanings, and through them the experience of the value (Parviainen, 2010, p. 317; cf. Tumbat, 2011). Even though the events are temporary choreographies, they are also culturally pre-choreographed, meaning that almost all festivals in the same genre possess the same kinds of elements, mentioned above, in their setting (see Parviainen 2011a; 2011b). The audience is often familiar with these, having participated in similar events before or experienced them otherwise through popular culture.

The place is not a static entity, but a social-material arrangement with different rhythms (Parviainen 2012, p. 14). The characteristics of motion depend on the spatial, timely, social, cultural and technological arrangements of the place (Parviainen, 2010, p. 320). The understanding and intentional alternation of these calls for kinaesthetic intelligence, which is “not only control of one’s bodily motion but understanding the dynamics of kinaesthetic fields” (Parviainen, 2010, p. 312; Gardner, 1983, in Parviainen, 2010). Parviainen (2011a,

p. 118) refers to a kinaesthetic field as a system composed of both living and non-living creatures whose physiological or mechanical capabilities have an effect on what the movement in the field is building up to. The kinaesthetic field proposes movement that is habitual to certain places or surroundings (Parviainen, 2011a, p. 119). It highlights the personal ways and abilities to feel, react and respond to the movement of others, which then allows the opportunity to affect the nature of the kinaesthetic field (Parviainen, 2011a, p. 118, see also Edensor, 2015, p. 83). Such activity calls for kinaesthetic or corporeal intelligence where thinking is done with/through the entire body (Parviainen, 2011a; Slutskaia & De Cock, 2008, p. 856).

Knowledge is seen as a central resource of today's economy and society (see e.g. Knorr Cetina & Preda, 2001). Co-creation theorisation is one good example of this viewpoint. For this reason, the cultural systems, processes and practices, through which people achieve their knowing should receive more attention (Knorr Cetina & Preda, 2001, p. 30). In choreography, knowledge manifests in active doings. It is constructed and acted in practice, consisting of bodily, affective and sensory experiences (e.g. Gherardi, 2000). In comparison, the viewpoint of knowledge management, as a project of modernity, has constructed knowledge as tamed, omitting the aesthetic, affective and sensory understanding of the phenomenon (Gherardi, Nicolini, & Strati, 2007). Such understanding shifts the understanding of knowledge from epistemology of possession (knowledge is something people have) to epistemology of practice (knowledge is something people do) (Cook & Brown, 1999). Following this epistemological shift, a wide body of literature has explored organisational knowing from different viewpoints. These studies construct organisational knowing as a practice where body, communities, and discursive practices are brought to the fore and seen as central themes (e.g. Gherardi et al., 2007; Gherardi, Meriläinen, Strati, & Valtonen, 2013; Gärtner, 2013). The physicality and corporeality of the setting are strong influencers of passionate knowing (Gherardi et al., 2007).

Since the event contexts are built for a limited time, the knowing is formed in the relations of temporary organisation. The context posits cultural cues, yet it is simultaneously unfamiliar. As Heimonen (2014) proposes, such an unfamiliar context, where common ways of doing are missing creates space

for the continuous questioning of the ways of others and vice versa. The moving bodies perceive spaces in particular ways that are also connected to the temporalities of those particular spaces but also the spaces experienced before (Bille et al., 2015, p. 36; Woermann & Rokka, 2015). Nancy's idea of presence as being-with emphasises these material relations between different bodies and spaces. In his thinking, the knowing subject is always emergent in ongoing being-with and in co-motion (Nancy, 1991, p. 35; in Simpson, 2015, p. 72). Thinking of co-creation through such a lens, where knowing is seen as an on-going, spatio-temporal as well as affective process formed in movement, posits opportunities to further understand the value creation practices of experiences. In the next chapter, I move on to discuss the methodological choices and solutions of this study.

3 Studying event co-creation through autoethnographic methodology

3.1 Affective autoethnography: experiential knowing as data

When I began this study, volunteering had been my hobby and also a way of gaining professional insights for around seven years. As I mentioned in the introduction, the starting point of the study resulted from very concrete observations as a volunteer in event organisation. I had a feeling that the organisation I was volunteering for at the time did not credit the knowledge of our team even though it could have profited the event execution. For some reason, maybe lack of time or interest, we would annually have the same challenges in our volunteering, even if they could have been quite easily fixed. This experience got me to thinking about how and why volunteer knowledge is or is not credited by event organisations, and it was a starting point for this research. Since the research originated from my own experiences as a volunteer, the method followed in line with the origin of the research (see also García-Rosell & Haanpää, 2017). I began to connect the ideas of my personal experiences to the wider, cultural phenomenon of event volunteering through the method of autoethnography (e.g. Dashper, 2016, p. 214). Besides on my own experiences as a volunteer, the data also include other volunteer stories and media data as discussion partners. I reflect on these later in the text, however, the primary observation data highlights the intuitive and experimental ways of knowing by concentrating on the researcher's experience as a member of a social group, in this case, a volunteer in events (e.g. Allen Collinson, 2008).

Ethnographic methods have been discussed exhaustively in different fields of social sciences in recent years. The autoethnographic method gained ground from the 1990s onwards as one response to the crisis of representation. It can be seen as answering the call to fill the lack or absence of "human stories, aesthetic considerations, emotions and embodied experiences" in the field

of social sciences (Holman Jones, Adams, & Ellis, 2013, p. 29). The method is based on honest, deep reflection on personal experience (Ellis, 2013, p. 10). This experience is used to “examine and/or critique cultural experience” (Holman Jones et al., 2013, p. 22). Autoethnographers Stacy Holman Jones, Tony Adams and Carolyn Ellis conceptualise the method with four characteristics; autoethnography comments on and/or critiques cultural practices; it contributes to an existing body of research; use of the method embraces vulnerability with a purpose and finally; a reciprocal relationship with audiences is created in order to compel a response (2013, p. 22). However, the use of the researcher’s self in gathering and analysing the data and writing the account is mainly dependent on the theoretical and philosophical assumptions informing the study (e.g. Valtonen, 2013, p. 10).

To date, the body of autoethnographic research accounts has grown to be various in ways of research processes and in writing (e.g. Allen Collinson, 2008, pp. 41-42). Evocative autoethnography, described in the previous paragraph, has traditionally counted for accounts that narrate very lived personal, emotional and embodied experiences. Yet, there has been a call and a body of work towards analytic autoethnography. The analytic autoethnography claims to stand more committed to theoretical analysis and go beyond the self as informant (Anderson, 2006). This also brings light to the criticism posed to evocative autoethnography, that it is too biographical and does not address the wider social theory development (Anderson, 2006). The study at hand joins the tradition of evocative autoethnography by focusing on the personal, affective and embodied experiences of the researcher in order to better understand a cultural phenomenon of event volunteering. Yet, these are analysed in relation to other volunteers’ presence and experiences as well as to the material surroundings of volunteering.

In event (management) studies the method of ethnography has been well recognised in the 2010s (e.g. Dashper, 2016; Jaimangal-Jones, 2014; Mackellar, 2013; Stadler et al., 2013). These accounts have considered the suitability and the usefulness of the method to study the phenomenon of events. The reflection on the method mainly considers researching a single, specific event context. Ethnography has been recognised as a method well-suited to researching the experimental and performative aspects of the event context

by these accounts. With regards to festival co-creation, event researcher Ivana Rihova (2013, p. 72) conducted her PhD research as an ethnographic style observation. She observed the social co-creation practices of audiences at five British festivals and conducted interviews with the audience members. This is often the case; even though experiential aspects of the contexts are researched, the accounts rely heavily on interview or other discursive data. It can and has been questioned how well lived experiences which, in addition to the social, build on materialities of the place and emotions and effects of the persons and groups of people, are described through accounts based on interviews and discursive data. The phenomenon calls for a method that recognises the performative and non-representational aspects of the lived experience.

Autoethnography as a method, and later choreography as a conceptual tool, directed my ethnographic account towards non-representational ethnographic accounts. Cultural geographer Phillip Vannini (2015, p. 318) defines “ethnography as people-focused emic research which makes use of data collection methods such as participation, observation, and interview, and which unfolds by way of thick description and interpretive contextualization”. He discusses ways of doing non-representational ethnography and presents the five qualities of non-representational ethnography as vitality, performativity, corporeality, sensuality and mobility. In this approach he suggests the method should embody more performativity and creativity in writing instead of the traditional, timid “telling the world as-it-is” approaches of ethnography. Vannini goes on to suggest that the method of ethnography “should ‘dance a little’” meaning that the focus would be more on “events, affective states, the unsaid, and the incompleteness and openness of everyday performances”. Doing this sort of ethnography also embraces the failures of knowledge and aims to animate the lived world (Vannini, 2015, pp. 318-319; see also Ellis & Bochner, 2006). The animation of everyday life takes place through the five qualities listed. Vannini (2015, p. 320) explains that impulse, novelty and vivaciousness of everyday life are often left out of the realist representational ethnographies.

The vitalist ethnographies, as the author calls them, are constantly on the move, changing, and the outcomes differ from what was originally planned. Performativity puts the focus on the action: what is done and what is not.

The author claims that it means “tuning-in to the event-ness of the world, taking a witness stance to the unfolding of situated action and being open to the unsettling co-presence of bodies affecting each other in time-space”. Corporeality taps in to the embodiedness of our presence in the world. The researcher’s body is a key instrument in ethnography. The affectivity of the world is then a central topic in such ethnographies, not only by representing affect but by tying together the empirical and the theoretical. The corporeality can be found in ethnographies that focus on “body-centered activities that require the performance of skill, temporal sensitivity and kinesthetic awareness” (Vannini, 2015, pp. 320-322). Sensuous scholarship brings to the fore the sensory dimensions of experience, which may or may not be reflective. This happens by accounting for “the perceptual dimensions of our actions and the habituated and routine nature of everyday existence”. Mobile ethnographies credit the kinetic dimensions of fieldwork. This is due to the situating of the fieldwork in the concrete time-spaces in which the ethnographers operate (Vannini, 2015, pp. 322-323).

My autoethnographic account grew to resemble the form of ethnography Vannini (2015) describes. This happened through the movement and formation of understanding of the phenomenon researched, between the empirical and theoretical fields, however, the “making-of” the account was a messy process. The different bits and pieces of knowing formed and came together as a result of this movement over a lengthy period of time (see Dashper, 2016, p. 219; Dashper, 2013). The study began as a project looking at volunteer knowledge. My first understanding of the phenomenon was closer to the traditional knowledge management discussion; how to study and understand different forms, tacit and explicit, of volunteer knowledge, and how to manage them (e.g. Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995). I was more oriented to the representational accounts of volunteering, directing my own observations to the very concrete ways of possible points of development in my observations and field notes, and oriented around collecting the stories of other volunteers. At first observation was not consciously directed towards movement or senses (cf. Valtonen, Markuksela, & Moisander, 2010).

Since I was volunteering at the events myself, often working long hours and having to concentrate on the tasks assigned, I didn’t have much time to

always think about improvements to the situations, and many actions and situations were also experienced as emotional, affective, kinaesthetic, sensuous or corporeal, as a volunteer in an event. This was something that was in me, or present in the field, but I did not credit it or include it in my field notes at first consciously, since from my original standpoint I didn't consider it an important part of the data, but just more of "my own feelings". I also set out to collect volunteer stories or diaries. I introduced them to my co-volunteers in the volunteer orientations of the events, but only received a few stories afterwards. These were well written accounts, but at the time I felt that the stories didn't give me access to the phenomenon I was looking for. I had a strong feeling that the volunteers were focused on the event during the time they were there and didn't have time to write, and that afterwards when they left the physical context, the event was not a priority anymore. It clearly was not a successful approach. Then, when I was introduced to the concept of choreography, I found my "own feelings" crediting a lot of the data. I have had a gut feeling for a long time that there was something that I could not express with the conceptual tools I was using for the data and the choreographical thinking seemed to open a way to this knowledge. As a synthesis of field work and theoretical readings the focus of the study began to shift from knowledge to knowing and how it manifests in the actual doing: work performances and movement (e.g. Yakhlef & Essén, 2013). This approach also helped me to read the stories written by the other volunteers from a fresh perspective and to look for new data to accompany my own experiential data and the diaries collected.

In her PhD study on oriental dance, gender studies researcher Anu Laukkanen (2012) discusses the method of affective (dance) ethnography. She defines it as a "researcher's observation and reflection and paying specific attention to the meaning of affects and emotions in the everyday of research and in the encounters with the people researched" (Laukkanen, 2012, p. 24). She follows the thoughts of feminist researcher Sara Ahmed (2004, pp. 10-11; in Laukkanen, 2012, p. 25), who explains affects as the interplay and interaction between psychological and social. Affects move us but they also attach us to certain people and places. Ahmed discusses how affects help us to distinguish ourselves from others, but they also enable us to feel

connected to others. Researching through affect focuses attention on how different bodies relate to one another (see e.g. Henriques, 2010). According to Lisa Blackman and Couze Venn (2010, p. 9), affects are processes in which bodies are “defined by their capacities to affect and be affected”. Basing her thoughts on the ideas of Ahmed, Laukkanen (2012, p. 27) states that affective ethnography is grounded on the idea of the bodies of the researcher and the researched to affect and be affected. A researcher’s personal knowing of the phenomenon researched can be remarkable for the process in many ways. It naturally affects the choices made, and the observation is reflected through the previous knowing. As in my own case, I reflected my being in the field through my previous volunteering and other experiences.

My previous knowing and the shift between the roles from “just a volunteer” to a volunteer-researcher also affected the formation of this research. Laukkanen (2012, p. 27) discusses the role of feelings such as failure, guilt and shame in the formation of research. What is their role in the researcher’s relationship with the people studied and in writing? In my study this relates to the switching of roles. It was not easy for me to shift from the position of volunteer to being a researcher, and when I began the research process I had to perform these roles at the same time in the events. Naturally my position as a researcher affected my interaction with my peer volunteers. I felt a little ashamed and uneasy about performing both roles at the same time. How could I be a credible researcher and an easy-going volunteer at the same time? As a result I chose to focus on the role of the volunteer and immerse myself in the volunteer performance. I felt that this was the way to be credible and gain access to the volunteer teams I was part of in each event. This presumption also probably helped me to be more focused on the role and tasks of the volunteer than I would have been otherwise. My peer volunteers of course knew about my research endeavours, however, and from time to time we would chat about it with my immediate team members or other volunteers I met during the tasks or my free time. I somehow felt that my role was to convince them that I was just one of “us volunteers” and not to emphasise my role as a researcher. This also meant that in the field work I did not focus so much on the writing of notes but was instead dwelling in the field, being there as I had always been before.

3.2 Multi-sited and disappearing fields

The process of data gathering resembles the researched phenomenon; it was not systematically designed only for research purposes, but rather reflects the interests and opportunities of the event volunteer hobbyist to participate in events of interest. There was no clear understanding of doing certain types of events but more of the account developed as sort of messy autobiography resembling the life world of the author (see Law & Urry, 2004; Büscher, Urry, & Witchger, 2010). My usual pattern for volunteering is to try to take part in one or two events annually and these became the autoethnographic data. There was also a set of events where I volunteered primarily for data collecting purposes. These were two different festivals in two consecutive years, and a single occasion in a major international sports event. One of these events I had ended up doing somewhat accidentally, as my colleague at that time had been in a meeting with a festival manager for other reasons, but had introduced my research and got me involved. The other festival was more from my own interest, but it was also out of convenience since I had to think of how to fit my family responsibilities with the fieldwork, which was why I chose to do the volunteering in my home town.

Even though I was involved with both of these festivals because of the research, I quickly developed a personal relationship with both of them, which I will analyse in more detail in the next chapter. The major sports event was volunteering that I would have done with or without my research pursuit. The data from these five events was gathered from 2008-2012. As I have written in the personal professional biography in the next chapter, however, even though these events were my “main data”, my other kinds of involvement with events, before and after the fieldwork, have also worked as my point of interpretation when analysing volunteer knowing (e.g. Valtonen, 2013, p. 203). The events are presented in a general manner since presentation in more detail would make them, and the people I've worked with, too identifiable. Also, the ‘knowing’ that was studied isn't attached only to a specific events but moves between them.

The researched events differ considerably in their content and the experience they provide for the audience and volunteers. Both festivals are organised

annually during the summer. Festival 1 has a decade-long tradition and is run by a well-established organisation. It annually hosts an audience around 25 000 persons. The festival lasts for five days and employs approximately 200 volunteers. In my first year of volunteering I worked with the festival area surveillance team. Our job was to monitor the festival area and the volunteer accommodation round-the-clock. The second year I worked at the festival club, placed at a local hotel where the volunteers mainly undertook different restaurant work and other hotel chores. During the festival I stayed at the shared school accommodation provided for the volunteers by the festival.

In Festival 2 I volunteered as a backstage host, taking care of the artist area and catering for their needs. I lived at home since it took place in my hometown. The festival is an annually organised event targeted at a local audience. It attracts a crowd of 20-25 000 persons and employs around 30 volunteers. It was a three day event, and hosted three different stages with different musical profiles during the fieldwork. Between the years of study, the festival moved from one location to another, meaning the practical organisations altered regarding such things as the placing of the stages and plan of the artist areas. The third event context in the study was a major international sporting event organised in Finland. This event attracted an audience of 100 000 spectators. My volunteering task was as a stage manager in the Event Park main stage where there were performances of different kinds, and where the medal ceremonies for athletes took place. During the event I stayed with a friend who lives in the city.

In the events researched, dwelling in one specific field lasted from couple of days to a week, depending on the duration of the event, and accommodation in the event field was sometimes even interrupted with other responsibilities in life. When volunteering in the event organised in my hometown, the shifting of roles between “researcher-me” and “home-me” was a constraint, and it would have been optimal to be able to immerse myself in the event. One year I had to travel back to work from a festival to oversee the entrance examinations for tourism research because it was my turn in our faculty, and they took place at the same time as the festival, but I was able to organise my volunteering shifts so that I could be away for one day. A big question in my fieldwork for a long time, however was: Is it possible to make an interpreta-

tion grounded on such a short time period (see Marcus, 2007, p. 356), the duration of an event for a few days? Afterwards it was not possible to return to the field site anymore because of the temporary nature of events. Neither the event volunteer community nor the site are the same, even in a repeatedly organised event (Haanpää, Hakkarainen, & García-Rosell, 2014, p. 301). For a long period of time I questioned the ability to make interpretations from this “random selection” of events, since they were so different from each other. I felt somewhat obliged to be able to make interpretations and suggestions based on every single event.

I received a very good comment in a conference where I was talking about my fieldwork, from anthropologist Eva Berglund. She reminded me that events and festivals are not short in their duration. The dialectic of time and space is far more complicated, and the short-term view I had developed towards the phenomenon results from an economical perspective (see also Dredge & Whitford, 2010). The movement between different fields and the pausing of the research process for personal reasons, such as parental leave, proved to me that my knowing on the phenomenon was not to be read only in the event context, but was built up in my experiences when moving between these different fields (e.g. Sheller & Urry, 2006). The short existence of the field was the embodiment of the researched phenomenon. There was no need for a long dwelling period, instead the interpretation was built on recurring short periods of volunteering in different events and teams. The total duration of the research process and the fragmented nature of the fieldwork helped to contextualise the knowing of the physical field (Haanpää et al., 2014, p. 302). In the field observation I focused on my own doings, sayings and experiences, and the respective things done by the other volunteers. The observation was not consciously directed towards senses (cf. Valtonen et al., 2010), but as stated previously, they became strongly present in the data. The reflections on kinaesthetic sensing can be read in the notes.

The documentation of the field with written notes and other techniques is central to the method of ethnography (e.g. Belk, Fischer, & Kozinets, 2013, p. 71), however, in the autoethnographic research approach as a volunteer working in the event, the observation and its documentation cannot be called systematically whole. The temporariness of the event affected this as well;

when the events are in progress the work tends to be done intensively. The work shifts could last for up to 14 hours. The intensity of work also made photography impossible while volunteering and in many cases I was working in a position where photography was forbidden. Taking pictures during work shifts also proved impossible: it would have affected both the interaction in the situations and my work performance (e.g. Pink, 2007). This meant the photographs I produced myself were taken during my free time and instead of depicting the actual working practices, the photographs illustrate the general event arrangements and some of their details.

The dual role of a volunteer-researcher was also challenging, as in some cases it evoked questions from my fellow volunteers, since we were living in common accommodation and there was no privacy to make the notes. While volunteering I would carry a piece of paper in my pocket and write down keywords when I felt it was necessary. I also wrote down short notes about what I interpreted as significant happenings. Otherwise I relied on mental 'head notes' before the actual diary writing (see Daspher, 2016, p. 219; Valtonen et al., 2010, p. 378). In principle I tried to write down the field notes, which record the actions I engaged in, after each day's volunteer shift. The fatigue caused by field work circumstances meant the field notes were quite brief: there was simply no energy to write extensive reflections after long days. On the days when the shifts were exceptionally long, it was impossible to engage in anything apart from sleeping. In these cases, I wrote the more detailed notes the following day. In the notes I described my experiences, practices and the interactions with other people. I also wrote down my feelings about the work done. In addition I took notes on the general progress of events during my free time, but as said I also just engaged in the events, immersing myself in the experience.

3.3 From observations to text

In an autoethnographic account, the data cannot be neatly extracted from the whole life experience of the researcher, and in this research, when reflecting on the knowing, it is definitely a result of all the experiences relating to the event phenomenon, as I will explain more deeply in the first analysis chapter (see

Scott-Hoy & Ellis, 2008). The collected data for this study has thus not been formed as a neat set of observations, instead the process has been a messy one and the reflection and mobility between empirical and theoretical fields has caused the data to be what it is. If judged from the perspective of traditional ethnographic writing, the account and its credibility could be questioned. But the more recent methodological considerations of “telling life as it unfolds in all its messiness” supports such approach (e.g. Law & Urry, 2004).

In the following I present the data collected for this research and how it was used in writing the autoethnographic account. The primary data, the volunteer experience from the five events, is described in the previous sub-chapter. In addition to the immediate personal experiential account, which resulted 36 pages of fieldwork diaries, I used also other material collected from these events to craft the ethnographic analysis. In addition to the field notes, the data from the researched events consists of the following material:

- Three written volunteer stories from the researched events (total 7 pages)
- Pictures taken in the events by myself or my co-volunteers (175 pcs)
- A 30 minute documentary film on volunteers at one of the events
- Written material of the events, including material for the volunteers and the general audience (e.g. acceptance letters, training materials, volunteer guides and handbooks, work shift schedules, festival/event artist riders, programmes) (50 pcs)
- Email correspondence between myself and the volunteer coordinators and SMS-messaging between co-volunteers during the festival (45 pcs)
- Different media materials such as newspapers and internet articles (14 pcs)
- YouTube videos (45 pcs)

In addition to the data on the events I personally participated in, I began to collect material relating to event volunteering as a phenomenon in general, to observe and reflect my personal experiences compared to other people's

experiences. Again, this was not a systematic process but more of a means of reflection and making interpretations. This (in some ways secondary) data consists of YouTube videos on event volunteering (78 pcs), written volunteer material of other events (3 pcs) and media materials such as newspapers and internet articles (6 pcs). My volunteering in other events during the duration of this research process has also affected my analysis as secondary data.

In order to create a credible autoethnographic account, one must be reflexive in their position in fieldwork, but also towards the researched phenomenon. As one of my objectives is to understand how volunteer knowing builds through different life experiences, I will focus on my own position in the first analysis chapter, but will also briefly reflect on my position in the field work here. As said, the making of the account has been a process of moving between different empirical and theoretical fields. The knowing gained from these fields and their interaction through embodied and conceptual dwelling has gradually formed the account presented in this dissertation. As described, I had various underlying assumptions as a result of my previous knowledge, theoretical and practical, which were at work during various periods of the data collection (see also Coffey, 1999; Foley, 2002; Rantala, 2011, p. 157).

My position changed and shifted in the multi-sited fields due to the length of the process. Throughout the process I took the positions of researcher and volunteer (this is also how I identify myself in the Twitter biography that I use for my professional social media identity), however, they were variable in their nature. I will reflect on this in more detail in the first analysis chapter. In general, I produced the account from the position of a researcher, an event-organising enthusiast, a (former) hard rock fan, and a woman in my thirties (and forties). In my observation and interpretation, my previous practical knowledge, gained from volunteering at conferences, sports events, and festivals over the past 20 years, and also my work experience as a professional conference organiser, one of my tasks being to recruit voluntary workers, provided 'provisional points of view' of events and their organisation (Stampe, 2008, p. 129).

The ethical questions in autoethnographic research are multifaceted. Although the account is a personal narrative, there are other people involved (e.g. Daspher, 2016, p. 220). In writing practice, one must reflect on the

portrayal of fellow volunteers in the study (see Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1996; Rantala, 2011). How should people be represented ethically and given anonymity? This is why informed consent should be considered. In all the events comprising my primary data I had permission to conduct research from the managers responsible for the event organisation. I explained about my research either in the volunteer training session or at least to the members of my team, who I worked closely with (e.g. Hammersley & Atkinson, 1996). Generally, the volunteers I encountered were positive about my research endeavour, and I only received a few negative or suspicious reactions. Some people wondered if I would expose them in a negative way or would “spy on them”. Since these people were few and were not my immediate team mates, I omitted them out from the stories. All the names were changed in the text produced.

One friend is probably quite easily identifiable to those who know her or myself, and so I asked permission to write about her. I have also tried to be reflexive towards my fieldnotes and portrayal of people and situations described in them (e.g. Eriksson, Henttonen, & Meriläinen, 2012; Laukkanen, 2012). When writing the text I tried to reflect on how my own feelings and interpretations that affected the portrayal of my co-volunteers. When reading them after some time had passed after the actual fieldwork, I could see that I had positioned myself quite differently in my fieldnotes towards the other volunteers depending on the event. I was also quite direct if I thought someone was not knowledgeable or was a ‘newbie’. In making the analysis, I aimed to deconstruct these assumptions and reflect on what they mean in regard to the knowing of volunteers, and to question the labels I assigned to various knowers from my own position.

The videos and media data I have used either are, or have been, freely accessible to anyone. All the videos are available on YouTube, the documentary was shown on national Finnish television and can be ordered from the broadcaster, and the newspaper and internet articles can be traced. Since the volunteers and other people portrayed in this data gave their consent to public exposure through the media, I have not asked their permission for the use of this data in my study, but have relied on their consent to the publicity. I searched for the videos about other volunteer experiences during the analysis so as to re-

flect on my own experiences with regard to other volunteer experiences and other events. The videos were quite easy to find, but consideration was given to their production conditions.

Most of the videos were made for appreciation, recruitment or PR purposes by the event organisations or collaborators close to them. This might have meant that the videos were overly positive about volunteering and the experiences gained. In most of the videos the volunteers only express positive feelings towards the events and the work done there. The videos in general do not portray negative feelings, or times where something goes wrong. They portray ideal volunteers. I recognise the same issue in my own volunteer story, it is a story of a committed and enthused volunteer. At the same time there are reports of failed volunteer stories in real world cases and in research. I came to realise that my data was somewhat biased towards failure. The exception to this rule is the documentary where one of the three main characters is a high school student whose volunteering experience does not go as planned, so that he stopped volunteering in the middle of the event. This story also made me look at my personal data with regard to failure and its role in volunteer knowing.

Ethical considerations in autoethnographic accounts should also include the author herself. A decision must be made about how much personal information is exposed in order to create a credible account. This was quite a difficult question when writing up the account, since many personal experiences have to be revealed in detail in order to create an evocative account. It was also a question that took a long time to digest. How is one able to make a credible account based on personal experience? In the end, I wrote my experience in the way “that I felt it”. It represents the experience of a certain volunteer in certain situations, although there are some things and situations I omitted from the manuscript, first, because I did not feel comfortable sharing such personal content (see Dashper, 2016, p. 221). This relates to the potential readership of this doctoral thesis as an academic text. I felt uncomfortable exposing so much of my life history and personal insights, not so much to the readers who do not know me personally but to those who do – for example, my colleagues and/or students who mainly know me by my professional role. While the analysis progressed, I took some of these back to the text,

because, in my consideration, they were essential with regard to building the interpretation – for example, pieces of my personal history and feelings in some situations as data. Even though I felt quite embarrassed to include some of these, as they were so personal or maybe revealed some sides or things of me personally that I would not care much to expose, it became clear to me that they were needed as a part of ethical practice in building an evocative account (see Dashper, 2016, p. 221).

As stated before, the analytical framework was constructed over time between the movement in empirical and theoretical fields. The various knower positions and multi-sitedness of the fieldwork committed to the building of the analysis. The process was in no way linear, but more of a dialectic between various pieces of knowledge from the empirical and theoretical fields (Moisander & Valtonen, 2006, pp. 126-133; see also Höckert, 2015, p. 165). Coming across the theoretical concept of choreography was a turning point in the research process. It led me to see the theoretical construct of co-creation and the empirical phenomenon of knowledge in a new way, so that my experience fitted better with the phenomenon at hand than through the theories I had imposed on it previously. It thus did not offer premises for any “clear cut” analysis, but my intuitive knowing led me to pursue the study along with this concept, and ask new questions about the data, arising from its theoretical premises. Using the longitudinal approach and reflecting on my own experiences with the videos and stories of others, I began to build my interpretation of the data. I could find similarities between my own experiences and the experiences of others, but also differences.

The analysis was undertaken as a twofold process: theory informed the reading of the data (Palmu, 2007, pp. 146-147) and elicited memory work through videos and photos. The analysis meant moving back and forth between data and theory, testing the ideas, themes and conceptualisations arising from one or the other. It was also an embodied process, since I used videos and photographs to evoke the feelings and emotions experienced in the field. Marks (2000, in Hietanen, 2012, p. 109) has proposed that the moving image is embodied in the act of experiencing it. This statement describes well the way I used the videos to elicit the embodiedness of knowing from event contexts. When watching the videos, they evoked the feelings

and sensations experienced in certain spaces or situations (Merchant, 2011; Scarles, 2010). Analysing the videos of secondary data about other volunteers also evoked memories of similar situations. The movement and atmosphere could be connected to my own embodied experiences. For this reason, I only used the visual material for the analysis phase of this study and decided not to include it into the final thesis. The visual data acts as a starting point to grasp the embodied, affective experiences and do not picture them as such.

Through the analysis, I also chose and crafted the vignettes used in this study. The majority originate from my field notes but were partly re-written into more-narrative form in the analysis phase, while I read and elicited through different parts of the data and reminisced on the mental head notes made during the fieldwork (e.g. Markuksela, 2013, pp. 111-113). Yet, one vignette was also written directly for the thesis. This is the first vignette in the analysis chapter that describes my personal event history. While writing the account, I began to feel that personal history perspective would be needed in order to clarify for myself as well as for the readers how and through what kind of experiences the embodied knowing has been gained over time. I transcribed and translated (when necessary) the vignettes from videos and the documentary into text.

3.4 The analysis framework

Through my analysis of the data, I construct volunteer knowing in event co-creation as a three level phenomenon, which I will present in the next chapter. Reading knowing in the co-creation process through the concept of choreography gives access to the way it moves and is built in, through and between places, time and social. Choreography as a concept enables the movement of knowing in its various forms to be captured. The analysis opens up, through various levels, macro-, meso- and micro-, how knowing constructs an embodied and affective process in movement (see Tuuri, Pihonen, & Parviainen, 2013). The various levels posit various choreographies in making: the macro-level casts light on the meta-choreography embodied by volunteers when they enter the realm of events, the meso-level focuses

on the pre-choreographies of events and how these guide the movement in them, and the micro-level opens up the doing-of-choreography, where the two previous levels are combined and the knowing operates through the bodies of volunteers in an event context.

The macro-level analysis casts light on the choreographic process that I have called meta-choreography. Meta-choreography refers to the embodied knowing built in and through time and places. In a vignette based on personal volunteering history, the analysis reveals how the knowing is embodied through various time-space situations. It shows how the knowing moves in time and space, and how it originates and is guided by various sources such as personal attachment, passion, and again the social and societal positions. The purpose of the macro-level meta-choreography is to highlight the diversity of knowing and its sources, and open up perspectives to consider why and how the knowing from the various life spheres embodied by the volunteers comes to operate in events.

The meso-level analysis examines the pre-choreographies inside the event that guide the movement of volunteer knowing. I analyse the social, material and temporal aspects of events which affect and set expectations and preconditions for the embodied knowing of the volunteers in the events. The pre-choreographies of events that guide and manage volunteer knowing are analysed.

At the micro-level, the doing-of-choreography is put under review. I present how the choreography of the event builds as kinaesthetic and affective practice where various actors among volunteers take part. At this level the movement-based knowing is read through the body of the volunteer and how it creates and responds to various affective, social and material cues that the event context inhabits. I also address the phenomenon of not-knowing and how it resides in the stillness of the body. The analysis sub-chapters begin with an empirical vignette that illustrates the level of the knowing analysed, and I go on to discuss the empirical findings and their connections to the theoretical discussions in detail.

4 Volunteer knowing in event choreography

4.1 Embodied metachoreographies

What got me into volunteering in the first place? Why did I start to do events? This is the classic motivations point-of-view. I think that over the time the answer has changed for me but nevertheless, it has always been out of passion: passion to experience, passion to know more, passion to be part of it. Something that tempts you again and again. I was a dedicated music fan from my pre-teens to late teens. I truly adored Finnish rock bands first and then later on the 1980s glam rockers, mainly from the US. I had my room decorated with their pictures and because we lived in the pre-internet era, I subscribed to magazines that reported about the lives and careers of my idols. In my late teens and early twenties, I went to festivals in some summers, but by that time it was more socialising with friends than going to see the bands. I had already somewhat out-grown the “fan phase” of my life at the time. The festival experiences were more about hanging out together and having a good time, yet, something drew me to volunteering at this very same time. I recall that I volunteered for the first time in the summer after my second year of university studies, at an urban music festival. I was assigned a ticket sales job in one of the clubs. I don’t have a clear memory of how I applied for that position, but I had been working in various sales jobs and that might have affected my choice. I don’t remember much about it except that the stage was on the other side of the wall from our sales point and the noise was unbearable when trying to interpret what people were saying. I remember the pride in wearing the staff T-shirt. I attended one of the stadium concerts at the festival because volunteers gained free access with the badge, but being alone there wasn’t much fun and I left quite early.

The other path to volunteering and events probably resides in my experiences as the child of an academic family. When I was little we used to travel and attend conferences, accompanying my father. I remember being in the welcome

receptions and conference dinners with the family, or going to Disney World after a conference had finished, but there was another incident that led me to take interest in the organisation of conferences. When I was studying for my first degree, one of our professors approached the student association I was chairing at the time when he was organising an international conference. He offered our association the opportunity to earn money by organising the printing and selling of conference abstracts. I can't remember any more, why the abstracts had to be paid for by piece, but we took up the task. As the chair of the association I was very much in charge of the overall organisation of the sales. I sat through conference organisation committee meetings and afterwards tried to work out with our own board members, what and how we should do it. Almost all I remember from the actual conference is the feeling of chaos since we were in no way prepared to take up such a massive task, however, we managed to somehow pull through, and that experience led me to grow more interested in conferences on a professional level.

During the same summer I also volunteered at a well-known Finnish music festival, selling ear plugs and doing advisory work for a national hearing association that I was involved with at the time. I don't quite remember in chronological order how I then became more involved in conferences, but during my second degree studies I led a team organising our professor's international symposium. It was all arranged by students, and my friend and I had the main responsibility of organisation. I was more involved in the back office organisation, and my friend was responsible for the front office tasks. I remember the enormous effort and stress that went into the project. We all had little to no experience in comprehensive conference organisation (except my own experience, which made me something of an expert in the group) and created the whole thing from scratch. Afterwards, in the same year, I volunteered at another conference, working at the registration desk. All this meant I grew more interested in events in a professional manner. When it was time to write my bachelors thesis, it was on conference cities. After my bachelor's degree I also wanted to write my master's thesis on conferences and get a commissioner for it. I ended up agreeing on a positioning study on a city in Southern Finland that I had been researching in my bachelor's study. Events thus became my profession, since a few months after beginning my master's study, I was asked to replace a planning officer leading an event-related project in the organisation involved in the study, since she was switching jobs.

I began working on a development project concerning the conference preparedness of the region. When the project ended I worked in the convention bureau/PCO organisation, and from that position I went on to lead world congress organisations. Organising the world congress was my final “event school graduation” (even though at the time I still didn’t consider myself a professional). I did this for a little over one year and really threw myself into the process. I recruited two interns and a team of around forty volunteers for the project, and also trained and managed them through the event. We also had a team of five inside the organisation working for the conference. One of the things that has stuck in my mind from the event is a moment in the yard of the conference main venue when I met with one of the volunteers. I was physically and emotionally overstressed and exhausted with all the organisation and coordination and she said to me: “I don’t understand how you can be so calm. I would be a nervous wreck in your position”. The reason I think this statement stuck with me is, that it really made me feel like I’d accomplished my goal. Having had leg cramps so badly that I ended up in First Aid myself, driving around like maniac between the seven conference venues to organise things, being in hospital with an older attendee who had serious health problems, staying up at night worrying if everything had been taken care of, the volunteer’s comment was a reassurance for me that I had pulled it off.

Because of my professional endeavours I was less involved in volunteering for some time, but when I began the world congress organising, I thought that it would be good to benchmark a major event organisation, and that is when I became involved in volunteering for an international skiing event held annually in the city in which I lived. I volunteered with my friend, who also lived in the city at the time. It was a way for us, who shared the same interest in events, to develop professionally but also spend free time together. I ended up volunteering for the event for two consecutive years. My friend and I worked in the same position at the media centre on both occasions. It was a fun place to work: meeting the reporters and athletes during shifts and partying in the evenings. I loved the atmosphere of going down to the ski-jumping pit to collect the ski-jumpers for the press conferences after the podium. What I didn’t always love quite so much was the sporty outfits one has to wear at sport events. The first occasion of volunteering at the skiing event was mainly for professional purposes, but the second time

was also due to the good experience of the previous year, and the fun of gathering with the same team again.

The experience of being part of the skiing event led my friend and I apply again when we heard that a major international sports event coming to Finland was looking for volunteers. The event was held in a city where neither of us lived at the time. The organisation expected us to work for around a week (I don't recall the exact period of time) and we spent the whole time moving around the apartments of friends and relatives. I had applied for, and received, a place in the media centre and did a similar job to that I had done at the ski games, helping reporters in the media centre and guiding athletes to interviews thorough the mixed zone in the stadium. I remember a very concrete difference from the ski games, however: the number of different sports. As a result, lists flew in continuously: pole vault, 400 m hurdles, steeple chase, shot put... you name it. It was crazy trying to remember the names of the various sports in English, and the various heats in the running events, men's and women's and so on. This (sometimes chaotic) copying and sorting out of lists became a thing we joked about with the team, and also during years to come with my friend: trying frantically to keep track of all the results that were urgently requested by the reporters when the events were on. After the volunteer shifts when we had time, we also took part in the night life.

I took a break from my volunteering hobby for some time, when I had my first child. I took it up again when I started the PhD. Because of my volunteering experiences I was interested in how volunteer knowledge is used in event organisations. Even though I had volunteered quite a lot, I decided to collect ethnographic data through more volunteering, and got involved with two festivals organised in Lapland. I had attended both as a member of audience before. The other one was organised in my hometown and the other in another town in Lapland. The latter festival offered the volunteers a shared school floor accommodation and I too lived there for a week both times I volunteered. It was a strange and liberating experience at the same time. It was more like a vacation, as I was able to be on my own for a week doing the things I like, compared to family life at home. Volunteering at this festival was much less intense than I was used to, and we had a good amount of time to enjoy the festival. I volunteered for two consecutive years, but then it was too difficult to arrange one week away from home at that time of the year. I also began to feel bit too old for the crowd and for the school floor accommodation.

The other festival stuck with me for a longer period of time. I worked as a backstage host for two consecutive years, then I had my second child, and had a two year break from volunteering, but then again volunteered for three years in a row. The experience of hosting the artists was really the thing that kept me going back. In a way, it was a dream come true, a volunteering job for a former hard-core music fan - which is somewhat embarrassing to confess as a "mature adult"! The nature of work differed greatly from the other festival, and we worked for countless hours during the festival days, but it was no problem, since we had good team spirit and the work was mostly fun. It was 'not rocket science', more the opposite, but it was an experience. During these years I also volunteered at another international sports event in which I became involved through my friend, who by then had started her professional career in event marketing. The company she worked for had won a bid for organising the event park operations and I went to volunteer in her team. In the event park I worked at the backstage as well helping in the concert and medal ceremony organisations.

Since I now teach event related courses, I also became involved in a collaboration programme with a Lappish festival where, together with the organisers, we developed a study unit for our students, partly based on festival volunteering. This was in action for four years and I was personally involved in the first three. I've continued to volunteer at various festivals, but nowadays I do it moreover for leisure purposes, which means I only go if I get to "do what I want". Volunteering for me is a way of experiencing the event, and usually I find the usual audience experience somewhat boring. This also depends on the situation: I was involved as a volunteer in a layman critique project for a classical music festival and a local newspaper, a couple of summers ago, and have been attending the festival as a member of the audience since then, because of the atmosphere, but volunteering still is the thing for me.

My personal volunteering history above acts as a starting point to cast light on the ways in which the knowing and the knower positions of a volunteer can be understood in event co-creation, and more widely what they might bring to the co-creation discussion in marketing studies. The vignette describes my relationship with events over my life course. As I note at the very beginning, it is very hard to put how you know on paper, and writing the story

was a struggle. It is a lengthy story, but still excludes many places and experiences that have influenced my knowing. The concept of choreography and events as a context of co-creation are a fruitful starting point for analysis. As Pehkonen and Puumala (2008, pp. 162-164) state “the memory of the body carries the places we have experienced and thus this knowledge builds us as subjects. And again, the places we are in embody the forms of knowledge of us, subjects”. This is the position where I begin to understand volunteer knowing in co-creation. The vignette makes an effort to cast light and reflect on my personal path in the world of events, and by doing this to understand how knowing is embodied.

The discussion of co-creation is strongly based on the dichotomy between production and consumption. Even though it is claimed that the roles of producers and consumers blur in the process, most of the accounts of co-creation rest on the idea of the separation of production and consumption. The accounts are written from either producer or consumer perspectives, and involve major corporations or brands (see e.g. Jaakkola, Helkkula, & Aarikka-Stenroos, 2015). When consumers take part in co-creation processes they become co-creators, co-producers or prosumers and critical accounts of co-creation have analysed this action as unpaid work (e.g. Cova & Dalli, 2009; Zwick et al., 2008). The separation between work/production and leisure/consumption is strongly imposed in this line of thinking and as a result the absence of monetary (or other) rewards affiliated with work is also questioned. The same line of thinking can be found prevailing in the sociological perspectives on volunteering that highlight the separation between leisure and work (see Lockstone-Binney et al., 2010, p.440).

The epistemological premise behind co-creation is in line with another popular theory of knowledge: knowledge management (see e.g. Linstead & Brewis, 2007; Zwick et al., 2008). Knowledge management as a concept has also been used to understand volunteer knowledge (e.g. Clayton, 2016; Ragsdell & Jepson, 2014). Both of these concepts, co-creation and knowledge management, subscribe to the logics of capitalism and inhabit the idea of knowledge as a managerial tool or commodity. By doing this they lead us to consider knowledge in instrumental, functionalist ways: adding value to the processes for the sake of profit. In this way knowledge is seen as one-dimensional entity

to be transferred effectively inside the organisation (e.g. Linstead & Brewis, 2007, p. 358), however, as illustrated in the vignette, these kind of accounts do not justify the knowledge in action in co-creation, where its value does not rest solely on functional and instrumental premises. Thinking of knowledge as a rational, managerial tool and volunteering as unpaid work does not acknowledge that knowledge which draws on passion and the aesthetics, physicalities and corporealities of the setting (e.g. Gherardi et al., 2007). Based on a multi-sited autoethnographic account I construct knowing as a more holistic and complex phenomenon. In this sub-chapter, I analyse how and why it is embodied in movement through time and space, and how this embodied knowing becomes a meta-choreography with which to understand events.

I read the data, my personal story and the other volunteer stories, videos and documentaries through the concept of knowing. My personal volunteering history acts as a reference point for the analysis, but I also reflect on it with the stories of other volunteers in the data. The documentary about one of the events I had personally volunteered at, and the YouTube videos, became particularly important for discussion in this part of the analysis, in addition to theoretical readings. Based on choreography, knowing takes place in and through a particular body, place, time and context (e.g. Risner, 2000, p. 157). According to this idea of the body carrying the places we have experienced and places again embodying the knowledge of subjects, I consider the following viewpoints related to the building of knowledge in co-creation processes (Pehkonen & Puumala, 2008, pp.162-164). First, I describe how knowing is constructed through and within a particular body, place, time and context. I then demonstrate how the knowing moves between various spaces, places and time in embodiment. From a third viewpoint, I consider what moves the knowing of event volunteers. I call this three-fold analysis the *macro-level of volunteer knowing: a meta-choreography*. It constructs knowing not as building an either-or entity of production/consumption or work/leisure but rather residing in between, and in, both of these dichotomies, at their interfaces, and as such embodied by the volunteers taking part in co-creation. Such knowing is also both subjective and collective at the same time.

The vignette of my personal history offers glimpses to a particular body, places, times and contexts in relation to events. The knowing is built in the event

contexts as intra- and interpersonal phenomenon, being an active doing and a memory of other contexts at the same time (see Risner, 2000, pp. 161-167). By casting light on “travelling through” these contexts my aim is to make visible how the knowing embodied from the contexts is then carried in and performed through the body in others (e.g. Laine, 2015). The vignette shows how I have encountered the event contexts through a multitude of various subject positions: a child, a fan, a woman (of various ages), a festival goer, a tourist, a student, an (aspiring) professional, a developer, a manager, a supervisor, a volunteer, a friend, a researcher, a teacher, and at the same time in the intrapersonal relationships in a family, a fan club, festival audience, group of friends, teams and communities of volunteers, student teams, artists, managers, developers, professionals from various fields, workplaces and so on. Many of these positions and relationships have been present simultaneously in various event contexts.

The materialities of these contexts, or spaces, also range from conference centres and auditoriums to the top of the ski jumping tower or stadiums, and from city centres to the sand fields and temporary building arrangements in them, in the pouring rain, freezing cold or burning sunshine, and sometimes just in the ordinariness of an office. The temporal dimension of the contexts relates to other life events, and the meanings of particular events as personal memories. Again, there are various temporal textures inside the events, from stressful intensity to relaxed existence, but also transformations or both-and roles inside the event contexts, from that of a volunteer to a sport spectator, from a conference manager to a member of the audience in a jazz concert, or a patient in a first aid room- or from a crying nervous wreck to a confident supervisor, and yet again a fuzzy body waking up on a school floor to a perky volunteer. Such positions show that the event contexts are inherently built in a way that the modes of production and consumption are continuously intertwined.

The embodied knowing which builds in and between these various contexts moves to and from the body of a volunteer as ways of being, doing and interpreting them. The knowing draws from the social and discursive but also from being in the contexts “as a body” (Lehtonen, 2014, p. 86; Veijola & Jokinen, 1994). It creates through events being “part of the everyday” as a child from them being part of studies and later on work, but also through being an audience member in festivals with friends. All these positions, knowledges

and meanings, which are constructed in the movement between the various contexts, the knowing, are carried within and mobilised through the body of a volunteer as a co-creator of an event.

In the vignette, I state many times that I do not remember exactly how things happened or what happened when, but I remember how I felt or how something was done. The various practices of production and consumption, such as organising conferences or being the member of a festival audience, are carried as embodied and mobilised in the choreographies of various events. Through this they create (or do not create; I will return to this in the sub-chapter 4.3) value in the event spaces, in varying ways, for the others or/and the volunteer (see Stebbins, 2004). I have consciously used the mobilisation between professional and volunteer endeavours, for example by benchmarking volunteer managing practices to the world congress, or where in one of the field diaries I wrote about customer service attitude. Having worked as a congress professional and in customer service volunteering posts, and also studied the role of customer service, my previous knowing on the matter directs me to act according to the usual friendliness and “smiley” helpfulness as a back stage hostess, however, my notes read that *some bands react quite sarcastically toward the customer service attitude. They comment to me, even quite rudely, on the “over friendliness”* (see Valkonen, 2011, pp. 103-104). The context defamiliarises my previous knowledge, and by the questioning it is reshaped (see Heimonen, 2014). This feedback leads me to consider my customer service practice and adjust it.

Knowing as a body memory can be easier or harder to bring into use as a conscious act. Casey (1987, in Ylönen, 2003, p. 60) claims that a common feature of body memory is the marginality of it, and that the memories of body are quietly present. Another feature is the thickness of experience, which is hard to verbalise, and the depth where the memories sink and where they also rise to the surface. Also the past and present are present at the same time (Casey, 1987, in Ylönen, 2003, p. 60). The vignette reveals the intensity and stressfulness of events in multiple places of the text. This intensity of event spaces is experienced in an embodied way. The learning on the matter builds through diverse spaces and time (Rowe, 2015; see also Veijola, Hakkarainen & Nousiainen, 2013): counting money precisely in the ticket sales in front of a long queue of people, hearing about how to deal with stress in volunteer

training sessions, staying up all night making conference bags for the guests as a manager, being in pain after carrying heavy loads as a festival volunteer for two days. Gradually the understanding of this practice of event production is inhabited through what is sometimes overstated and sometimes felt, and often both of these at the same time. The body remembers the pain and tiredness and it is part of the experience. Through spaces and time one learns to adjust movements. One learns to know that “it is only temporary”, that you have to stretch yourself and drink enough water and that you have to keep your focus whatever happens. The culture of stress is also learned in relation to others and their bodies in the event choreography: seeing the reddish eyes of supervisors on the second morning when they come to work or conversing about aching feet, and pondering with others in the middle of the night about whether it is worth going home and sleeping for two hours or just sleeping in one of the tents. The intensity and stressfulness is learned not only through volunteering but as a person interested in events moving through various event contexts.

One question that has been essential in both the study of co-creation and studies of volunteering, is the question of why people take on the role of producing voluntarily, in this case becoming an event volunteer (e.g. Cova et al., 2015): or as my question reads, what moves the knowing between various contexts? One of the volunteers in the documentary states:

My job is still mainly usual office work and then the fun part of it is when you get to meet different people. I thought that it's okay to pursue the same fun part of my work also during my free time. Well, I don't think that way, that I'm performing work that is not paid for. I rather think that I can use my time so, that I help them. Or I don't think that it is somehow “taken from me” but more like the opposite: it's like more experience for me and...

Another again states:

You get to meet so many different and interesting people, but it's also way to, to... like it's a playground for me, you know. Like, I can do things I don't normally do 'cause in my everyday life I'm a graphic designer but here I get to do much more experimental stuff.

My personal story reveals the same kind of interest in events. Volunteering is a way to know more about a matter that people feel passionate about, a way of expressing it differently, intensely. In the excerpts the boundary between work and free-time blurs in the sense that the volunteers are willing to pursue their work in more flexible terms outside the actual working practice. The passionate knowing attaches the volunteers to the event (Ahmed, 2004; Gomart & Hennion, 1999; see also Jæger & Mathisen, 2017; Jæger & Olsen, 2016). The space that is created in events lets the volunteers choreograph things they feel passionate about. The volunteers extend their work to leisure due to the parts of it they feel passionate about, but it is not only a serious pursuit but rather a possibility to pursue the “fun part” of work, to experience (see e.g. Lockstone-Binney et al., 2010). Through knowing, the event choreography is produced and consumed similarly. The volunteers form value for themselves and the event at the same time (see Elder-Vass, 2015, p. 464).

Brand communities have been of special interest in co-creation discussions (Cova et al., 2015, p. 2). These communities share a common interest in a brand and through this interest share a subculture around it. As previous studies suggest, communities significantly contribute to co-creating a brand. In the case of event volunteers this is clearly visible in various parts of the data. The attachment of volunteers may be towards event communities and their values which was clearly present in the data, especially in the case of festivals. In the vignette, the phenomenon can be seen in my experiences at the skiing event. In the other data the festival volunteers brought this phenomenon to the fore by explaining “festival volunteering for me is like participating in a summer camp of adults” (see also Valtonen & Haanpää, 2013). Such statements highlight the volunteer endeavour as a question of “knowing with”. Being part of the community creates value for the volunteer and provides a different consuming experience of the event that is also an important part of the attachment. The use of “summer camp” as an expression relates to the very embodied way of being part of the temporary community. The knowing of this arrangement was created together and it provides value for the volunteers, but the different consuming experiences may also arise from other contents of the event as a way of getting behind the scenes. My friend is very much present in the vignette. In my experience the attachment is not only to the

event community but the event context offers also a way to maintain friendship. We used to spar with each other and analyse our experiences together, since we shared the same passionate interest in events.

The motivation studies focusing most commonly on the context of a single event and asking about it quantitatively in a certain point of the event, construct the volunteers' reasons for taking part quite narrowly. These studies also engage retention as a single event. The motivation approach to volunteering paints a widely unidimensional picture of the volunteering endeavour, treating the phenomenon from an instrumentalist point-of-view (see Linstead & Brewis, 2007, p. 363), while the pursuit of volunteering is tied to the more complex reality of a volunteer's life. The urge to engage in the event choreography intertwines with various social positions and temporal choreographies in life. For example, as written in the vignette, family life has had a critical effect on my volunteering pursuits. My passion about events has not decreased, however, I've just not been able to accommodate it. Actually I first wrote in the volunteering story: *It is almost painful not to be able to go. The years that I've not been volunteering I have consciously tried to think of something else at the time of the event.* Not being able to participate is also an embodied experience that causes anxiety, however, I felt that this was too embarrassing a confession, and clipped it from the text, since it represents a strong emotional attachment and I felt it was not suitable for "a credible adult" to be so deeply involved with such an insignificant issue.

The passionate attachment alters through time, however. It alters in the temporal choreography of a single event as the temporary community of volunteers works together. In the vignette it also alters over a longer period of time regarding other life events. My change to being a researcher plays a significant part in my story, with regard to my knowing. As an aspiring events professional and also as an early career researcher my view point on events was grounded in managerial ways of thinking, how the knowledge can be used effectively. When I moved to the profession of a researcher, the meaning of events also gradually changed for me. The meaning of volunteering has shifted from that of an aspiring professional gaining knowledge to an experienced enthusiast wanting to participate in the atmosphere of events, but the temporal alteration of attachment also refers to an embodied knowing gained in

the position of a volunteer. During the course of this ethnographic research I have grown from a youngish woman to a woman approaching middle age. Why and where I volunteer is not only a question of passion, but also relates to the fact that the volunteers in the festivals and events (have to) resemble the audience, because the experience builds from the community. Personally I have “outgrown” some festivals and volunteering positions.

Previous studies might construct my interest in events as instrumental, as in the beginning my personal interest in volunteering was largely based on personal, professional development, however, as much as it was instrumental it was also a very passionate endeavour. As I write in one of the field diaries:

As I'm driving to work the car radio plays the song Euphoria by Loreen. When I hear the first notes, I suddenly get the same tickling feeling I had in the event last summer while the school marching band was playing the song for the audience of athletes in their VIP closing ceremony. I remember the feeling of proudness in our efforts and happiness for the young musicians getting to play to the prestigious audience. These feelings also lead me to remember the rainy weather and the wet clothes (especially shoes!), directing the Swedish speaking school kids from bus to dressing rooms and dancing to the song with my co-workers back stage in the middle of our work tasks.

The interest that has its grounds in highly egoistic premises turns into a more altruistic practice as the event commences, but both of these viewpoints are present in the voluntary pursuit at the same time. The broader prosocial attitude grows through the co-creation (see Cova et al., 2015, p. 17).

In this sub-chapter I have elaborated on the macro-level of volunteer knowing, which I name meta-choreography. With meta-choreography I refer to embodied knowing built in and through the time and places that resides in the body and is actualised in the capabilities for interpreting and taking control over space. In the co-creation discussion, the concept of choreography allows the possibility of viewing the building of embodied knowledge in such movement-based relations. The meta-choreography makes visible how the knowing is constructed in movement between past, present and future; it's

an on-going process that is affected by various social and societal positions. It is always in becoming in different relations (see Nancy, 1991, p. 35, in Simpson, 2015, p. 72). The analysis shows how the knowing of volunteers in event co-creation draws from the embodiment of practices of production and consumption which intertwine in the event context. The knowing attained through various event contexts moves in and through the body of the volunteer to various life spheres and possible new co-creation processes. The notion of passion as a reason for volunteering is a strong influence on the movement of knowing and yet again, the movement between various contexts may strengthen it. It may involve some part of the event context or/and develop through volunteering in the specific event context.

Next, I move on to discuss knowing in a specific event context more specifically. In Sub-Chapter 4.2 I consider the pre-choreographies guiding volunteer knowing. They are social, material, and temporal expectations that allow or restrict certain ways of knowing inside the event context and thus, shape the knowing created in the shared co-creation process (see Parviainen, 2011a).

4.2 Pre-choreographies guiding volunteer knowing

I make my way to the auditorium and sit in about the same place as last time, seven years ago. There are several hundreds of us and I see some familiar faces. The organisers sit at the front of the auditorium. The training event begins. We are told directly in the opening that there is "an experienced crowd" present. We are asked how many of us were volunteering in the previous championships and about half of the people raise their hands. First, the executive level people tell about the games in general, pointing out how the games will bring prosperity to the region. I write down in my notes that they refer specifically to economic prosperity. In addition to this it is also hoped that the championships will bring to the fore and increase the value of Finnish athletics, for example through volunteering, "not only through the medals". After the pep-talks and spirit lifting the Local Organising Committee (LOC) office staff and their areas of responsibility are presented. The HR manager welcomes us volunteers to the common project and urges us to

put all of “ourselves on the line”, then we are shown a short film from the previous championships. I notice that the film is mainly athletes, and that volunteers and spectators are not shown directly. The presentation round continues and we are reminded again that we saw each other last time seven years ago. “And that is great, but we also need new faces.... The championships will be a success with your help.” It is also stressed that it is essential for volunteering to also follow what is happening at the sport association level and in athletics in general. I find myself thinking that this is probably not going to happen on my part.

I start to write down the various arguments and utterances made by the speakers: “You are here to have a taste of international atmosphere.” “I hope that you feel being part of a large group: an event that will leave a big trace to your heads.” “Sports is something we all must work for but current lifestyle does not favour that. Get your children moving.” “Finland is a cradle of volunteering, which is not common in the European scale. Thank you all.” I begin to feel that I am not really an insider in the sports related content. The volunteer headquarters will again be at the sports hall and there will be three training events for volunteers before the championships. The organisers mention that people’s various capacities and skills will be used “shamelessly”. “Professional capacities are important, but so are joy and enthusiasm in the doing.” “The professional skill of event organising and various roles: we all learn from each other.” The organisers speak about positive experience and the importance of good dialogue and conversation in volunteer teams. They stress also that we volunteers are an important economic resource: “it would not be possible to organise the championships without you”, “you are worth of gold to us”. While listening I begin to get a feeling of imbalance between the training and the actual work that is to be done. Things are presented here in such a fancy and spirit-lifting manner, but the actual work of event organisation is quite down-to-earth and even somewhat disorganised from time to time, as I recall from my former experiences. We don’t have time to act according to the team philosophies presented, or at least they happen in a more practical way.

We are being encouraged to enjoy what we do throughout the event. Our behaviour and performance is the face of the event organisation, and on the other hand, when we are wearing the badge, we are representing the organisation. “Then you don’t sit and drink your third pint in the pub.” The presentation round

commences. The media services manager urges us to report possible development ideas to our team leaders. He also talks about the role of volunteers in the event publicity. He stresses that in all cases official communication happens on behalf of the official event organisation. We are allowed to describe our own volunteer experience to the media, but all statements concerning the organisation or the games are prohibited. The security manager briefs us on the basics of security issues concerning the organisation. He advises us to familiarise ourselves with the places of danger in our own areas of responsibility. This will allow us to cope with things in the case of emergency or crisis. He also stresses “grabbing hold of things”, such as making sure a burned-out lamp will be replaced.

After the LOC has been presented and has given us their speeches, a psychologist comes to coach us. He talks about work, cooperation, team work and stress. I recognise that he is the same person who gave us a speech on the subject in the volunteer training for the previous championships. He expresses his wish that we gather the teams daily to reflect briefly on what has been good and what should be improved or done differently. I find myself wondering how that is possible, and how the practicalities will be shaped during the event. In the last games we were not together as a whole team for a single moment after the training. I write down some of the statements that are presented. They focus on good and bad practices of acting as a member of a team, such as maintaining humour in difficult situations or acting according to the “customer is king” principle, and on the other hand hiding tiredness and irritation in one’s behaviour or not letting work morale slip. We are also encouraged and guided to recognise our own type of personality as a member of a team.

The presentations end and the whole crowd has lunch in the cafeteria. There are long queues and the food is quite basic. After lunch we are divided into smaller groups according to the work we will be performing during the games. In the smaller auditorium our group for VIP-services and ceremonies is given a little more detailed information on our sector. Afterwards we move to classrooms with our consecutive teams. There are eight people in the team of assistants to the Event Park Producer. The Project Manager gives us the presentation because the producer we will be working for is involved with other duties for the responsible company. First we have a small introduction round and as a part of my personal introduction, I tell my team mates about my research endeavour. They all seem

positive about it. We get general information on the Event Park, the activities and events there, but our own duties and the work of organisation remain quite hazy. "You do all the kinds of tasks the producer needs you to do."

The example above describes pre-choreography based on the social; volunteer training for a major international sports event. In this chapter I examine the *meso-level of knowing* inside event co-creation: the event *pre-choreographies* and how they guide and affect volunteer knowing. My aim here is to explain the kind of pre-choreographies the event context inhabits and how these guide the volunteer knowing. How do the pre-choreographies allow or restrict certain knowing? Parviainen (2010, p. 320) uses the notion of pre-choreographies to describe how the spatial, temporal, social, cultural and technological arrangements of the place affect the characteristics of motion in it. They guide the ways in which the event builds and can “allow and/or deny the participants to certain ways of moving” and knowing (see Parviainen 2011a; 2011b). These arrangements create kinaesthetic fields inside the event which, according to Parviainen (2010, 2011a), are “a characteristic motion embedded in a certain place or location”.

As I here read the knowing as movement inside the event choreography, I focus on the material, social and temporal arrangements of event context. The social pre-choreography brings forward shared expectations of how to behave, and acceptable or desirable gestures, expressions, positions or movements. These social expectations and opportunities to act are different for the various members of the event community, for example the audience or the volunteers, but also between the different volunteer positions. The physical environment, permanent, temporary and natural, are the builders of material pre-choreography. In events, the movement of people is strategically designed according to a multitude of spatial and material arrangements: fences, signs, badges, program leaflets, and temporary constructions, such as stages, for various purposes. These set the background and guidance for social arrangements, such as security checks or listening to the performances of bands (e.g. Oakes & Warnaby, 2011). The temporality of events and their temporariness could also be read from the data as a strong pre-choreography guiding volunteer knowing. In this chapter I elaborate on these three pre-

choreographic dimensions in regards to the volunteer knowing created and in action in event co-creation. The pre-choreographies identifiable in the data are all intertwined in the event context, and affect each other, and by event context I understand the whole event co-creation process where the volunteers are involved. I begin with an analysis of social pre-choreographies, consider the material pre-choreographies and finally discuss the role of temporal pre-choreographies, but due to their intertwining nature the analysis does not move neatly from one to another but deals with the intersections of the three as it commences.

The training sessions are a major part in the *social pre-choreography* of the volunteering. Their structure is often very similar: pep-talks and spirit lifting speeches appraising the role of volunteers, videos or pictures from past events and introducing the event organisation. In the vignette above, the role and importance of volunteers is stressed by several speakers. It is emphasised in that particular vignette and in my other field diaries that the volunteers are irreplaceable. They are the lifeline of the festival and in the data they are also referred to through various metaphors relating to the parts and abilities of the body. Volunteers are described in the vignette as “the face of the organisation”. In the other data such expressions as “face”, “backbone”, “life blood” and “running the show” were also common. These expressions highlight the role of the volunteers as a “vital organ” for the event execution. Volunteers are constructed through the metaphors as an aesthetic arrangement and stable supporters that hold the event execution together, and also as an able body that takes care of things (see also Johansson, 2008). The discursive construction of desirable ways of being and doing in regards to the volunteers in the training session is a strong social pre-choreography.

Family metaphors are also common in volunteer recruitment and in the respective training sessions (see also Iso-Aho, 2011). In this vignette they are not expressed directly but are being constructed through the discourse of sport. These aim to create the feeling of togetherness and community. In addition to being part of the family, the ideal volunteer is decent (doesn't go to the pub when wearing the badge), active (grabs hold of things) and a good customer servant (follows the ‘customer is the king’ ideology) in the vignette presented. The metaphorical and actual expressions of what constructs a good

volunteer are very well in line with each other and they are also recognisable in the other field diaries for training events. The expression and emphasis on these matters depends on the nature of the event, however. As a comparison to the sport event, at a recurring festival the family metaphors may be more strongly present and the decency expected is created by explaining that police with a sniffer dog will be regularly patrolling in the festival area. Common themes expressed by an organisation to volunteers include feelings of importance and appreciation. The importance of the volunteers was brought up many times by various speakers in the vignette above.

As I was reading the vignette anew for the analysis, its negativity struck me. I have written similar stories from the volunteer training of other events, but they do not paint such negative picture. In the vignette my attitude often seems to be cynical and even demeaning towards the event organisation. In the other field diaries I have reported more on how the session progressed, and usually the sessions are very similar: motivation speeches and introducing the people in charge of each sector. It began to interest me that I had such negativity towards this particular training arrangement and content. The attitude relates to my own knower position as a repeat volunteer and events professional, and the irritation I began to feel when I realised that the content of the training was almost exactly the same as last time, and it did not fit the reality of volunteering, for example in regard to the team work, according to my previous personal experience. It made me feel uneasy with the position we were offered by the organisation. The strong focus on sport also made me feel unfit for the pre-choreography offered by the event organisation. The sporty lifestyle and belonging to the “family of sport” which were being stressed by the speakers make me feel something of an outsider in the group because my background is not in sports or sports club activity.

My role as a researcher also affected my judgement of the training content. Convincing us to be part of the community was done partially from the perspective of the economic wealth the event brings to the area. I specifically mention the economic benefits in the vignette. I make this comment from my position as a researcher who has been thinking critically about the impact studies of events that most commonly focus on the economic impacts. My remark about the video not showing any volunteers also relates to

my researcher position. From my position, the cues we were offered socially did not fit my ideas of the reality of volunteering. The role we were offered is quite festal compared to my experience and that seems to bother me. On the other hand, the documentary on the other volunteers in the data presents other volunteers attending the very same training. They seem excited and not showing same kind of feelings that I had towards the training content. The vignette on volunteer training paints a partial picture of how the social pre-choreography of an event begins to build. The training session is one of the social scenes that guides and affects volunteer knowing during the event. The purpose of training sessions is naturally to familiarise the volunteers with the event and provide them with sufficient understanding of the event and the tasks to mould their knowing of the event at hand. In addition to the training, the social pre-choreography of an event stretches from the acceptance message to volunteer after parties. Just as the audience recognises certain kinds of events that are culturally pre-choreographed, the pre-choreographies of events also become recognisable to the volunteers when they participate more often (see Parviainen 2011a; 2011b).

I arrive at the volunteer headquarters where the accreditation happens. I go to register myself, get my photograph taken and get the badge. I run into the producer who is the leader of our team and wait for her. While waiting, I observe the work of the accreditation team. When the phone rings, everyone reaches to answer it. One person tells the approaching customer that it's her first day at work and she therefore may not be the best person to give advice on the matter. The producer returns but disappears again to run more errands. She looks very busy, but in a good mood. I go outside the building to wait for her. While I'm standing in front of the building I notice two men watching me. Suddenly they approach me and ask about my role in the games. I tell them that I'm a volunteer and they ask if they could interview me for a newspaper. I agree and immediately begin to wonder what was said in the training about speaking to media representatives. I don't want to say anything negative and when asked about the worst case scenario for the games in my opinion, I try to answer in a very diplomatic manner.

I follow the producer to the Event Park while the newspaper photographer is taking pictures of me. It is raining. One of our team members is at the gate to

receive partners who are arriving to prepare their showcase tents in the area. She directs me to the tent where we've been asked to gather. I do not remember people's names yet. One of the security guards doubts that I will be able to approach the tent from behind the stages with my huge suitcase (I have come directly from the airport and have all my belongings for a week with me). I convince him that it will be fine. When I'm walking behind the main stage, I notice that the other members of our team are on the stage. Some are already wearing the volunteer outfits, some are in their regular clothes. I take my suitcase to one of the tents and climb along the ramp to the stage. On the stage the atmosphere is confused (as often at the beginning). The producer gives orders here and there while running other errands and answering calls at the same time. We wonder with the other team members what and how should be done. We are then ordered to move the pillars that act as a back drop in the medal ceremonies. They are big, heavy elements and we criticise the way they are moved among the team because we don't have proper equipment to do so and the stage floor is wet and slippery. Despite this, we lift them into the places shown to us. When we are not able to lift the biggest pillars, the producer comes to lift them herself to show us an example. It is raining heavily and some of us begin to dry the stage floor with cloths and mops. After the pillars have been moved and podiums for the winners put in place, we wait for instructions about what to do next. People seem to be cold and some are somewhat irritated. The others tell me that they made a tour of the area before my arrival.

We chit-chat among the members of our team. One of our team members works at events by profession and she evaluates the various arrangements continuously. I try to recall who is who from what I remember from our training event. The atmosphere is somewhat uncomfortable. People express their irritation about the uncertainty of our tasks. We don't know whether we could leave to go home or not when we begin to practice the medal ceremonies. New people wander to the stage. Then the leaders of the various teams involved call us together. Some people are given permission to go home and others who don't have any special reason to leave, stay to act as athletes etc. in the ceremony practice. We go to the Victory Ceremony tent next to the stage to hear the briefing by the Victory Ceremony Manager. I feel that it is quite inconsistent and wonder what will come of this. The air inside the tent is moist. The roles that our team members will play in the

Victory Ceremony are totally undefined. I get a running script from the producer and try to make sense of the situation based on it. We walk to the stage with the bigger group and work out the way of things together. The producer tells me at some point that my role in the victory ceremonies is quite marginal and it is; I send the group to the stage at the right time. The timing can be heard from the music that plays in the background of the ceremony. The Victory Ceremony Managers take care that the group sent to the stage is the right one. Together with the audio technical team and TV director we practice the stage choreography: who will stand where, when the group comes in etc. We also mark the places of people, pillars and podiums with tape on the stage once they have been approved by the TV crew. We have to do the practice ceremony over and over again since the timing and the visuals have to be precise for the TV production. The other stage manager advises me on where to stand.

This vignette depicts my arrival at the event described in the vignette on the training session. In the event context the various pre-choreographies, social, material and temporal, are intertwined. Often, for example in the festivals I've participated in, the training sessions are held just before the beginning of the actual event. At major one-time events such as that above the training might happen months in advance. The impact of temporal pre-choreography is visible in the second vignette. I begin to remember the training session on my arrival when the reporters approach me: I immediately think about the wanted presentation of volunteers, about what is allowed and what is not. The negative emotions felt and expressed about the "ideal volunteer" in the training session are not in effect any more, as time has passed and it is time for the actual volunteering. I've tapped into the event choreography and wish to act accordingly.

During the execution phase of the event the social pre-choreography is strongly linked to time and temporality. The preferred ways of being and doing, knowing, begin to be guided by the common action inside the team. The expectations of the organisation are in the background, and they're being recalled in common negotiation by the team from the volunteer materials, and thinking back to the training sessions. They set the backdrop for the common negotiation and doing. At the beginning of the event things are

being done in a bustling manner as shown in the vignette where the whole team tries to answer the same phone. The situation is often even somewhat chaotic and everyone wants to be of use. It depends on the time of arrival, but many times one just “jumps in” to the running of things as was the case in my arrival and joining a team already in action. This practice differs if it is an event one has volunteered for previously, since then it is easier to read the pre-choreography. In a one-time event there is often more wondering, which can also be seen in the vignette above in the action where the stage is being set. In addition to intensity there are also idle moments in the beginning which may cause frustration. As the event progresses ways of doing, and knowing together, build through actual practices and negotiation.

The common ways of doing things are usually found by observing the ways of others, adjusting to their doing and negotiating together, asking and suggesting ways and finding things out together. Gradually the doing begins to roll smoothly. In the recurring events where many members of the team come together, for example annually, the doing usually jumps to the rolling phase of things quite quickly. When the event is nearing the end, people’s tiredness often begins to show. This is not visible in the vignette, but it happened in the event in question as well. People begin to do their duties with less intensity and there is more joking and doing things without permission. The social pre-choreography becomes more permissive. In another field diary I write:

The atmosphere is quite weary. We are too tired to take our tasks too seriously. Instead, we laugh and joke about almost everything and everyone. We go to make rounds a couple of times and when doing that shout inappropriate comments to each other through walkie-talkies. We play solitaire and write silly things with an alphabet ruler for children.

In an event context the social pre-choreography presented by the formal event organisation is modified in the common doing of the volunteers. The pre-choreography of how to do, move and be together, to know, is also strongly connected to the temporality, the temporariness, of events (see also Johansson, 2008). Here I have addressed it with regard to the social aspects, but I will return to other aspects related to time at the end of this sub-chapter.

The *material pre-choreographies* are a strong guide of movement-related knowing in the event context. These materialities include, for example, the design of the event space, with permanent and temporary building structures, but also other material arrangements such as badges and volunteer outfits. The movement of people in events is different than it would be in the same place without the event. The preconditions of the movement are designed beforehand by the event organisation (cf. Urry & Larsen, 2011). This design more strongly concerns the audiences of the event, however, since it is the essential creator of the event atmosphere. The material pre-choreographies shape the ways of being and doing. The materiality is related directly to the “accepted volunteer body” through badges and outfits (see also Helgadóttir & Dashper, 2016). Badges and other material arrangements of the physical surroundings also shape the ways in which volunteering is performed. Many of the material arrangements of events are regulated by law. For example, the laws concerning safety in the audience areas regulate arrangements including the various structures, such as fences, and the width of the areas where a certain number of people have to be able to move in case of emergency. In the case of volunteers, however, the materiality relating to the “body arrangements” might be in contrast to the regulatory environment. The volunteer outfits are not often designed to account for physical tasks that are performed in the event context, for example, when heavy pillars were lifted in the vignette it was done with no proper equipment or clothing. This kind of physical work is not an exception in the field notes and one learns to take it into account in the material arrangements of one’s own habitus when encountering the a situation anew in various settings. Personally I always carry a pair of working gloves with me, try to wear shoes that protect my feet (if it is possible to choose your own shoes) and pay attention so that clothes and jewellery in general will not be easily stuck to anything.

Badges and outfits are material cues, according to the data, about how to be the right kind of a volunteer. The badges also show the social status of people by listing where the person wearing the badge is allowed to go. The badges reflect the power guiding and arranging people inside the organisation. They are the controlling element. In the vignette, the importance of badges is reflected in the fact that getting the badge is the first thing to do when ar-

riving at the event site. At major events badges almost always have a picture (which in most cases is quite horrible if taken on site) and they show a coding by colour and various letter or number combinations. Badges show the rank of the person, and they must be worn at all times to access the event site. Badges direct movement and they either give you access or restrict you from the more prestigious areas of the event. The badges that guide the entrance are an important part of the material pre-choreography of almost any bigger event. Other materialities such as fences and security guards are also at the heart of forming the physical setting in a usually temporary built event context.

Equally visible as the badges in the material pre-choreography of volunteering is the clothing. The situation in the vignette is exceptional in relation to this since usually I would go and collect my clothing after getting the badge. In this case I was wearing a different outfit from my peer volunteers, the outfit worn by me was in line with the outfits worn by the representatives of the company responsible for the event park production. This decision was made because it was thought by the production manager that the stage manager position needed authority which the standard sporting outfit worn by my peer volunteers does not give. In addition to choreographing the required volunteer body, the clothing choreographs the preferred movements of others, in this case by showing authority towards people entering the stage. The arrangement made me feel a bit uneasy with regard to others in the team because it made me stand out from the crowd and left me explaining why my appearance was different. The outfits of the volunteers materially choreograph the right kind of body for volunteering. The body of the volunteers is choreographed as part of the production by badges and perhaps “staff-printing” on the clothes, but at the same time aesthetically resembling the consumption practices being similar to what the audience wears, or more broadly the practices related to the content of the event, for example sport. It creates a volunteer body that represents production and consumption simultaneously.

The sports outfits at the major sports events are usually provided by an official clothing sponsor and it is stressed that they must be worn at all times, from caps to socks and shoes. They are often baggy and unattractive, however, and as the event commences and the social pre-choreography loosens people tend to fine-tune their outfits by wearing their own shoes or wearing jeans

with the top part of the outfit to make the outfit feel more personal. This is something I've done myself, and it was also visible in other data. Another very common outfit is "the T-shirt" which is typical at festivals. T-shirts are even advertised as a free gift for volunteers in various recruitment materials and they are something that is clearly visible in the data. The staff T-shirts in many cases imitate the official event or festival T-shirts sold but they have some kind of texture or colour based-marker that makes them stand out from those of the audience. These too were fine-tuned in some way during the event, for example by cutting off the sleeves. There is emotion attached to festival t-shirts. For example I have personally saved almost all mine even though I seldom wear them after the festivals.

The material pre-choreography of volunteers in relation to the design of the event context can often be surprising, or at least unplanned. In the audience areas there are clear plans for how the event experience is choreographed. The material setting is an important builder of the event experience and it is carefully designed in most cases (e.g. Lugosi, 2014). The laws and regulations mentioned before also closely guide the material pre-choreographing in the audience side of the context. As discussed above, the materialities encountered in the volunteering duties can be quite unexpected, such as the lifting of the pillars (see also Veijola et al., 2008, pp. 37-38). In the vignette I also describe the walking behind the stages where there is only a narrow alley. On my arrival there was no specific room for our belongings, I just left them in an empty tent. When the event begins and the tents begin to be used for the artists and victory ceremonies, we just kept our personal belongings under a cover in the main stage structure. That was also where our cleaning equipment was kept. Again, such an arrangement is not an exception when working behind the scenes in an event or a festival. The materialities of the places not designed for audiences are often not finished in their design, and things not meant to be seen by audiences are hidden there. Again the areas meant for artists or guests in these places are well designed. I've also experienced situations where a recurring event moves from one physical venue to another. This resulted in a totally different arrangement and atmosphere among the volunteer team and our tasks since the physical environment made the whole arrangement of our work change.

One of the strong pre-choreographies is the temporal nature of the events and specifically the temporariness (see Johansson, 2008). This results in different social and material arrangements that affect volunteer knowing. As in the vignettes where it is present, volunteering in events often requires temporary housing arrangements on the part of volunteers since the events are held in places other than a volunteer's hometown. My personal experiences are limited to school floor housing and living with friends and relatives but other volunteers also camped, which is quite common in the case of big festivals. I've written in one of my field diaries about the school floor housing:

I decide to sleep. There's no privacy in the classroom accommodation, so I just begin to change clothes in the middle of strangers. I "sleep" for ten hours. During the night I listen as people come and go, others toss and turn in their sleeping bags, voices and noises coming from the tent outside.

This socio-material pre-choreography gives direction to the openness as a way of behaving as a volunteer. One has to adjust to having no privacy of any kind for a week-long period of time.

Sleeping and living in the middle of strangers for a week is a material arrangement very much experienced through the body (see also Valtonen, Meriläinen, Laine, & Salmela-Leppänen, 2017). Such sociability is also required when living with friends and relatives and moving places all the time. In my case this was a personal solution to avoid the school floor housing. Again, if the event is held near home, in my personal experience as a mother and spouse, it is difficult to negotiate the temporal choreographies of the two worlds. This leads to considering the other strong temporal pre-choreography: the hectic nature of work due to the temporary nature of events. I've written in my notes: *My shift starts at 10 am and continues until 2 am. On Saturday I work from 2 pm to 4 am and on Sunday from 10 am to 2 am next morning.* The temporariness of events gives them an atmosphere of doing. The short duration requires things to be done fast and efficiently; in a flowing manner. This might result in long hours and in an attitude accepting that for a short time things are doable even with less sleep. Many events, however, especially those that last for a longer amount of time, recognise the importance of giving

volunteers free time to enjoy the event. I have encountered both practices, and for a shorter period of time it is quite enjoyable even to work long hours and be immersed in the event.

The pre-choreographies of the event context are a strong guide to event volunteer knowing. The volunteer's knowing in action, the doings and movement of the volunteer body, are controlled and shaped by them. In the event context the various pre-choreographies overlap and intertwine. They shape the volunteers' ways of being and doing. They also guide the effects of volunteers with regard to the event context. The pre-choreographies are usually intentionally planned by the organisers, such as training or event structures, however, the temporariness as a feature of events creates an influential pre-choreography for the action of volunteers that also affects other pre-choreographies. By engaging in the event context, embodied knowledge is gained regarding the nature of pre-choreographies. This knowing posits opportunities to adjust to them, and also shape them. In the next sub-chapter I move on to discuss what volunteer knowing is like in action, according to and despite, these pre-choreographies and the ways they are acted upon and shaped at the micro-level.

4.3 Doing-of-choreographies in making

As I'm standing in my place waiting for the Victory Ceremony to commence, I notice one of the winning athletes, standing opposite to me in the doorway to the stage, is shivering in the cold. The air is quite chilly and the doorway is the easiest path for the wind to get through the stage (stages always collect wind). The athletes have come directly from the stadium and their quite thin tracksuits over the tiny competition outfits do not offer much protection from the chill. I try to smile at her in an encouraging way and gesture supportively by hugging myself as if I was warming myself, seeing her discomfort. She smiles little forcedly back at me. At the same time, I'm beginning to feel worried for the organisation on the athletes are standing in the cold breeze, when there is another major competition approaching for them in a couple of weeks. It would be terrible if they caught cold because we had made them stand in a windy doorway. I'm wishing for the

ceremony to begin quickly because of her. After a while the music starts and the ceremony begins. I let the group up to the stage on the right beat and things roll on in order. After the ceremony I look up our supervisor and tell her that it would be good to get some blankets for the athletes to borrow at the doorway.

In this sub-chapter I turn to analyse the *micro-level of knowing*, the *doing-of-choreography*, and knowing in action in volunteering. The focus is on how knowing takes place in various spaces, through and between various bodies. In comparison to the other analysis chapters I do not begin this chapter with a lengthy vignette but rather present “glimpses” of various events and interpret the knowing in action that is in them and influenced by them. The relationship between pre-choreographies and the doing-of-choreography in event co-creation is well described by the following quotation: “It is the choreographer who composes, either creating movement to be performed or shaping movement that is elicited from the dancers. The line between dancer and choreographer is, to be sure, blurred. As dancers move, they bring new ideas to the choreographer and, in making real the choreographer’s movements that were previously in the mind or were worked out on the choreographer’s body, the choreographer sees what is actually possible as opposed to what is only, originally, conceptually possible.” (Blumenfeld-Jones, 2008, p. 177).

At a micro-level, knowing is used, gained and built as kinaesthetic and affective practice in and between the bodies of participants. I read the knowing in action through the notions of kinaesthesia (e.g. Parviainen & Aromaa, 2015) and affect (e.g. Ahmed, 2004). Through kinaesthetic and affective knowing, volunteers engage in and build the choreography of the event through their parts. Their knowing in action is a part of building and staging value for the event choreography (see Böhme, 2003, p. 72; in Chugh & Hancock, 2009, p. 466). This value builds similarly in action for both, the volunteer and the event context. The event choreography comes close to the concept of atmosphere and atmospherics (see e.g. Bille, Bjerregaard, & Sørensen, 2015), but it focuses on the notion of movement and aims to understand how the atmosphere that brings value to the experience of the participants, is partially built through it. As the citation by Blumenfeld-Jones (2008) at the start of the chapter suggests, knowing builds in action and

often the action must be improvised due to the temporary and unfinished nature of the event context.

In this sub-chapter I elaborate on how the doing-of-choreography is created and maintained through volunteer knowing. I also analyse how pre-choreographies can be altered from time to time. To access kinaesthetic knowing, I first describe the kinds of movements and movement that were readable from the data collected. Then I turn to analyse how movement in event space is sensed and how one becomes knowledgeable of it through the body, how it is embodied (e.g. Parviainen & Aromaa, 2015). The embodied knowing is adjusted to the temporary community in the common doing of things. It also acts as a basis for improvisation in the event context. The vignette at the beginning of this chapter represents such activity. I will return to it later in this sub-chapter. After analysing kinaesthetic knowing, I explain the affectivity of event choreographies, more specifically the role of affect in moving people in the event context (e.g. Barbour & Hitchmough, 2014). The volunteer knowing analysed in all parts of this sub-chapter takes shape in the intercorporeal and discursive practices of the volunteers and other participants.

When reading the field diaries and watching the videos I first took notice of what kind of movement was readable from them. Actual knowing through moving is well presented in my field notes and in the videos, which make visible various sorts of movement that differ concerning the position of volunteers. Even though movement varies depending on the volunteer position, performing some kind of movement is normative in the event context. It ranges from moving around the city with athletes as an attaché or making smaller movements in checking tickets using ticket readers. The ways of moving bring to the fore the knowing of the volunteers. In my own field notes from various events, and watching the videos, I found at least the following movements: lifting, sweeping, carrying, jumping (so as not to freeze but also in excitement), picking up rubbish, shaking hands, writing notes, arranging materials from papers to various stored objects, hugging, fastening various objects with duct tape or cable ties, shivering with cold, driving, walking, running, pulling carts, cleaning, guiding, speaking on the phone, sending messages with the phone, directing people, climbing ladders, using various

kinds of machines from ticket readers to ATVs to coffee machines, dancing, making beds, heating saunas with wood, washing dishes, using water hoses, making sandwiches, pouring drinks, stretching tired limbs. The movement is mostly planned and/or carried out with the other members of the team depending on the volunteer position, but because of the temporariness of the event context, many of the moves are improvised collectively or individually as things progress.

The moves and moving in doing-of-choreography are shaped and negotiated in collective action. In the temporary organisation of events this is done anew every time with the members of the volunteer team (see e.g. Johansson, 2008). Depending on the knowing of the volunteer team, the participants of the choreography, the construction of the common choreography may vary greatly even in the same event context. In regard to the co-volunteers ways of doing things develop in common movement (see Sub-Chapter 4.2). Beginning to do things together, observing and sensing the ways of others leads to the common doing-of-choreography. The range of co-volunteers in the events made the various knower positions we had visible (see e.g. Humberstone, 2004). Our backgrounds, reasons for volunteering and expectations of the event were various. My co-volunteers ranged from an eighteen-year-old high school student to the CEO of a company. The majority of my closest co-volunteers mentioned in the field notes were women. Most of the other volunteers were at least “youngish”, I was among the oldest in all the events in which I participated. My co-volunteers were in many cases passionate about the event content or atmosphere, and the volunteering offered them an opportunity to be a part of the event. For example they were committed fans of the bands or movie enthusiasts. In comparison, the reasons for volunteering for the sporting event seemed to be more varied and less directly linked to the event content. Often the reason for volunteering was to gain access to the event free of charge. In addition to negotiating the volunteering activities we had discussions about various films, bands and other event-related topics, as well as our personal lives and opinions.

Kinaesthetic knowing develops in relation to the material space, moving in it. The space is sensed through the moving body, not only as present but also through body memory. Former experiences and knowing are present in

the moment through the body and the event context is encountered with them (see Markuksela, 2013; Parviainen & Aromaa, 2015; Risner, 2000). In my field notes I've written:

We carry various objects all the time: mostly beer crates and other drinks and food in big plastic boxes, but also cleaning equipment, furniture, water buckets... We sweep tents, pick up trash and at the same time we greet the artists and engage in a relaxed manner in conversation with them if they wish. During the day my feet start to hurt and my back becomes sore. I try to find the best ways to lift heavy loads in order to save my joints. The weather is very chilly and in spite of the heavy lifting we are cold all the time. The physical work also makes me constantly hungry.

I can easily recall the feelings of moving in the event space described. When I read the vignette, I can recall walking back and forth between the dressing room tents and the storage tent, carrying various loads of things. I recall how my feet begin to feel while walking when they got tired. Or how it was a drag to try to pick up the rubbish with a sore body, and pausing movement, saying “knock, knock, is it ok to come in?” before entering the tents. The vignette describes my first year participating in a festival. Due to very cold weather and long hours, the body memory of that particular event is very vivid even after years. It has also acted as a reference point for many future events as how to be able to move in the choreography in a way to save one's body. The kinaesthetic feelings I've felt have guided my adaptation to other event contexts I've participated in since. Regarding the arrangement of the space next year in the same event I've written in my field notes:

Together with my co-volunteer we arrange our own recycling centre from trolleys and waste bags behind the last dressing room tent. There are own separate compartments for cardboard, bottles, cans and trash. We also keep a brush there and the next day we begin to use it as storage for the things belonging to riders. Remembering last year's arrangements I try to organise things in a manner that it is logical and physically easy to work.

As can be seen from the vignettes above, the understanding of the kinaesthetic field, the doing-of-choreography, also happens in relation to and with the others participating in it. Our own movement and doings are adjusted to the movement of other people: in the vignettes towards the artists or towards and together with co-volunteers, and also towards the audience when entering audience areas. The ways of moving vary greatly with regard to the dressing room tents being empty or if there are people inside them:

When there is a need to pass some information to the artists or greet them, I approach the dressing room tents quite carefully, trying to peek from a distance and hear whether somebody's in. I make the greeting or announcement clear and fast and after answering the possible questions, I leave. If the artists want to make longer conversation, I engage, but usually the bands just want to be left on their own. If I have to go inside for some reason, I try to sense how to behave, to be unnoticeable or to make conversation.

Usually the movement towards people inside has to be done in a subtle manner compared to the empty tents, where it is possible to just “own the space”, and do the tasks needed in an effective manner.

In addition to the various kinaesthetic fields at the backstage described in the vignette, event choreographies possess many different kinaesthetic fields (Parviainen, 2011a, p. 118). The audience areas are often easily “readable” because their movement is culturally habitual: there is a certain choreography in the festival or major sport event audience experience. In my field notes the kinaesthetic knowing of the choreographies of various events is present in various parts. The kinaesthetic field of audience areas is easy to read, because they are designed to evoke certain movements through the arrangement of material pre-choreographies giving cues for the social. The movement of slow paced audiences differs from the busy volunteers and other staff, however, it is important for a volunteer not to look too busy. During the performances of bands and competitions in sports events the movement of the audience becomes more energetic and enthusiastic. These give a certain rhythm to the choreography by making it lively and affective in comparison to slow paced

“empty moments”. In these occasions, if we were able to go and participate from time to time, the movements of volunteers would resemble the audience but again more gradually. It is the movement of production and consumption combined: being excited but keeping a staff appearance.

In comparison to the kinaesthetic fields of the audience areas, the non-audience areas are more messy processes, as described above. The same temporal pre-choreographies of performances, competitions or other programmes affects them, but in different ways. As in the audience areas, the movement is more intensive during action, the non-audience areas might even slow down during this time, but this depends naturally on the nature of the event and the position of the volunteer: certain areas are calmer when audience is caught up watching performances or competitions, however the media centres in sporting events, for example, are in their most hectic phase when the competitions are on. The habitual movement of the non-audience areas, the kinaesthetic field, is more in the making, being improvised according to guidance by people participating in it during the event (see Chapter 4.2; see also Yaklef & Essen, 2013). Weather conditions also affect kinaesthetic sensing and kinaesthetic fields in outdoor events. In my field notes rain, cold conditions and also very warm conditions stand out as affecting the ways people moved and did things inside the event.

Since the material pre-choreography is often a temporary construction, it almost always surprises those acting in it at some point of the event. The improvisation, which happens by interpreting the present through the past experiences of other events, and anticipating the forthcoming in the event space and beyond, makes one find solutions to unwanted or difficult situations. Solving these kind of incidents creates value for the volunteer experience and to the other members of the event choreography. This improvisation requires an understanding of the relations of various pre-choreographies of the event context, however, or it can easily co-destruct value (see Echeverri & Skálén, 2011). Such an incident is described in the field notes where we worried collectively as a team about too narrow a time frame for changing the stage setting between the various acts. We were concerned that after the last performer we would not have enough time to get the stage setting ready for the live broadcast afterwards. Since from our point-of-view there was a

possibility that the performer would begin the gig earlier, we convinced our supervisor to change the timing of the first performance. This led to it beginning at a different time than stated in the event programme and resulted in some of the audience missing the beginning of the performance. Because of our unsuccessful improvisation, the value for the audience was co-destructed, not purposefully but due to not-knowing. I recall feeling the ultimate embarrassment afterwards, because of such an amateur mistake as not considering the audience.

The co-destructive example above makes visible the temporal choreography, and how it is affected the wrong way with regard to the audience experience. The temporal choreography also sometimes results in “panic situations”, where things have to be taken care of in a very intensive context. This incident brings to the fore the affectivity of the knowing in movement. As Ahmed (2004) states, affects move us but they also attach us to certain people and places. As in the example above the collective worry about our schedule and ability to perform it, made us alter the temporal pre-choreography in unwanted ways because of not-knowing. In my field notes the variety of feelings and emotions was broad. They ranged from excitement and enthusiasm to frustration. I had expressed feelings of embarrassment, being unsure, feeling rewarded, pleasure and delight, relaxation, amusement, panic, busyness, and pride. These feelings are also a strong influence on movement inside event choreography.

Affective knowing and the affectivity of the event context make the volunteers move. As Thien (2005, p. 451) states: “affect is the how of emotion”, it is what the emotions make us do. Affects are sensed through embodiment and they can be psychological and social at the same time (Barbour & Hitchmough, 2014, p. 65). The emotional-bodily experience involves non-cognitive aspects, such as facial expressions, bodily changes, expressive behaviour and feelings and sharing them with the people who are physically present at the current moment. This is also why emotions begin to feel like “our experience” - not only mine, yours or theirs (Salmela, 2011, pp. 229-230). The vignette at beginning of the Sub-Chapter shows affective knowing in action in the event choreography. The shivering posture of an athlete caught my attention and made me feel compassionate for her, but at the same time

worried about the event organisation and reputation. This worry made me at uneasy, wishing time would move more quickly and at the same time using gestures to express sympathy towards the person. I was also beginning to think ahead, to improvise what we needed to do for the situation (e.g. Yaklef & Essen, 2013). Later I suggested to our supervisor that we buy blankets for athletes to borrow in the doorway.

The ways of doing things inside the team can also build through affect. In the field notes I described the organisation of our work in one event.

Sandwiches to dressing rooms are to be collected from the VIP catering. There are different people running the kitchen than last year and collaboration is really hard. It seems that the chefs were not informed about this organisation. They act really rudely towards us and we run into a quarrel constantly. Our team calls the kitchen a snake pit and we begin to compete over being the lucky one who doesn't have to visit it. The chefs' attitude continues during the event and everyone in our team is stressed about visiting the kitchen. It feels that this forms a sort of commonness between our team. We also make black humour of the situation.

The affectivity of the work organisation has a strong effect on our collective work in two ways: it prevents our movement inside the event context but also the brings the team together. In the vignette above, the collective affects of uncertainty and indignity towards the kitchen staff prevent us from wanting to perform our tasks with them. Somebody has to go to the kitchen area from time to time, but this act is always negotiated and done only when it's absolutely necessary. At the same time these same affects begin to form a team spirit between us, it is us against them. Through discussion and jokes about the awkward situation we build a common understanding and lighten the atmosphere surrounding the organisation.

On another occasion affective knowing made me improvise against the social pre-choreography of the event.

After one band has just finished their gig, I peek from the stage front to the festival area. A group of young women begins to shout to get my at-

attention. I walk over to them and they tell me that it is a hen party for one of them and it would make the day perfect, if she could get an autograph from her favourite artist. I promise I will go and ask, even though we are not supposed to do that. Because I know one of the band members, I decide to act against the rule. I also feel that the attitude of the band is quite relaxed and because of that I make the decision. I walk to the door of their dressing room and introduce the situation cautiously. Two of the band members agree to meet and greet the women and I go and tell the hen party entourage that they will be out shortly. The band members go to meet the party and the women get autographs and take pictures with them. I'm pleased with the arrangement.

Because of my own experiences of consumer affects as a fan, I felt strongly about the wish of the hen party crowd (see also Haanpää, 2016, p.100). I also interpreted that the members of the band as relaxed, so I felt comfortable approaching them. This improvised doing-of-choreography produces value for the members of the audience.

My own story, the stories collected and the videos present volunteering experiences on a rather positive note, they are biased towards glorifying volunteer knowing and the role, at least somewhat. Since my personal volunteer account counts for successful knowing in choreography, I wanted to challenge it with another story about not-knowing. The documentary in my data presents the story of a young volunteer who joins the volunteering team of a major sporting event. I engage with his story because it describes how the event co-creation process can turn into a destructive process for both the event and the volunteer. The young volunteer was in high school and in the documentary relates that he has applied to the games because of encouragement from his father about gaining international experience. He explains that he is excited to be in the international atmosphere and “maybe surprise the international media people by speaking German”. He has even quit his paid summer job for the event. In the scenes he is pictured travelling by tram to the event site and seems enthusiastic and positive, yet a little nervous and disoriented. He is shown walking in the empty stadium with other members of the team while their supervisor is explaining to them what kinds of things

will be located and where. Then the games begin and the volunteer is pictured leafing through the volunteer guide while going to work.

He is presented to the camera crew in the stadium by the supervisor who simultaneously tells one of the responsible camera men to “meet our youngest volunteer”. At the same time he lets the volunteer know that all the things have almost already been built and assembled yesterday. The atmosphere seems a little awkward since both the volunteer and the supervisor seem unsure about what should then be done. Yet the volunteer states “I’m keen to see how the media works here. I want to be part of this.” Next the volunteer is shown in a room with a copying machine making copies of signs. After this, he is shown sitting alone in a chair with a cap on and listening to music from his headphones. His posture seems closed; head held down and he is trying to avoid eye-contact. Then the documentary reports that after three days the volunteer had quit the games. He continues:

Like the first day, it was Monday, when I went there, the rest of the day was like I sat there three hours, like in there, in a sort of container and like in my office like I sat there for three hours doing nothing. Like, there was like nothing to do.” He is pictured in a café, meeting a friend, taking off his volunteer T-shirt and changing to his own clothes. His gestures are seemingly relieved. “Well, I guess it felt like... like I was maybe not forgotten, but it just wasn’t my thing. Somehow I’m so terribly relieved about it now. Or like, it is in the past now.

It can clearly be seen in the film that not-knowing is a very affective affair as well. Often, especially in one-off events, the duties and number of volunteers have to be estimated and sometimes there is not enough work for everyone. How the situation is handled depends on the knowing of the people representing the organisation but also the volunteers. In this vignette, the young volunteer seems to be enthusiastic, yet uncertain, but gradually loses interest and all confidence, when his enthusiasm is neither appreciated nor taken into account in the organisation. In the case of not-knowing the volunteer is not drawn into the choreography and he does not seem to have proper knowledge about how to improvise in his situation. In the video there

seems to be no one to know with either. This also shows how the fluency of movement counts as knowing in event choreography. Stillness, or not being able to move, is counted as irritating, or as not knowing (what to do) (cf. Rantala & Valtonen, 2014).

Our shift starts in the afternoon to move things to the right places and make everything ready. We have agreed with our supervisor that we'll meet near the information stand. People arrive one by one, we sit on the benches, not knowing what to do. Our supervisor is absent. At one point she comes to announce that she will be with us shortly. The atmosphere begins to tighten. People feel that they're here to be of use, but we are of no use since we have not been given any advice on what to do. We begin to discuss how frustrating it is just to sit and wait. In a while we are assigned a cleaning task, but there seems to be far too many of us for it. It feels like a collective blunder and feels frustrating, and after that there is again waiting and wondering.

Not-knowing is often a highly affective situation. The kinaesthetic arrangement of not moving, not being of use and/or not able to use one's knowing, often results in very strong collective affective states.

In this chapter I have discussed the doing-of-choreography. This level of knowing offers ways to understand the micro-practices in action in an event context. It shows how embodied knowing may be adjusted to choreographies by reading them through affective and kinaesthetic understanding. It also revealed how improvisation in the choreography through an understanding of the kinaesthetic fields may build value for various participants in the co-creational context. An improper understanding of the choreography may also co-destruct value within it. Next, I move on to the conclusions of this study.

5 Conclusions

5.1 Summary of the study

In this study I have examined volunteer knowing in event co-creation using autoethnographic methodology. To analyse this phenomenon, I have used the concept of choreography as a lens to understand the co-creation practice. The theoretical framework of the study arises from a discussion of co-creation in marketing studies and introduces the concept of choreography as an analytical framework to widen the understanding of a central concept associated with co-creation, knowledge. The concept of choreography, originating from the practice and study of dance, and adapted to cultural and performance studies, enables this approach. When elaborated through choreography, knowledge is understood as active doings performed through the body in relation to social context, materialities, space and time. This study is based on the author's multi-sited, longitudinal autoethnography involving numerous events and other data complementing the personal data. The analysis was performed over time, as movement between fieldwork, theoretical texts and data. It is based on asking questions of the data through conceptual close reading and using the multiple audiovisual data for memory work and affective elicitation.

The analysis performed constructs volunteer knowing as three level phenomenon, and in so doing highlights its multidimensional nature. The macro-level knowing of volunteers describes how event volunteer knowing is inhabited through, and draws from, movement between various life spheres and events. By writing out my personal event history I have demonstrated how knowing moves between various event contexts as embodied practices of production and consumption. I understand the reasons for using this knowing voluntarily in the co-creation processes through the concept of passion, a strong attachment towards some part of the event context. The longitudinal approach of the study casts light on how this attachment can change over time

during the life course of volunteers and how value for event context and the volunteer are built in various ways through this alteration. In the meso-level analysis of knowing I analysed the assumptions about volunteer knowing in an event context. These are the pre-choreographies guiding movement and knowing and they appear as material, social and temporal constructions in the event context. Volunteer knowing is adjusted to the pre-choreographies but it can also shape them. The third level of knowing, the micro-level, depicts knowing in action in specific event contexts. This knowing manifests as affective and kinaesthetic practice and often requires improvisation. I have also discussed how not-knowing manifests and affects the event choreography and the volunteer.

By investigating event co-creation as choreography and looking at it from the viewpoint of longitudinal volunteer knowing, this study constructs possibilities for understanding the concept of co-creation and the role of knowledge as a more holistic phenomenon than in previous studies, by investigating it as movement related to temporalities and spaces of various co-creational contexts. The knowing of volunteers is seen as a set of active doings formed in a co-created process in events but also as an embodied knowing which travels in and through the body between various event contexts. This novel reading of knowing in co-creation gives access to understanding the value created as a more multifaceted process than looking at the singular co-creative context. By examining the knowing of volunteers in the event context the study has aimed to contribute to the discussions of marketing research, event management studies and more specifically, to the event co-creation discussion.

5.2 Contributions of the study

Contributions to the study of co-creation in marketing

In this study I have introduced a novel concept, choreography, to the co-creation discussion in the field of marketing. The discussion of co-creation inside marketing is varied, as I have pointed out in introducing the conceptual framework of this study in Chapter 2. My aim in this study has been to contribute to the discussions of cultural marketing which I have defined in Chapter

2. By analysing volunteer knowing through the concept of choreography in the experiential context of events I have illustrated how knowing is based on various levels of movement. In choreography, movement is seen as a central concept with which to understand knowledge and knowing. Elaborating knowing through movement opens novel viewpoints to understanding it compared to former studies of co-creation. Through a three-levelled analysis I have demonstrated how knowing moves in different ways as an embodied experience in relation to spaces, places and time. In the co-creation discussion the temporal-spatial accounts tackling knowledge and the value it builds are largely missing (see Jaakkola et al., 2015, p. 196; cf. Woermann & Rokka, 2015). The macro-level analysis opens up the potential to review meanings and knowing that are embodied in various contexts and are being mobilised when building value in co-creation processes. The meso-level analysis is tied to a specific event context and elaborates on the boundary conditions affecting the creation of value in the process. At the micro-level I have analysed how the various ways of embodied knowing move in and make movement concerning the bodily participation of an actor in the co-creation process. The concept of choreography offers a holistic framework to contemplate the experiential co-creation process by reading the movement of knowing in relation to spaces, temporalities and places through embodiment.

Reading knowing through movement and as movement, opens up a new perspective on how learning takes place in the co-creation processes. In their first account of co-creation, Vargo and Lusch (2004) proposed that it is a mutual learning process. Through the concept of choreography I have explained how learning takes place as both a collective, movement-based process between the participants of individual co-creation contexts and in the movement of these participants from one context to another and in-between them. By so doing, this study also reveals how the notions of value, and learning about them, take place in a multitude of contexts. On the other hand, my study sheds light on the non-mutual learning in the value co-creation processes. The analysis of pre-choreographies and doing-of-choreographies gives access to the power relations in play in the process, and it also reveals how temporal, in this case especially the temporary, challenges can prevent or at least complicate the mutual learning suggested by Vargo and Lusch (2004).

The co-creation processes studied do not place same kinds of requirements on the learning of organisations in the process as they do on the learning of other actors. The analysis focusing on the pre-choreographies and not-knowing reveals how non-learning, as a strong affective experience in the co-creation process, can lead to the co-destruction of value.

In addition to introducing choreography and the notion of movement and problematising the concept of learning in co-creation discussion, the examination of the character of volunteers only limitedly dealt addressed in the co-creation discussion opens up knowledge and knowing in value creation in a novel way. The first research question of this study asked: How can volunteers be understood as co-creators moving between production and consumption? Rather than moving between, the cultural practices of production and consumption are intertwined in the embodiment of the character of volunteers (see Cova et al., 2015). In this study, I have shown how those practices are connected and simultaneously present in the co-creation process through the embodied knowing of the volunteer. The study of co-creation is still largely based on dichotomising conceptualisations. Even though the concept of co-creation is based on the idea that the roles of various actors blur, in their conceptualisations, the studies researching the phenomenon produce knowledge mainly based on dichotomies. The actors in co-creation are discussed as producers and consumers, and when the blurring roles are discussed, the conceptualisations describing them have their grounding in the dichotomised line of thinking, such as prosumers. The widening role of consumers has also been seen as consumption turning into work and interpreted as exploitation, based on Marxist theory. The characterisation of volunteers as working consumers might not be the most fertile way to think about their role in the co-creation processes, since it again maintains a dichotomy, the separation between work and free time. Cultural co-creation studies have especially explored the role of consumers, either as emancipation or exploitation; however, this study constructs knowing and value building through knowing, not as an either-or entity but rather as a both-and entity: the value built and gained in the co-creation processes as embodied knowing resides in the interfaces of the dichotomies and in between them.

The character of volunteers has been considered by Cova, Pace and Skálén (2015) in their recent study. They have pointed out that the volunteer as a character and the discussions theorising volunteering might offer novel viewpoints to understanding co-creation. They also stress that the character of volunteers opens possibilities to de-construct the dichotomised thinking inside the co-creation discussion. Through researching voluntary brand communities they propose the concept of compromise as a way of understanding consumer work rather than viewing it as exploitation or emancipation (Cova et al., 2015, pp. 18-19). This study continues to scrutinise this theme through the concept of passion (e.g. Gomart & Hennion, 1999) and volunteering done in an experiential context of events. When understanding the knowing of the volunteers as passion in the co-creation processes, drawing from the theories of moral economy rather than capitalist or Marxist explanations of the phenomenon might open a novel understanding of the value building of various actors in the process (see Belk, 2007; Elder-Vass, 2015). The context of events also posits an interesting platform from which to study co-creation since the volunteers are mostly able to obtain tangible benefits from their co-creative action in comparison to many other contexts of co-creation.

Contributions to event management studies

As I pointed out in the introduction chapter of this dissertation, studies of event volunteering have mainly been quantitative studies focusing on one specific event. Even though an exhaustive number of studies have been made on volunteer motivations, no unambiguous, definitive indicators exist to explain why volunteers decide to participate in events. This study opens up new ways of explaining volunteer participation in events. By researching the phenomenon of event volunteering from the point-of-view of a volunteer as an active agent, the study casts light on the value and meanings of volunteering in various life situations. This is made possible by using a longitudinal, qualitative method; namely affective autoethnography. The studies grounding in motivation theories has shown in several accounts that, for example, the motivations for younger volunteers to participate in events are more often egoistic compared to more mature volunteers (e.g. Barron & Rihova, 2013; Pesonen et al., 2016). The phenomenon might be grounded in existing soci-

etal trends, such as the rise of individualism, but as this study also points out, event volunteering is often an easy way to gain insights and skills in an event content. Despite the egoist premises, volunteering may act as a starting point for an affective relationship with an event that makes the volunteer return for more altruistic reasons.

Researching the phenomenon from the viewpoint of the volunteer also opens up the complexity surrounding retention. In motivation studies retention has been constructed as an issue that should be managed effectively. Grounded in a single event cases, motivation studies do not necessarily capture the various factors affecting retention in the ways that they unfold in the life of a volunteer. Volunteering retention involves other things than the actual events, it is connected to the life events of a volunteer and their social position, as this study reveals. A study engaging the viewpoint of a volunteer emphasises that even though a volunteer might not return to a certain event, they might volunteer in another. This kind of action is influenced, for example, by the experience of “fitting in” to the event. Choreography as a concept opens up ways to study volunteer knowledge past the individual point-of-view. Quantitative studies may tap into the individual as a unit of study, but in choreography knowing is conceptualised as beyond the individual, constructed as a shared process. The knowing constructed moves beyond a single event. It cannot be captured by studying a single case.

As pointed out in the literature review in Chapter 1, the study of volunteer management practices during event execution has been quite scarce. This relates to the second research question of this study: How do the pre-choreographies of events guide volunteer knowing? This study opens up perspectives on the management of volunteer experiences by revealing the pre-choreographies affecting volunteer action and knowing in the event context. By examining the pre-choreographies, it is possible to point out what kind of power relations are present in event organisation, as in the example dealing with the training session, and how the pre-choreographies affect the affective experience of volunteers in the event context. These happen through all the different aspects of pre-choreographies: social, material and temporal. Because the volunteers are bound to the event in many ways through affectivity, as pointed out in this study, the pre-choreographies and

their study should receive more attention. In this study this has been done from the point-of-view of the volunteers.

The character of the volunteer also opens up new possibilities for the event co-creation discussion to examine the building of value in the event context. The event co-creation discussion has largely followed the managerial co-creation discussions of marketing (cf. Rihova, 2013; Lugosi, 2014). By putting the volunteers under scrutiny and their role and knowing in events and the event co-creation discussion, it is possible to examine more widely the building of value in events, and the roles of the various actors. The role of volunteers in relation to building value in events is remarkable, as this study has pointed out.

Methodological contributions

The affective autoethnography posits a novel approach to researching event co-creation and volunteering experiences. There have been few autoethnographic accounts on events, but because of the challenges and the somewhat questionable status of the method, it has not been used often. The challenges of the method arise from writing an account that is evocative enough but does not turn into egotripping. I have reflected on the validity and reliability of this research in the previous sub-chapter. Affective autoethnography brings the emotions and emotional work of the researcher to work as the central tools of analysis. The methodological choice presents a novel way to read the volunteer knowing in the event context, giving answers to the third research question: How do volunteers know in events, through moving and affective bodies? In this study, affects and emotions were used to open up perspectives on forming meanings in relation to movement, time, places and spaces. The method not only points out what kinds of emotions the data posits but also uses them to read the data, evaluating the events in the data through the feelings they evoke in analysis and interpreting and reflecting on the relationships and reasons for them. By so doing, the meaning of emotions in the production of knowledge is brought to the fore. Affective autoethnography is a powerful method to provide novel understandings of knowing and its formation in co-creation and event studies.

Managerial implications

As stated at the beginning of this study the event volunteering management in the event context has not been prioritised in the literature. Often the management of volunteers is dealt with briefly in textbooks about the field and it has been largely based on traditional project management methods. The discrepancy between these methods and the reality of volunteering is also visible in this study, in the relationship between pre-choreographies and the actual doing-of-choreography of events. It was actually also the starting point of this study as described before. The use of volunteers is often justified not only by their monetary value to the event organisation but also by the atmosphere they create for the event. This atmosphere arises from the attachment of the volunteers to the event and the temporary community they form through the doing-of-choreography. The value for the volunteers is built through experiencing the event in a more intimate way.

Possibly the discrepancy between the pre-choreographies and the actual doing would be better tackled by “embracing the chaos” instead of using sanitised project management tools. By this I mean that the value for volunteers often builds in the surprises and intensities arising from the temporariness of events. Experiences of common doing, knowing and learning together, in an intensive atmosphere are the value that is built for the volunteer in the form of embodied knowing. Event organisations could focus more on the management of communities, emotion and uncertainty in an open-ended way that also leaves room for improvisation. The event management would also profit from a better understanding of how the pre-choreographies of events could be more open to embracing the knowing of volunteers from the doing-of-choreographies.

5.3 Evaluation of the study

This study has been longitudinal and evolved over the years, however, based on autoethnography, grounded in the researcher’s own experience, the research approach may raise questions and even suspicion about the validity and reliability of the research. How can a reliable account be constructed

from personal experiences? The purpose of autoethnography is not to reveal the personal *per se*, but to discuss wider societal issues through it. The lack of longitudinal volunteer studies has been widely recognised (see Smith, Baum, Holmes, & Lockstone-Binney, 2014). By reflecting on my own experience, I wish to cast light on the matter. Rather than claiming the account as generalisable, I realise it is highly positional and has its limitations. In the methods chapter I have written out my position as a researcher and made visible the terms of production that have guided the realisation of this research.

Dashper (2016, pp. 222-224) proposes that all the standard forms of the criteria of validity and reliability may not be applicable to autoethnography. This does not mean that these should be abandoned altogether but rather modified to adapt the form of the research account. There are ways to evaluate autoethnographic accounts. The evocativeness of the account is one of measures from which the account can be evaluated. In this account I construct volunteer knowing as part of the event choreography, with ‘being embodied’ meaning that it is constructed as intercorporeal, affective and kinaesthetic matter in the event context. My aim has been to cast light from the perspective of a repeat volunteer (enriching the account through a multitude of other accounts) on how one learns to know in events and how the knowing is built in practice. I have tried to create a vivid account that would describe the knowing as it has been lived from my perspective, through vignettes. The narrative flow and structure of this study were written according to the interpretation grounded on the theoretical premises (see Dashper, 2016, p. 223). After making the interpretation through the dialogue of empirical and theoretical texts I created the account so that it would illuminate the level of knowing analysed in each section. I have also “conversed” my personal account with other data that I thought represented the knowing discussed in each chapter well. The conversation partners from other data are used to illuminate certain knowing that I have encountered in the event contexts, but not experienced personally or are used to better illuminate similar experiences that I encountered.

A grounding in a post-structuralist approach, the method of autoethnography, including this account, does not aim to present a single ‘truth’ about the phenomenon it describes (see Dashper, 2016, p. 223). My aim has been

to narrate my emotions and bodily affects as I have experienced them. Believability of the account for the reader arises from the narration, which is concrete and detailed, painting the lived experience and the emotion. The method has given the opportunity to me to analyse the phenomenon through the notion of choreography. Evocative autoethnography prioritises the personal story as is the case in this account as well. The conceptualisation of choreography will still have to be further worked in future texts. The understanding on knowing inside choreography has been framed in this study through practice-based understanding on the concept in the marketing and organisation studies (e.g. Gherardi, 2000). The relation between practice theoretical thinking and choreography also remains to be discussed further. However, to understand affectivity and movement, the concept of choreography opens up fruitful methodological avenues to the study of marketing, where practice theoretical approaches have produced often somewhat technical-rational accounts on stable contexts (e.g. Echeverri & Skälén, 2011; see also Halkier, Katz-Gerro, & Martens, 2011).

Research ethics, especially representing others and self in the narrative, were discussed earlier in the research method section (Dashper, 2016, p.223). It drew my attention in the field notes that in many cases I was quite judgemental towards other people in the narrative. I did not notice this tone at first but as I read the account several times over various time periods, I became to notice it, and have tried to reflect on it thoroughly and thought carefully about my portrayal of other people in this account. It is also part of my analysis, as I reflect on my emotions about the pre-choreographies in the second analysis chapter. Finally, this account is not written to be a personal account as such, but aims to contribute to wider discussions in the fields of co-creation in marketing and event (management) studies.

5.4 Suggestions for further research

This autoethnographic account has opened up some new avenues for understanding co-creation and volunteer knowing. This sort of account has given access to a space and movement-based analysis of volunteer knowing,

and approached the affective forms of knowing. The character of volunteer may open up new ways to think about the dichotomised understanding of production and consumption for further research in the field of co-creation. For example the volunteers' embodiment of the characteristics of production and consumption, and how they intertwine in action, is a fruitful starting point to further examine this phenomenon. As Cova, Pace and Skälén (2015) have also suggested, the examination of volunteering may also shed light on the understanding of value inside the co-creation discussion. The further examination of events in an experiential co-creation context could also shed light on understanding the building of value in a context where the actors have at least in some parts immediate access to obtaining tangible benefits from their co-creation practices. Events also posit a fruitful empirical context to further explore the various temporalities surrounding the building of value. Considering the value creation and its basis in the concept of knowing, as I have stated previously, the concept of learning should receive more attention in the discussions of co-creation, at an empirical and theoretical level.

More longitudinal accounts of event (management) and volunteering, grounded in the viewpoint of volunteers rather than a single event, would be needed to leverage the understanding of volunteer experience and knowing. This also calls for an examination and evaluation of the research methods used. This autoethnography has, for its part, cast light on how the knowing of volunteers forms and moves. It simultaneously also posits a question about the methods that could be used to make such longitudinal, experiential accounts, since autoethnography is not always possible. In this study I have used video material on events to elicit atmospheres and emotions. In the future, event studies could also profit from a more extensive use of video-based methods, namely videography, in researching the experiential context (see Hietanen, Rokka, & Schouten, 2014). As stated in the methods section of this study, video as a form of representation has the power to portray the embodied experience. Video as a medium for academic presentation could also make the research more accessible to actors of the event management field. In this study I have not embraced the gender aspect of event choreographies at a deeper level than in a few coincidental notions, but based on the field work done, this is an issue that certainly needs more detailed attention.

Pimeys, kylmyys, kostean muovitelan haju. Suomalaisen kesätahtuman viimeiset tunnit. Vaikka ei sada, teltat ovat kosteita sisältä. Roudataan tavarat paikoilleen, lakaistaan ja noukitaan vielä viimeiset roskat, pyyhitään pöydät. Festarialue on hiljainen ja tyhjä. Vain muutamia järkkäreitä ja vastaavia liukkuu siellä täällä. Kädet tuntuvat nihkeiltä ja likaisilta. Yritetään löytää tavaroille paikat, vaikka teltassa ei oikein enää näekään mitään, kun siellä ei ole valoja. Paitsi nurkassa oleva olutjääkaapin valo valaisee vähän. Kylmyys tunkee sisään vaatteiden raoista ja jäykistää paikat. Jalat ovat pökkelöt ja särkevät kahdentoista tunnin kävelemisen jäljiltä. Paikat saadaan kuntoon, viimeisetkin vieraat poistuvat. Pääsee itsekin nukkumaan. Portilla vinkataan heipat järkkäreille, joita on vielä paikalla muutama ennen kuin jää pelkkä yövuoro valvomaan. Heitetään jotain väsynyttä läppää. Raskailla jaloilla lampsitaan bussille, taksille, pyörälle ja kohti majapaikkaa. Olo on nuutunut ja nenä vuotaa hiekkakentän pölyn takia. Fiilis on kuitenkin hyvä. Hieno päivä. Ja huomenna uudestaan.

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