EMOTION, MEMORY AND RE-COLLECTIVE VALUE: SHARED FESTIVAL EXPERIENCES

Abstract

Purpose
This study explores how emotionally rich collective experiences create lasting, shareable memories which influence future behaviours. In particular the role of others and of music in creating value through memories is considered using the concept of socially extended emotions.

Methodology
Over 250 narratives were gathered from festival attendees in the UK and Finland. Respondents completed a writing task detailing their most vivid memories, what made them memorable, their feelings at the time and as they remembered them, and how they shared them. The narratives were then analysed thematically.

Findings
Collective emotion continues to be co-created long after the experience through memory-sharing. The music listened to is woven through this extension of the experience but is, surprisingly, not a critical part of it. The sociality of the experience is remembered most and was key to the memories shared afterwards. The added value of gathering memorable moments, and being able to share them with others, is clearly evidenced.

Practical implications
The study highlights the importance of designing events to create collective emotional moments that form lasting memories. This emphasizes the role of post-experience marketing and customer relationship building to enhance the value that is created customer-to-customer via memory sharing.

Originality
Our research addresses the lack of literature exploring post-event experience journeys and the collective nature of these. It also deepens theoretical understanding of the role of time and sociality in the co-creation and extension of emotions and their value in hospitality consumption. A model is proposed to guide future research.

Co-creation; Consumer behaviour; Experience marketing; Music and memory

Introduction

This paper gathers attendees' most memorable festival moments in order to understand the consumption experience beyond the time and place of the event. It also examines the influence of these memories on attitudes and behavioural intention. As music plays a powerful role in memory creation and re-creation (Van Dijck, 2006) we also consider how music-triggered memories might create consumer cultures which influence future tourism and hospitality behaviours. The aim is to provide greater insights into the influences on future consumer decisions by exploring the formation of memories and the triggers for these thus addressing a distinct gap in the hospitality literature. Festivals are used as the context for the research due to the social nature of such experiences and the role of music within them. As many other tourism and hospitality experiences also use social engagement, emotional response and memory creation to appeal to customers, often with music as the backdrop (Magnini and Parker, 2009), we feel that the findings will apply more widely within the sector.

Despite the importance of music within many hospitality and tourism experiences, little research has been undertaken which goes much beyond soundscape design (Aili *et al.*, 2011; Tussyadiah,

2014) and event programming (e.g. Bowen and Daniels, 2005; Matheson, 2008). Exceptions to this are Waitt and Duffy's (2010) approach to the tourist as *listener* and Gibson and Connell's (2007) understanding of place as "sensuously experienced (constructed via a 'tourist ear')" (p 160). The lack of research which goes beyond the tourist gaze (Urry, 1990) is also succinctly highlighted in Edensor's (2018) editorial piece, *More-than-visual experiences in tourism,* in which he states "sensory intrusions [...] may be frightening and disturbing, but equally, may be welcomed as memorable, and narrated after the event as momentous" (p. 915).

Others have considered experience design as a creator of memorable moments albeit with little consideration of soundscape (e.g. Bharwani and Jauhari, 2013; Ek *et al.*, 2008; Tung and Ritchie, 2011). Furthermore, within such studies, assumptions tend to be made about what will be memorable as opposed to exploring what is actually remembered, or indeed imagined, in memory (Stadler *et al.*, 2018; Wood and Kenyon, 2018). This is perhaps surprising when others highlight the importance of memory in collective value creation and vibrant brand communities (Schau *et al.*, 2009) and of the lasting narratives created from tourism experiences (Arnould and Price, 1993; Tung and Ritchie, 2011). Collective narratives are often formed around music memories (Van Dijck, 2006) and this is likely to be more intense when the musical experience was shared, as happens in an event setting (Wood and Kenyon, 2018).

Manthiou *et al.* (2014), in one of the few empirical studies into festival memory, found a strong relationship between the creation of vivid memories during the experience, and subsequent loyalty. They conclude that "vividity of memory […] produces more stable and enduring attitudes and actions in relationship to the festival" (pp. 29-30). Other studies in tourism and hospitality also clearly associate future behavioural intention with memorable experience (Bigné and Andreu, 2004; Kim *et al.*, 2010; Sipe and Testa, 2018), travel companions (Choo and Petrick, 2015; Choo *et al.*, 2016) and other customers (Hyun and Han, 2015; Joe and Choi, 2019).

The purpose, therefore, of this large sample qualitative study, is to firstly better understand how hospitality experiences, defined succinctly by Lashley (2000) as centering around hosts and guests, create lasting memories that are shared with those who experienced it, and with other near and wider social circles. Secondly, we investigate the extent to which music plays a role in both creating memories and acting as a trigger for recollection. Thirdly, we explore how shared memories might go on to influence future consumption decisions. Festivals provide an ideal guest/host context in which to consider the role of music in relation to memory using the lens of consumer culture theory (Arnould and Thompson, 2005). We draw upon the 'extended emotions' work of Krueger (2014a, 2014b) as a starting point for exploring the link between music, shared emotional memories, and consumer behaviour. This remains an under-researched aspect of hospitality scholarship despite several calls for further research into this and related areas (Braasch, 2008; Pearce and Packer, 2013; Stadler *et al.*, 2018).

Literature review
Consumer culture theory (CCT) can be seen as a set of theoretical questions, which underpin several key areas of hospitality consumption. These are "consumers' personal and collective identities; the cultures created and embodied in the lived worlds of consumers; underlying experiences, processes and structures; and the nature and dynamics of the sociological categories through and across which these consumer culture dynamics are enacted and inflected" (Arnould and Thompson, 2005, p. 870). CCT provides an alternative emphasis to the largely positivist psychology-led focus found within much consumer behaviour research. It is particularly appropriate within hospitality and event studies as it acknowledges the collective experience, the cultural settings and the effect of such consumption experiences on self and group identity. In encompassing theories from a range of disciplines, CCT provides a highly appropriate philosophical approach to considering collective emotional memories elicited through music consumption culture and also sits well with our application of extended emotion theory (Krueger and Szanto, 2016), discussed further in the next section.

As we discuss collective experience, it is germane to include the concept of consumer co-creation (Chathoth *et al.*, 2016; Prebensen *et al.*, 2013). Despite its prevalence within marketing scholarship, Carú and Cova (2015) suggest that the co-creation of *collective* experience has been neglected in the services literature including the tourism and hospitality sectors. Co-creation, from a marketing perspective, has tended to focus on organisations 'creating' with customers. However, in services, and especially hospitality, co-creation of experiences also happens between customer and customer and between guest and host (Choo and Petrick, 2015; Huang and Hsu, 2010; Hyun and Han, 2015; Kandampully *et al.*, 2018; Miao *et al.*, 2011; Rihova *et al.*, 2015; Wei *et al.*, 2017). This co-creation starts before the experience, in the anticipation and planning, continues during the experience, and is extended afterwards in the co-creation of collective, or at least shared, memories (Arnould and Price, 1993; Wood and Moss, 2014). This shared creation of value is an important aspect of the lived world of the consumer, as Rihova *et al.* (2015) argue, value is "socially constructed and embedded in tourists' social practices" (p. 356).

Shared emotions
Although emotions can be shared through expressions via face, body or words, the sharing can also take place without physical proximity (Del Vicario *et al.*, 2016). This implies that although a collective experience is likely to stimulate emotional contagion (Scherer and Coutinho, 2013) greater social meaning is created afterwards, in memory, where truly shared emotions are formed (Morgan and Xu, 2009).

Krueger and Szanto (2016) describe such *emotions* as being "socially extended and shared by multiple agents" (p. 863). This social extension includes extended emotions at both an interpersonal level, among friends or partners, and also at a group- or sociocultural level. Here, for instance, a group membership influences emotional feedback or a collective experience evokes collective emotions. Krueger and Szanto (2016) argue that emotions can be extended both socially and by material culture. It is this second category which incorporates music as a *scaffolder* of emotion (see also Krueger, 2014c) and the first which relates to group or socio-cultural processes. Bringing these together helps us to understand the importance of music in shared emotion memories and in consumer culture.

Music festivals are designed to be pleasurable, enjoyable experiences and exist to create a collective emotive experience where contagion, empathy and we-mode emotions can occur. Having an audience means that there is always an inherent 'collective' (cf. Kozinets, 2002). Being part of a crowd, doing and hearing the same things as many other people, creates both physical proximity and synchrony and through this, the co-creation of added value (Rihova *et al.*, 2019). The two key aspects of music festival consumption in this context are collective experience and emotion rich experience, elements shared by the majority of hospitality experiences (Choo and Petrick, 2015; Huang and Hsu, 2010; Hyun and Han, 2015; Shaw *et al.*, 2008). Páez *et al.* (2015) provide a useful summary of *the collective gathering* experience from a socio-psychological, rather than event studies, perspective highlighting these elements as bringing about social and personal transformation.

Based on Krueger's (Krueger, 2014a, 2014b; Krueger and Szanto, 2016) body of work we propose that a collective experience creates a "shared attentional framework", for example, watching a performer at a festival, and this co-regulates "individual emotional response" and acts as "external scaffolding expanding the complexity and character" of individual experience (Krueger and Szanto, 2016, p. 870). Members of the audience provide regulatory input enabling the individual to "access qualitative features of musical experience that are otherwise inaccessible" (Krueger, 2014b, p. 550). This again illustrates the co-creation of value beyond the individual experience and an extension of the emotions felt (Cochrane, 2009).

Extended emotion is therefore noticeably different from emotional contagion in that it incorporates a far more meaningful integration of emotion between individuals. Zahavi (2015) argues that emotional contagion (Hatfield *et al.*, 2014) cannot be considered a shared emotion since

the emotion is transferred to you, not collectively shared or experienced. Emotional sharing, on the other hand, includes: (1) the plurality of subjects, (2) integrated experiences, (3) reciprocal awareness, (4) the sense of togetherness, (5) joint attention, (6) interacting and engaging with others and (7) shared concerns and values (Zahavi, 2015). In order to be truly shared, the emotion is *extended* between self and others and to and from material culture, such as music (Krueger and Szanto, 2016). Material culture refers to the objects, resources, and spaces used to define our culture (Jones, 2007). Music therefore can be classified as such in that it includes "the material substances of which music might be constituted" as well as "the material supports which enable music to assume its social and cultural existence" (Straw, 2013, p. 229).

Krueger and Szanto (2016) call for further research based on this philosophical approach to emotions. They call in particular for work that discusses the hitherto understudied role of cultural artefacts in scaffolding emotions, such as individual and shared narratives and memory sharing. Music festivals can be viewed as one such cultural artefact and therefore provide an appropriate context in which to study these phenomena.

As Wood (2019) emphasizes, these collective experiences and the resulting shared memories strongly influence attitudes and behavioural intention. Several studies within tourism and hospitality have explored how attitudes are reinforced or changed through the sharing of emotional memories post-trip (e.g. McCabe and Foster, 2006; Tung and Ritchie, 2011). As we would expect, sharing positive memories has a positive effect on the post-trip evaluations of sharer and receiver, but even the sharing of more negative memories leads to more positive evaluations overall (Kim and Fesenmaier, 2017; Prayag *et al.*, 2017)

To summarise this section, the effect of collective emotion lasts beyond the experience, extending the emotions further through time (Páez *et al.*, 2015; Fairley *et al.*, 2018). This suggests that emotions become stronger due to the sharing of experience (Rimé, 2007). These are scaffolded through material culture (Krueger and Szanto, 2016) and, the music heard or the performance experienced, is instilled with an emotional significance or 'mana' (Durkheim, 1912). The result is socially and temporally extended emotions, strengthened and further extended through the 'propagation flow' of sharing memories with others afterwards (Rimé, 2007). The value found in a hospitality experience, therefore, has the potential to be added to long after the experience has happened through this memory co-creation.

The role of music in shared memory and extended emotions
Here we focus on music festivals, although many hospitality experiences also involve hearing music. For example, music might be foregrounded as the main attraction (for example, attending a cultural performance; listening to a busker; joining locals in a karaoke session), or in the background as soundtrack (for example, the restaurant pianist; the hotel lobby music; the church bells; the spa relaxation track). Although there is a growing body of research which explores music tourism (e.g. Cohen, 2005; Connell and Gibson, 2003) there is still little that considers the sharing of music and its propensity to create lasting emotional memories of a place and time (Edensor, 2018; Lashua *et al.*, 2014).

Krueger (2014a, 2014b) argues that music is an external resource, used both in emotion control and in emotion expression, and that this is most often observed when listening together (see also DeNora, 1999). Emotions can become collective through *affect attunement* (Volgsten and Pripp, 2016), and collective (or at least entrained) expressions of emotions generated by the rhythm of the music and *affective and physical movement synchrony* (Krueger, 2014a, 2014b; Saarikallio, 2010). This desire for affect attunement is an important motivator within many types of tourism (Waitt and Duffy, 2010; Woosnam, 2011) and is exemplified by festival attendance where a sense of belonging and escape is created through feeling at one with the crowd, dancing, cheering, singing, and suffering together. This 'noisy' joint attention intensifies the emotions as the audience uses "the music to mutually determine their emotional states" (Cochrane, 2009, p. 72) and, "although their

intrinsic emotional states are not shared, joint attention to music defines a plural subject, which listens and responds to the music as a group" (p. 73; emphasis original).

Music-based memory is undoubtedly an emotional investment in that "music can evoke memories of youth and act as a reminder of earlier freedoms, attitudes, events" (Connell and Gibson, 2003, p. 223). In particular, "its emotive power [...] serves to intensify feelings of nostalgia, regret or reminiscence'' (ibid, p. 223). In this way music supports the construction of "a cognitive framework through which (collectively) constructed meanings are transposed onto individual memory, resulting in an intricate mixture of recall and imagination, of recollections intermingled with extrapolations and myth" (Van Dijck, 2006, p. 363). This creates collective, (re)collection rather than reconstruction, of emotion which, regardless of accuracy, is likely to have a powerful effect on attitudes and behavioural intention. In fact it is the element of 'myth', or at least lack of veracity, that makes such memories powerful in that they are co-created, often through music, to strengthen existing attitudes and reaffirm group identity and attitudes (Berger and Heath, 2007; Davis, 2017).

In order to truly create shared emotions, at the time or in memory, there needs to be a bidirectional engagement with *material culture* (Kersten, 2014). Merely listening to, rather than producing, music could be viewed as uni-directional, however, as music is *material culture* then how and what we choose to listen to creates a manipulation of that *material*. Bi-directional engagement can therefore be seen in that mood affects the music we listen to and the music we listen to affects mood (DeNora, 1999; Krueger, 2014a, 2014b). Although the scope for music choice is limited where it is foregrounded as part of the experience, such as a music festival, flamenco performance or Ibizan club, the manipulation becomes key in the memory of it. For example, this manipulation might take place in selecting certain tracks that take us back to the festival, that recreate the mood at the festival, that help us feel belonging, once more, with the festival crowd or the performers . Therefore, in memory, musical feedback loops are created which extend emotions through time and through others (Krueger and Szanto, 2016).

Music thus serves as an affective mediator which can extend affect attunement across generations and continents (Volgsten and Pripp, 2016). The sound becomes a signifier of our individual and collective identities and one that we cherish as if the music were an irreducible part of our utmost selves (Davis, 2017). Perhaps, counterintuitively, this feeling of collective identity can become most apparent when listening alone. In this solitary activity we feel a strong sense of being at one with others as we believe that others feel the same way about the music. Additionally the music we choose to listen to when alone often triggers memories of collective experience creating, strived for, extended emotions (Krueger, 2014a).

Theoretical framework
In summarising the theoretical viewpoints discussed here we propose a model which illustrates the process through which collective experiences create socially-extended emotions in memory (Figure 1). The model draws heavily on Krueger's conceptualisation of extended emotions in relation to material culture but develops this through our assumptions, based upon the existing literature, that emotions are further extended in time and across social groups via memory sharing. This process is enhanced by music which can connect past experience to the present and thus creates a further shared experience and additional value in memory (Berger and Heath, 2007).

The model begins with the *shared attentional framework* (Krueger and Szanto, 2016; Zahavi, 2015) created by the festival environment but then focuses on the soundscape of this environment as a driver of *social attunement* (Davis, 2017). Social attunement reflects the desire to feel the same as others and the recognition that emotions are socially created (Parkinson, 1996). This collective listening experience emphasizes the music attended to as *material culture* (Krueger and Szanto, 2016). This creates a *scaffold* (or base) on which to build extended emotions, develop feelings of belonging and, to form shared attitudes (Krueger and Szanto, 2016; Berger and Heath, 2007). Music then becomes both the trigger for remembering the emotions felt due to the event experience and a heuristic for shared emotions (Davis, 2017; Volgsten and Pripp, 2016).

In the resulting memory narratives, we argue that collective emotion becomes the more meaningful, s*ocially extended emotion* reaching beyond the attendees to wider social groups. This creates social bonds around the music which in turn re-propagates *we-mode* emotional attunement (Volgsten and Pripp, 2016) and continues to co-create value (Rihova *et* al., 2019; Chathoth *et al.*, 2016). This results in the formation, reaffirmation, revision and proliferation of affective attitudes which then have a direct impact on behavioural intention (Bigné and Andreu, 2004; Kim *et al*., 2010; Sipe and Testa, 2018).

We present this theoretical framework as overlapping circles of increasing diameter to illustrate the connections between each aspect and, what we assume to be, a strengthening of effect as emotions are extended and shared. This ripple effect is where the, hitherto overlooked, value of such social experiences increases and where the greatest influence on attitudes and revisit intention is likely to lie. Music threads through the circles as a creator of memories and a prompt for remembering.

[Insert Figure 1 here]

Figure 1. Festival experience and socially extended emotional memory

The model is intended to begin to address current gaps in the hospitality and tourism literature pertaining to the sharing of emotion rich memories and the role of music within this. There has been little research to date that has addressed this connection between post-experience memory sharing, music as stimuli, and behavioral intention, despite several calls for further studies in these areas (Braasch, 2008; Magnini and Parker, 2009; Urry, 1990; Waitt and Duffy, 2010).

Research setting
The study takes a qualitative approach since the research on the combination of extended emotion, memory and music festival experience is scarce and lacks an accepted theoretical base. A theory creation viewpoint can best be employed with a qualitative narrative approach that aids in understanding the complexities of the studied concepts (Stadler *et al.*, 2018).

Context: Music festival attendees in two countries
Music is an important factor within the study as previous studies have shown this to be an important source of emotions and long-lasting memories (Cochrane, 2009; DeNora, 1999, 2013; Krueger, 2014a, 2014b; Saarikallio, 2010; Volgsten and Pripp, 2016). Music festivals were chosen as research objects since they offer a 'noisy' (Cochrane, 2009) music consumption environment where the aspects and demonstrations of communality are stronger than in traditional concert settings (Ronström *et al.*, 2001), thus providing favourable preconditions for potential extended emotions.

Two differing locations, the United Kingdom and Finland, were selected for the study in order to capture the varied nature of remembered emotional experiences of music festivals in each. The UK has a relatively large population (66 million) and a long history of music festival tourism, estimated to be worth £2,458m in 2018 (Mintel, 2018) whereas Finland has a small population (5.5 million) and a flourishing but less well established festival industry. The UK had 12.5m music festival tourists in 2016 (up from 10.4 in 2015) (UK Music, 2019) and remains Europe's leading destination on the rock music festival scene. Reflecting the less recognised status of music festivals in Finland, there are no official statistics in terms of the number of festivals, ticket sales or attendance figures (OKM, 2016). The total number of visits to ten large popular music festivals was 0.6m in 2018 (Kinnunen *et al.*, 2019) but the overall attendance is higher as the total number of summer rock festivals in Finland is close to 200 (Kinnunen, 2016). The different stages of development of the festival industries, traditions and cultures provide a contrast in the selected geographic regions which may affect the nature of what is remembered and how this affects future attitudes and behaviour.

The dual-location sample therefore provides a broader range of memories from differing demographics and, more importantly, differing types and frequencies of festival visit. This ensured we captured experiences that were more recent as well as those from longer ago, that we had respondents who had a one-time only experience and those that had repeatedly attended and, that we included those that had stayed in their home country and those that had travelled to festivals in other countries. Selecting the two contrasting regions thus enhances the variety of resulting narratives and the potential to generalise from any commonalities discovered.

Sampling: Two data sets combined

The population of the study are music festival attendees in the UK and Finland. The Finnish data set was collected first, in October - November, 2017, making use of a larger sample that consisted of 7,797 respondents of the 2016 Finnish Festival Barometer, a biennial audience survey of large popular music festivals. Two hundred participants were randomly selected for the study from 676 Festival Barometer respondents who had left their contact information for writing tasks concerning festivals. The subsample represented the gender proportion and festival attendance frequency of all the respondents of the 2016 Festival Barometer. Fifty four answers were received (response rate 27%) forming the Finnish data set. There were 34 (63%) females and 20 (37%) males with the average age of 32.9 years.

The UK data set was collected in April - June, 2018. An invitation to take part was sent to a database of 8,000 festival goers who had previously voted in the UK Festival Awards. Of the 210 resulting respondents 123 (58.5%) were female, 83 (39.5%) male, and 4 (2%) were non specified gender, preferred not to say or other. The average age was 44.7 years.

The UK and Finnish data sets consist of people who are interested in and have attended festivals and are willing to contribute to academic research with no incentives offered for participation. The respondents were not asked for memories of any specific, pre-defined music festival but were free to select any festival reminiscence they were willing to share. Hence, there were descriptions of music festival attendances in other European countries, particularly among Finnish responses.

Research instrument: Web-based survey

Music festival memories were collected through web-based open question surveys distributed via email. Answers were typed in by the respondents and unlimited space provided for each question, resulting in rich qualitative data.

The survey questions were:

- Please tell us about your most vivid festival memory.
- What is it that makes it so memorable?
- Why do you enjoy sharing that festival memory? Who do you share it with, and why them?
- How does it make you feel when you remember it?

Even though the respondents were music festival attendees, questions which related music to the experience and the memories of it were deliberately not included. The aim was to discover to what extent this narrative naturally emerged in the memories shared with us. Similarly the final question aimed to gather attitude and behavioural intention changes related to the memory without asking this in a leading or overly prescriptive manner.

The survey method was chosen pragmatically in order to collect data from a relatively wide geographical area across both countries, to access a large number of respondents and do this efficiently at a low cost. It also enabled the gathering of respondents' own words. The Finnish answers were translated into English by a professional translator in order to retain the original nuances. This resulted in a total of 264 stories across the two countries with each respondent writing an average of 104 English words (27,571 words in total).

Analysis: Thematic analysis

The narratives collected from the two geographic regions had a series of similar meanings (Hall, 1997) and repetitive representations of memorable episodes in music festivals. They were analysed using thematic analysis where each theme "captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of *patterned* response or meaning within the data set" (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 82, emphasis original). The rationale for choosing thematic analysis was its flexibility for abductive analysis as well as its potential to summarise and highlight both similarities and differences (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

In the analysis, the data-driven initial coding was done in atlas.ti (Friese, 2014). The codes were then grouped and reorganised to central themes in various iteration rounds, applying the developed theoretical model (Figure 1). The UK and Finnish data sets were kept separate but analysed using the same principles. In the section *Findings and discussion*, the identified themes are discussed along with the quantification (number of occurrences within the data sets) in order to demonstrate the repetition of the theme.

Validity and researcher bias
For the research quality evaluation, descriptive, interpretative and theoretical validity are used representing description, interpretation and explanation of the studied phenomenon (Burke Johnson, 1997; Maxwell, 1992). Descriptive validity (Maxwell 1992), was ensured by allowing the respondents to use their own words. The main risk to descriptive validity was collecting part of the data in Finnish whereas the research was conducted in English. The Finnish participants were informed that the study was being written in English and, consequently, some of them wanted to write their answers directly in English. To ensure descriptive validity, the answers written in Finnish were translated by a professional translator, without any influence from the researchers.

"Accurately portraying the *meaning* attached by participants" (Burke Johnson, 1997, p. 285, emphasis original), interpretative validity, requires deeper emic knowledge of music festival participation since festival participants' perspectives were being represented. However, we also recognise that participants' meanings "are always *constructed* by the researcher(s)" (Maxwell, 1992, p. 290, emphasis original). In our case, both authors are highly familiar with the festival format, context and behaviours. This familiarity facilitated the interpretation of research participants' narratives.

Theoretical validity requires "a theoretical explanation developed from a research study" that fits the data (Burke Johnson, 1997, p. 286). In the study, the proposed theoretical model was grounded in literature and then revised based on the research data. External validity, or generalisability, is a subconcept of theoretical validity since typically generalisable theoretical explanations are searched for (Burke Johnson, 1997). Even though the construction of the Finnish sample involved some random selection, the study consists of self-selecting respondents (ie a convenience sample), and hence, from a statistical point of view, the results are not generalisable. In undertaking the analysis we recognise the potential for researcher bias and sought to address this as detailed above and through the use of inter-rater reliability in the coding of the data (Armstrong *et al.*, 1997). This was initially undertaken independently by each researcher and then, through comparison and discussion, the emerging themes were agreed. The central themes were compared to the initial literature-driven conceptual model. The empirical data confirmed aspects of this model but new themes and differing connections emerged. A revised model based on the findings and incorporating the previous theories was therefore developed and is discussed as part of the conclusions.

Findings and discussion
Narratives on Finnish and UK music festival memories were overwhelmingly alike. This indicates that the sociocultural context and code of conduct in music festivals within these two countries seem to be quite similar. The only major difference found in the stories is that personal emotions are present more often in the Finnish narratives (67%) than in the UK ones (39%) but the theme was found in both.

The main subjects in the narratives were family and friends, other members of the audience and the music. The themes around these subjects were *communitas, shared emotions, personal emotions, sharing memories* and *transformation* (Table 1). These are discussed within the framework of the proposed conceptual model (Figure 1) where appropriate. However, some of the expected themes were not supported by the data and new themes also emerged.

Table 1. Themes

[Insert Table 1 here]

The Festival - shared attentional framework

> All our inhibitions have been left at the camp entrance, we are all equal, there is no discrimination, everyone just wants to have fun! (UK: female, 38 years)

As illustrated in the above quote, the shared attentional framework (the festival) is present in the theme of communitas (*N*=86). The festival gate acts as the threshold to the liminoid zone (Getz, 2007; Van Gennep, 1965) which includes festival communitas (Turner, 1995). The theme of communitas relates to being inside the festival community, feeling carefree without inhibitions, experiencing the out of the ordinary, and forgetting the everyday world. The festival *community* consists of like-minded people, at least in relation to the festival, who when within the community are considerate to and take care of each other - or as a 30-year-old Finnish female puts it: "This is my world and my gang".

The narratives fit well with McMillan and Chavis's (1986) definition of a sense of community containing the elements of membership, influence, integration and fulfilment of needs, and, particularly, shared emotional connection (see also Peterson *et al.*, 2008). This is exemplified in expressions such as "I felt a sense of belonging to something larger than myself and something wonderful" (UK: male, 56 years). This in-the-moment feeling of togetherness, expressed cognitively, echoes Drury and Reicher's (2009) model of crowd behaviour and contains the seven elements described by Zahavi (2015) as being necessary for true emotional sharing.

Even though the "accepted values and norms do not need to apply in the festival environment" (UK: male, 53 years), a special code of conduct is followed at the festival as though in a rite of incorporation (Davis, 2017; Turner, 1995). In this liminoid zone the expectations are to have fun with other participants, be friendly and be in a good mood, regardless of bad weather, illness or poor sanitation (cf. Gao and Kerstetter, 2018). Some festival goers describe how even though they went alone they did not feel lonely since, inside the festival community, people made friends and took strangers into their group. This is exemplified in narratives from the UK and Finland: "I had gone by myself but did not feel alone" (UK: female, 56 years) and "I was there alone and didn't meet any friends, but I didn't feel at all lonely" (FI: female, 45 years).

Inside the theme of communitas, a shared attentional framework, festival, is created but, at this point, music is present only as a common interest for the audience or collective commitment (Salmela, 2012) that nurtures the sense of community and a feeling of being part of something larger.

Music as material culture - social attunement

> The groove got people so enthralled that even guests who had been sitting prettily on long planks of wood got up and stood on them. People got so caught up in the rhythm that the planks started to bend under their weight and they were all rocking in sync. (FI: female, 43 years)

Music as material culture is apparent in the themes of both personal and shared emotions (*N*=118 and *N*=43 respectively). Within *personal emotions*, there are narratives which highlight the deep emotions and memories that are attached to the music listened to at the festival. For example,

"listening to Athlete in the light summer rain at Bridge Bash festival at Stanford Bridge – goosebumps as they play 'Wires'" (UK: male, 47 years), and as identified in many other studies (e.g. DeNora, 1999; Krueger, 2014d; Van Dijck, 2006).

The theme of *shared emotions* develops around the collective commitment to music, and sharing emotions intensifies the overall enjoyment. Particular musical performances generate a communal feeling that is stronger if a collective - or co-creational - action such as dancing or singing takes place (Dibben, 2014; Krueger and Szanto, 2016). The descriptions vary from a private moment with a loved one,

> me and my wife singing along, playing air guitar no other care in the world (UK: male, 49 years)

to a shared experience with friends,

> seeing Bring Me The Horizon at Reading, and sharing the moment with my best friend (UK: female, 29 years)

and to a communal feeling with the crowd,

> everyone was just enjoying the Bowie music - dancing on the tables and chairs with everyone wearing their festival flowers and fancy dress (UK: female, 57 years).

A number of responses illustrate affect attunement in remembering the coming together as one, both physically, in synchronization of movement, and emotionally (Volgsten and Pripp, 2016). For example, "The music started and people began to scream. [...] We rocked, we cried, we laughed" (FI: female, 32 years). This also demonstrates a move from the personal I-mode to a sense of *we-mode* shared emotions (Salmela, 2012). Although, when remembering seeing a favourite artist (*N*=44) the deep personal emotions felt resulted in first-person descriptions like "I think the most vivid memory I have is the rush of adrenaline and disbelief and excitement I experienced when I saw Paramore live at a festival years ago" (FI: female, 22 years).

The most impressive moments of the shared musical experience in the festival context involve the whole crowd, for example, "the whole audience was silent and captivated" (UK: male, 44 years). However, in line with Morgan and Xu's (2009) travel memory research, the memories most often recalled when experiencing the music are those connected with the presence of close friends:

> I danced and sang along [...] with two of my friends, totally carefree, joyous and happy about being able to enjoy music and the festival spirit with my dear friends (FI: female, 29 years).

> We would never have made it to the stage so my friend took my hand and we waltzed around the campsite. It was the best (UK: female, 26 years).

Music creates both personal and shared emotions (Lundqvist *et al.*, 2009; Scherer and Coutinho, 2013), and specific music - or even a festival - reminds us of people, places or events that have been particularly meaningful. For example, one participant recalled a poignant shared moment, "Spreading some of the ashes of a departed friend into the mud outside the Glastonbury festival dance tent just before leaving on the Monday morning" (UK: female, 50 years).

The emotional affect of music is to some extent dependent upon age. For example, Schulkind *et al.* (1999) found music elicited autobiographical memory for younger adults (cf. episodic memory in Juslin and Västfjäll, 2008) whereas it created a more general reminiscence and nostalgia for youth in older generations. Our participants' music festival memories evidenced both. For example, a particular song had a deeper meaning as it reminded a 34-year-old Finn of his wedding,

> I remember listening to Slayer live at Wacken in 2014. I was married a month before and our wedding song was 'Seasons in the Abyss'. Perfect!

while remembering the 1994 Reading Festival created nostalgia for a particular music era (Connell and Gibson, 2003),

we witnessed the slow burn out of American grunge acts and the explosion of some of the best bands that Britain ever produced (UK: male, 43 years).

Some also remembered how music helped them get through difficult times (DeNora, 2013, pp. 109-112). For example a 41-year-old UK female explains that, "remembering the festival fun of summer gets me through long winters or nights of no sleep and pain".

It is noteworthy that music per se does not necessarily evoke the emotions but acts as a trigger for "the memories, imagery, or associations […] [that] actually drive the emotional experience" (Colling and Thompson, 2013, p. 197). As Scherer and Coutinho (2013) put it, music activates episodic memory by invoking "emotionally charged memories" (p. 137). However, festivals also create new memories that are associated with the music and with others.

Music as cultural artefact - trigger for collective experience memory
The theme of *sharing memories* was the most frequent one (*N*=224), demonstrating that "an experience is never really complete if it has not been [...] communicated in linguistic or other forms" (Carú and Cova, 2007, p. 44). This sharing creates the propagation flow, noted by Rimé (2007), that creates stronger emotions in the retelling. Festival memories were kept alive by sharing them face-to-face predominantly with friends and family (*N*=147) but also with wider circles (*N*=77).

The following quote from a 50-year-old UK female demonstrates how the memories are shared with those who attended together ("my son and me") and with others ("his mates", "my colleagues"):

> My son and me will often talk about who we saw, the people, the bands. He tells his mates (who very often haven't experienced a live music gig let alone a festival) and I tell my colleagues - especially the younger ones (so I look cool!)

Those who experienced the festival together also often regularly reminisce together co-creating a lasting shared memory that continues to evolve with each telling (Paéz *et al.*, 2015; Rimé, 2007; Van Dijck, 2006),

> My festival battle buddy and I go over the story at regular intervals (FI: male, 26 years),

> Festival stories might be bit like army stories: you talk about them time and time again with those who were also present, until the day you die (FI: female, 46 years).

The experience was further extended through photographs. Smartphones were used as artificial or augmented memory (Clark and Chalmers, 1998) as a tool for collecting and sharing photos, videos and playlists. The use of these mementos is for both personal use and shared through social media (Hudson *et al.*, 2015; Lin *et al.*, 2018; Masiello *et al.*, 2020), extending "the travel experience beyond the time and space where it occurred" (Torres, 2016, p. 2146).

There was also evidence of more tangible cultural artefacts being used as triggers for remembering the collective emotion of the music and creating nostalgia (Fairley *et al.*, 2018). These took the form of memorabilia such as autographs, a favourite performer's plectrum, programmes, leaflets, wristbands and other *imprints* of fanship (Henry and Caldwell, 2007).

A quote "every time I listen to Huoratron I remember the lights and atmosphere in the tent" (FI: female, 28 years) illustrates how music evokes the memories and emotions of the time (Van Dijck, 2006). However, perhaps surprisingly, this was mentioned relatively infrequently (*N*=16). When mentioned participants described the use of music as a *scaffold* to remembering the feeling (Krueger and Szanto, 2016),

> Once in a blue moon, when we hang out with my brother and have a drink or two, music is also usually involved, and we often talk about the best gigs we've been to together (FI: female, 43 years).

> We love putting on the sounds we heard together on the cd player (UK: male, 57 years).

More often, the shared festival memories re-emerge through more explicitly talking about the social experiences and the music, and less so by listening to the specific music that was performed at the festival.

In remembering the festival, the narratives clearly evidence how emotions re-emerge, "Still makes me emotional and hairs on my neck stand up, love the passion of live music" (UK: male, 52 years), and are often stronger due to their collective nature,

> I will travel back to that moment in time and be with my friends and strangers around me singing and dancing to a certain song sharing that feeling of joy (UK: male, 49 years)

> I can see myself in the dark on a cold Danish summer night wandering from stage to stage and tent to tent with my boyfriend (FI: female, 46 years).

Forming and solidifying attitudes through memory sharing
Particularly memorable emotions created a theme (*N*=49) of *personal transformation* (Paéz *et al.*, 2015), where for instance, the effect of attending the first festival made participants catch the 'festival bug' resulting in repeated attendance (cf. travel bug in Torres, 2016): "An awesome experience and gave me the festival bug - great combination of music, food and people" (UK: female, 47 years). In some instances this also clearly entailed a transformation of previously held more negative attitudes to festivals, *"*I thought festivals were rowdy and about drug taking prior to going. I share my experience as it was nothing like I imagined. I can't wait for the next one." (UK: female, 46 years).

Furthermore, while reminiscing about their festival experiences, respondents (*N*=39) indicated firm future intentions of attending festivals and other live music performances such as "makes me look forward to the next festival and gig" (UK: female, 47 years), and "I feel good and start dreaming about new festival experiences" (FI: female, 40 years). This highlights the role of sharing memories in attitude formation and in behavioural intention (Lee and Oh, 2017; Tung and Ritchie, 2011).

It is noteworthy that the narratives are not merely representations of festivals. They also create and modify the perceptions of festivals (Søderberg, 2006) as narrators are sharing their memories with other people who, in turn, might develop or change their own perceptions of festivals based on these stories (Prayag *et al.*, 2017). Through this wider audience for the *reminiscence*, the influence of the memories spreads to those who were not present and who might never have attended festivals (Kim and Fesenmaier, 2017). This often took the form of persuasion, with many festival fans trying to convince others to take part, for example, "I like to share the joy and fun with family and friends and ask them to go to one next time and see it for themselves" (UK: male, 42 years). This includes both elements of co-creation of the post-festival consumption experience (Arnould and Price, 2005; Carú and Cova, 2015) and of the importance of this process in influencing others (Arnould and Thompson, 2005).

Conclusions
The aim of this study was to discover how music festival experiences create lasting shared memories, the role of music within this process and the influence of shared memories on behavioural intentions (Kim and Fesenmaier, 2017; Wood, 2019). The festival memories from the UK and Finland were largely similar indicating that the different music festival base, and the scale and history in the two countries had little influence on festival memories. Taking a consumer culture theory approach, the received narratives were analysed thematically resulting in within-the-festival themes of *communitas, personal* and *shared emotions*, and beyond-the-festival themes of *sharing memories* and *transformation*. These were further analysed in relation to the music as memory trigger and the concept of socially-extended emotional memory (Krueger, 2014b).

Based on the analysis of the narratives a revised model (Figure 2) is proposed.

[Insert figure 2 here]

Figure 2. Remembered festival experience and extended emotions

Beginning at the bottom of the model we found that the festival experience-scape provides the shared attentional framework which creates collective commitment to the music, the crowd, and the experience as a whole (Krueger, 2014a, Krueger and Szanto, 2016). This coming together, centred around an aural experience, is readily remembered with music, and other aspects of the festival, providing the material culture that creates a *scaffold* for social attunement. The rich emotional experiences are intensified by being shared with others thereby creating vivid memories (Paéz *et al*., 2015; Rimé, 2007; Van Dijck, 2006). These are then extended to other people (social extension) and shared long after the event (temporal extension). Each sharing creates additional value for the sharer and, potentially, for the sharee (Chathoth *et al.*, 2016). The model revision thus reframes the resulting outer circle as 'Socially and Temporally Extended Emotions' which strongly influence attitude formation and behavioural intention through a *transformation*.

As we found little evidence of music propagating extended emotions in memory, the revised model de-emphasizes the role of music in socially and temporally extended emotions. However, the festival experience-scape, and in particular the music listened to, creates emotionally-intense shared experiences which are remembered and shared further (Bharwani and Jauhari, 2013; Ek *et al*., 2008; Tung and Ritchie, 2011).

Perhaps surprisingly, music was not found to be a heuristic for future behaviours - ie a shortcut to deciding on which festival to attend. Other memorabilia and the presence of others with whom the memory could be shared was a stronger initiator of perceived collective emotion creating feelings of belonging long after the festival experience. This resonates with Rihova *et al.*'s (2015) findings in relation to value co-creation in the post liminoid stage of an experience. These memories of collective emotion appear to influence personal attitudes and future behavioural decisions and that influence is extended to others who had not attended (Kim *et al*., 2010; Wood, 2019). This clearly has implications for post-experience marketing and, in particular, word-of-mouth.

Although socially-extended emotions were evidenced in memories of the festival experience, ie 'I remember all feeling the same', there was less evidence of this becoming reaffirmed in memory sharing afterwards (Páez *et al.*, 2015). Individual narratives stressed the collective nature of the experience and the emotions felt and connected these with the music, they also showed how, at times, the music was selected after the experience as a trigger to help relive that collective experience whilst alone (Berger and Heath, 2007).

Therefore, music was found to prompt (or scaffold) those memories but to a lesser extent than expected. The social experiences, feeling of communitas in a liminoid place and time, had a much stronger influence on feelings of collective emotion and the lasting memories of this (Rihova *et al.*, 2015). The stories told had music as the background but it was the characters and the storylines that had far more impact on memory sharing and on the pleasure in remembering with others. Through this we suggest that Krueger and Szanto's (2016) work underestimates the influence of the collective experience and its link to co-created value. In the context that we explored, this social attunement appears to outweigh the influence of the music in forming shared memory and lasting extended emotions. The findings indicate, therefore, that the intensity of the attendee's experience becomes the material culture and, the perceived collective emotion becomes the scaffold which enables the memory to endure, evolve and be extended to others.

Theoretical implications
The theoretical implications of these findings for the study of memorable experience in hospitality relate to four aspects. Firstly, this research, although centred on music festivals, highlights the importance of the soundscape in hospitality experience design more generally. A focus on the visual has led to a neglect of the auditory experience despite the importance of this in memory creation

(Aili *et al.*, 2011; Edensor, 2018; Wait and Duffy, 2010). Secondly, we have found that music is less of a memory trigger than initially thought, although the experience of it does create a shared attentional framework which can lead to socially extended emotions (Krueger and Szanto, 2016).

Thirdly, our findings evidence how sharing a hospitality or tourism experience intensifies the memories and moves the experience beyond those who were there. Rather than considering the consumer as an individual we argue that a greater emphasis is needed on understanding collective and shared emotional experiences (Arnould and Thompson, 2005; Morgan and Xu, 2009). It is these that tend to be the most memorable and influential in future decisions of the experiencer as well as those they share the memories with (Wood, 2019).

Finally, and most importantly, we found that it is when the memories are shared (with those who were there or with others) that a transformation takes place. The sharing of memories co-creates additional, often greater, value. Furthermore, the emotive nature of such memory sharing leads to a much greater influence on revisit intention, word of mouth effectiveness and attitude formation (Kim and Fesenmaier, 2017; Lee and Oh, 2017).

Our study has thus added to the theory of extended emotion by its exploration of how emotions are extended, both to others and through time, via shared memories. Our newly developed concept of 'socially and temporally extended emotions' encapsulates the importance of this within many hospitality and tourism contexts where the emphasis is on collective and memorable experiences and the continuing value these provide.

These findings have implications for how we conceptualise the motivations and benefits of collective hospitality experiences (see also Kandampully *et al.*, 2018; Wei *et al.*, 2017) in that they can create longer lasting feelings of belonging, oneness, and communitas scaffolded by a variety of cultural artefacts such as music. We believe this to be a new and currently overlooked dimension of co-creation within hospitality experiences (Rihova *et al.*, 2019). This also deepens our understanding of memorable experiences beyond Tung and Ritchie's (2011) dimensions of affect, expectations, consequentiality and recollection by focusing on the collective experience, shared memories and, the still significant role of music within these.

Practical implications

From a practical point of view, the study emphasizes the ever increasing need for festival organisers, and other service providers, to create opportunities that facilitate the sharing of experiences with others, in the pre-, during- and post-attendance phases. Festival organisers have already employed social media in various ways to enhance the social aspects of the festival experience. They also provide music playlists to build pre-festival anticipation and as souvenirs to take away after as an aid to remembering the experience. An area that has received less attention, however, is post-marketing activities focusing on enhancing and creating memories that can be socially and temporally extended. Influencing guests' memories appears to be a neglected strategy within wider hospitality and tourism marketing but one that has great potential for return. Such strategies would positively influence revisit intentions by facilitating reminiscence of the event with others. Through word of mouth based on memory sharing, past festival goers can positively influence the future participation of new attendees. For example, festivals could provide incentives for co-created post-event parties by offering publicity in social media, free merchandise, venues and recorded or live music for larger occasions. Furthermore, many festivals produce videos and documentaries of the event with the help of their business partners. These videos are seldom - if ever - shown in public spaces apart from social media and TV, even though public screenings would enhance social festival enjoyment, reminiscing and persuasion of non-attendees to take action towards participation. Facilitating and incentivising 'reminiscence after-parties' that bring in wider social groups (non-attendees) is likely to be a highly influential experiential marketing tool. More generally, and applicable to a variety of tourism and hospitality experience, is the incentivising of memory sharing via social media. This undoubtedly already happens but often the value of memory sharing to both past and potential new customers is overlooked. Ideally such a process needs to be

customer driven rather than organisation-led and therefore adds a new dimension to co-creation and relationship marketing.

Our study also points to the greater importance of memory, above and beyond the in-the-moment experience. Memory is both inaccurate and malleable. It can, therefore, be influenced after the experience to positively affect revisit intention and word of mouth (Wood, 2019). In this way a disappointing or unsatisfactory experience can be turned around by influencing the memories of it. This does appear to be a surprisingly overlooked aspect within tourism and hospitality experience design where the focus has been on creating memorable experiences merely at the point of delivery.

Limitations and future research

Even though the construction of the Finnish sample involved some random selection, the study consists of self-selecting respondents (ie a convenience sample), and hence, from a statistical point of view, the results are not generalisable. However, the informants provided content-rich and nuanced narratives on music festival attendance that were suitable for this exploratory study of music festival memories and, since the themes are exceedingly similar in the UK and Finnish data sets, it suggests that the final model might be generalisable to other regions. The revised model should, however, be confirmed with data from other countries before drawing any conclusions on generalisability beyond the UK and Finnish attendees.

Future research should further investigate these longer-term extended effects in terms of normative communitas (Turner, 1995); consumer tribes (Maffesoli, 1997) and the continuing co-creation of value (Carú and Cova, 2015; Fu and Lehto, 2018; Rihova *et al.*, 2019). It would also be useful to widen the research to other tourism and hospitality settings, where sensory immersion with others is a central part of the experience, adopting the dynamic approach to the concepts of space and time proposed by Ek *et al.* (2008).

A particularly interesting avenue of research would be to explore how this perception of recollective experience and extended emotions through memory gives the illusion of a sense of belonging with hosts, further building upon Woosnam's (2011) studies of emotional solidarity. Even if not felt at the time, an affinity can be created in memory. This extends how we view the benefits of the hospitality experience through time and between groups, through memory sharing supported by cultural artefacts. This phenomenon has a potentially strong influence on consumer choices and thus has important implications for post-experience marketing (Arnould and Price, 1993).

The focus on memory and transformation suggests that some form of qualitative longitudinal research would shed further light on how emotional memories of tourism and hospitality experiences are propagated and how emotions are extended to others (Ek *et al.*, 2008; Stadler *et al.*, 2018). The role of social media in this propagation is also worthy of further exploration and could provide a source of rich data (for example, travel and food blogs, festival forums) (Godnov and Redek, 2016; Sotiriadis, 2017). There may also be scope to enhance further qualitative studies in this area with the creative use of emotion-sensing technology in assessing the peaks in remembering emotion rich tourist experiences (Bastiaansen, 2019; Kim and Fesenmaier, 2015; Wood and Kenyon, 2018).

Although we found that respondents rarely mentioned the use of music to recreate memories, if not explicitly asked, this aspect requires further investigation. Further studies could elicit more direct responses about the role of music in remembering travel and hospitality experiences. The role of the wider soundscape in shared memories could also be explored further using Krueger's (2014b) theory of extended emotions and answering Edensor's (2018) call for a focus on the more-than-visual experience.

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Table 1. Occurrence of key themes within the narratives

Theme	N(FI)	N(UK)	N(Total)
Communitas	19	67	86
Personal emotions	36	82	118
Shared emotions	10	33	43
Sharing memories	33	191	224
Remembering with props	47	7	54
Transformation	8	41	49

Figure 1 - Festival experience and socially extended emotional memory

Socially Extended Emotions

'we-mode', 'social attunement

Music as scaffold for shared narratives/collective memory

Remembered emotions

triggered by music as 'cultural artefact'

Listening experience

music as ' material culture'

and scaffold for 'social attunement''
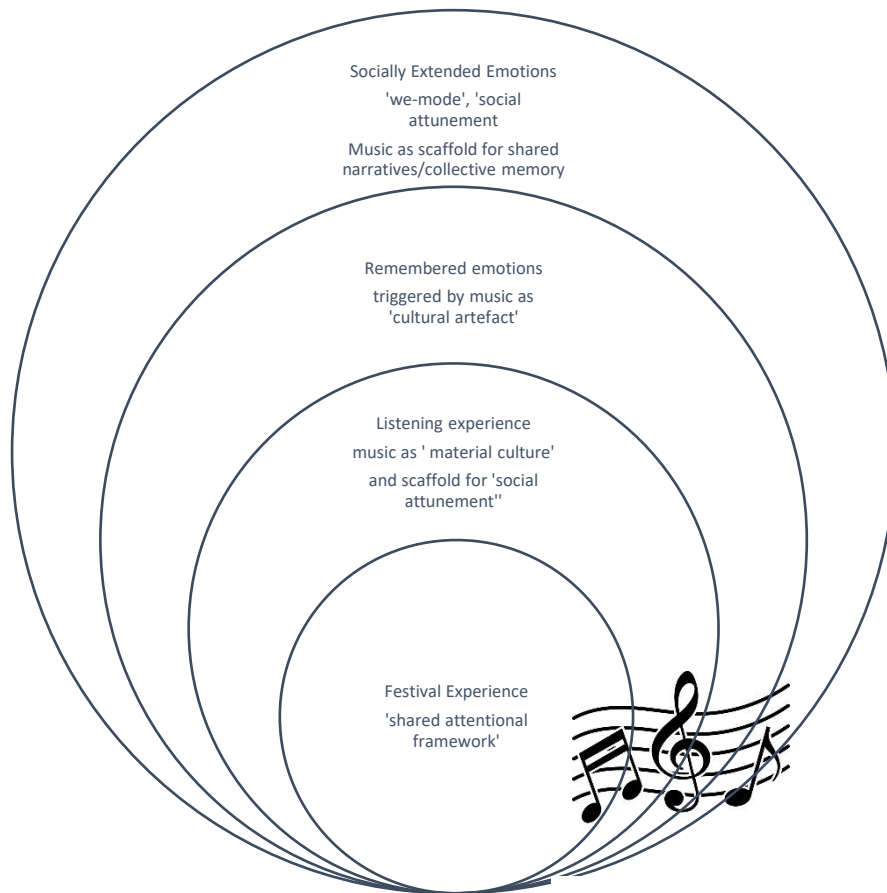
Festival Experience

'shared attentional framework'

Figure 2: Remembered experience and extended emotions

Socially and temporally
extended emotions

(attitude formation and
influence)

Remembered emotions

(triggered by memories of
shared experience)

Listening experience

music as ' material culture'

and scaffold for 'social
attunement''

Festival experience-scape
'shared attentional
framework'