

# **Musical Topophilia**

**A critical analysis of contemporary  
music tourism**

**Leonieke Bolderman**

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# Musical Topophilia

A critical analysis of contemporary music tourism

Muzikale topofilie

Een kritische analyse van hedendaags muziektoerisme

Thesis

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*'A book is a device to ignite the imagination'* – Alan Bennett

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Detroit, August 2017



# Chapter 1

## Tuning in: setting the scene for music tourism



Sections of this introduction have been published as part of a chapter in the  
*Handbook of Popular Culture and Tourism* (Lundberg & Ziakas, 2017).

At the end of the afternoon, tired but content with the impressions and observations of the day, I sat down on the terrace of a small café. The sun was shining abundantly, putting smiles on the faces of people walking by. I ordered a cappuccino to go along with the house special, which swiftly appeared on the table: Bach Torte. Looking up from the generous piece of mocha flavored cake, across the street I saw a giant statue of the legendary composer, placed next to a church of impressive proportions. I was visiting Leipzig, Germany, a city renowned for its classical music heritage. Bach is its most well-known (former) inhabitant, having lived in the city for many years and composing his most famous works for the boys' choir of the Thomaskirche, the church that he is buried in and that I was currently looking at.

Walking around the statue and entering the church that afternoon, however, were not the kind of tourists you would expect to be taking an interest in Bach. Sipping from my cappuccino, I saw a young lady donning an intricate corset, toting a delicate lace umbrella. A bit further on, a group of men wearing long coats and heavy boots laughed about an apparent joke, while a group of boys and girls with neon dreadlocks and expressive makeup had started taking selfies with the Bach statue. The color of choice uniting the outfits of all these tourists? Black.

Although not a typical classical music audience, the presence of these extravagantly dressed people in Leipzig was not all-together surprising: one week-end per year, at Whitsun to be precise, Leipzig is home to one of the largest Goth festivals in the world, the Wave Gotik Treffen. During this weekend, the city is taken over by tens of thousands of Goth fans from all over the world who attend concerts, buy clothes and accessories at special fairs, and take part in organized events such as a Victorian Picnic or a special tour of the city cemetery. While the Goth music lovers visit the city for the festival, fellow Goths, other tourists and locals alike feast their eyes on the many eye-catching outfits being proudly paraded.

As the example of Leipzig shows, music, place and travel are intimately connected in multiple ways. Music, although ephemeral by nature, can become a visible part of a place, durably present in statues and other landmarks, and perhaps less continuously anchored to place through festivals. A place such as Leipzig attracts different kinds of music tourists, whose presence can create a radically different atmosphere in a city. Whereas Bach tourism is built around the continuous role of classical music heritage in the identity of the city, Leipzig as a worldwide capital of Goth subculture shows that genres that are considered to be more niche can also form an attraction to substantial audiences.

Therefore, the phenomenon of music tourism is best defined in an inclusive way, as 'travel, at least in some part, because of a connection with music' (Gibson & Connell, 2005: 1). Although music-related travel has a long history, for example in the troubadour movement of medieval France (Gibson & Connell, 2005) and the edifying trips of 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century musicians travelling to learn from famous maestros (Burkholder, Grout & Palisca, 2014), music tourism as a form of contemporary niche tourism seems to be a

phenomenon on the rise (Connell & Gibson, 2003; Gibson & Connell, 2005). For example, its presence in the worldwide tourism landscape is visible in the continued popularity of eye-catching examples such as visits to Elvis' Graceland (over 600,000 visitors annually, [www.graceland.com](http://www.graceland.com)) and festivals like Glastonbury (177,500 unique visitors in 2007; Baker Associates, 2007).<sup>1</sup>

Theoretically, music poses a problem in relation to tourism: sound is invisible, and as pointed out by cultural geographers Connell and Gibson, the central notion of tourism – being there and gazing upon a site – which is captured in the notion of 'the tourist gaze' (Urry & Larsen, 2011), 'has only the most tenuous connection with music' (Connell & Gibson, 2003: 13). What is there to gaze upon and take holiday snapshots of, if a central element of what makes music 'music' is vibrating air?

This seems to be quite a trivial question, interesting perhaps to philosophers, musicologists and a stray tourism scholar. In this thesis however, I argue that music tourism is economically, socially and academically relevant, and in order to understand it as a phenomenon it is of central importance to unravel the ephemeral character of music: how does something intangible lead to imagining and visiting particular places?

## The value of music tourism

In addition to the sustained numbers of tourists that flock to major music-related sites and events, music tourism is a relevant topic of study as it is increasingly recognized as an industry with economic and social impact. Although comparative numbers remain scarce, UK Music, a British industry lobby group, estimates the economic advantages of music tourism for the United Kingdom alone to be around 2.2 billion pounds (UK Music, 2013) – according to UK Music at least, music tourism means business.

This message is being increasingly picked up by city marketers, as for example the label of 'UNESCO City of Music' is now a hot commodity for cities worldwide to try and acquire ([www.en.unesco.org/creative-cities](http://www.en.unesco.org/creative-cities)). Especially for post-industrial cities, music tourism holds the promise of economic and thereby social development, as cities search for ways to differentiate themselves and attract new tourism flows that have the potential to replace traditional local industries (Cohen, 2007; Smith, 2016).

Although the role of music tourism as a potential source of economic development draws the most attention, it is a phenomenon that also brings more general cultural patterns into the spotlight. Therefore, in this dissertation the study of music tourism functions as a prism to explore underlying cultural processes from an aural perspective.

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<sup>1</sup> Although major destinations such as Graceland offer visitor numbers and lobby groups such as UK music provide national data, comparative global data on music tourism numbers at this point do not exist. The assumption that the popularity of music tourism is on the rise is therefore based on the increased institutionalization of music tourism through initiatives such as UNESCO City of Music, and on similar claims made by Gibson and Connell (2005), Krüger and Trandafoiu (2014), Lashua, Spracklen and Long (2014), and Rommen and Neely (2014).

Sound plays an important role in how we experience the world. According to geographer Yi-Fu Tuan, without sound, 'space itself contracts, for our experience of space is greatly extended by the auditory sense which provides information of the world beyond the visual field' (Tuan, 1974: 9). Waitt and Duffy refer to this as the 'sonic knowledge' of places (Waitt & Duffy, 2009), adding affective texture and narrative to place experiences. What makes music tourism intriguing is the underlying tension between these intangible qualities of sound and the materiality of physical space. That is why in this dissertation I introduce the concept of 'musical topophilia' to understand contemporary music tourism: music tourism revolves around affective attachments to place through music.

Musical place attachments are interesting because music is often attributed positive powers in creating and celebrating personal and cultural identities, in stimulating a sense of belonging, and in bringing people together (Hesmondhalgh, 2013b). As stated succinctly by Simon Frith: 'music is (...) the cultural form that is best able both to cross borders – sounds carry across fences and walls and oceans, across classes, races and nations – and to define places; in clubs, scenes and raves, listening on headphones, radio and in the concert hall, we are only where the music takes us' (Frith, 1996: 125). Music tourism as a phenomenon of mobility and the meeting of cultures therefore is a prime way to study these processes in practice.

However, while developments in technological, social and cultural mobility contribute to the relevance of music tourism as a topic of study, the positive social powers attributed to music may be questioned in a world that is characterized at the same time by processes of de-territorialization and displacement (Appadurai, 1996). Increased mobility is not a homogenous development: not all people have access to the same kinds of mobility and not all people have access in equal ways. That is why in this dissertation I offer a critical exploration of the role of music as a medium of identity and belonging in relation to place, starting from the premise that if music plays a key role in bringing people together, it inevitably through that same process also affords practices of social exclusion.

## **Understanding music tourism**

Academic attention for music tourism is of a quite recent nature, as noted in overviews of the field by Gibson and Connell (2005), Cohen (2007), Lashua, Spracklen and Long (2014), Krüger and Trandafoiu (2014), and Rommen and Neely (2014). Rommen and Neely (2014) and Krüger and Trandafoiu (2014) both discuss why this is the case: in tourism studies, music has been subsumed under broader notions of culture, which meant the specific role of music in tourism has remained unexplored for a long time. In popular music studies and ethnomusicology, a sentiment of 'anti-tourism' discouraged the interest in music tourism as a topic, as scholars differentiated the study of music from the superficial and commercial nature ascribed to tourism (Krüger & Trandafoiu, 2014; Rommen & Neely, 2014).

Surveying the growing academic body of work, several trends can be discerned. There is noticeable attention for travel towards ‘musical sites of creativity’ (Gibson & Connell, 2007: 168): people travel to places to experience a particular music genre in its ‘authentic’ context, such as places ‘where the “magic” of composition has taken or takes place’ (see also Johansson & Bell (2009) and Rommen & Neely (2014) for similar arguments). There is a growing interest in the meaning of popular music as intangible heritage (Brandellero & Janssen, 2014; Cohen, Knifton, Leonards & Roberts, 2015), which seems to favor popular music from the 1960’s and 1980’s. Scholarly attention focuses primarily on eye-catching examples such as the Beatles’ Liverpool (Brocken, 2016; Cohen, 2007; Fremaux & Fremaux, 2013; Kruse, 2003, 2005a, 2005b) and pilgrimages to the aforementioned Graceland (Alderman, 2002; Doss, 2008; Drummond, 2011; King, 1994; Rodman, 1996). Other research focusing on popular music heritage includes AC/DC Lane (Frost, 2008), Joy Division’s Manchester (Otter, 2013), blues tourism (Duffett, 2014; Fry, 2014), hip-hop tourism (Xie, Osumare & Ibrahim, 2007), electronic dance music (EDM) tourism (Bennett, 2004; Saldanha, 2002; Sandvoss, 2014), ‘blackpacking’ (Podoshen, 2013), and Goth music tourism (Spracklen & Spracklen, 2014).

There is also a growing interest in the touristic experience of music on site – travel to hear music played (Lashua et al., 2014). This concerns world music genres such as flamenco (Aoyama, 2007 and 2009), Irish traditional music tourism (Kaul, 2014; Kneafsey, 2002; Morton, 2005), Breton fiddle music (Feintuch, 2004), and steelpan (Granger, 2015), but also extends to an interest in concert-related travel (Cavicchi, 1999; Cohen, 2005; Ward, 2014) and music festival experiences (Duffy & Waitt, 2011; Duffy, Waitt, Gorman-Murray & Gibson, 2011; Gibson & Connell, 2011; Szmigin, Bengry-Howell, Morey, Griffin, & Riley, 2017).

As pointed out, some excellent general overviews have been written in separate research disciplines (Gibson & Connell, 2005; Lashua et al., 2014; Krüger & Trandafoiu, 2014; Rommen & Neely, 2014), however, research that brings together the insights across perspectives and which offers a more fundamental understanding of music tourism as a cultural phenomenon based on empirical data, remains scarce. That is what I aim to do in this dissertation: to contribute to the theoretical grounding of a relatively new, interdisciplinary and growing research field by conducting a critical analysis of contemporary music tourism.

## Research approach and questions

In this dissertation I propose the concept of ‘musical topophilia’ to understand what drives music tourism. In short, musical topophilia refers to the affective attachment to place through music, connecting to and channeling a human need to seek out places which refer to something intangible (Nora, 1989; Reijnders, 2011). The question arises why people engage with this need as tourists, and what role does music play? Furthermore,

how can music tourism be placed in a contemporary context of increased mobility and displacement? These concerns are captured by the central research question of this dissertation: what explains the popularity of contemporary music tourism?

This question is approached from the perspective of the tourist. The role of tourists has changed: being able to travel more easily across the globe and having access to more places more conveniently through technological developments, tourists operate increasingly outside of the realm of organized travel. As we will see in chapter 5, fans sometimes function as tour operators themselves, offering ways to visit locations connected to the music or band they love and acting as Do-It-Yourself preservationists. This is why it is not only relevant but also timely to focus on the experience of music tourists. After all, it is in 'the heads and hearts of the tourist' (Reijnders, 2011) where the key to understanding media tourism, and in its wake, music tourism, in its current socio-cultural context can be found.

In addition to focusing on the tourist, I approach tourism as a phenomenon that is integrated in and not opposed to everyday life; this holistic perspective means including the stages before, during and after travel in the analysis. Therefore, besides the touristic experience of place on site, the imagination also plays an important role in this dissertation. According to Urry, tourists 'seek to experience "in reality" the pleasurable dramas they have already experienced in the imagination' (Urry, 1990: 13). This means that circulating images and texts about destinations plays as much a role in tourism as do tourists' personal experiences and memories (Urry & Larsen, 2011: 2). Building on the increasing attention for the role of the imagination in tourism (Crouch, Jackson & Thomsson, 2005; Reijnders, 2015; Salazar, 2012) I take into account in this research project the importance of both imagining and experiencing place in creating touristic place attachments. To this purpose, I have divided my analysis of music tourism into three subquestions:

- 1) How does music stimulate the imagination of place?
- 2) How does music contribute to the touristic experience of place?
- 3) How do music tourists give meaning to their practices?

In this dissertation I introduce the new concept of musical topophilia and describe a model consisting of three steps through which music tourists establish and engage their music-induced place attachments.

This theoretical idea is supported and explored by three qualitative empirical studies. The empirical research is comparative, crosses metagenres of music (Shuker, 2001) and incorporates different modalities of music, such as heritage and concert tourism ('presentational music' in terms of Turino, 2008) and music making ('participatory music' – Turino, 2008). This comparative design makes it possible to create a theoretical framework that is applicable across empirical settings. Moreover, each empirical chapter explores a specific aspect of music as a sonic medium as identified in the theoretical chapter. Thus, in

chapter 4 I examine the musical imagination in depth, in chapter 5 I focus on the relation between embodied musical experiences and notions of personal and cultural identity, and in chapter 6 my focus is on the role of music in experiences of sociability. I bring these different threads together in the concluding chapter.

The geographical focus of the empirical section is on music tourism in Europe. Where current research focuses predominantly on Anglo-Saxon examples of music tourism, in this research other regions of Europe have been included. Europe is, according to recent data by Eurostat (2017), the most popular region for tourism worldwide, and it offers a great variety of music tourism examples, covering different genres of music and different types of tourism. As Europe is seldom used as a level of analysis in current research on popular music (Bottà, 2016), it actually offers an interesting cross-national plane of analysis as a fiercely debated cultural, collective identity and as a focus of global tourism mobilities.

## **A roadmap to the structure of this dissertation**

In order to develop a model for the analysis of music tourism and to situate music tourism practices in a larger socio-cultural context, I start by describing the theoretical ideas and assumptions that form the basis of this dissertation in chapter 2. To this purpose, I discuss how the work of Andy Bennett on 'musical mythscapes' (2002) and Reijnders' process-based approach to media tourism (2011) fit together into a frame that is useful in analyzing how music stimulates an affective attachment to place, how fans go in search of these imaginary mythscapes, and how the physical experience of place subsequently feeds back into the power of music to stimulate the imagination. Explaining the steps in this model in more detail, I bring together and build on the fields of cultural studies, music sociology, ethnomusicology, tourism studies and cultural geography in their relation to music tourism. In chapter 3 I outline the methodological choices I made to empirically confront, explore and refine the model presented.

In the first empirical chapter, chapter 4, I explore the process of musically imagining place, which is the stage before travel. I look into how music leads people to imagine places, which results in an affective attachment to place based on associations with genre, medium, musician and musical activity. This process is explored through an interview study involving Dutch streamers of holiday playlists (user-generated playlists made for travel). The analysis shows how these streamers connect their love for music to specific places – real and imagined. Based on listening experiences and personal memories, music comes to represent metonymically what makes places special to the interviewees. Creating and maintaining holiday playlists is shown as a way to engage with this musical sense of place.

In chapter 5, I show how musical topophilia is created and engaged with by the touristic experience of place. The study described in chapter 5 is based on participant observation and 15 in-depth interviews with tourists to Wagner's Bayreuth, ABBA's

Stockholm and U2's Dublin. I argue that music tourism experiences involve a process of identity-work on a personal, cultural and embodied level. For most of the respondents, music plays an important role in their story of self, which is one of the main motives for travel and a source of performing self through music tourism practices. Once there, tourists relate personal music memories to music histories encountered in situ. Thus, music tourism effectively connects personal memories with shared identities and social spaces created by embodied practices.

In chapter 6 I explore musical topophilia through the process of music making. Through an ethnography of three music workshops, including semi-structured interviews with 19 participants, I show how imagining and experiencing place is stimulated, influenced and negotiated through two types of cultural discourse. Throughout the interviews the interviewees talk about different ways of feeling 'in place', feeling like they belong somewhere through taking part in music workshops. This sense of belonging offered by the music workshops is analyzed on different levels, relating to the workshop group, the local community and the translocal music genre community. This situated analysis shows that notions of belonging are not unproblematic: the participants discuss being excluded, and in turn exclude others themselves, both through group dynamics and by their own positioning as 'anti-tourists'. Ultimately, the workshops show a dual discourse: a (romantic) discourse of place myths, rooting music genres in specific places across the globe, imbuing places and people with authenticity value. At the same time, there is another discourse at play, through which value is attributed to the touristic experience in terms of personal development and individual achievement.

In the final chapter, I bring together the theoretical ideas and empirical data and reflect on the analytical framework suggested. Based on the research presented, I conclude that music tourism involves an array of practices which give access to rich imaginative worlds that reflect and shape ways to feel at home in the world. Whereas other types of media tourism such as film tourism involve the balancing of a visual imagination with perceptual experience (as suggested for example by Reijnders (2011) and Waysdorf (2017)), in music tourism something else seems to be at stake: attuning an inner world of imagination with an outer world of experience. These imaginative worlds serve some as an escape from changing reality, and for others to find ways to engage with it, explaining why music tourism currently is on the rise.

The first step in understanding these processes is by explicating my model for the analysis of music tourism and the theoretical frame that this model is built on.



# Chapter 2

## Musical topophilia: a holistic approach to music tourism



This chapter is a revised and significantly extended version of the chapter that has been published in the *Handbook of Popular Culture and Tourism* (Lundberg & Ziakas, 2017).

In the previous chapter I used a broad definition of music tourism as formulated by Gibson and Connell (2005): 'travel, at least in some part, because of a connection with music.' Exploring the connections between music, place and tourism means exploring a phenomenon based in what Tuan (1974) calls 'topophilia': the affective attachment to place. In this chapter I propose to use the concept of 'musical topophilia' as the underlying process in understanding music tourism. In short, musical topophilia refers to the love for place *through* music. On the one hand, music contributes to the popularity of and the affinity with certain place identities. On the other hand, it is through visiting these places that one can experience proximity to the otherwise more abstract nature of music. Thus, music tourism is able to answer to a human need, which has previously been described by Nora (1989) and Reijnders (2011) as 'the need for places that act as physical reference points for phenomena which essence is non-physical' (Reijnders, 2011: 13).

I am connecting music tourism to musical topophilia in order to show that music tourism is not a new or unique phenomenon, but rather is embedded in a longer tradition of looking for physical reference points connected to music. Gibson and Connell for example refer to travel to religious festivals as an example of music-related travel throughout the ages (Gibson & Connell, 2005: 32), while the novice composers and musicians who traveled to the rich musical and cultural cities of 17<sup>th</sup> century Germany, Italy and France to learn from famous maestros (Burkholder, Grout & Palisca, 2014), can be regarded as music tourists *avant-la-lettre*. On top of that, music tourism today exists alongside other forms of contemporary media tourism, such as film tourism and literary tourism – mediated narratives currently 'authenticate' tourism destinations as much as remarkable natural landscapes or historical landmarks do (Couldry, 2002; Crouch et al., 2005; Reijnders, 2015; Smith, 2016).

This is why I explain the popularity of music tourism at this moment in time by analyzing it as a form of musical topophilia in its current cultural context, whereby I analyze the grounds on which music-related places are deemed worth visiting. At this moment, we know relatively little about how musical topophilia comes to be – how are connections between music and place established, and how do these connections become affectively meaningful? To start answering these questions, in this theoretical chapter I present a model that captures the process of how music inspires an affective attachment to place.

I conceptualize musical topophilia as a cyclical process of meaning making, in which music-related locations are appropriated by multiple actors such as music listeners, the tourism, media and music industries, as well as locals, involving the interaction of multiple media, such as musical sounds, images, and texts of and about music and place. Based on the work of music sociologist Andy Bennett and media ethnographer Stijn Reijnders, I have visualized this complex multitude of factors and dimensions in a schematic model consisting of three steps, based on the way music stimulates the imagination: listeners give meaning to their imagination through connecting music with place; listeners go in search of and experience physical place through music; the experience of place subsequently

feeds back into the way music stimulates the imagination. In the next section I present the model as a whole, after which I will discuss its constituting elements in more depth in the rest of the chapter.

## Musical topophilia: a model

A starting point for making sense of contemporary music tourism is the ‘intangibility’ of music. Music is experienced as meaningful, while it is non-representational – music means something to listeners, but it is hard to put into words what this ‘something’ exactly is. How then does music become attached to places, in a way that affective bonds between music and place are created, maintained or intensified?

The concept of ‘musical mythscape’, provided by Andy Bennett in a study on the Canterbury sound (2002), provides a first idea. In this study he explains how the city of Canterbury becomes an important point of reference for the translocal community of fans of the music style that is known as the ‘Canterbury sound’. Based on Appadurai’s work (1996) on how people manage to find anchors in a world that is characterized by flows of people and products, a musical mythscape is ‘a space that is mythologized as in some way informing the essential spirit of a body of live and recorded music.’

Bennett states that the mythscape can be created entirely through the media, in a three-stage process. First, a physical location is appropriated by the media. The resulting representation in the media that circulates beyond the boundaries of the physical location becomes the primary means for an audience to build ideas about that location. In a second stage, the images and information circulating in the media are recontextualized by audiences into new ways of thinking about and imagining the place, with the mythscape as a result. Thirdly, the mythscape then takes on a life of its own: stories, discussions and anecdotes are linked to a place entirely in relation to that place’s representation as a mythscape (Bennett, 2002: 89).



According to Bennett, the particular processes via which places are appropriated are never directly explained, but are rather embedded in a series of ‘subjective discourses’ circulating in media narratives and fan texts, relating to issues such as the shared childhood experiences of Canterbury Sound musicians or the ‘Englishness’ of their collective musical and lyrical sensibilities (Bennett, 2002: 98): ‘from the point of view of the fans then, Canterbury becomes an important physical point of reference around which to collectively discuss the significance of the Canterbury Sound and its relationship to a particular set of people in a given time and space’ (Bennett, 2002: 92).

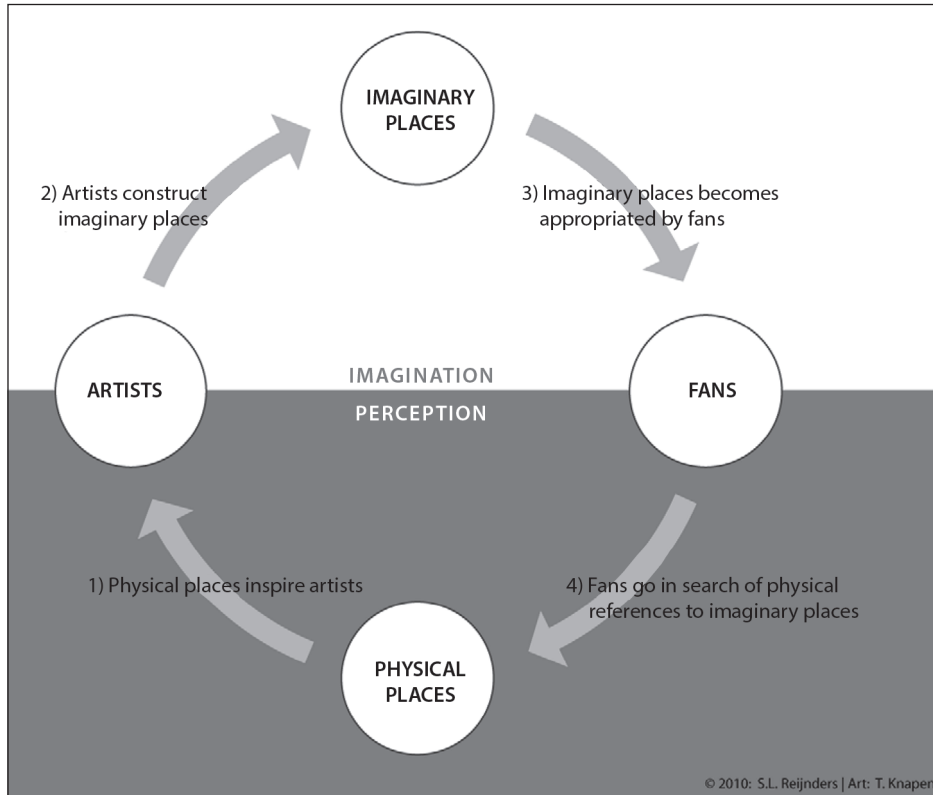
Bennett's case of the Canterbury Sound shows how a 'sound' can be constructed in the media and by fans as a musical mythscape, before locals and the local music scene recognize and experience the music they make as such. 'Canterbury' becomes connected to the music in the imagination of the fans as 'standing for' something essential in the music, providing 'a point of reference' for sociability that functions as a unifying element for the fan community and a catalyst for channeling meanings attached to the music (both personal and collective). In a study on Ibiza fans, Cornel Sandvoss similarly argues that it is this fan community and engaging with the 'subjective discourses' circulating in a fan community that establishes the affective link to a musical place (Sandvoss, 2014). However, the processes by which fans and media alike connect music to Canterbury as a location, a process the tourism scholar Dean MacCannell (1976) calls the 'naming' of a location as an essential first step in how a tourism destination is created, remains unclear.

Moreover, two elements stand out about this theory. First of all, music itself is remarkably absent. Bennett shows the role of the media in creating an affective connection to an imagined 'Canterbury' and the power of such globally circulating imaginaries. This is where tourism starts: with the imagination, stimulated by personal experience and circulating images in the media which conjure up and inspire attractive images of places to potentially travel to (Urry & Larsen, 2011). How music, as an intangible medium, is part of this process, is, ironically, left to the imagination.

Secondly, the question arises what role physical places play in this process. As Connell and Gibson put it: 'despite fabricated geographies and various elements of globalization, places continue to give meaning to people's lives and music' (Connell & Gibson, 2003: 70). Bennett devises different sorts of music scenes that operate at different geographical scales, i.e. the local, translocal, and virtual, but does not explicate the role of the physical spaces related to those scales in his notion of mythscape. However, the relation of physical space to different notions of geographical scale is of central interest in times of continuous globalization (Agnew, 2001; Hudson, 2006: 629), especially when the relation between music, place and locally grounded identities is potentially shifting (Wagg, Spracklen & Lashua, 2014; Roberts, 2014). That is why in this dissertation I turn to an exploration of the role of physical and imaginary elements of places in music tourism, by focusing on the ways people attach to places – Tuan's 'topophilia'.

Reijnders' model of media tourism provides a way to extend Bennett's theory in that direction. Like Bennett, Reijnders starts with, and attaches great value to, the imaginative dimension of tourism destinations, which he sees as 'material reference points like objects or places, which for certain groups within society serve as material-symbolic references to a common imaginary world' (2011: 14). Reijnders proposes seeing media tourism as a process in which artists and fans mark out places that function as reference points for their (creative) imagination. The process takes place in four stages: places inspire artists (step 1), artists create imaginary places (step 2), these imaginary places are appropriated by fans

(step 3) and subsequently, these fans go in search of the places of their imagination (step 4).



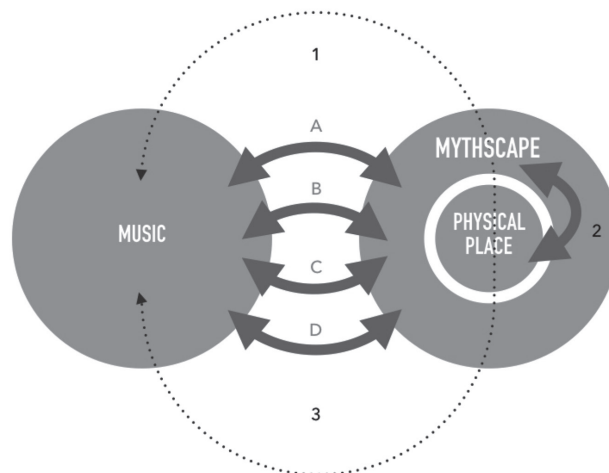
For Reijnders, the underlying principle is that ‘places of the imagination’ allow a play with the boundaries between the real and the imagined, becoming spaces ‘where the symbolic difference between these two concepts is being (re-)constructed by those involved’ (2011: 16). According to Reijnders, this explains the rising popularity of media tourism in the current media age, as media tourism consists of practices that foreground the interplay with the perceived boundaries between reality and fiction.

This model is useful for my purposes as it combines the dimensions of imagining and experiencing places through tourism, paying attention to how a medium such as film influences, mediates and stimulates this process. However, as seen in the stages described, Reijnders’ model is based on mimetic media, where a writer, author or film crew ‘creates places’ in their art form; a location is the setting of a novel for example, or a film is set or filmed in a specific location and thereby offers a direct image of that place (step 2 in the model). Music is a combination of representational and non-representational aspects, and therefore, a first necessary step in this dissertation is to attempt to unravel the process of

how listeners connect elements of music such as sounds, lyrics and images to locations, and how the process of musically imagining place works. Secondly, what is at stake in the model of Reijnders is the comparison between an imaginary world of visual images and the environment as perceived. As music is primarily non-visual, I will argue in this dissertation that when it comes to music tourism, a slightly different boundary between imagination and perception is at stake: music foregrounds not the visual experience of 'being in the world', but the affective.

Building on the theories of Bennett and Reijnders, what then does a process-driven model of music tourism look like, one that involves the specific characteristics of music as a medium? I propose to adapt the ideas discussed until now into a three-stage model that describes the process of how, from the perspective of the listener, music can lead to an affective attachment to place, a place that can be visited, and how the experience of place subsequently feeds back into the experience of listening to music:

- 1) Listeners connect music to mythscapes
- 2) Listeners visit and experience their mythscapes in reality
- 3) The touristic experience of place becomes a resource that fuels the imagination when the listener returns home



I start my discussion of this model with musically imagining for reasons of clarity, although as we will see in the empirical chapters of this dissertation, tourists can also become interested in particular music by visiting a place – that is why the dotted line indicating the process of music tourism flows in two directions.

If we were to start with a music listener, then music can be experienced as meaningful, and thereby music can be said to stimulate the imagination. As we will see in chapter 4, although this meaning does not always consist of concrete images or ideas, in the case of musical topophilia these musical experiences are mapped onto imaginaries of places, which is the first step in the process. As I will argue in chapter 4, many listeners connect the feeling that listening to music evokes in them with specific locations, turning these locations into ‘mythscares’: listening to music affords a ‘sense of place’ that can be (but not necessarily is) connected to a specific location. In line with the way Bennett has discussed musical mythscares, the mediated social environment offers several ways to link music and place. More specifically, building on the ways music affords ways of meaning making, I argue in this dissertation that there are four ways to relate musical imagination and location, which I call ‘mediations’ (indicated by letters A to D in the model). Individual listeners draw on these mediations to create their mythscares, which as we will see in the empirical chapters of this dissertation, feel distinctly personal to them, bound up in ‘stories of self’.

Taking the next step, music listeners go in search of their musical mythscares in reality (step 2 in the model). Discussing several ways music plays a role in the touristic experience of place, listeners-turned-tourists compare their mythscares with their experiences of physical place. During travel, personal music memories and narratives are compared with and enlivened through ‘embodied musical experiences’ and through encountering collective narratives of cultural identity in for example museums, during walking tours, in social spaces where audiences or fans come together, and during music workshops. These on-site experiences turn out to play an important role for listener-tourists once they return home – step 3 in the model. The touristic experience of place offers information and memories that in turn become part of the mythscares listeners create in their minds when listening to music. In this way the visit can stimulate the love for particular music, while the connection with music can establish an affective bond with a particular place. Music and place are therefore mutually connected, which is symbolized by the arrows in the model pointing both ways.

In the remainder of this chapter, I will discuss and refine these three steps in the model in turn, drawing on existing studies from the fields of cultural studies, ethnomusicology, music sociology, cultural geography and tourism studies. The different research perspectives discussed feed into my explanation of how music tourism works as a twofold practice, based on answering one’s love for both place and music.

## How music stimulates the imagination

The first question my model deals with is how music stimulates the imagination. This can be considered step 0: before understanding how listeners connect music to place, it is necessary to explore the process of how music acquires meaning in general. Therefore,

in this section I will explain what imagining entails and how music can be related to that process.

Imagining is a mental capacity, an action through which the world is made sense of and given meaning (McGinn, 2004). This is why the imagination has a central role in my model: as already conceptualized by Kant in his notion of the productive imagination (Guyer, 2010), imagining makes it possible to think and experience our environment, and is therefore the core process linking music to place. Moreover, in the conceptualization of Kathleen Lennon (2014), the imaginary capacities of human beings provide the world with 'an affective texture' (2014: 18). The imaginary refers to 'the affectively laden patterns/ images/forms by means of which we experience the world, other people and ourselves', while 'affect' refers to the 'emotions, feelings, and desires which mark out our engagement with the world' (Lennon, 2014: 10). Music provides such images or forms, and as I argue in this dissertation, music is an imaginary practice that provides means to illuminate the world affectively – at least, it is one of the ways to do so. Before exploring how the affective forms and shapes music provides acquire more specific meanings in relation to place, I have to make clear what exactly I mean when I refer to 'music'.

In line with the way Sara Cohen (2007: 4) charts music's various dimensions, in this dissertation I define music as 'a social and symbolic practice', encompassing several ways in which music exists in society: music is 'a culture or a way of life', characterized by particular social and ideological conventions; music is sound, organized and structured in certain rhythmical and melodic ways; musical sounds give way to 'speech and discourse about music'; and music is a commodity produced, distributed and consumed through an industry – the music industry is a global creative industry, employing many people, comprised of many institutions, wielding economic power and symbolic capital (Hesmondhalgh, 2013a).

Music is often divided in metagenres and subgenres (Shuker, 2001), such as the metagenres of popular music, classical music, and world music, and subgenres of for example popular music such as rock and electronic dance music (shortened to EDM in the remainder of this dissertation). Shuker (2001) observes these divisions are usually made based on general characteristics. As Frith (1996) and Connell and Gibson (2003) for example argue, popular music generally relies on mass media and is governed by the commercial logic of the music industry, which gives it a different dynamics of production, distribution, and consumption than for example classical or world music.

Several authors have noted the complexities of defining music genres, as genre boundaries are notoriously fluid (Connell & Gibson, 2003; Regev, 2013; Shuker, 2001). In this dissertation I have chosen to compare music tourism cases across genres and metagenres, not to avoid debates about genre boundaries, but because music tourism is found in relation to a great variety of genres. Although the size of tourist audiences and the kind of practices involved may vary, it is the connections between aspects of music – in its various dimensions as noted by Cohen – and place that I wish to explore in this



dissertation, starting from the idea that music across genres is given meaning in similar ways, although the content of these meanings and the value attached to genres within cultures and industries may vary.

The key to understanding the particular character of the process through which music becomes meaningful to audiences lies in music's sonic nature (Davies, 2010; Graves-Brown, 2009; Juslin & Sloboda, 2010). Sound is vibrating air: sounds are airwaves going into the ear, transformed into electrical currents that are then processed by the brain (Honing, Ten Cate, Peretz and Trehub, 2015). Music differentiates from sound as 'an aesthetic experience and patterned aesthetic form, a product of the creative imagination' (Juslin & Sloboda, 2010: 63) that is given meaning in particular contexts.

Musical sounds can be considered intangible in two ways. The vibrating airwaves that musical sounds consist of are usually not visible and cannot be held. Nonetheless, they can be physically experienced: musical sounds can be felt and heard as music is experienced bodily in its unfolding over time (Graves-Brown, 2009; Van Dijck, 2006). As Graves-Brown discusses in relation to changes in the materiality of music, although musical sounds are not material themselves, musical vibrations are materialized in instruments that produce sound, in technology and carriers that record, store, and play musical sounds, and in people who feel the sounds (Graves-Brown, 2009). This makes sounds have a tangibility that can be experienced through other senses than vision; in some situations, 'sounds' can even be touched – when you touch speakers for example, you can feel the speakers vibrate as music is being played; when you play a wind instrument, you can feel it vibrate as air travels through it.

As put forward by several scholars (Cohen, 2007 – drawing herself on Blacking, 1973 and Tagg, 1989; DeNora, 2000; Hesmondhalgh, 2013b; Turino, 2008), it is through these sonic qualities that music offers an 'embodied experience'. Rhythms and melodies envelop and penetrate the listener, the listener can literally feel the music, offering the listener the possibility for 'entrainment': to align emotions and moods with the rhythm or 'feel' of the music (DeNora, 2000).

This embodied musical experience connects to the second way musical sounds are intangible: sound lacks a level of representation in the way text or pictures have. This is 'the big conundrum of music' (Davies, 2010), as music is experienced as being meaningful, but semantically musical sounds are hard to pin down – 'music does not convey a definite propositional or depicted content' (Davies, 2010: 31), or as famously formulated by Stravinsky: 'I haven't understood a bar of music in my life, but I have felt it' (1970, cited in Ansdell, 1995: 198). As Turino explains in relation to belonging, music provides an experience of whatever meaning attached, instead of *about* that meaning: 'language provides propositions about belonging, music is the feeling or direct experience of belonging' (Turino, 2008: 241).

If musical sounds do not refer to ‘the specifics of everyday existence’ (Juslin & Sloboda, 2010: 63), then how exactly does music acquire meaning? This question is important for this dissertation, as for music tourism to take place, tourists need to have a place to travel to. Music thus somehow becomes attached to a specific place, although the process through which this happens is not clear yet (Bennett, 2002).

Peircean semiotics offers a starting point when answering this question. Building on the way Thomas Turino applied Peirce’s theory of signification to music, musical sounds can be interpreted as signs. A sign, referring to Peirce’s definition, is something that stands for something else to someone in a certain way (Turino, 2008). In this way, musical sounds can come to stand for particular meanings to the listener or performer. According to Turino (1999), music is comprised of several sign systems: there is the primary sign system which consists of sounds – rhythmical and melodic structures, tone, the grain of voice when singing is involved, the sound of a particular instrument, etcetera. Text and pictures form a secondary sign system around music, such as lyrics, album cover art, and music videos.

This semiotic approach to musical meaning is useful for my purposes, as it allows me to tease out which elements of music play a role in connections of music to place – if the sounds of music do not refer to a place in the mind of a listener (the primary sign system), then perhaps the lyrics or music video do (the secondary sign system), or other semiotic elements related to music can function as signs of place.

These other semiotic elements can be made more concrete by including music’s social context into the meaning making process. Peircean semiotics extends the definition of the sign to include the ways in which the sign is used and given meaning: something means something else *to someone*. This points towards the ways music is not only a symbolic practice, but also a social practice (Cohen, 2007; DeNora, 1989). According to music sociologist Tia DeNora, music’s social dimension is important in how music comes to stand for something else: ‘music’s semiotic force consists of music, plus the ways the recipient attends to it, plus the memories and associations that are brought to it, plus the local circumstances of consumption’ (DeNora, 2000: 43). Music ‘affords’ ways of doing and being (DeNora, 2000) that are realized in the process of meaning making by the listener or performer of music.

This way of conceptualizing musical meaning brings the different dimensions of music mentioned at the start of this section together in a holistic view of music, situating the musical work in its cultural context: the meanings attached to music are based on and influenced by musical sounds, heard or made by a person in specific ways and through specific practices, a person with a specific background and living in a particular culture, who is part of and influenced by current and historical discourses surrounding music, while ‘music’ in all these facets is being produced, distributed and consumed through a particular industry. All these factors influence the way music is given meaning in practice – the way music stimulates the imagination.

The basic structure of the process of meaning making described here can also apply to other media, such as film or literature. However, as I have described above, the *specific* way music stimulates the imagination is based on the intangible qualities music has, which as I have explained, provide an embodied experience that is non-representational. Because musical sounds are non-representational, music offers ('affords' as DeNora would say) ample opportunity to construct and experience identity, on both a personal and cultural level. Music affords what Simon Frith calls 'identity journeys' that 'enable us to place ourselves in imaginative cultural narratives' (Frith, 1996: 124).

As José van Dijck (2006) has explored in relation to memory practices involving music, music functions as a jukebox of the past, triggering memories while unfolding in the present. Through the unique combination of cognitive, emotional and bodily ways of remembering (Van Dijck, 2006), musical sounds ground 'individual's past times and places in the present' (Waitt & Duffy, 2009). Music in this way is a particularly powerful and immediate way of remembering, and by remembering, 'threads the tale of who one is,' a process DeNora calls introjection (DeNora, 2000). Thereby, music becomes a tool to create, sustain and celebrate personal identity.

Music also offers ways of practicing, building and marking *social* identities, as it offers spaces and moments of belonging to a group of people who engage with a specific type of music (Bennett, 2004; Frith, 1996), allowing listeners to connect to an imagined community (Anderson, 1991). According to Turino, making music together in particular encapsulates this capacity for social bonding, as the sounds of music and the activity of playing cause moments of flow, aided by entrainment (Turino, 2008: 241).

David Hesmondhalgh (2013b) states that what makes music special is not the relation to personal identity nor the relation to collective identity in itself, but the way a personal experience of music *is related* to the collective: music allows to connect these two dimensions of identity, and thereby creates a powerful embodied experience that is at once both personal and collective – in embodied musical experiences, the personal is mapped onto the collective. In chapter 5 I will explore this idea further when analyzing the experiences of music tourists on site.

Building on Hesmondhalgh, in this dissertation I argue that music indeed acquires meaning in social context, and moreover, spatial context is essential to this process. As Waitt and Duffy poignantly put it: '[music is] an embodied cultural practice, intimately tied to both our sense of self, others and place' (Waitt & Duffy, 2009: 462). This is where research remains to be done: how exactly does 'place' connect to music on both a personal and cultural level in an embodied way? In this dissertation I contribute to answering this question by exploring the connections between music, identity and place from a tourism perspective. Building up towards that point, I will discuss in the next section the first step in my model of musical topophilia: how can music as a social and symbolical practice be connected to conceptualizations of 'place', and how do place and music mutually influence and constitute each other?

## Connecting music to place

At the start of this chapter, I described music tourism as a topophilic practice – music related travel, like other kinds of tourism, involves what Tuan calls ‘topophilia’, an affective attachment to place (Tuan, 1974). Building on the previous section in which I discussed how music can be given meaning in general and how music stimulates the imagination, in this section I explore the first step in my model of musical topophilia: how music can establish an affective connection *to place*. Furthermore, I argue that the connection between music and place is mutually influential: the places of music’s production, distribution and consumption are central to the meanings attached to music (Connell & Gibson, 2003; Hudson, 2006), as these meanings in turn shape the identities and experiences of places (Bennett, 2002; Cohen, 2007). Before building this argument, it is first necessary to take a closer look at the concept of place.

‘Place’, according to Cresswell, is ‘space which people have made meaningful’ (Cresswell 2004: 7). Places therefore have, like music, social and symbolical dimensions, and are more than a geographical location of production, distribution, or consumption. In this dissertation, I conceptualize places as continuously physically, socially and imaginatively constructed and experienced – a phenomenological understanding of place, whereby ‘place is constituted by the impact that being somewhere has on the constitution of the processes in question’ (Agnew, 2011: 3).

Agnew argues that thinking about place has moved from seeing place as a static point on the map, to a more complex notion of place as influenced by fluid processes of meaning making in the context of globalization (Agnew, 2011: 22). As I will now discuss, this more complex notion of place offers a starting point for describing how music and place mutually influence each other. In the following section I therefore combine the notion of mythscapes as presented by Bennett (2002) with place as a physical space.

### **Locating music**

There are various ways in which people ‘make places’; for example, simply by naming them (Cresswell, 2004). This is what Agnew calls the dimension of ‘location’ – ‘a site in space where an activity or object is located and which relates to other sites or locations because of interaction, movement and diffusion between them’ (Agnew, 2011: 22). Music is always made, performed and consumed *somewhere* – music is inextricably connected to location, even though musical sounds are in essence invisible and this connection may not be self-evidently there. This idea is of central importance to tourism, as tourists need to be able to go somewhere; as I will elaborate on in the next section, tourism is a topophilic practice in and through which locations are turned into destinations. The way tourists connect music to locations is therefore a necessary element in exploring music tourism.

How is this possible with music? Musical sounds (the primary sign system) can come to stand for something else to someone, as can texts and images that accompany music (the secondary sign system), for example in the form of song lyrics, music videos or liner notes. Music also becomes meaningful through social context, through the ways in which and the places where it is produced, distributed and consumed. Building on this conception of how music acquires meaning in general, in relation to place I propose four ways music mediates between musical imagination and location. I use the term 'mediates' in line with the way Bolter and Grusin (1999) conceptualize mediation. Media, according to Bolter and Grusin, are not 'the message' in a McLuhanian way, but should be seen as both a 'play of signs' and a 'real and effective presence in culture', while also as 'networks that can be expressed in physical, social, aesthetic and economic terms' (Bolter & Grusin, 1999: 1). Media should not be seen as neutral carriers of meaning; the characteristics of the medium to audiences obscure or overemphasize the way the medium functions as mediator of cultural meanings. In the case of music for example, as pointed out by Cohen (2007), music is experienced as such a direct emotional sensation that it is easy to forget that music is produced: 'music's physical presence (...) may make listeners forget that music is culturally and socially produced, and encourage a sense that the experience is unmediated by culture, that it is direct, individual and non-cognitive' (Cohen, 2007: 181). Therefore, in this dissertation I analyze music as such a medium, one that affords ways of meaning making. Reflecting the concept of mediation, in relation to place I call the four ways of connecting music to location 'mediations'.

The first mediation is music's primary sign system. Music can be connected to place through instrumentation or musical structure. The bagpipes signal the Highlands of Scotland like no other instrument, while the tango is associated with Argentina through its musical form and sounds. This type of connection often revolves around myths of origin – made from local materials, musical instruments especially contribute to the idea that music embodies the 'soul' of a landscape (Kaul, 2014), and is a natural local resource (Henke, 2005).

Second, music can be connected to place through non-sonic aspects of music, the secondary sign system. As in the case of the enormously popular Psy song Gangnam Style, a song title, lyrics or video can put a city on the map. Abbey Road is as famous for pictures of its iconic crossing as much as for its recording studio. Tourists often recreate famous pictures and album covers, by posing on site in exactly the same way as their idol in the picture. This leads Podoshen (2013) to conclude that reenactment is a central element of all music tourism activity, although it is more likely that recreating famous images occurs when the central connection between music and place is indeed an image – the second kind of mediation I have described. As I will elaborate on in the empirical chapters of this dissertation, the visual comparison of place and images of that place and recreating those images on site is not necessarily a central element to other kinds of music tourism.

A third mediation is the biography of the composer or artist. A sense of origin is also present here, as the composer or artist is 'the source' of the musical sounds, and this is the way music has been given meaning for a long time. In relation to tourism and contemporary media culture, this can also relate to or be magnified by the rise of celebrity culture, influencing the locations and practices of tourism (Beeton, 2016). Musical pilgrimages often belong in this category of place connections, such as the Elvis aficionado's touring Graceland (Drummond, 2011), Queen fans visiting Montreux, trips to Macclesfield by Joy Division fans (Otter, 2013), and Beatlemaniacs visiting Strawberry Fields in New York (Kruse, 2003). Museums dedicated to artists or composers play into this kind of connection as well. The Wagner Museum featured in chapter 6 for instance, in Villa Wahnfried, Bayreuth, used to be the family home of the Wagner household.

Finally, specific places can become associated with music because they are the stage of its production, distribution or consumption – what tourism sociologist John Urry calls 'host-places' (Urry & Larsen, 2011: 18). Famous recording studios such as the Hansa studios in Berlin belong to this category, as do famous venues such as Carnegie Hall. Record stores can also attract tourists (Bennett, 2002), for example to browse the racks for records they cannot find at home or online. Music festivals such as Glastonbury fit into this category as well, attracting perhaps the biggest crowds out of all the instances of music tourism mentioned.

Musical places are often a combination of two or more of these mediations. Liverpool for example is anchored to the music of The Beatles, who are eye-catching representatives of Merseybeat, the specific sound of the city they were from. The city features in their songs and in circulating pictures of the band, and it is also where an infrastructure is present with recurring events such as the yearly Beatles week (Brocken, 2016; Cohen, 2007). Music thus becomes connected to locations through one or more mediations.

Subsequently, music-related locations can become places to love, part of locally grounded identities – this is what Bennett refers to with his notion of musical mythscapes. This is the dimension of 'place' Agnew calls 'sense of place' (Agnew, 2011: 23): 'an identification with a place as a unique community, landscape, and moral order'. In the next section, I will discuss how musical locations can become part of this affective sense of place, how exactly they become mythscapes.

### ***A musical sense of place***

Music produces a sense of place in distinct ways. As music provides metaphors for how places are imagined, lived and felt (Cohen, 2007: 221; Feld & Basso, 1996; Hudson, 2006; Kong, 1995), these metaphors become part of shared cultural narratives of the places concerned. In the words of Cohen: 'music is effective in stimulating a sense of identity, preserving and transmitting cultural memory, transporting listeners to different imaginary locations and providing a map of meaning' (Cohen, 2007: 222, similarly mentioned in Cohen, 2005). In this way, music contributes to a sense of local identity.

In line with the constructionist perspective I have taken in this dissertation,<sup>2</sup> this connection between music and locally grounded identity is not static but (constantly re-) constructed. Although a locally grounded music genre can become seen as representing or embodying local culture, to the extent that for example Henke (2005) describes music as a 'local natural resource' that can be used for tourism, this rather romantic point of view presupposes a homology model of musical meaning (Davies, 2010). This means that the rhythms of music would be somehow reflected in the landscape, which makes musical sounds somehow reflect social structure and identity (Davies, 2010). As discussed in the previous section, this dissertation builds on the premise that musical sounds do not have an intrinsic meaning, and therefore, the connection between music and local identity is entirely constructed – as Stokes remarks about the 'Celtness' of Celtic music: "Celtic music" is then something which has been created by certain ways of classifying musical experience, and is certainly not a residue of authentic "Celtness" waiting to be discovered in the many and various musical styles and genres played in the Celtic world' (Stokes, 1997: 6).

Rather, the relation between music and sense of place is characterized by what Connell and Gibson call a tension between 'fixity and fluidity' (Connell & Gibson, 2003). On the one hand, music travels across the globe, bound up in flows of people, capital, commodities and money (Connell & Gibson, 2003: 10). On the other hand, sounds become recognizable as they are connected to geographical space (location) and a sense of place. As Cohen states, music can therefore inspire a sense of belonging and attachment to a particular place, while at the same time inspiring a sense of belonging to a translocal fan community (Cohen, 2007: 222).

A useful concept to explain this fluid interconnectedness of music and place is the concept of music scenes. According to Cohen, a music scene is both a physical environment of venues and recording spaces, and the people engaging with the music (Cohen, 2007).

As she writes about urban music scenes specifically, an urban sense of place is shaped by the infrastructure and audiences involved with the music scene, while the development of music genres is shaped by the city – through the specific historical development of a city, through the people living and congregating there, and the governmental policies that affect the music scene.

The processes in which music scenes constitute a sense of place and in which places validate music scenes are governed by what Connell and Gibson call an 'ideology of authenticity' (2003: 116): audiences derive a sense of credibility and nostalgia from the connection of music to a specific place, 'while music offers them alternative worlds, reflecting or challenging shifts in identity, or by way of offering a virtual escape.' Music then comes to stand for place, and vice versa, place informs the meanings of music.

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<sup>2</sup> I elaborate on my methodological point of view in the next chapter.

The effect of this ideology of authenticity is that places become essentialized and mythologized in and through music (Connell & Gibson, 2003: 116), creating 'spaces of sentiment'.<sup>3</sup> Music becomes the 'intangible heritage' of a place, involving a group of people who feel responsible for and connected to that heritage (Cohen, 2007). Through heritagization the intangible is made tangible – and thereby durable – by erecting for example museums, plaques and heritage walks (Brandellero & Janssen, 2014; Duffett, 2014; Van der Hoeven, 2014).

Though the heritagization of music has a long history, the mythologization of musical places has taken flight in light of 'the accelerating pace of globalization' (Cohen, 2007: 7). According to Cohen (2007) and Connell and Gibson (2005), music tourism is a consequence of the commodification of this musicalized sense of place. In this dissertation, I see music tourism not purely as commodification of imagined and mediated identities, but as the second step in how people create, experience and celebrate an affective attachment to places.

## The touristic experience of music and place

We have moved from the first step in my model – how a musical imagination is connected to place, to the second: what is the role of music in the touristic experience of place? Places are not only imagined, but they are also physical locations that can be visited. What role does music play when people visit the places from their mediated imagination, and what influence does stepping into a musical mythscape as a tourist have on the experiencing of music? Before exploring these questions, I first define tourism as referred to in this dissertation and then describe what a touristic experience of place entails.

Tourism is a 'secular ritual' (Graburn, 1983; 2001), and as such, 'a crucial element of modern life' (Urry, 2007): many people undertake yearly travel of some sort 'to get away', which, according to Urry and Larsen, reflects a modern discourse: people's physical and mental health will be restored if they go on holiday from time to time (2011: 5). Tourism therefore is seen as contributing to relaxation, health and education, while it simultaneously has become a marker of status in modern societies.

The most familiar notion of tourism relates to the act of sightseeing, as people set out to gaze upon the sights of elsewhere – tourism implies 'a much greater sensitivity to visual elements of landscape or townscape than normally found in everyday life' (Urry & Larsen, 2011: 4). This is why Connell and Gibson refer to music's ambiguous relation with tourism in the quote used at the beginning of this dissertation: 'the privileging of the eye' (Urry &

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<sup>3</sup> Connell and Gibson show an understanding of music through reflection theory – according to this theory, music reflects social structure, and music somehow is made sense of by connecting it to an imagined persona in the music with whom to identify. As described in the previous section, I subscribe to a constructionist perspective, which in music ties in with a process model of musical identity and meaning construction: our experiences of music are best understood as experiences of 'self-in-process', music is a resource for identity construction (Frith, 1996: 109), affording ways of meaning making.



Larsen, 2011: 18), in Western society as well as in tourism, supposes a subordinate role for the ear.

The importance of the visual in tourism is bound up in its historical development as a practice (Adler, 1989; Urry, 2007). Originally, leisurely travel was a providence of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century elites, who would travel in search of adventure, venturing out to explore the yet unknown world, or going on a Grand Tour through Europe for reasons of personal development. The origins of music tourism can also be found in this era: in anthropological travel to learn about exotic cultures, in trips of musicians to learn from music maestros, and music as accompaniment to other-directed travel.

From an elite past time, tourism slowly started to develop into a central feature of modern life, bringing several social and technological developments together over the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century. Closely connected to the development of industrialization, the means for travel increased, including an increasing number of workers having expendable income and more leisure time. Transportation options became increasingly accessible through developments in steam-driven technology and railroad expansion. As photography developed in the same period, seeing and being able to document visually what was seen contributed to turning vision into the primary organizing principle of tourism (Urry & Larsen, 2011: 16): tourism became equivalent to sightseeing.

At the same time, Romantic sensibilities invoked a desire for travel, as it came to be regarded important to get away from everyday life and to experience the emotions of gazing upon extra-ordinary sites (Adler, 1989: 22; Urry & Larsen, 2011: 14). Thus, the affective value put upon the experience of gazing became firmly ingrained in the fabric of modern tourism.

The affective value of gazing can already be created before actual travel takes place. Urry conceptualizes 'the tourist gaze' as a constructed set of practices that are 'framed by cultural styles, circulating images and texts of this and other places, as well as personal experiences and memories.' Moreover, gazing involves 'cultural skills of daydreaming' and other 'acts of the imagination', as the extra-ordinary stimulates the mind of the tourist (Urry & Larsen, 2011: 2). As tourists 'seek to experience "in reality" the pleasurable dramas they have already experienced in the imagination' (Urry, 1990: 13), tourism destinations are 'places of the imagination' (Reijnders, 2011), at once individual, affective imaginary worlds and to some extent, worlds of shared cultural narratives (Crouch et al., 2005). Salazar in this context speaks of 'tourism imaginaries' (Salazar, 2012), being of central importance to how locations become destinations and how tourists subsequently experience them. Therefore, tourism can be seen as a consequence of mediated place attachments.

Bennett (2002) has applied this thinking in the concept of 'the musicalized tourist gaze', which refers to the ways locations become 'frames of reference', based on their representation in the media. According to Bennett, 'music can play a particularly seductive role in informing understandings, and thus expectations, of particular places, with

locations (...) being largely understood and interpreted in terms of their musical heritages'. Connell and Gibson argue that music tourism is based on this process, which they call a process of 'place fetishization', in which the relation between music and place becomes commodified.

As the relation between music and place is intimately connected to images and ideas of local culture and heritage, places can turn into tourism destinations if they are constructed as 'authentic' sites of musical creativity. This can refer to places where 'musicians come together', or where 'the magic of composition' took or takes place (Gibson & Connell, 2005; Johansson & Bell, 2009). As already described by Kaeppeler and Lewin in one of the first works on music tourism, 1988's *Come Mek Me Hol' Yu Han! The Impact of Tourism on Traditional Music*, tourism in this vein can stifle and interrupt local traditions, but it can also be a source of local host creativity and preservation of music styles (Kaeppeler & Lewin, 1988). Tourists actively partake in activities to get to know the host culture, creating a give and take: tourists play 'traditional' music and thereby keep rituals and certain musical styles and forms preserved, while these forms are often adjusted to fit with the attention span and taste or expectations of tourists. A range of examples shows this dynamic in music tourism practice, such as the Balinese dance described and analyzed by Dunbar-Hall (2001); flamenco's development into a national symbol and translocal success through tourism (Aoyama, 2007 and 2009); and, as described by Kenneth Bilby, how being part of the tourism industry has aided the economic survival and musical development of reggae artists, despite the commercial profits made from its surrounding tourism development (Bilby, 2014).

What these examples show, is that beyond being merely a consequence of mediated place attachments, the touristic experience of place can create, maintain or stimulate the affective attachment to places. Much travel, according to Urry and Larsen stems from what they call a 'compulsion to proximity': the need to be bodily in the same space as a landscape or townscape, to be at a live event, or to be with one's friends, family, or even in the company of like-minded strangers (2011: 21). Tourism is about the need to connect, the need to see for oneself and experience a place directly – what Urry calls 'co-presence'. Co-presence is especially felt during live events, as these create 'intense moments of co-presence' (Urry & Larsen, 2011: 21). Or, as Auslander has discussed in relation to rock music concerts, at least there is a cultural belief in the value of intense co-presence, the culturally constructed value of 'liveness' (Auslander, 2008).

The question that is central to the second step of my model is what role music plays in these moments of co-presence – what happens when listeners step into the musical mythscape as tourists? In the remainder of this section, I discuss how music as a particular embodied experience is especially suited to the notion of 'intense co-presence', which I will explain more specifically through the concepts of 'sonic knowledge' (Waite & Duffy, 2009) and 'the tourist ear' (Connell & Gibson, 2005).

### ***The role of embodied experiences in music tourism***

As music stands in an ambiguous relation to gazing, Connell and Gibson speak of ‘the tourist ear’ – meaning that music tourism revolves around sound and music, and possibly involves gazing, but also involves other dimensions of tourism experience. The tourist ear builds on the criticism of ‘the tourist gaze’ as central notion in tourism theory. The tourist gaze has been criticized for its visual focus and passivity (Chronis, 2015; Edensor & Falconer, 2011; Trandberg Jensen, Scarles & Cohen, 2015; Waitt & Duffy, 2009), giving rise to a conceptualization of tourism as embodied performance (Edensor, 2001) involving all the senses (Veijola & Jokinen, 1994), in recognition of the idea that ‘whereas places can be known through one’s vision and imagination, the more direct modes of experience such as taste, smell and touch play a similarly important role’ (Tuan 1974: 151; also see Thrift, 2008).

Urry has reconceptualized his notion of the gaze to include embodied experience and other senses than sight (Urry & Larsen, 2011: 20). However, the prominence of the visual remains present in his definition of tourism. As developed by Rakić and Chambers (2012), tourism is more than passive gazing; it involves all the senses. Tourist experiences are embodied, cognitive and affective ways of meaning making, as tourists move through spaces and actively make sense of their experiences. It is this extended notion of tourism embodiment and experience that I adopt in this dissertation.

As discussed by Waitt & Duffy (2009), music and sound shape the tourist experience, as music creates touristic spaces and adds an affective dimension to tourism experiences, offering ways to engage with and express ‘things that are hard to put into words’ (Cohen, 2007). This connects with a dimension of ‘place’ not discussed thus far: places are produced socially. As Massey suggests, places can be ‘conceptualized in terms of the social interactions they tie together’ (Massey, 1994: 155). Agnew refers to this dimension of place as ‘locale’ – ‘place is a series of locales where social life and environmental transformation take place’ (Agnew, 2011: 22). As Agnew elaborates, places ‘help forge values, attitudes and behaviors through structuring social interaction’. This social dimension of place is intimately connected to the concept of embodied musical experience.

Music ‘sounds out’ places literally and thereby marks out spaces for social interaction; as formulated by Stokes (1997: 5): ‘music is socially meaningful not entirely but largely because it provides means by which people recognize identities and places, and the boundaries which separate them.’ As music resounds in a space, it fills not only the listener but also the space the listener is in, creating its own space. Waitt and Duffy refer to this as the ‘sonic knowledge’ of places, which ‘foregrounds an understanding of space through the body’ (Waitt & Duffy, 2009: 467). Embodied musical experiences therefore afford specific ways to know, feel and experience spaces.

These experiences have personal and social implications. Through the tactile quality of music, coming to the listener as well as travelling *into* the listener (Cohen, 2007: 181; Waitt & Duffy, 2009), music creates its own time, space and motion as a temporal medium,

which makes places more intensely lived and tangible (Cohen, 2007; Hesmondhalgh, 2013b; Smith, 2000; Waitt & Duffy, 2009). In the words of Stokes: 'a musical event evokes and organizes collective memories and present experiences of place with an intensity, power and simplicity unmatched by any other social activity' (Stokes, 1997: 3 in Cohen, 2007: 182). Especially music's rhythmic quality and temporal unfolding is seen to play a major role in inducing these states of flow and even trance (Blacking, 1985; Csikszentmihalyi, 1976; DeNora, 2000; Turino, 2008). This is what Turino refers to as quoted in the previous section: music is not *about* belonging, but an *experience of belonging*.

Embodied musical experiences and experiences of flow depend on 'taking place'. The environment in which music is played or heard is essential to creating these experiences (Smith, 2000). Listening together to music in real-time can create a collective social identification, frequently called a sense of 'communitas' in reference to Turner's anthropological work on ritual (Hesmondhalgh, 2013b). Waitt and Duffy describe how people who listen to music together are taken on an embodied 'aural journey' of music together (Waitt & Duffy, 2009), while Hesmondhalgh points out that people who experience the same thing at the same time, report experiencing a sense of belonging to a community (Hesmondhalgh, 2013b). This is confirmed to the listener by seeing people around them react to the music in a similar fashion, which according to Smith (2000) confirms the intensity of the experience, and shows the listener understands the social ways of expressing that experience (Smith, 2000; Waitt & Duffy, 2009). Fans head banging in a mosh pit would be an example of a group displaying music-related practices that show both a particular intensity and the social conventions of behaving at a metal concert.

Music tourism offers moments of flow and connection when listening to music on site in the presence of likeminded others. A key article describing how this works is Arun Saldanha's analysis of Goa dancefloors (Saldanha, 2002), dealing with EDM tourism to Goa and the way music creates pleasurable spaces for inclusion of tourists and exclusion of locals on the dance floor through sound and movement. The work on EDM tourism is not the only research that deals with the role of embodied musical experiences in music tourism; it also appears in discussions of concert tourism such as Bruce Springsteen (Cavicchi, 1999), the Grateful Dead (Ward, 2014), The Beatles (Cohen, 2005) and festival tourism (Szmigin et al., 2017). Besides concerts, musical co-presence is also used to explain the popularity of music workshops (Ellis, 2011; Granger, 2015; Morton, 2005; Sarbanes, 2006). In chapter 6, I will explore this aspect of music tourism experience in more depth.

As remarked by Sandvoss (2014), the question remains whether these concert and listening experiences fully account for the special experience of community that music tourism supposedly provides – attending live music events is only a small part of what tourists do on site, and sometimes it is not even part of music tourism practices at all. As Cohen (2005) observes, music is present in different stages of tourism travel: before departure in ideas and imaginations about the musical place; during travel through concerts, museum visits, and as I will describe in chapter 5 as a soundscape; and after

returning home, in the memories and in listening back to the sounds and songs encountered on site. What is needed is a holistic approach to music tourism which brings together these different dimensions of music tourism experience – this is what I hope to offer with the model developed here.

## The meaning of music tourism

Inherent in the notion of tourism is that the tourist returns home at some point (Urry & Larsen, 2011). Therefore, the third and final step in understanding music tourism as a topophilic practice is to analyze how visiting places enriches the affection for music, which in this section I will do by exploring the meaning the visit is given after the listener-tourist has returned to everyday life.

Connell and Gibson observe that places continue to give meaning to music, while music invests places with authenticity value, as a consequence of the ideology of authenticity described before. This authenticity is based, according to Connell and Gibson, in heritage and nostalgia: ‘music tourism, like all cultural tourism, is about nostalgia, and involves a sense of heritage and authenticity’ (Connell & Gibson, 2003: 210).

In their work on music tourism Connell and Gibson mainly focus on nostalgia because at the time of writing (Connell & Gibson, 2003 and 2004; Gibson & Connell, 2005 and 2007) they observed that the most successful examples of music tourism were eye-catching examples involving popular music from the Sixties, such as Elvis’ Graceland and the Beatles Liverpool (Gibson & Connell, 2005: 260); destinations that attracted an older audience looking for places connected to the music of their youth. The analysis of music tourism as a nostalgia industry has been followed up in other research, such as Frost on AC/DC Lane (2008) and the similar way in which Johansson and Bell (2009) explain music tourism as a search for authenticity and nostalgia. The importance of places as ‘lieux de mémoire’ (Nora, 1989) of icons of popular music fits particularly well with the rise of the nostalgia industry and the contemporary ‘retromania’ of popular culture as analyzed by Reynolds (2011) and Lizardi (2015). However, as I will discuss in chapter 5, contemporary music tourism extends beyond examples of Sixties popular music nostalgia.<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, nostalgic explanations of music tourism often frame music-related travel as a modern version of pilgrimage. Tourism in general is compared frequently to pilgrimage, as a chosen journey to a significant place (Couldry, 2002). This comparison is not surprising, as fan-tourists themselves often use pilgrimage as a metaphor to describe the importance of their experiences (for example pointed out by Cavicchi, 1999 and Cohen, 2007). Besides the metaphor, Cavicchi also notes structural similarities in his study of Bruce Springsteen fans (Cavicchi, 1999): religious pilgrimages have a particular goal, they involve overcoming

<sup>4</sup> Even within examples of popular music nostalgia events, different kinds of nostalgic experience are possible – for example analysed by Van der Hoeven (2014) in relation to 90’s parties.

adversity to reach that goal, and during the pilgrimage, fans meet others trying to achieve the same goal. Drawing on the work of Turner and Turner (1978), in research on Graceland tourism and The Beatles tourism, tourist practices have been connected to different stages of pilgrimage, from preparing to travel, to the liminal phase of being on location, to a post-liminal phase of returning home and sharing the experience (Alderman, 2002; Brocken, 2016; King, 1994; Kruse, 2003 and 2005b; Rodman, 1996).

Despite these parallels, music tourism diverges from religious pilgrimage in significant ways. As remarked by Cohen (2007: 173) and Couldry (2005: 52), musical journeys generally do not have religious significance in the sense that they are about a communal search for a future place in another world; instead, as also pointed out by Sandvoss (2005) in his work on fandom, fan travels are individual journeys aimed at seeking a sense of place in this world. According to Reijnders in relation to media tourism more generally (2011), these journeys require a certain amount of suspension of disbelief; tourists recognize that they will never be able to truly enter their beloved, imagined worlds, but even so they play with the boundaries of what is real and what is not. This fundamentally goes against the nature of religious experience, as religion requires a belief in a transcendent, divine Truth (Reijnders, 2011).

The 'truth' found in music is often a personal one (Whyton, 2014) – as analyzed for example by Xie et al. (2007) in relation to hip-hop tourism to the Bronx in New York: 'for some tourists, Hip-Hop travel is a rite of passage, which is akin to a pilgrimage – the search for a greater depth of meaning and personal understanding – and may even be frequently repeated. The hood becomes the site for tourists who are in search of a validating authenticity' (Xie et al., 2007: 457). This is why musical journeys are often called secular pilgrimages (for example by Kruse, 2005b) that offer a replacement for the central role of religion in modern society (Doss, 2008; King, 1994; Margry, 2008). As a secular pilgrimage, music tourism is supposedly aimed at healing and wellbeing (Connell & Gibson, 2003), which connects to an active strand of research into the healing powers of music (for example by DeNora, 2000 and Andrews, Kingsbury & Kearns, 2014).

Still, the question remains whether connecting music tourism so closely to pilgrimage, and treating pilgrimage as an etic concept, is analytically useful. It is important to recognize the value of music tourism experiences to fans and tourists, as they use pilgrimage metaphors to differentiate between hedonistic tourism experiences (often equated with mass tourism, Urry & Larsen, 2011) and more profound experiences (Cavicchi, 1999; Cohen, 2007).

In fact, the frequent use of the pilgrimage metaphor by researchers shows that there is a tendency to focus on the most devoted fans, which might obliterate the nuances that occur when including more diverse groups of travelers, from devoted fan to accidental tourist. Therefore, in this dissertation I argue for a more situated and practice based approach to music tourism, treating comparisons with pilgrimage in the interviews only from an emic perspective. By taking this position, I follow up with comments made by

Martin Stokes in an afterword to an early special issue on music tourism (Stokes, 1999: 151), in which he remarks on the importance of context when seeing music tourism as pilgrimage. For example, the comparison takes on a different meaning when used to describe journeys involving Irish traditional music in Catholic Ireland, where the enthusiasm for pilgrimages resurged with the start of The Troubles (Stokes, 1999: 152), than it does when describing the enthusiasm for Beatles tourism to Liverpool. Tourists use pilgrimage comparisons in a complex context of values central to the music genre, discourses surrounding fandom, and tourists' personal spiritual self-representations. Therefore, beyond essentializing music tourism as (nostalgic) pilgrimage, it is more productive to analyze when, how, why and by whom the comparison is made, as I will do in chapter 6 of this dissertation.

## A holistic approach to music tourism

In this dissertation I present a holistic approach to music tourism, summarized as follows: listeners connect music with specific locations, turning these locations into 'mythscape'. This process is influenced by personal memories and experiences, images and narratives circulating in the media, and cultural narratives, following one or more of four mediations between musical imagination and place. This way, listening to music affords a musical mythscape, which can be visited in reality through travel – step 2 in the model.

On location, musical sounds offer a 'sonic knowledge' (Waite & Duffy, 2009) of places through what Connell & Gibson call 'the tourist ear' (Connell & Gibson, 2004), potentially resulting in experiences of flow and *communitas*. Moreover, this embodied musical experience affords ways to map personal onto cultural identities (Hesmondhalgh, 2013b). Music tourism thereby is an activity through which tourists can engage with, create and negotiate identities, providing a perspective on place that Bennett calls the 'musicalized tourist gaze' (Bennett, 2002). 'Places' in this process can become focal points, anchoring music to localities and thereby offering authenticity – Connell and Gibson's 'ideology of authenticity'. Finally, the touristic experience provides information, images and memories that in turn can play a role in how music tourists imagine both the destination and engage with the music. Music tourist experiences therefore feed back into the way music stimulates the imagination. Engaging with this final, third step in the model, the question remains what meaning this process has to tourist-listeners beyond explanations of nostalgia and pilgrimage.

I refer to this as a holistic approach to music tourism because I aim to study music tourism in its cultural context (Bird, 2003), because I conceptualize places as a geographical context for the mediation of physical, social and economic processes (Agnew, 2011: 4), and because I include different stages of touristic travel – on-site experiences are included as well as images and ideas about the destination in the tourist imagination before traveling (Crouch et al., 2005). A holistic model also could include the multiple actors that play a role

in the processes described. For example, music tourism is a phenomenon firmly embedded in the music, tourism and media industries, as the concept of mythscapes already attests to. However, in the empirical part of this dissertation I will focus on the music listener, who turns into a music tourist when visiting the places of the musical imagination. As Agnew states (2011), places are always created through the socio-spatial imagination; it is in the mind of the listener that the connection between music and place is first made (Reijnders, 2011). This dissertation therefore has an explorative character, focusing on the connections established by listener-tourists before, during and after travel, and the role of music in this process.

In the upcoming chapters I will examine and refine the model presented in this chapter, and the theories it is built on, using three empirical cases, confronting theory with empirical reality. More specifically, in the first empirical study, presented in chapter 4, I explore step 1 of the model: how music stimulates the imagination, and how the process of imagining place through music works. Based on a study involving music listeners and the playlists they make for going on holiday, I will argue in chapter 4 that music provides listeners with a specific type of metonym, a hypallage, which allows listeners to connect the feeling that listening to music evokes in them with specific locations, turning these locations into personalized 'mythscapes'. This whole process is influenced by personal memories and experiences, for example during holidays, and images and narratives encountered in the media.

Subsequently in chapters 5 and 6, I will explore what happens when listeners step into their musical mythscapes. In chapter 5 I build on what I have described as the role of music in affording embodied experiences of both personal and cultural identities. To this purpose I compare and analyze three examples of music tourism relating to different decades of music history and different music genres: Wagner tourism to Bayreuth, Germany; ABBA tourism to Stockholm, Sweden; and U2 tourism to Dublin, Ireland. I do not focus solely on nostalgia in that chapter, as I have discussed in this chapter that this might be too narrow a perspective to understand contemporary forms of music tourism. Instead, the analysis is focused on the experience of music tourism through the concept of identity-work, exploring how tourists relate their personal music memories to cultural narratives and embodied musical experiences on site.

In chapter 6, I analyze the role of making music on-site in stimulating and creating spaces and experiences of *communitas* and flow, further exploring the connection between music and non-representational experiences of place and sociality. As I have discussed that place is essential for music to possibly induce moments of flow and *communitas*, the chapter explores how visiting place inspires making music during music workshops of different sizes in three different countries, involving three different music genres: Irish traditional music, classical music and Prague jazz. 'Locale' is shown not to be limited to on-site experiences, but also exists in relation to translocal fan communities. More remarkably, where music workshops can indeed induce moments of



flow and *communitas*, participants also continuously rank themselves in relation to other participants. This turns the music workshops into spaces where the value of community and the values of competition and individual achievement are negotiated and celebrated.

In the conclusion I move beyond the specifics of these cases and discuss how the analysis of the empirical data informs the process of music tourism as discussed here, I reflect on the model as presented in this chapter, and based on the research project as a whole, I conclude with accounting for the popularity of music tourism. Before empirically building my argument in the next chapter, I will first discuss the methodological choices that I made along the way.



# Chapter 3

## Reflections on methodology and research design



In the previous chapter I made a start with building an analytical framework to understand contemporary music tourism. I intend to reflect and expand on these ideas in the chapters to follow, drawing on qualitative empirical data gathered in three case studies. This set-up points towards a certain outlook on the nature of research, qualitative research in particular, and it has required a set of choices that in turn have influenced the outcomes of my work. In this chapter, I will explain the methodological choices that underpin my study as a whole, and the methods that I have used to gather my data. First I will explain why I chose a qualitative approach for this research project, and I will discuss the methodology on which the study was built. In line with this methodology, I discuss the choices in designing the study as a whole (in the respective empirical chapters I address in more detail the specific choices made to accommodate the sub-studies). After having described the study design, I dive deeper into the methods used for data gathering, discussing my approach to interviewing in particular. To conclude this chapter, I reflect on my own position as a researcher in designing, conducting and writing up this research.

## **A qualitative approach: research questions**

This research is concerned with the way tourists give meaning to their trips, and the myriad ways music is part of both the physical and imaginative journey taken. Studying cultural behavior as situated in actual practice means to be sensitive to concepts and theory that may derive from research, while keeping in touch with the context of lived experience (Shenton, 2004: 71; Christians & Carey, 1989: 363). Eric Cohen formulates the goal for qualitative sociological research on tourism as follows: it should offer both insight into the 'psychological state of tourists' as well as into the 'socio-structural features of tourist settings' and the 'cultural symbols expressed in the touristic process' (Cohen, 1988: 43). This is a very ambitious set of goals, although I do believe a qualitative approach offers a way of exploring the process of meaning construction underlying the activity of music tourism, touching upon motivations, socio-cultural context and processes of signification.

In order to explore these dimensions, I answer the main research question – what explains the popularity of music tourism? – through three subquestions:

- 1) How does music stimulate the imagination of place?
- 2) How does music contribute to the touristic experience of place?
- 3) How do music tourists give meaning to their practices?

By answering these questions, I aim for a holistic perspective on music tourism in which I understand music tourism in its context, linked to other aspects of culture (Bird, 2003: 7).

## Reflections on research methodology

My research questions are fundamentally qualitative, as they concern elusive notions analyzed not only through *what* tourists say and do, but also by *how* they say and do it (in accordance with Holstein & Gubrium, 1999: 106). The importance of such an approach I find in the methodological considerations of social constructionism and in what Couldry and Hepp (2016) have more recently called a 'materialist phenomenology'.

Social constructionism is a broad-based epistemological approach to understanding how talk and text work to construct our social lives (McKerrell, 2016: 425). A social constructionist view on reality is non-essentialist, meaning that although a reality outside of human perception exists, it cannot be objectively known. Instead, reality as it appears to human beings is constructed through social action; the world we live in is continuously brought into being by the meaning making practices of people inhabiting it.

At the same time that reality is brought forth through social action, the things people do and the way they give meaning is restrained by the social world. In the words of Schwandt (2000: 197): 'we invent concepts, models and schemes to make sense of experience, and we continually test and modify these constructions in the light of new experience. Furthermore, there is an inevitable historical and sociocultural dimension to this construction. We do not construct our interpretations in isolation but against a backdrop of shared understandings, practices, language, and so forth.' Thus, people create reality while also being constrained and shaped by that reality or culture that already exists. As Holstein and Gubrium suggest, the world we inhabit and our relations to it 'are not simply and self-evidently there' – rather, participants 'actively construct the world of everyday life and its constituent elements' (Holstein & Gubrium, 1999: 425).

In tourism, this perspective means that the object of tourism is not given a priori, but is created – a tourism office tells stories of a city to sell it to tourists, while music fans decide to travel to the home of their idol. This home is not an official landmark or tourism destination, but becomes one through fans seeing it as such. This is what John Urry calls the 'tourist gaze': tourism does not exist in material artefacts or locations, but is located in the eye of the beholder (Urry & Larsen, 2011).

Tourists interpret the world in particular ways, and this is influenced by the social. In line with the way Couldry and Hepp adjust to criticism on classical phenomenology and constructionism (2016: 5-9), the world does not consist of interpretation alone; the social world is constructed through the interrelations between the material (technology) and symbolic cultural forms, a 'materialist phenomenology' (2016: 5). In this combination of materiality and meaning making, 'there is something fundamentally at stake for us, as human beings, in the order that we make in and of the world, an order whose normative force goes far beyond the particular arrangements that, as individuals and collectives, we assemble' (Couldry & Hepp, 2016: 9). Understanding the ways people make sense of the world around them, bring order to their experiences, and then interrelating these

narratives with the material order and practices observed, answers a fundamental question that I subscribe to with this research project: how do we become embedded in the world, and conversely, what does this mean in terms of exclusion?

### ***Moving from situated experience to grounded theory***

In this dissertation, I am interested in the way tourists create place with and through music. This is a very general question, and one of the core issues in terms of methodology is how to go from the situated experience of a selected group of tourists, to a more broadly conceived theory of music tourism experience. In line with a qualitative approach based on a social constructionist perspective, I do not strive for generalizability of my conclusions. All knowledge is situated (Haraway, 1988), meaning that it is influenced, shaped and limited by the context of its creation. I have strived for a thick description (Geertz, 1973) of the cases chosen, continuously refining and reworking the ideas and analytical frames based on the data. My research conclusions are likewise a reflection of a moment in time, open to new refinement and reworking through new and different data gathered.

This view on research is characteristic of grounded theory, the particular approach adopted from the outset in this research project. Grounded theory was first developed by Glaser and Strauss in the 1960's, to offer a more structured approach to qualitative enquiry and elevating it to the same level of scholarly quality as the positivist quantitative methods used up until that point. Grounded theory in its original formulation is based on the idea that all social phenomena are social processes that can be researched meaningfully through an iterative process of developing and refining codes and categories by the constant comparison of data. The goal is to get to a grounded theory of a particular segment of social life.

My way of approaching grounded theory is based on the work of Kathy Charmaz (2006). Charmaz bases herself on Strauss and Corbin (1990) in adopting the flexibility of the approach and the iterative nature of it. At the same time, she has changed the analysis phases from open, selective and axial coding (Strauss and Corbin, 1990), to open and selective or focused coding stages.

Charmaz has also changed the role of theory in grounded theory, offering a solution to one of the most profound criticisms on the method. Original grounded theory assumes the field is entered without any theoretical ideas or concept guiding the research. Charmaz acknowledges that it is impossible to approach the data without theory in mind. However, having an open mind towards your data does not mean the same as having an empty mind (Charmaz, 2006: 48).

I likewise have approached my data with an open mind, not being led by concepts already developed about music tourism. Instead, I have used these ideas and concepts as sensitizing concepts (Bowen, 2006), offering initial ideas and directions to enter the field. Based on my own data gathered and the in-depth interviews that I conducted, my own ideas, concepts and analytical frame have developed. For instance, I started my research

knowing that pilgrimage is often used to describe certain types of travel, and that it is also used often in the context of music-related travel. I consciously did not offer this concept to my interviewees, and asked follow up questions when they used it themselves. This way, I kept an open mind to other ways to study music tourism, and eventually developed a nuanced stance on music pilgrimage, as described in the previous chapter.

The goal of any grounded theory is to arrive at an empirically grounded theory of social life (hence the name). What counts as a theory? In this dissertation, my research aim is to develop an analytical framework to explain the process of how music can lead to music tourism, and then contextualize this framework in current cultural developments. The framework offered is based on the cases and data gathered during this particular project, and can serve as a starting point to be used and developed further through future application in different empirical arenas.

### **An iterative, comparative research design**

As Maxwell describes, the elements of a qualitative research project behave like a rubber band (Maxwell, 2005), holding together while at the same time being flexible to accommodate new data and ideas that might necessitate adapting the research questions, or the approach, or the data collection. In this project, the research process has been iterative and flexible (Bryman, 2016), meaning that phases of data collection were followed by analysis, which lead to a new research design, new data collection and again analysis. In this research, for example, what now is the project described in chapter 4 on holiday playlists, was actually the second project developed and conducted, based on results from the project described in chapter 5. This process of refinement is in line with the nature of the grounded theory approach described in the previous section (Charmaz, 2006).

Next to being iterative, this research is also thoroughly comparative. Constant comparison during data collection and data analysis allows for patterns to emerge from the data that strengthen and refine the analytical frame, which is the goal of this research project. In this case, three subprojects make up the bulk of the data collection. These projects can be considered case studies in the sense that they are 'specific, real-life cases that offer a concrete manifestation of the abstract concept' (Yin, 2013: 34), in this instance, particular kinds of music tourism in practice. Two of the projects are themselves again comparatively designed, each comparing three different instances of a specific type of music tourism. In that sense, I have adopted a multiple case study design (Yin, 2013: 57), without subscribing to the type of case study research that requires theory to guide the research design (Yin, 2013: 37).

The choice for the specific subprojects was made in relation to the progressive analysis of the data already gathered. The first project, described in chapter 5, was designed to explore the role of nostalgia (treated as a sensitizing concept) in music

tourism. The literature emphasizes the importance of nostalgia for baby boomers and so called 'snowbirds', who travel to places related to Sixties' music (Gibson & Connell, 2005: 121), but music tourism examples involving other timeframes exist as well. That is why I compared tourism to three music tourism locations, spreading music genres and eras to look for communalities and see what role nostalgia played in this broader context.

From this project, the analysis emerged that nostalgia was not the core concept of interest, but that 'identity-work' was more central. After finishing up this analysis, I also noted that ideas and images already present in the minds of the tourists were of central importance to the practices and meanings of this type of tourism. This is why I became interested in the way music stimulates the imagination of place – the step before actual travel. At that moment, I designed a study to explore this question. The sampling in that case was theoretical, as I designed the study in such a way that I could talk about imagining places through and with music, but not be limited to a specific music genre or a specific connection of music to place (classical music is less visually focused, while in popular music, music videos are more common). This became the study described in chapter 4.

When this substudy was finished, I had explored the process of how music leads to imagining place and I had explored what happens when people actually go and visit certain places because of a connection with music. Finally, I wanted to explore how the experience of place stimulates making music. The last substudy was designed to explore this question through studying music workshops, which can again be called theoretical sampling. Another reason to explore music making holidays (or 'participatory music tourism' as I call it) was because this is actually one of the kinds of music-related travel that is central in ethnomusicological research. I wanted to take this research into a new empirical arena, closer to home – the music of Europe. Also, before being able to explore this type of music tourism with a fresh eye, it was important I was not led by the ideas and concepts developed in ethnomusicology, but to have developed my own categories and concepts. The analytical frame I was working on was already established, and this last substudy would allow me to refine it without running the risk of merely reproducing the theories and knowledge already developed in ethnomusicology. Starting with my own ideas, I could approach this case from firm empirical and theoretical ground, seeing what my framework adds to the analysis, and in what ways it should be adapted or could be enriched based on a new example of music tourism in practice.

## **Triangulating data from multiple sources**

To study the different research questions it was necessary to triangulate data from different sources, including participant observation, interviews and written sources. That is why I performed a multi-method qualitative study consisting of three subprojects with their own design and methods used.



The first subproject (presented in chapter 5) was conducted between the summer of 2013 and spring 2014. This study consisted of fieldwork trips to Bayreuth, Germany (6 days); Stockholm, Sweden (two times 4 days); and Dublin, Ireland (4 days). During these trips, I participated in walking tours, visited museums, interviewed local tourism officers and tour guides, spoke with tourists on location, gathered and studied tourism information (flyers, program booklets, tourism office information), and collected contact information from tourists for in-depth interviewing after their journey.

My experiences during these trips were documented in handwritten fieldnotes and memos, while I recorded and transcribed the interviews (verbatim). The method of sampling for interview participants was a combination of theoretical (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), convenience and snowball sampling (Bryman, 2016). The locations were chosen in accordance with my initial goal to explore the role of nostalgia in contemporary music tourism examples from different timeframes and genres, which is an example of theoretical sampling. While on location I relied on a form of convenience sampling used often in tourism studies (see for example Reijnders, 2011), as I approached tourists who were taking part in music tourism activities. The advantage of this type of convenience sampling is that it is easier to establish rapport with potential interviewees. Especially in the case of U2 tourism in Dublin, snowballing helped to acquire more interviewees through the tourists met on site, as a Dutch U2 fan posted my call for interviewees on a closed Facebook group.

As discussed, this study led to the need to explore the way music is capable of inducing imaginations of place. With this purpose in mind, I designed an interview study running in August and September 2015 (chapter 4 of this dissertation). The sampling in this case was a combination of theoretical and snowballing samples, as I approached interviewees living in the Netherlands through Facebook, Twitter, a music streaming website, and through initial interviewees. I took care to gather a diverse group of interviewees, 17 in total, differing in age, educational level, music preference and geographical location in the Netherlands – spread roughly equally in accordance with data obtained from Spotify Netherlands. The data I received from Spotify was data made available to advertisers, and consisted of percentages of users interested in specific playlists (see Figure 1 and 2) and their general characteristics.

The third subproject (chapter 6 of this dissertation) was conducted between May and September 2016, and consisted of attending three music workshops and subsequent in-depth interviewing of participants. The mode of participant observation was more towards the participative side than in the first subproject, as I took part myself in the music workshops by playing flute. In May I attended a 4-day flute retreat in Corfu, Greece; in July I attended the Willie Clancy music week (8 days) in Miltown Malbay, Ireland, and in August I attended the Czech Jazz Workshop in Prague, Czech Republic (11 days). Again I took handwritten fieldnotes, I spoke with participants and organizers, and I established

rapport and gathered contact information to conduct interviews upon return, resulting in 17 interviews.

### ***Active interviewing: striking a balance***

Because interviews are such a large part of the overall data and play a central role in the analysis, I discuss my approach to interviewing here in more detail in order to show how this has impacted my research and its conclusions.

The approach to interviewing adopted derives from the qualitative perspective of this research, and falls under what Holstein and Gubrium call 'active interviewing' (Holstein & Gubrium, 1999). Accounts from interviewees form part of the social world they describe (Silverman, 2001: 95), both recounting and constructing social action. During the interview, interviewers and interviewees are co-constructors of knowledge, both actively engaged in meaning construction (Holstein & Gubrium, 1999; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009: 18; Roulston, 2010: 60; Silverman, 2001: 87). In the last section where I reflect on my influence on this research as a researcher, I will also reflect more specifically on my role as an interviewer.

The collaborative notion of interviewing stands in contrast to two other main approaches to interviewing: positivist and emotionalist interviewing. These two approaches are based on the idea that knowledge is already present in the interviewee, as a passive vessel of knowledge, and only needs to be extracted by the interviewer in a particular way (Holstein & Gubrium, 1999; Roulston, 2010). In the positivist perspective knowledge is of a rational nature, and is found uncontaminated if extracted or 'mined' (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009) in the right way and in the right circumstances. In the romantic or emotionalist conception of interviewing, a conversation in the right setting leads to the offering up of deep emotional truths by the interviewee (Roulston, 2010: 59; Silverman, 2001: 87).

The kind of knowledge produced with active interviewing is a combination of different perspectives, i.e. phenomenological, hermeneutic and discursive. A phenomenological approach focuses on how subjects experience phenomena; a hermeneutic approach focuses on the interpretation of meaning and the discursive focuses on how language and discursive practices construct the social worlds in which human beings live (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009: 14). In active interviewing as proposed by Holstein and Gubrium, all three aims are combined; interviewing is about striking a balance between the 'how' of meaning construction (hermeneutic and discursive) and the 'what' of lived experience (phenomenological, cf. Holstein & Gubrium, 1999: 106).

The interviews were not free entirely, and a topic guide provided structure. This structure was not leading the interview towards predetermined outcomes, as I took care to let the interviewee speak and offer topics, which I then probed and invited the interviewee to expand upon and explain by briefly summarizing their answers and asking a follow up question. The interviews were thus semi-structured, taken as meant by Kvale and Brinkmann: being neither an open everyday conversation nor a closed questionnaire

(Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009: 27). Although questions were formulated in the interview guide (see appendix B), these were treated more as guiding questions and themes than as a fixed set of things to ask (Bryman, 2016).

The interviews were conducted through Skype, telephone, or if possible at home or a location suggested by and comfortable for the interviewee. For interviewees based in The Netherlands, I let interviewees choose a location that to them was most comfortable, as some people are more relaxed in their personal environment and generally interviewing at home facilitated people showing pictures and other items during the interview that were not discussed or requested by me beforehand. For example, I had a very enjoyable afternoon being shown the U2 memorabilia by an avid U2 fan. This led to a discussion of different ways fans try to influence concerts and try to get close to the band members and what this means to fans, focusing my attention on what eventually would become the theme of 'proximity' further discussed in chapter 5. Others may feel more self-conscious about showing their home (Bird, 2003: 14), which can influence the richness and depth of the interview.

Some interviews I conducted over Skype and telephone, which was necessary because I talked with tourists from all over the world. Because I had already made contact during the fieldwork stage, these telephone and Skype conversations were generally lengthy and interviewees talked freely, although a slight difference in length is noticeable between male and female interviews (in line with Bird's observations, 2003: 14). Yet, the topic influenced the ease and level of intimacy with which both male and female interviewees talked, as I gave them an opportunity to talk about a topic very close to their hearts. For instance, I had a long (1,5 hours) and open interview with a male ABBA fan, whom I had met during one of the ABBA walks in Stockholm, in which we talked about his childhood, emotional connection to ABBA and what the visit to Stockholm meant to him in a manner and with a level of intimacy comparable to interviews with female interviewees.

To offer interviewees the best possible way of expressing themselves in a detailed manner, I conducted the interviews in the mother tongue of the interviewee if possible, and in the preferred language of the interviewee if not the mother tongue. This means that the majority of interviews were conducted in English and Dutch, as well as some interviews in German. For the Dutch interviews language was not an influencing factor, as I am a native speaker and so were the interviewees who chose Dutch for the interview language. The interviews in English were not an issue for me as a researcher either.<sup>5</sup> Some of my interviewees did have trouble expressing themselves in English, so if possible I asked them to describe or use the words in their native tongue (to look up the translation during transcription), and I asked the interviewees to take their time, to try to formulate it differently, and to describe concrete examples (which I would compare to the translated word in the transcription).

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<sup>5</sup> Tested C2 (near native) on the European Framework of Reference.

A few interviews for the first substudy were conducted in German. I prepared for these extensively, looking up words I might need. During the interviews, I switched to English if I wasn't entirely sure what was said. Moreover, I had the transcripts checked by a German native speaker. However, these interviews were a bit shorter than the English and Dutch ones, which could mean language influenced the depth of these interviews.

The interviews were recorded using a voice recorder, and after the interview transcribed verbatim. I transcribed the majority of interviews myself, although a professional transcription service transcribed 15 of the playlist study interviews, while a student transcribed 4 of the music workshop study interviews. The transcripts were read and re-read, before analyzing them further through qualitative analysis software Atlas.ti.

## Notes on data analysis

By using grounded theory as a methodology, data gathering and analysis are necessarily intertwined processes: while I was gathering data, I started with the analysis, and this analysis led me to go back into the field and gather more data. On top of that, I started coding interviews and fieldwork notes while still out in the field, as an on-going process of coding, categorizing and refining my analysis.

Based on the process of constant comparison and to check myself and my data, I gathered and triangulated data from the different sources described: interviews, fieldwork and documents such as tourism brochures. I analysed this data through several stages of coding. This process again was not separated into neatly delineated actions, but rather was a constant process of inductive and deductive categorization, across data sources. I also checked my results with other research on the topic in the writing stages of separate chapters of this dissertation, which confirmed my findings and allowed me to refine my codes and categories further for subsequent subprojects.

I started the analysis with open coding (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Charmaz, 2006), meaning that I read and re-read the text at hand (interview transcript, fieldnote, memo, brochure, etcetera) to get a good feel for it, and then would proceed with attaching codes in computer program Atlas.ti. I made sure to use predominantly gerunds in my coding ('feeling nostalgic' instead of 'nostalgia') and to code line-by-line (Charmaz, 2006), which I did to ensure the close fit with the data and to keep the processual nature of social life top of mind in the analysis. In the example of nostalgia, I used the code 'nostalgia' only when interviewees would use it in the stage of open coding, and coding their words in gerunds like 'feeling nostalgic'; and 'commenting on the marketing of nostalgia' ensured I captured the complex and multiple ways nostalgia as a concept was constructed throughout the interviews (Boym, 2001).

After the initial open coding phase, I went through the codes and grouped them into themes. Going back through the data and adding additional new data allowed me to refine the themes and add more codes and themes where needed. When no more new

codes and themes could be generated, I re-evaluated the analysis and started the writing phase. Because of the connection of the topic of music to personal identity, the interviews have elements of life stories in them, making it important to pay attention in the analysis to the interviews as narratives. When you see interviews as stories recounted, created in the interaction between interviewer and interviewee, thematic analysis is not the only axis of analysis available. A story is analyzed not only on a thematic level, but also on use of language, character development, narrative structure, and narrative space (Jahn, 2005). Although interviews are not aesthetically constructed stories like a novel, in my analysis I have adopted elements of narrative analysis to prevent the risk of fragmentation of data (Bryman, 2016).

This means that next to thematic coding, I have paid attention to the language used in the interview (metaphors, returning wordings or idioms, the place of certain remarks and utterances in the interview), and to the construction of narrative space, as this is especially interesting in relation to my research questions: how do interviewees describe space and place, what words do they choose to talk about this, and so forth. The structure of the interview and the overall occurrence of certain topics and their pervasiveness in the interviews has also played a role in my analysis of the data. For example: in the third case, my initial interest was the role of place in music tourism workshops, but this did not play a role in the first set of interviews. That is why I shifted my analytical lens. This is also one of the central ideas of grounded theory, to follow the data in terms of analytical categories, and my narratively inspired type of analysis helped this process by paying attention to the overall structure of the interviews.

## **Ethical considerations and positionality**

As to the ethical dimensions of data gathering and analysis: in general I have strived to treat my participants with respect, and I am very grateful for the time they took to talk with me and for being kind enough to share their often intimate stories. Money was never paid for participating in my research, and I did not interview anyone under 18. I did speak to teenage children visiting the music-related locations as tourists during my fieldwork, but always in presence of at least one of their parents or caretakers. I have included this for example in my analysis of ABBA tourism in Stockholm, as it turned out that this attracted a remarkable amount of parent-child couples (chapter 5).

In the case of Wagner and U2 tourism, a political dimension was present in the conversations and interviews conducted. The current Wagner festival has a complicated relation with Nazism and the historic relations the Wagner family had with Hitler, as he was a guest in Bayreuth and a vocal supporter of the festival. This led to sometimes-tense discussions of how one can love music and be a fan of Wagner, if it is connected to such a difficult history. I included these contradictory and ambivalent feelings and remarks in my analysis, as I make clear for example in chapter 5 where I discuss the cognitive dissonance

that occurred when separating Wagner as a historical person from the oeuvre he left behind that is performed and enjoyed to this day. During interviews, I would generally leave difficult questions for the end of the interview, when enough trust was built to be able to ask these questions.

Aside from these ethical considerations, as with any researcher (Bird, 2003; Charmaz, 2006) in this project my background has influenced the research and its outcomes in several ways. My position as a relatively young, female, Caucasian, Dutch academic researcher with proficiency in several European languages and a granted research budget made it possible to gain relative easy access to a field with a cultural context already familiar to me and to approach tourists on site, conduct interviews and do research in multiple languages. At the same time, the way people perceive academics (Bird, 2003: 13) may have influenced the data gathered, as this might have put up boundaries. I have tried to balance these influences by investing time in establishing contact before doing semi-structured interviews, so I was not entirely unfamiliar to interviewees, and I aimed to interview people with different educational backgrounds in the study described in chapter 4.

My background and experience as a musician also influenced my outlook on this research and on music tourism in general. I have been and still am a music tourist myself in several ways, having joined multiple music tours of orchestras in the past, and having attended many festivals of different music genres. To some extent then, I already had an idea of the experience of particular kinds of music tourism before I started this project.

Having been trained as a classical flautist has sensitized me to include classical music tourism examples, which is not done often in music tourism research. I have also been able to talk about music in different ways, finding wordings and sympathizing with interviewees who do not possess the technical knowledge and vocabulary to vocalize their thoughts and ideas about how music affects them during tourism. This way, I was able to talk to both professional musicians and non-players about their thoughts and feelings and ideas during interviews and on fieldwork.

During the music workshop fieldwork, I could participate and thereby gain unique access to the field. In one instance, my participation might have also caused issues. I arrived a day early for the flute retreat on Corfu, and was able to join a previous group for their last two playing sessions. As I found out during my fieldwork, music workshops create certain group dynamics that revolve around playing level and attuning to one another. The tensions in this particular group had been growing over the weekend, and me joining the group sparked an argument that lasted until the next morning when one of the participants left the workshop. This example was useful in the sense that it immediately turned me towards paying attention to the role of group dynamics throughout the fieldwork trips.

Sharing an interest in listening to and playing music made it possible to establish rapport quite easily across music genres, even though the tourists involved were quite

diverging in terms of age and social class.<sup>6</sup> As Marlies (Metal fan, playlist study) put it, reflecting a sentiment shared by more interviewees across the three studies: ‘there is a bigger divide between those having a passion for music and those not caring for music at all, than there is between people being passionate about opposing music genres.’ Interviewees generally spoke like this after I told them what music I listen to, as interviewees often asked this question and I decided to be honest when I interviewed tourists interested in music genres far removed from my own preferences. At first I was reluctant to be too forthcoming with my own musical tastes when asked about it, but as the interviewing progressed I noticed interviewees would generally respond the way Marlies did. Additionally, I asked interviewees about their opinions, and according to them it was better to run the risk of creating a distance between me as interviewer and the interviewee based on diverging music tastes than to be seen as ‘inauthentic’ by not being open about my own preferences – this is one of the ways authenticity as a concept surfaced as important to music listeners during my research.

As this methodological chapter is built around my view that all knowledge is anchored in the situated experience of the naturally occurring context, it is now time to turn to the empirical data that support this research.

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<sup>6</sup> An overview of interviewees can be found in appendix A.





# Chapter 4

## Imagining place through holiday playlists



This chapter is under review with minor revisions at the *European Journal of Cultural Studies*.  
The introduction and conclusion have been rewritten to reflect the role of this study within  
the research project as a whole.

*When I'm creating a playlist I see...a beautiful scenery, the English roads, my window slightly opened, I'm stretched out on the back seat, the music is playing.....*

(Jaap, 34, Dutch)

Jaap describes what his mind's eye sees when he is selecting songs to take with him on holiday, creating a holiday playlist through streaming service Spotify. For Jaap, as for many others, music contributes to the imagining of place, from the mundane and familiar setting of everyday life to dreams of a faraway tropical paradise. Prior studies have shown how, in many different settings and cultures, music is closely connected to spatial identities, sometimes even seen as the 'soul' of a landscape (Feld & Basso, 1996; Stokes, 1997). This role of music in the construction of spatial identities is remarkable, since music does not show images of place in the same manner as, for example, a picture or movie does.

The connection of music to place has become even more tenuous in the age of music's 'ultimate ephemerality' (Graves-Brown, 2009): the Internet age. Music is characterized by dynamic processes of spatial mobility, in which the connection between music and local places is infused and challenged by the global spread and popularity of genres, bands and musicians. Contemporary technology aids this development by providing increased accessibility to musical sounds and music production all over the world (Connell & Gibson, 2003). The streaming service Jaap is using gives him easy access to a library of over twenty million songs that he can listen to wherever he has access to the interface (Nylund Hagen, 2015). Sound is in motion, across mediums as much as across geography.

Thus, the question where music belongs geographically is increasingly complicated to answer, while notions of locality and place apparently continue to add value to music consumption (Jordan, 2011; Kruse, 2010; Pardue, 2016) and production (Solomon, 2009). Where technological developments such as streaming have increased music's ability to transcend geography, it is unlikely that notions of physical geography will disappear entirely from popular music discourse (Kruse, 2010). Like Jaap in the opening quote, music audiences continue to construct ideas about musical places and create attachments to these imagined musical worlds.

As imagined places play an important role in tourism, as virtual tourism (Connell & Gibson, 2004) and as a precursor to travel (Crouch et al., 2005; Reijnders, 2015), in this chapter I explore the first step in my model of creating attachments to place: how music listeners imagine places and what these imagined places mean to them.

A starting point for exploring this process can be found in the work of Connell and Gibson, who posit that place references in music lyrics feed into an 'ideology of authenticity'; songs becoming easier to identify with if they are localizable (2003: 116). Similarly, in an analysis of the Canterbury Sound, Bennett (2002) explores how place forms an important reference point for fan communities. Music lends place a special 'vibe', which somehow carries certain images, ideas and values associated to that place across

its geographical boundaries, the mediated 'musical mythscapes' that I have discussed in chapter 2 (Bennett, 2002: 89).

Going beyond the analysis of particular songs and specific local sounds, in this chapter I am concerned with music listeners. Moving away from an analysis involving the music itself, I aim to explore the underlying process by which music audiences imagine musical places, and the meaning of these imagined places in their love of music. Thus, shifting the focus of research to audience imagining, the central question of this chapter is: how do music streamers associate between music and place, what do these associations consist of, and what meaning is attached to these associations?

In previous research the focus has been on how notions of place are constructed *in* music or music related texts and images, for example through analyzing lyrics, sleeve notes and album covers. Some research has been done that explores how musicians visualize place through the method of sketch mapping, and these drawn maps serve to discuss imaginations of the city (Cohen, 2014). As already mentioned in chapter 2, Bennett explores the role of the media in creating images of musical places, leading to what he calls 'musical mythscapes' (Bennett, 2002: 89). What stands out about this work is that the notion of imagining is defined visually: an idea about musical places is created through visual means, such as sketching out a map or describing the process of how a picture or documentary leads to the idea of a particular sound. As discussed in chapter 2, music is not only and not primarily visual, which is why in this chapter the process of imagining place is explored through *musically* imagining. As I will argue, musically imagining offers inroads into analyzing how attachments to places are created, and forms the first step to understand music tourism.

In order to explore how music stimulates the imagination of place, I conducted interviews with 17 Dutch music streamers, using their holiday playlists as a starting point for conversations about music and places. The streamers used Spotify, a service that allows its members to compile lists of songs that they can listen to at their own convenience. When compiled to take with on or to commemorate a holiday,<sup>7</sup> the resulting user-generated list is a holiday playlist as referred to in this chapter. Talking about holiday music is a way of actively creating the imaginative connection between music and place, which is why the choice was made to use holiday playlists as a special focus for interviewing.

Before analyzing the specific ways a musical imagination of place is created and how this leads into attachments to place for the music streamers interviewed, I start with a theoretical perspective on the notion of a musical imagination.

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<sup>7</sup> With 'holiday' I refer to the meaning of the word in British English, which would be a 'vacation' to American readers.

## Imagining place through music

The way places are represented in music has been a rich topic of research in cultural geography and popular music studies. Research shows that lyrics contribute to the symbolic construction of places, which for instance is the case in raps about Istanbul (Solomon, 2005), New York (Xie et al., 2007) and Cape Verde (Pardue, 2016). Connell and Gibson (2004) have analyzed how certain genres of music can create 'virtual tourism' – the feeling of experiencing particular destinations without actually visiting them. By evoking images of places through lyrics, album covers and sleeve notes, genres such as exotica, ambient and world music create mainly visual imaginations of exotic locales. Elliott has described in a similar vein how holiday records offer ways to create visualized imaginings of holiday destinations such as the way collections of fado songs evoke a specific image of Portugal (Elliott, 2010 and 2014).

What these works have in common is that the process of imagining is ascribed to the musical work itself, or relegated to what Genette calls its paratexts – place is imagined *in* music or music-related texts, representing an image of absence (Genette, 1997). The imagination is often defined through this idea of absence, imagining a visual mental image in absence of its perceptual presence (Lennon, 2014: 11). As music also consists of non-visual elements, the definition of imagining needs further refinement.

### ***A musical imagination***

According to Nicholas Cook (1990), music prompts the imagination in two ways. First of all, music gives rise to what he calls an 'interpretative position,' which is comparable to the way literature induces imagining: readers fill in the gaps of meaning that exist between words, and in that sense create a full image of what it is they are reading (indirectly referring to the work by Iser (1974) on the implied reader). Music offers this interpretative reading through its paratexts, which can be linguistic (for example sleeve notes) or visual (music videos, album covers, etcetera).

Next to this interpretative position, music evokes a different kind of imagining: that of experience. Most of the time, the listener is not concerned with music's interpretative meaning, but with its experienced effect. Walton (1994) gives a more detailed account of this experiential side of musically imagining. Although there may be rich imaginative components to listener's experiences, Walton argues that musical works do not have fictional worlds like paintings or novels and consequently induce a different kind of imagining (Walton, 1994: 53).

One of these differences is the way music and for example paintings portray space: they both represent spatial properties of things, but in a different way. According to Walton, listeners seem to not have spatial perspectives, even when musical worlds are spatial in the sense that a melody can rise or fall. Therefore, listening to music does not involve imagining hearing in the same way as you would imagine seeing a visual image. When

imagining a painting, the onlooker injects his or her self into the visual image through having the same perspective as the painting, a point of view, on the fictional world. In contrast, what the listener imagines when listening to music is the experience of mental states like feelings and emotions.

This difference is caused by the absence of a fictional world in music. The picture standing alone establishes a fictional world; there is what Walton calls a 'work world' and a world of 'the game of make-believe' – the image-world the picture shows and the world we imaginatively see based on that image. Music has no work world, only the world of make-believe. According to Walton, when I step outside my 'game' of imagining and look at a picture of a dragon I see a dragon. When I step outside my game of imagining and consider music, what I see is notes. In semiotic approaches to music this has been observed as well: in Saussurian terms, music is not a system of signs, but a system of signifiers without signifieds (Tunstall as quoted in DeNora, 1986: 87).

This means that as opposed to painting and literature, the music itself is not the prop of imagining, but the experience when we listen to it is what sparks our imagination. Where Walton attributes music only with this experiential notion of imagining, I conceive of musically imagining as involving both the interpretative and experiential mode of imagining: the musical imagination is what one 'sees' based on music's paratexts, and how one 'feels' through listening to music. In order to explore the process of imagining place through and with music, both kinds of imagining – the interpretative and the experiential – have to be taken into account.

We will now explore how this musical imagination drives the process of creating attachments to places. As discussed in chapter 2, the term 'topophilia' refers to the emotional attachment to place that is central to human experience (Tuan, 1974), and in this chapter I explore the ways musically imagining turns associations with places into attachments to places – creating a 'musical topophilia.' As argued in chapter 2, notions of place are essential to connecting and identifying with music: 'despite fabricated geographies and various elements of globalization, places continue to give meaning to people's lives and music' (Connell & Gibson, 2003: 70). Therefore, the ways music and place are connected and imagined point toward a fundamental aspect of being engaged with music, although it is not clear how this process works exactly and what role music plays in it. To shed light on the role and meaning of this musical topophilia to music listeners, I conducted an explorative interview study.

## Methods

Central to this research are the stories streamers tell about creating their holiday playlists, with the goal of analyzing the connections made between music and place and the meanings attached to these connections. Holiday playlists are defined as the collections of songs users of streaming services such as Spotify put together themselves to take with

them on or to commemorate a holiday. Holiday playlists can be seen as a digital version of the mix tape, created in the context of going on vacation.

Playlist making is both a way of archiving and a participatory practice (Kibby, 2009: 428) and therefore, holiday playlist making can be seen as a particular activity involving actively making music-place connections. Therefore, the focus of the study is not which specific songs people put into their playlists; the research instead explores the stories users tell about their playlists. The notion of 'holiday' implies going somewhere, either actual or virtual (Urry & Larsen, 2011). Talking about holiday playlists therefore creates a focus on place, and the stories the interviewees tell about these lists are a way of actively creating the connections between them. Thus, these practices can show insight into the ways music and place get connected in the stories of listeners, and which meanings are attached to these imaginings of place.

Even though talking about holiday playlists in this study functions as a way to analyze how music and place are continuously linked in the practices of music listeners, focusing on streamed holiday playlists also brings with it some caveats in terms of theory development. The issue of inductive reasoning has been discussed extensively in chapter 3, and added to that more general methodological concern, the topic of streaming presupposes theory building based on the experiences of a specific audience. Not everyone in the world has equal access to the Internet, nor uses streaming services to listen to music. Therefore, the audience I am basing my analysis on in this chapter is relatively young, prosperous, and reflects a Western point of view. Furthermore, creating holiday playlists might indeed allow for a practice-based approach to explore music-place connections, but the research is only starting to be published that covers how streaming and playlist making differs from or matches previous ways of listening to and engaging with music. Therefore, I included these considerations in selecting participants for the interview study I conducted.

For this study, I set-up 17 semi-structured interviews with Dutch heavy users of streaming services, 'heavy users' meaning people who use streaming 5 to 7 days per week (Nylund Hagen, 2015). I chose to focus on heavy users as they are familiar with streaming and use it often, making it less likely that the interviews would become focused on discussing the technology of streaming.

The choice to focus on streamers living in The Netherlands was made because the user data available through streaming platform Spotify was gathered on a national, Dutch level. Spotify has been operating there since 2010 and has acquired a dominant market share. In light of this choice I acknowledge that the conclusions can be influenced by national context, as the interviews are situated within the nationally bounded imagination of the music streamers interviewed.

Interviewees were found using Twitter, Facebook, Dutch music streaming fan website [www.muziekstreamen.com](http://www.muziekstreamen.com), plus subsequent snowballing to achieve a level of

variety. In order to check variety with respect to age and gender, I took into account user data obtained from Spotify Netherlands.<sup>8</sup>

The interviewees were not previously known to me and ranged from 22 to 50 years in age, the average being 33. They were living in different cities, towns and villages geographically spread throughout the Netherlands. Their educational background ranged from no finished secondary education to having obtained a university master's degree; their occupations were varied, including a student, a marketing manager, a call center employee, a personal banker, and an artist. Eight interviewees were female, nine male. Their music preferences were varied, including but not limited to opera, death metal, hip hop, bachata, country, Dutch folk music, Dutch mainstream popular music, R&B, Romantic symphonic repertoire, dance, and deep house.

The interviews were set up to explore the process of imagining in practice, so I facilitated and encouraged the interviewees to access their Spotify account and playlists during the interview. The interview design was semi-structured (Bryman, 2016) to ensure similar topics were discussed during each interview while taking care not to steer the interviewee into expressing predetermined concepts. Four main themes were discussed: 1) the music taste of the interviewees, 2) the role of music in everyday life, 3) streaming and specifically holiday playlists, often leading into a discussion of 4) music and travelling habits and memories.

The interviews lasted for 70 minutes on average, were transcribed verbatim and analyzed using computer program Atlas.ti. The interview transcripts were subjected to a thematic and narrative analysis, bringing to light the complex ways in which the respondents connected music and place. In the following section, I will show respectively *how* associations between music and place come about, *what* these associations precisely consist of and finally, the *meaning* of these associations within the everyday context of the respondents.

## Analysis

*We talked about opening that drawer ... you hear the music, you see the images, you see the location... I also imagine what it smells like ... a whole scene, with all kinds of experiences, are in that drawer. Some pieces of music I associate with a certain memory, but that music also holds a certain emotion, and that emotion is not only in that drawer, but also in other drawers. Music opens several drawers, more than that one drawer that holds the specific scene. (Martijn, 44, Dutch)*

<sup>8</sup> Spotify Netherlands utilizes age categories, ranging from 13 years old (the minimum age to get an account) to '55 and older', with the eldest user in their 80s (personal communication). The majority of users was between 18 and 34 at the time of research, the gender distribution was 47% female, 53% male.

Martijn describes how music and imagination are linked in his mind. His mind is like a cabinet of memories, which are stored away in separate drawers. Music is a memory trigger, it provides a hook to open the drawers from which particular images of places and events appear. Martijn is not the only respondent to use this metaphor; strikingly similar descriptions emerged when talking about holiday playlists.

The songs that people take along on their holidays are often connected to memories, although this is not always the case: they can also be newly encountered hit singles, which will become endowed with the memories of the holiday that has yet to take place. During the interviews of this study it became quite clear that playlists compiled for holidays contain highly meaningful songs to the interviewees. Playlists in this sense form a musical 'depot of the imagination' (Reijnders, 2015).

The metaphor of the cabinet or depot is a well-known way in popular culture to depict the way memories and imaginations are stored and retrieved (Keightley & Pickering, 2012; Van der Hoeven, 2015). What this metaphor conceals is the constructed and changing nature of memories and imaginations. Imagining, whether of the past or the future, is a process (Lennon, 2014: 11). Imagined scenes and worlds are not stored in original form in the mind, but are constructed narratives that are put together and renewed every time they are retold. Analysing the stories music streamers tell about their holiday playlists provides a way to explore the process of imagining places through music that underlies the metaphor.

### ***Mediations: associating between intangible sounds and tangible places***

Songs in holiday playlists stimulate associations with places. Whereas a movie offers a visible image of a particular place and a story takes place in narrative space, music is non-representational and in that sense, can be linked to place only indirectly. Therefore, a first step in creating and negotiating imagined worlds around music is analysing the different ways in which musical sounds and their paratexts are connected to an idea of place.

In the interviews, music is associated with places in a diffuse and meandering way, through what I call 'mediations'. This does not mean music takes longer to stimulate an idea of place than other media. Actually, as we shall see, music can be quite immediate in the geographical connection to place established. I use the word 'mediation' to indicate that listeners appropriate music in particular ways, connecting certain elements of music with particular geographical locations. For listeners, music in this way mediates between experience and imaginary place. In total four mediations can be distinguished, that range from musical sounds to music's spaces of production.

First of all, the *sounds* of music can be associated with particular places. Musical instruments are mentioned especially frequently as evocative of places:

*When I think of Lisbon, I have some sort of guitar in my head ... not because I experienced that, it's just a feeling that arises.* (Ronald, 25, Dutch)



*I have been to Sri Lanka on my honeymoon, and you relive the memory – that is because of that drum, which of itself does not have a great sound, but it does immediately provoke...“Oh yes! There. That night. That moment. That city...”* (Paul, 50, Dutch)

The guitar denotes Lisbon for Ronald, the drum reminds Paul of Sri Lanka – elements in the music or with which the music is made, serve as icons and indices (Turino, 1999) for certain countries, regions or places. Turino explains how music can become a sign, something that stands for something else. According to Turino, music primarily exists of icons and indices, types of signs that give the listener the idea that the connection between music and meaning is natural. This is especially relevant with respect to the way musical instruments evoke notions of place. Musical instruments, when made from local materials, are seen to embody a country, to possess in some way the ‘essential spirit’ or genius loci of a landscape. This explains why this type of connection is less frequent when discussing popular music than for example world music genres: in the interviews, electric guitars are less easily associated with specific places than for example the didgeridoo (although Gibson and Warren published interesting work on the global production networks involved in the production of acoustic guitars and the origin of tone wood, Gibson & Warren, 2016).

Second, the respondents connect music to place through non-sonic elements. Secondary sign systems, such as formal language and images, play an important role in how the connections between place and music are discussed by the streamers. Language is overtly present in the form of lyrics or the title of a song:

*The language. That’s why... Paulo Conte sings in Italian, so that is why I immediately associate that music with Italy.* (Martijn, 44, Dutch)

*When it’s Spanish songs, sung in Spanish, I have to think about Spain.* (Luna, 22, Dutch)

In these quotes the language of the lyrics denotes a country. Language to the interviewees is a very obvious connection to place, almost to the extent that interviewees feel silly bringing it up. Lyrics or the song title pinpoint a song to more specific locations, which acknowledges the importance and focus on these connections in previous literature on the topic (Connell & Gibson, 2003).

Next to linguistic triggers, images play an important role in making non-sonic connections to place. These are encountered, for example, in music videos and sleeve notes that interviewees find online. Films, documentaries and series are especially mentioned as place references. Respondents mentioned, for example, documentaries in which the origin of a genre or band is traced, or in which places are shown that have inspired musicians. Frequently, respondents link music and moving image through the

soundtrack of a movie: 'my playlists are very much influenced by movies, I see it in front of me: the desert, cacti, long roads and...just drive.' In this quote, Camilla (25, Dutch) refers to how watching movies and listening to their soundtracks has created symbolic links for her between music and certain landscape elements.

The mediations I discuss here can be seen as such symbolic-geographical links, establishing metonymic connections between music and place: music or an aspect of music comes to stand for a city, region or country. The mediations are the geographical imagination at play. This can be seen especially with the third type of symbolic-geographical association, which is created through the biography of the composer or artist. Jaap explains how he selects music for his playlist for his holiday to Sweden:

*I just look through my own [listening] history: what bands do I know from Sweden? It has to fit together to some extent ... because you're putting it into one playlist ... when you have one beautiful acoustic song and after it you get some kind of ... heavy metal ... skull music .... nah! (Jaap, 34, Dutch)*

Jaap explains that he puts music by Swedish bands in his playlist. It is interesting to note that he associates different kinds of music with Sweden: 'beautiful acoustic songs' and 'heavy metal' music, which for him do not go together into one list.

Associations with places that are the stage of production, distribution or consumption of music form the fourth and final mediation that I analyzed in the interviews. Several of my respondents associate music with locations such as a recording studio, a record shop or a concert venue:

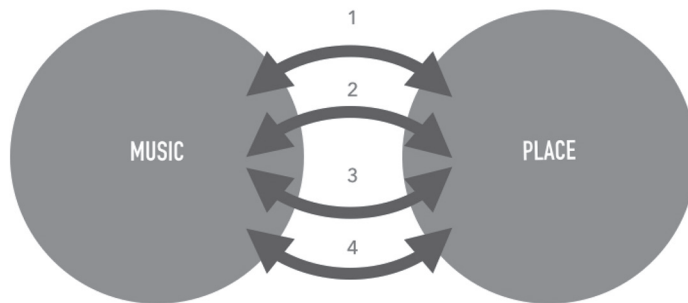
*There is a famous concert venue in Colorado in the USA, the Red Rocks, where they have great concerts, by excellent bands, and in a beautiful setting. I would be totally psyched if I got to see that one day. (Pascal, 30, Dutch)*

*I'm not someone to go like: 'oh there, this is the studio where...!' or well ... I do think that's cool, but it's not necessary to go there. (Mayke, 29, Dutch)*

*I'm going with my housemates Martijn and Bas, huge vinyl junkies, and we will visit a lot of record stores and do a lot of digging. (Ronald, 25, Dutch)*

The above-mentioned locations differ widely, but they have one thing in common: they are each important geographical markers for engaging with music.

This figure represents the four mediations, ranging from musical sounds, secondary sign systems, biographical links, to places where music is produced, distributed or consumed.



The figure shows a layering of mediations, as they work outwards from the musical sounds that are perceived as some sort of ‘core’ to the interviewees, towards elements that are described as more distant from ‘the music itself’. The figure therefore represents an emic perspective on the notion of mediations.

In the next section I will move from associations – *how* sounds are connected to place – to explore *what* imagined musicscapes these mediations result in.



***Musically imagining: a sense of place***

In an analysis of the Jimmy Buffet song Margaritaville, Bowen (1997) explains how the lyrics to the song lead fans to imagine Margaritaville. Some fans imagine Margaritaville as a tangible place somewhere in Key West, while others describe it as a more elusive state of mind, an intangible imaginary place removed from everyday life (Bowen, 1997: 106). In the interviews for this study, the imagined places talked about likewise ranged from concrete, visual images of music-related places, to non-visual, intuitive imaginings of place – a kind of atmosphere – evoked by music.

The songs on the interviewees’ playlists evoke visual images for example when the streamers are putting together their playlists before going on holiday, as the quote by Jaap at the beginning of this chapter shows. Visual imaginations are influenced by the experiences we have; they draw on our sensory input (Malpas, 1999). During the interviews, the interviewees likewise drew largely on their own personal experiences to fill in visual images of music. Take for example this quote by Pascal, when he describes what he imagines when he listens to particular music in his ‘travel’ list:

*What I go back to is not Japan the country. I go back to Hiragata, the little square in the park where I was talking with all those guys until dawn, drinking beers, talking about music. We were exchanging music. That is what I go back to, not the concept of Japan. (Pascal, 30, Dutch)*

Pascal sees a very specific scene in front of him. He describes the moment during his gap year in Japan, when he connected to others through sharing music. The social dimension of the holiday playlists, in fact, is never far off during the interviews. The lists contain music that is meaningful to the interviewees because of the connection the music creates to other people. Family and friends for example exert an important influence on the visual image of place the streamers discuss. Images they show, for example holiday snapshots, often create 'inherited memories' (Keightley & Pickering, 2012) or 're-memories' (Marschall, 2015) connecting music to the place in the picture, even if the streamer has never actually been there.

Next to 'hijacking' images from friends and family, an important source of visual images is the media. Already described as mediation two, the interviews show that mediated images fill in the gaps when music has no specific visual based on personal experience. When asked to try to make a diffuse sense of place more concrete, stereotypical associations are called upon to fill in the blanks.

From the interviews it becomes clear that this connection between music and mediated image is not a neutral association. Through their connection with music, the images often become nostalgic icons of place. As Lisette explains:

*Music sometimes gives me a nostalgic feeling ... it is a longing for the past, without the past. I mentioned that when talking about Paris: I only know Paris the way it is now. But the way you see it in old movies, the way it is romanticised, it imprints a certain image in your head, and when I'm there, I search for some sort of recognition in those old images. (Lisette, 26, Dutch)*

In the imagination of music streamers, this, what can be called 'mediated nostalgia', plays an important role, as it is a frequent reference point for discussing music and place in the interviews. The interviewees have seen particular images repeatedly in the media, creating a sense of 'returning' to these places when it is their first actual visit, as Lisette describes.

The way Lisette expresses nostalgia is through reference to a particular feeling. During the interviews it became clear that visual images are not the most prominent way music stimulates the imagination. Mood was the single most important theme to emerge, creating for the interviewees a distinct sense of place. Music streaming is used to amplify or change mood (Avdeeff, 2012; Nylund Hagen, 2015), and holiday playlists are seen as important tools for mood management when preparing for, during and after going on holiday. When asked about the places people think of when selecting music or listening to music on their playlists, connections are made through one of the mediations mentioned above, for example the country a music genre originates in (mediation four), but the sense of place it induces is expressed in the mood it represents:

*With some music you have a very strong visual image of a place, for example that album by Jewel we talked about. With Bachata and Salsa, it is more a feeling of a place, and less visual images. (Nazih, 34, Dutch)*

This feeling of place is non-specific in the sense of what the particular location looks like or what the specific situation is. As Nazih explains, it is about having a certain feeling towards a broader idea of place, such as a city, region, or country. This is also what Lisette mentions when she describes Paris: she describes her feelings towards the city, combined with what she sees in her mind's eye.

What happens in these associations between music and place is that the music streamer imagines the experience of mental states associated with both that place and the music – it is the experiential aspect of musical imagining that is at play. Alice describes this process very clearly:

*I have listened to those artists on separate occasions ... maybe I didn't know where they were from, but you do have an idea about them, or at least .... a feeling ... and then I think to myself: 'would I listen to this when I feel really happy, or when I'm feeling lost, or when it rains, or ...?'; some sort of mood stamp is what I put on it. What causes that is a lot of things: the lyrics, the feeling in the song – that the song expresses to me anyway. Whether it is slow or fast, the rhythm, the type of sounds ... I put it in a certain box in my head, which has no name, it's more a feeling. And the place the music is from is a very nice and convenient way to link that, to put it all in the same drawer. So where the band comes from gets linked to the feeling the music evokes, and then that place also evokes that feeling in me. (Alice, 26, Dutch)*

The feeling or mood listening to music evokes gets connected to place through one of the mediations described earlier. In this example, it is where the band is from. Music creates what in linguistic terms is called a hypallage, the transposition of natural relations of two elements in a proposition (Paillard, 2002).<sup>9</sup> In this case, places take on the characteristics that actually describe the mood of the streamer. During the interview, Alice continues to describe how Scandinavian music makes her feel at ease, which creates an idea of 'peaceful Scandinavia' in her mind. In Lisette's quote, the association between music and place establishes the idea of 'nostalgic Paris.' This is how, according to the streamers, music stimulates imagining place, a type of imagery that may or may not have a visual image of that place attached to it.

<sup>9</sup> An example of a hypallage is 'a sleepless night'. 'sleepless' refers to the person who could not sleep during the night. The word that describes the state of the (non) sleeper is attached to the word that signifies 'night'. The interchanged combination of words creates the hypallage 'sleepless night', which in fact says more about the state of the (non)sleeper, who was awake, than about the night.

It is interesting that playlists allow their users to externalize this musical imagination. 'Peaceful Scandinavia' and 'nostalgic Paris' do not remain intangible ideas, but Spotify allows Alice and Lisette to create these ideas as playlist titles – places become the theme of personalised lists that are organized around moods associated with that place. The ability to create playlists does not offer entirely new possibilities, but, according to the interviewees, facilitates music listening behavior that used to be internalized and more difficult to realize before the availability of Spotify.

### ***Creating attachments to place***

As I have shown in the previous sections, music stimulates fantasizing about and imagining places. Important in the stories of the interviewees is the way music creates a link to something that is meaningful about a place, but that is not visibly present. An example is how the streamers discuss music scenes or the 'sound' of a place:

*If you look at it rationally you could have that music right here, but it is also about the scene around it, and the ambiance. It is not just the music, but also the experience, of the people, the mood ... the energy. The music is in some way 'pure' over there, even though I know that's an illusion (...). I would like to find out if it's really that different from here, or if it's just stories. (David, 32, Dutch)*

David describes how the 'ambiance' of a place, the local developments in the music style, and the live performances of music in the place a genre or style emerged from, all add up to making experiencing music in that place special. Music taps into the *genius loci* of a place directly, and in return, places of origin somehow add something to the music itself. In the words of David, place in this sense lends 'purity' to the music, whereby according to David purity refers to the unaltered nature of music in the place where it is 'originally' from.

As David also alludes to, even when the streamers are aware of the relativity of this idea and acknowledge that music originates from many places, that a genre can travel, or can be from different places, the idea of a particular local spirit, expressed in a local sound, is still held on to. Music plays an important role in tapping into the invisible identity of places, as a means to construct visual ideas about it but also as a way of connecting to that imagined mythscape on site. The streamers in this sense seem to follow in the footsteps of the nineteenth century Romantic traveler, connecting to the landscape through tuning in to the perceived essence of place. As Mayke describes:

*It's the idea of the modern pilgrimage, because you have a purpose. Whether that is because you're a fan of the music, or you have an entire world in your mind ... you want to go there. Because it's a nice goal to have. When you do a roadtrip, it's more about combining the experience with the music, to complete that experience as it were. (Mayke, 29, Dutch)*

Mayke in this quote describes how music helps to fantasize about locations, which can become detailed imaginary worlds that subsequently need exploring. At the same time, music helps to connect to the landscape while on the road, showing how the genius loci is not found in one specific spot, but is hidden in the totality of the landscape. Traversing through it while listening to music makes the experience complete, even if you just imagine the music that fits the moment.

*Contributing to this idea is that the interviews were conducted in Dutch, and in the Dutch language the notion of attuning to the landscape manifested itself in the repeated use and discussion of the words 'stemming' (personal mood, feeling) and 'sfeer' (atmosphere of a space, ambiance) in relation to holiday playlists: 'that the feeling I have about the music, matches with the ambiance of the location...that confirms to me in a way: oh right, yes.'* (Alice, 26, Dutch)

Alice in this quote discusses 'depressed music,' again using a hypallage that feeds into connecting that music with her idea of England. This points towards the ways the interviewees try to bridge the distance between themselves and the places they move through. The streamers match the mood of the music they listen to with the atmosphere of the place. In this sense, music serves as a symbolical tool to explore the boundaries between perception and imagination. This can be seen as a variation on the way film tourists compare and adjust their imagination with the reality of a site (Reijnders, 2011), whereby music listeners emphasize the affective dimensions of their comparisons between imagination and reality.

It also works the other way around, when music serves to disconnect from place and social interaction. This is what happens when streamers might listen to music on holiday in the way they do at home, move from one holiday location to a different holiday location, or are back home listening to the holiday playlist on the morning commute. Music still connects to an imagined world, in these cases however it is a different one from where the streamer is physically in.

Music in this sense is a tool to literally tune into or out of a landscape. At moments during the interviews, it is not just a mood that interviewees project onto a landscape. When streamers talk about musical memories of meaningful holidays, they connect their self-image to the place; the location becomes symbolic for and forms part of who they are.

Holiday music frequently conjures up vivid memories that are described into a remarkable amount of visual detail. These are moments that were very emotional, or have an important role in the life story of the streamer. Pascal explains this in relation to his memories of the Hiragata square:

*Music is a way of sharing with people. Music defines who I am. What I listen to, is who I am. It's the way in which I can present myself to others, by telling what music I like and what I listen to and what I can recommend. I do that at home, it contributes to my life, my well being, to my enjoyment. But it also works like that in Japan (...). The moment you recommend a band, and he recommends something to you, and you listen to it and you think it is awesome. That was there, there in Japan, in that square, in that moment. But you only experience that with things that really speak to you. (Pascal, 30, Dutch)*

Sharing music in the square in Hiragata has become symbolic for the important formative trip made by Pascal; it was his year away from home in a totally different culture, and the trip has come to mean something special for him. Other interviewees mentioned musical place memories of their last holiday together as a family before a divorce, or the first holiday alone without parents, or the first holiday after a particularly intense relationship break-up.

These memories show how places function as a narrative element in telling the musical story of self (DeNora, 1999), as the landscape becomes the scene for personal memory and life narratives. In line with what DeNora calls a process of introjection, songs that were played often, either as a local hit or because they were on the holiday playlist during that trip, become symbolic for that stage of the streamers' life. What this study shows is that these songs continue to evoke a specific *spatialized* memory. The memory is a narrative in which place identity, music and personal identity meet, imbuing both place and music with personal meaning. Crucially, the story of self is spatially embedded, even when it is told through symbolic tools as ephemeral and abstract as music.

Music therefore is a way to tap into an invisible but important element of place, and it is a trigger of powerful memories in which place and music converge. Moving in these ways from music to feeling to place and vice versa creates attachments to these places, a musical sense of place in which music connects and sometimes blurs the boundaries between self and place.

## Conclusion

Based on a series of 17 in-depth interviews, this chapter has shown how associations between music and place come about, in what way these associations are structured and finally, the meaning of these associations within the context of travel.

More extensively discussing the notion of mediations that I introduced in the theoretical chapter, the analysis has shown how music is in practice associated with place in several, often meandering, ways. More in particular, four kinds of mediations have indeed been distinguished. In the case of streaming, prominence is given to instruments, but also to secondary sign systems such as lyrics and images found in documentaries, movies and



online music videos. A third mediation connects music to important geographical markers in the history of a specific band, while the fourth mediation connects to places that are significant in engaging with certain music such as record stores and concert halls.

The analysis shows that in this process, music comes to represent metonymically what makes places special to the interviewees. More specifically, the interviewees frequently use a hypallage to express the sense of place music evokes, moving from music to feeling to place and vice versa. The streamers give this rather ephemeral musical sense of place meaning by referring to concrete listening experiences and personal memories.

This potentially leads into a musical topophilia: the attachment to a real or imaginary place, based on its association with a particular genre, musician, or musical activity. Playlists are a way to externalize this hypallagic association, showing to be a useful tool to analyze the process of imagining place that results in musical topophilia.

This analysis contributes to existing research in several ways. First of all, Bennett's (2002) black box of fan narratives surrounding musical mythscapes has been opened up. Fan narratives are varied and ideas of places have multiple facets. Still, this research has added structure to our understanding of these narratives by showing the four mediations that are commonly used and more importantly, the meaning of these mediations to a specific music audience.

Second, this research refines the notion of a musical imagination, which combines interpretative and experiential sides of imagining. Where previous research mainly focuses on the visual, interpretive aspects of imagining places (for example Reijnders, 2015), this chapter shows how non-visual aspects of experience play a role in imagining. This elucidates further how visual and auditory cultures illuminate each other, rather than seeing them as distinct realms of research (cf. Keightley & Pickering, 2006).

Finally, this research shows that place does not lose its importance in a digitalizing and globalizing world. This conclusion is based on research done in the context of travel, which presupposes a symbolic prominence of place. However, from the interviews it emerged that music and streaming in everyday life are inextricably entwined with mobility. The single most important moment music is listened to by the streamers, both on holiday and at home, is while in transit: commuting to and from work or school, en route to visit friends and family, traversing the spaces of everyday life.

Talking about holidays brings into the spotlight a musical imagining of places that is firmly rooted within the everyday. Where Michael Bull states that devices such as the iPod, which are used for streaming, make listeners retreat in their own music bubble (Bull, 2007), their own imaginary musical worlds, this research shows a more complex role of music for streamers while on the move. Looking into the 'ultimate ephemerality' (Graves-Brown, 2009) of music through the lens of musical topophilia shows its opposite: place as a symbolic construct gains importance, literally as an organizing principle of playlists, but also as a mnemonic-symbolic tool to engage with or retreat from the landscapes travelled through.

These conclusions should be seen in the context of a country where fast Internet connections are omnipresent and accessible. However, as became clear from the interviews, the practice of creating mood-based collections of songs is not new. The interviewees talked about how they would engage in similar activities around holidays before the advent of Internet and streaming, such as compiling holiday mix tapes, and how they had inserted streaming into previous ways of engaging with music before, during and after their holiday.

As shown in this study, playlist making and streaming are practices that potentially give access to rich imaginative musical worlds, while the music collections reflect and shape ways to both engage with and retreat from the landscapes travelled through, either virtually or physically. In the next chapter, I will explore the role of music in the physical dimensions of travel further, by analyzing what happens when people go in search of their musically imagined places in reality.

# Chapter 5

**Have you found what you're looking for? Analyzing tourist experiences of Wagner's Bayreuth, ABBA's Stockholm and U2's Dublin**



This chapter has been published in *Tourist Studies* 16(3): 234-252. The introduction and conclusion have been revised and rewritten to reflect the role of this study within the research project as a whole.

*Wow, I finally got here, I finally got to where this music is being made ... they have been in there, they have been in those four walls ... and made the music that I have heard and listened to all this time. (Tara, 43, English)*

Tara is standing in front of the U2 studio at Windmill Lane in Dublin, Ireland. The studio walls are covered in graffiti left there by U2 fans. This location is one of several stops on an organized walking tour through the city, celebrating what the guide refers to as Ireland's most famous rock band. Stops along the way include the Bonavox hearing aid store that leant lead singer Bono his name, a selection of former rock venues the band performed at, the hotel owned by Bono and lead guitarist The Edge, and the current studio the band uses for recording sessions.

Tara is not alone in wanting to visit this diverse set of U2-related locations: as increasing amounts of people – other fans, families on holiday, groups of foreign language students – join the tour, U2 is rapidly becoming part of the Dublin tourism itinerary. In this chapter I explore the ways tourists themselves give meaning to this activity. As the second step in creating musical topophilia, physically stepping into a musical mythscape, I focus on the specificity of music in experiencing music-related locations – referring to the U2 song that forms the title of this chapter: what are music tourists looking for?

As mentioned in chapter 2, existing studies offer some suggestions for characterizing the musicalized tourist gaze. Connell and Gibson position music tourism as the consequence of a postmodern crisis of identity, linking music tourism to the need for nostalgia and a search for authenticity in Western society (Connell & Gibson, 2003: 222–277; Gibson & Connell, 2005: 263). The fluid, temporary and fragmented nature of postmodern identities as posited by Bauman (2005) and Appadurai (1996) is said to cause a continuous process of identity-work in which versions of identity are built, negotiated and reformed in order to achieve a sense of belonging (Morley, 2001). The ability of music to offer an effective way of stimulating a sense of identity and community (DeNora, 1999; Hesmondhalgh, 2013b) has also been attributed to music tourism, especially through the role of live music experiences (Cohen, 2007).

However, the amount of empirical research that has been carried out exploring and supporting this role of identity-work in music tourism from the tourist's perspective remains limited (but see Sandvoss, 2014 and Szmigin et al., 2017). Therefore, in this chapter I present a comparative qualitative empirical perspective, exploring how, and in which ways, tourists involve this kind of identity-work in practice during their visits to music-related locations.

To answer this question, three music tourism cases from three different genres and relating to different timeframes were chosen, opening up research to the diversity of music tourism examples in practice. I combined participant observation with interviews with tourists, tour guides and tourism officials involving Wagner tourism to Bayreuth (Germany), ABBA tourism to Stockholm (Sweden) and U2 tourism to Dublin (Ireland).

Based on these empirical data, I describe a process of musical identity-work, exploring three levels on which tourist identities are negotiated and performed while visiting music-related locations: the personal, cultural and embodied.

These three levels come together through the practices in which embodied musical experiences afford listeners the ability to negotiate between personal and cultural identities, as I have described in relation to music in general in chapter 2, building on the work of DeNora (1999) and Hesmondhalgh (2013b). This process bringing together the three levels of analysis is therefore not limited to on-site music tourism experiences alone. Indeed, respondents that I interviewed for the studies described in the other empirical chapters describe this process as well. However, in this chapter I explore the process in more detail, and I argue that the practices of music tourism on-site, the feelings of actually 'being there' as Tara puts it, come to carry special significance for the interviewees: in situ, tourists find out information they cannot find elsewhere, and the memories and experiences of their journey feed into how they experience the music when they return home. Before turning to the analysis of the stories of the Wagner, ABBA, and U2 tourist, I first explain in more detail how music, tourism and identity connect on a theoretical level.

## Music, tourism and identity

Before exploring how music tourism contributes to creating spaces of belonging, first it needs to be understood how a touristic experience of place involves identity and in which ways music can become a part of this. Useful in this regard is understanding tourism through what has been called the 'performative turn' in tourism (Haldrup & Larsen, 2010). Tourism can be seen as a social process in which roles are performed and events and spaces are staged (MacCannell, 1976). This performance metaphor shows how tourists make sense of their own self through performing certain roles (Crouch, Aronsson & Wahlström, 2001) – backpacking means behaving differently than being a tourist on a guided tour.

However, the notion of performance does not imply unconstrained agency for tourists in making sense of their 'self': 'the organization, materiality and aesthetic and sensual qualities of tourist space influence – but do not determine – the kinds of performances that tourists undertake' (Edensor, 2001: 63). Tourists therefore are not entirely free to perform identity-roles.

First, performance of self is influenced by the social context the tourist encounters. Being able to perform tourist roles implies knowing what these roles are and behaving in such a way. Tourism involves social frames and also enables and constrains tourism practices through the workings of the tourism industry. In music tourism, the music industry is an additional factor in the commodification of tourism.

A second dimension relevant to understand the link between music tourism and identity through the notion of performance is the extent to which tourism performance is reflexive. Edensor (2001) conceives of tourism practices as, on one hand, cognitively

reflexive, a conscious set of activities and narrative reflections. On the other hand, tourism involves unreflexive, embodied activities: roles are not only chosen but also unintentionally enacted (2001: 78).

This ambivalence between reflexive and unreflexive practices helps to understand why tourist identity is not a stable unity, but a constant process of becoming, of identity-work. What it means to be a tourist is constituted both through reflexive narratives of self (Giddens, 1991) and unreflexive, embodied ways of doing (Larsen, 2005: 420).

The final step towards an understanding of the relation between tourism and identity that is relevant to music tourism lies in an extended notion of embodiment. The emphasis on embodiment puts focus on a multi-sensory conception of tourism. Embodiment refers to the active tourist body moving through place (Veijola & Jokinen, 1994), which opens the door for other senses to be included in tourism analysis, such as hearing and listening (Waitt & Duffy, 2009).

An element to add to these theories of performance is the connection between emotion, cognition and moving through place. Emotion and cognition are essentially embodied as well, which puts a thinking, emotional and active body at the centre of tourists' experiences of place (Rakić & Chambers, 2012: 1629). Therefore, tourist experiences of place are understood in this dissertation as embodied performances of identity that are at the same time cognitive, emotional and multi-sensory (Rakić & Chambers, 2012: 1629). As I will argue, this extended notion of embodiment is especially salient to an analysis of the ways in which music contributes to touristic experiences of place. In the next section, I turn to the role music can play in connecting these aspects of touristic experiences of place.

### ***Music as a technology of the self***

Music, like tourism, involves cognitive, emotional and embodied social processes in which personal and cultural identity is negotiated and performed (DeNora, 1999; Hesmondhalgh, 2013b). The theoretical point of departure for this chapter is the work of music sociologist Tia DeNora, who has written extensively on music as a technology of the self: a tool to construct personal identity and to behave socially in the world. Through relating to music memories, people create the tale of who they have been, who they are and who they want to become: 'Music can be used as a device for the reflexive process of remembering/constructing who one is, a technology for spinning the apparently "continuous" tale of who one "is" – a process DeNora calls introjection (DeNora, 1999: 45). According to DeNora, music can be used as a device for 'being' not only in a cognitive, narrative way, but it is also a tool to regulate emotions and bodily well-being – music influences how we feel, enhancing or changing emotions (DeNora, 1999: 45).

Hesmondhalgh (2013b) stresses that music's role is not isolated, as music is always part of modern society. People are bound to negotiate between a sense of self and varied senses of collective cultural identity, like gender and ethnicity (Hesmondhalgh, 2013b:

38). Comparable to the ambivalence discussed in relation to tourism, the role of music in identity formation is characterized by the ambivalence between individual agency and social constraint. To put it differently, what music means to people is always to some extent dependent on social context. This helps to understand how tourism offers frames that influence, limit or shape the role of music in the experience of place for music tourists. A case in point is the analysis of Goa dance floors by Saldanha (2002), the raves creating spaces of inclusion and exclusion for tourists and locals alike.

What makes music special, according to Hesmondhalgh, is the sense of connection it offers between an emotional, private experience of self-identity and already existing cultural discourses. This role of music is first present in remembering, as music-related practices enable people to map personal music stories with strong emotional content onto stories of other individuals or cultural narratives (Van Dijck, 2006). In this chapter, I will show that this process involves social practices that are performed during music tourism, such as going on a music-themed walking tour.

A second way in which music establishes this connection is through music's pronounced physical and emotional dimensions. Especially prevalent while being a member of a concert audience, music offers a connection between the private, emotional meanings of the music and a sense of being connected to the rest of the audience through this experience (Hesmondhalgh, 2013b). Malbon (1999) refers to this as the 'oceanic feeling' music offers, in which personal identity is temporarily suspended. In her work on Beatles tourism, Sara Cohen (2007) describes how hearing music during Beatles week forms an immersive space for tourists by creating a sense of direct, unmediated, non-cognitive experience in which music seems to create its own time, space and motion through music's texture and tactile sound, its physical presence. Szmigin et al. (2017) refer to this experience as socio-spatial authenticity, pointing out the important role of co-creation in a particular location (in their case, festival spaces).

### ***Forming affective ties to music and place***

Fan scholar Cornel Sandvoss (2014) has expanded on this research in a study of Ibiza fans. According to Sandvoss, concert attendance as analyzed by Saldanha, Hesmondhalgh and Cohen only forms part of the ways in which tourists emotionally engage with place and music. The unique 'vibe' of Ibiza cannot be explained solely through clubbing. The experience on the dance floor is short-lived and is not experienced by all, which indicates that this experience alone cannot be the source of a continued sense of belonging felt towards the island of Ibiza.

Therefore, attention should shift from a focus solely on the sensory aspects of music consumption to the narrative ways in which affective ties to music and place are established. Sandvoss subsequently focuses on the role of online Ibiza fan communities. A love of place should be found, according to Sandvoss, in the virtual connection towards Ibiza, kept alive and grown through online fan engagement.

Building on this work and starting from the broader concept of embodiment as mentioned earlier, in this chapter I analyze the immersive music-related practices that cause a cognitive, emotional and multi-sensory sense of being there. Through interviews with music tourists, I argue that immersion, in the case of music tourism, should be understood more broadly than only pertaining to experiencing live music, ranging from the passive oceanic experience of absorption at concerts to active ways in which tourists integrate music, identity and place.

In short, this research expands on Cohen's and Sandvoss' work by exploring how travelling matters to the ways tourists consume and form connections between music, identity and place, elucidated through an analysis of Wagner-, ABBA- and U2-related tourism. Before looking at the specific practices involved, I will first outline the methodological aspects of this specific substudy.

## Methods

Participant observation and interviews were conducted in Bayreuth (Germany), Dublin (Ireland) and Stockholm (Sweden) in the second half of 2013, with tourists who visited ABBA-, U2- and Wagner-related locations respectively. I compared tourism involving different music genres (pop, rock and opera), as existing music tourism research focuses primarily on single-case examples involving popular music (Lashua et al., 2014). The aim of this study is to offer a nuanced understanding of their situated experiences, in line with the methodological underpinnings of my dissertation as a whole described in chapter 3.

The specific examples were chosen because they involve highly successful music careers spanning different decades: ABBA released and performed their music in the 1970s, U2 shot to fame in the early 1980s and are still releasing new albums, while Wagner triumphed in Bayreuth at the end of the nineteenth century.

Participant observation of tourist behavior took place during ABBA, U2 and Wagner walking tours, in the ABBA museum in Stockholm, in several Wagner exhibitions in Bayreuth and at additional locations related to the music or musicians. Participant observation and on-site short interviews (32) were combined with off-site semi-structured in-depth interviews among tourists (15), tour guides (6) and tourist agency officers (3), conducted during autumn/winter 2013 and spring 2014.

Of the interviewees, seven tourists were female and eight male. Nationalities varied, but all interviewees were living in Europe, the United Kingdom or the United States at the time of the interview. Ranging in age from 29 to 68 years old, occupations included professors, financial managers, a recording engineer, communications professional, an image editor and someone unemployed. The social profile of the interviewees differed markedly between the different locations.

The Wagner tourists visiting the festival conformed to a typical classical music audience (Peterson, 1992): senior, high income and highly educated (finished university



education). The walking tour attracted a slightly younger audience, as the concerts require a 10-year waiting list, but the tour is open to anyone. Offered in the afternoon, it was also an alternative for tourists who had missed the early morning historical tour of the town. The ABBA tourists were younger than the Wagner tourists, and there was a remarkable prevalence of parent-child couples: a father or mother who was a fan of ABBA music when they were in their early adulthood, and their child who had got to know ABBA through the *MAMMA MIA!* musical and film. The city museum designed the ABBA tour to attract people in their 20s to their historical walking tours (Sara Claesson, 2013, personal communication), but the impression given by tour guides and the tourists seen indicated that the audience actually taking the tour at the time of research was both younger and older, the children being in their early teens and the parents around 40 years old. The level of education of the ABBA tourists was average to high (having finished at least higher vocational education). For U2, the general educational level of the interviewees was average (starting at intermediate vocational education), with ages ranging from 37 to 50 years old.

The interviews were conducted using a semi-structured interview guide (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009) with four main topics: the level of involvement with the music, the reconstruction of the journey, the experience of the tourists and the overall meaning of the journey to the tourist. The interviews lasted between 15 minutes and 4.5 hours, averaging 81 minutes.

The data were analyzed using a grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2006). First, the interviews were transcribed verbatim and consequently analysed using Atlas.ti. Codes were assigned freely in a phase of initial coding and then grouped together through a phase of axial coding. Subsequently, the transcripts were reread to saturate the codes.

In the next three sections, I discuss how the interviewees involved music in the way they experienced the three cities. First, I consider the relation between the role of music in everyday life as a story of the self and the way music tourism activities are included in this story. Then I explore how this personal story of self is culturally embedded, discussing the ways in which interviewees make connections between their personal biographies and cultural narratives on location. Finally, I show in which ways music aurally contributes to creating spaces for identity-work – both through concert attendance and beyond.

## Analysis

### ***Music tourism as a story of the self***

*To stand there, and then you see ... they have been removed by the way: 'I see seven towers and I see only one' ... that you're standing there and you can see the towers he writes about, you actually see it in front of you, and then you hear: 'I see seven towers I see only one way out' ... that is an indescribable feeling. (Patrick, 50, Dutch)*

Arriving at Dublin airport, Patrick recounts how a special sensation takes hold of him. Visible from the airport exit is a grey tower flat; a panorama the unsuspecting traveller passes by without taking notice. But as U2 fan Patrick describes, upon seeing the tower a song starts to play in his head: 'I see seven towers / but I see only one way out...' The song, *Running to Stand Still*, is about the Ballymun flats, seven flats that once stood in the neighbourhood U2's lead singer Bono grew up in. Only one flat today remains, and for Patrick, arriving in Dublin and seeing the tower causes an experience all interviewees shared to some degree: the sense of 'being there'.

Although this moment forms an emotional climax, it is part of an on-going process of emotional involvement with the music that all interviewees share. Music can play this role throughout everyday life (DeNora, 1999), but it is especially noticeable when involving important, formative moments in people's lives (Van Dijck, 2006). During the interviews, this was confirmed by stories of how the tourists first came into contact with the music, for example by secretly listening to Wagner music as son of Jewish Holocaust victims, or by listening to U2 during the first extended period away from home. For the tourists who did not regard themselves as fans, the music was related to one or two of these special moments in childhood or adolescence. For tourists who did regard themselves as fans, the music was there at important moments throughout their lives:

*Time and time, I have sort of associated certain albums with certain parts of my life, says did exams, starting college ... when I hear a single I always associate it with a particular time, when one of my kids was born, or when I got married ... the song itself won't necessarily have any meaning to it, but I just associate it with that particular period of time of my life, so it's like a wallpaper to my life. (Paul, 37, Irish)*

The role of music in the story of the self, especially for fans, leads up to the emotional climax of 'finally' being there, as the quote of Tara at the beginning of this article showed, and as Richard recounts:

*It's unbelievably exciting ... for me it's my first time, and it's something I dreamt of doing ever since I was small ... I've been in love with Wagner's music since I was 9 years old ... and coming to Bayreuth was always kind of a dream. (Richard, 50, American)*

This aspect of the attraction of visiting place can be linked to the age of the interviewees. Ranging from 29 to 68 years of age, there often was a prolonged emotional involvement with the music, which influenced the experience of place. As emphasized by David:

*Being in Bayreuth really made a difference ... it's not like people check things off a list like okay, I've been to Bayreuth. For me it's a place I do want to go back to ...*

*almost need to because ... now I'm 63, I hear Wagner one way, and I'm sure that when I'm 70 and have more experience of life, I'll experience it in a different way.*  
(David, 63, American)

Next to the role of age, this quote shows how the interviewees include their trips in their story of self – travelling to these places is not simply ticking a box on a to-do list of life experiences. In the case of David, it is a motor for recurrent travel, as the music takes on new meanings concurrent with accumulated life experiences.

Music-related travel in this sense is not only fun, it is also a way of communicating and thereby performing identity (Therckelsen & Gram, 2008): taking part in an ABBA walking tour signals that you are a person who has some sort of connection with ABBA. Where Therckelsen and Gram have shown how travel choices solidify the bond between mature married couples, the ABBA fans showed how travelling is a way of sharing identities across generations. In the case of the young ABBA fans and their parents, taking part in the walking tour allowed them to share their identity as ABBA fans with each other.

Interestingly, it seems that the artists themselves hold special significance for tourists in constructing identity in music-related travel. The interviewees attached great significance to getting close to band members or the composer during their trip. This was especially important to U2 fans, as it is possible to run into the U2 members at their studio, and trips are actually planned according to their being in Dublin to maximize the chances of this happening:

*You do check... When we go, we know from the Internet they are working on a new album ... and are in the studio (...). So yes, you can take a chance on it.* (Gloria, 44, Dutch)

While in the case of ABBA and Wagner meeting the artists is either improbable or impossible, proximity still is an important motivation for music tourism. ABBA tourists, for example, were disappointed that there was not much attention paid to the current situation of the ABBA members during the tour. When tourists asked the tour guide about this, she pointed out issues of walking distance and privacy.

In the case of Bayreuth, although Wagner himself is dead, people can visit his grave, and tourists get excited about the idea of being led through Bayreuth by Wagner himself in the *Walk with Wagner*-app issued by the tourist agency. The next best thing is to meet the singers and musicians from the Festspielhaus production.

Comments on wanting to meet band members of U2 and ABBA or Wagner family and musicians return frequently during interviews. Reijnders (2011) has written on the apparent need people have in the current media-saturated society for proximity, understood as a need for moments of 'unmediated' reality. Being close to celebrities creates moments in which fans get the chance to experience their idol in an unmediated way,

which supposedly takes their parasocial relation with the idol to a new level. Interestingly, the way fans describe their meet-and-greets reveals more about themselves than about their idol (Reijnders et al., 2014).

While Reijnders does not explore this idea further, the interviews in this study show that wanting to be close to the artist or the composer in music tourism says more about the tourist than about the artist – for example, in the words of Gloria, when describing the moment she meets Bono after getting him a birthday present during a music trip to Dublin:

*(...) then he turned himself fully to me: 'did you give me that cheese?' At that moment I knew he had received it, because it had been all wrapped up before (...). So I asked – he instantly gave me two kisses – and I said: 'do you even like cheese?' and he said: 'oh yeah. I love cheese, I am a cheese man.'* (Gloria, 44, Dutch)

Traditional Dutch Gouda cheese is a strong marker of national identity to Gloria. This example is interesting since it expands on what Roberts describes as the 'contagious magic' of a music tourism site (Roberts, 2014: 11): places associated with artists have an auratic quality. Podoshen (2013) argues that this 'emotional contagion' is essential to the experience of music tourism, as the tourist takes on qualities or emotions associated with the artist in some way. Music tourism in this sense contributes to a feeling of existential authenticity (Wang, 1999), the tourist being in touch with a true self, rather than the constructed, inauthentic self of everyday postmodern life.

However, in the example of Gloria and in other instances like it throughout the interviews, tourists did not refer to such a division between their sense of self at home and on holiday. Rather, in their descriptions of visiting music tourism sites, they stressed the continuity between the role of music in their everyday life and during their holiday. This finding suggests that a desire to escape in search of an authentic self is not really a motivation for travel in the case of the music tourists in this study.

This is confirmed by findings in other research on niche tourism. This type of tourism is influenced by a desire to continue activities that are important at home, as part of the travellers' embodied taste preferences, or habitus (Bourdieu, 1984). As concluded by Lee, Scott and Packer (2014) in a study on slow food tourism, tourists may carry their interests as part of their habitus to wherever they go (Lee et al., 2014: 218). Instead of music tourism functioning as a way to anchor identity outside the unstable postmodern home, the interview data in this research suggest that music tourism is rather an extension of that home, not an escape.

In the next section, I will broaden the scope of the analysis by focusing on the interaction between this personal level of experience and the social-cultural context in which music tourism takes place.

### **Connecting to cultural identities**

As shown in the previous section, music tourism has a strong personal emotional component. What makes music tourism as an activity special for tourists is the opportunity to actively connect these personal music memories to the ways music is presented as local history on site, for example, through taking part in walking tours, visiting museums and talking to locals. Music tourism thereby forms an example of a practice that involves the social role of music (Hesmondhalgh, 2013b): the way it connects personal dimensions of experience with cultural identity.

These personal memories can fit into and overlap with the music histories presented at museums and during walking tours on location, offering an opportunity to look back at certain decades or moments in time. During the interviews, Robert describes the feeling of nostalgia he experienced during his ABBA trip to Stockholm, triggered by merchandise in the ABBA museum:

*When you walked in there, and you saw this merchandise of ABBA stuff it brought back so many memories to me, of when I was a kid in Australia. There was definitely parts of the museum that was really nostalgic (...). When I walked into that shop I was like, oh my god, this really took me back to my childhood ... quite funny.*  
(Robert, 50, Australian)

In this example, Robert identifies with a particular time period that is personally meaningful to him through his childhood memories. This example shows how tourists engage with cultural narratives, through relating these stories to their personal biographies (Bagnall, 2003).

However, since personal memory plays such an important role in this process, idiosyncrasies are involved, such as the role the music still plays in a fan's life or having a different memory or experience of what is presented. The experience of music tourism to the interviewees therefore holds a certain degree of ambivalence (Spracklen & Spracklen, 2014), relating to both issues of agency and ethics.

This becomes clear when comparing Robert's reaction to the ABBA museum with hearing music during the ABBA walking tour. Robert experienced nostalgia upon seeing the merchandise, whereas the songs that are played during the nostalgically framed ABBA walking tour are not always experienced in that way by the interviewees, but actually remind them more about recent social situations in which they listen to and sing along to ABBA:

*It reminded me of... I had an ABBA-party for my girlfriends at home you know (...). We were singing and dancing. So that maybe describes more about in which occasions I listen to ABBA songs and it has a lot to do with singing along. That is*

*why I found it really nice; the opportunity to listen and sing along to these songs during the walk as well ... so that is what it did to me mainly. (Elviira, 44, Finnish)*

Sometimes the time period that tourists are reminded of through music does not correspond with that which is presented by a museum or during a walking tour. Music tourism has been conceptualized as a nostalgia industry (Fremaux & Fremaux, 2013; Gibson & Connell, 2007; Kruse, 2005b), nostalgia being understood as a longing for times past (Boym, 2001). My analysis shows that a focus on nostalgia should not exclude or reduce the active role of the tourist. Although a nostalgic framing can offer a directed performance of tourism (Edensor, 2001), music comes to carry new meanings to the tourist in everyday life. As one Wagner tourist put it: 'Wagner is contemporary', meaning that Wagner music continues to have new meanings to him in the present even though it is a product of the past. This influences the way a musicscape is experienced.

However, while tourists do not passively absorb accounts of the past, these narratives do influence their experience of the places visited, and not always in a positive way. An example is the U2 walk. The U2 walk is organized by a fan, Paul, who engages with current images of the band that circulate in the media. Paul tries to reconfigure the perceived popular image of U2 as the band of the 'celanthropist' Bono (Rojek, 2014). In offering a grassroots, vernacular memory (Burgoyne, 2013) of U2, Paul emphasizes the musical quality of the band during his tour by including mostly sites where U2 has performed or created its music. Hereby he reproduces an idea of authenticity current in rock music discourse, as a history of live performance, which is seen to contribute towards the credibility of a rock band (Auslander, 2008).

This example shows a moment of friction between personal and cultural identifications with music. This is especially prominent in Wagner tourism, as being a fan of Wagner music and going to Bayreuth raises moral questions. Both tourists and tour guides try to undo unwanted connections between the music and the difficult and tainted Nazi history of the Bayreuth festival. The solution for them seems to lie in making a strong distinction between the music and Wagner as a person.

This distinction seemed a little odd to me at first, as usually in classical music the composer is an important source for meaning construction. However, the notion of habitus as mentioned in the previous section is useful to explain this apparent discrepancy in the stories of Wagner fans. Fans challenge or ignore textual references that do not match their own frames of reference, their habitus (Sandvoss, 2007). In the case of Wagner tourism, Wagner as a person is excluded from the meaning-making process, which in a way solves the problem of his contested past for his fans.

However, this meaning-making process takes place in Bayreuth, where the confrontation with history is literally present. Bayreuth is a 'guilty landscape' (Reijnders, 2011), for example through the presence of the Wagner family guesthouse where Hitler

was a guest. The Wagner tourists who are fans do appropriate these elements to some extent, which results in Wagner music being, in David's words, 'a guilty pleasure'.

The physicality of the location therefore offers not only a reflection and extension of the self, but also changes the relationship of the fan to the object of fandom. This special role of embodied experience has been discussed in previous studies, but mainly in the context of attending concerts (Cohen, 2007; Malbon, 1999; Szmigin et al., 2017). In the next section, I will discuss the role of concert experiences in situ along with other ways in which music-related activities influence tourism identity-work.

### **Tuning in – embodied identity**

The act of travelling is embodied. Music likewise has been studied for its physical, embodied qualities, which in music tourism research has led to a focus on live music events (Lashua et al., 2014). Being part of a concert audience is especially said to bring music's ability to create special embodied spaces of experience to the fore (Cohen, 2007), described as the oceanic feeling of loss of identity (Malbon, 1999) or an experience of absorption. In the interviews, this was present for both popular and classical music:

*One of my favorite live tracks is Bad from Unforgettable Fire from 1984, every time I hear that I get goose bumps ... especially when it's in Dublin, when I hear that it just knocks me senseless, if you talk to me during that song, you won't even get a response ... I get transported to a different planet, I get transported to planet Bono. (Tara, 43, British)*

*Bayreuth really is like stepping of the planet to a different planet for a very brief moment ... you can sustain that mood, especially if you go to the Ring cycle, because you get four nights of it ... yeah, being in Bayreuth really made a difference. (David, 63, American)*

As is evident from Tara's quote, absorption contributes to a sense of loss of personal identity. The interviewees describe the sense of connection that arises from being part of an audience:

*What we're hearing tonight is in a way a distillation of hundreds of thousands of performances of people living and dead, and we are part of that. We are part of a unique moment, but we are also part of a great river, that flows on and which we share with all those people who went before us ... there is a great sense of connection. (Richard, 50, American)*

However, during the interviews it became clear that music contributes to connecting personal experience and social aspects in more ways than in attending concerts on

location. Other music-related practices such as singing along during a walking tour or imagining hearing music also contribute to the embodied experience of place for music tourists. In line with Fry (2014: 71), active participation is crucial to music tourism.

Music offers specific ways in which this active participation takes place – for example, simply walking around at a music-related site and realizing that the language of the music was in fact spoken language, not a libretto:

*Being surrounded in Bayreuth by the German ... all the sudden it made the singing not memorized language but conversation, people talking to each other – which is of course how original audiences heard it. It wasn't that they had studied the libretto, memorized it and came prepared, you know. (David, 63, American)*

The importance of walking has also been remarked on in relation to literary walking tours (Plate, 2006). Where Plate credits the geographical knowledge gained by walking to illuminate the text, David's quote shows how knowledge of the soundscape of a city can illuminate the music.

Moreover, during the ABBA walking tour, a social dimension was added to this experience. Music was played when walking from location to location, and the tourists were invited to sing along. This was experienced as creating a music tourist bubble:

*I found it really funny during this ABBA walking tour (...) that the guide had the little tape recorder playing ABBA songs. There were so many people because of the Triathlon ... I found it really nice, our group walking after her through the crowd and playing ... and we were singing a little bit ... I found that really, really nice. (Anna, 29, Russian)*

The group navigated a busy square that was filled with people who had come to watch the Stockholm Triathlon. Singing along to the music demarcated the group members from the Triathlon audience, which made the group space more evident.

The ABBA walking tour was one of few examples in which music was actually played out loud to tourists. Likewise, the interviewees did not mention listening to recorded music individually during the tour or when visiting other places related to music, despite the current ease of listening to music on the spot with mobile devices. Apparently, none of the interviewees felt the urge to do this, because as they explained, the music was already playing in their heads:

*'I see seven towers and only one way out' ... when you arrive at Dublin airport and you see the tower in front of you (...) I already hear the song in my head, I don't need to play it. (Martin, 41, Dutch)*



This involuntary musical imagery (Williamson & Jilka, 2014) forms an embodied memory (Van Dijck, 2006), which creates a private personal space for the tourist as the tourist alone hears it. By walking around and engaging with the locations, the interviewees experience music both in this imaginative, individual way and in the social dimension that replayed or live music offers.

## Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored the role of music in tourist experiences of place, focusing in particular on the way music tourism relates to processes of identity-work. The music tourists in this study engaged in identity-work in at least three ways.

First, the tourists visited particular places because these places are connected to music that plays a part in their story of self. Visiting the locations therefore was experienced as the culmination of an emotional involvement with the music. This involvement often had a long history, which is not surprising regarding the age of the interviewees. Not only the music played an important role in identity-work on site. Being in close proximity to the musician was also a way to perform personal identity, especially in those cases where the musician has come to embody the music.

Second, the personal experience of music was connected to the stories tourists encountered while on location, offered by other fans or locals met while travelling, by museums or during walking tours. What this subproject shows is that central to music tourism is not so much the comparing of images with visual reality while on location (Podoshen, 2013), but relating personal and emotional music memories to the narratives shared and encountered on site.

These memories can fit into and overlap with the music histories presented at museums and during walking tours on location, offering an opportunity to look back at certain decades or moments in time. However, I also showed how idiosyncrasies are involved as tourists' personal memories and experiences can and often do diverge from the story that is presented. The experience of music tourism therefore holds a certain degree of ambivalence, relating to both issues of agency and ethics. The nostalgic story presented on location does not necessarily have to be the story that is remembered and experienced by the visitor, which in this study showed for example in the irritation that an all too explicit framing by museums caused, especially with the ABBA fans.

Moreover, tourists can be confronted with uncomfortable narratives surrounding the music or artist, as was the case in Wagner tourism. This shows how the role of music in identity-work is not always entirely positive, and visiting places because of a connection with music can confront tourists with negative associations attached to these locations. In relation to the concept of musical topophilia put forward in this dissertation, this suggests that through visiting locations, topophilia can also be diminished.

Third, I have shown the role of the bodily experience of 'being there' for tourists. For the interviewees, music effectively mediated between personal spaces of the imagination and shared, social spaces through practices such as singing along or being part of an audience. Through these embodied practices, the experience of 'being there' for this diverse group of tourists formed the starting point (in the case of accidental tourists) or an anchor point (for fans) in a continued emotional connection to the related place; experiencing music-related places is therefore a process inducing, perpetuating or stimulating musical topophilia.

Moreover, the process of identity-work described here offers a framework to explore the questions I raised in the introduction to this chapter concerning explanations of music tourism as an escape from alienating postmodern identities. In contrast with previous research on music tourism (for example Gibson & Connell, 2005), the interviews of this study suggest that a sense of escape is not central to the experience of music tourism to the interviewees, at least not in the sense that interviewees view their everyday life negatively, as something they need to escape from. 'Being there' forms an extension to the identities constructed and performed in everyday life, an extension of interviewees' habitus.

Music tourism for the interviewees contributed to a sense of personal and cultural identity, and to some extent their activities fulfilled a need for nostalgia, authenticity and belonging. Moreover, music-related practices on-site played an *active* role as building materials of identity, contributing to varying degrees of feeling immersed and absorbed. In the eyes of the tourist, visiting music-related places offers a 'lived and felt knowledge' (Plate, 2006) that lifts the experience of music out of the ordinary, in a way that is not possible through listening to a CD at home.

In this sense, the interviewees constructed their experience of music tourism as 'out of the ordinary', as adding something special or unique to their experience and appreciation of the music, which continued to be a source of reference when listening to the music when returned home. This sentiment was not only expressed by the interviewees in this particular study; during the interviews that I analyze in the other two empirical chapters, actually visiting music-related places held a similar value.

This means that even though listening to music at home is also an embodied experience in which personal and collective identities can meet, the interviewees construct touristic experiences of place in which music is involved, as having special value – comparable to the way Auslander (2008) has shown the culturally constructed value of 'liveness'. Interestingly, it was not only the live concert experience that interviewees described in this regard, but the quality of 'liveness' was attached instead to the experience of 'co-presence' (Urry & Larsen, 2011) with the site. Music-related experiences offered an intensity of 'co-presence' in several ways, ranging from immersion to absorption, from live concert experiences to involuntary musical imagery to the soundscapes of everyday life.

In this way, the love for music and the affective attachment to place became intertwined through the touristic experience, influencing and re-enforcing each other.

This range of experiences of 'co-presence' calls attention to the ambivalence inherent in tourism as I described in the theoretical section of this chapter: the tension between reflexive and unreflexive aspects of experience present in tourism. Musical experiences draw attention to the unreflexive, and in this sense offer a good way to pay more attention to non-representational dimensions of practice and experience, which according to Thrift is much needed in tourism studies (Thrift, 2008). However, in line with Rakić and Chambers' notion of extended embodiment, I have shown in this chapter that it is perhaps more fruitful to see touristic experiences of place as encompassing both dimensions simultaneously, as two sides of the same coin.

Moving from the process of musically imagining place that was central to chapter 4 and experiencing music-related locations that I discussed in this chapter, in the next and final empirical chapter I explore the third step in my model of music tourism that potentially contributes to creating, sustaining and engaging with a musical topophilia: how the experience of place feeds back into the way music stimulates the imagination.



# Chapter 6

**Between community and  
competition: exploring music  
workshop tourism across Europe**



In the chapters so far, I have analyzed how music leads to imagine places by exploring the virtual music tourism of holiday playlist making (chapter 4). In chapter 5, I explored what happens when listening and imagining turns into visiting places related to and associated with certain artists and music. In this final empirical chapter I add another layer to the research by turning to the question how the touristic experience of place feeds back into the music.

This question up until now has been answered most frequently through looking at the way composers and professional musicians have been inspired by musical locations, composing music through incorporating the inspiration of idyllic or exciting places into lyrics and musical sounds and structures. For example, Connell and Gibson trace the role and importance of place in the genre of country music (Connell & Gibson, 2003). Richard Elliott has written on the interconnection between fado and the city (Elliott, 2010), drawing out how the atmosphere of Lisbon is eternalized in fado songs and singing style. Salomon (2005; 2009) links the city of Istanbul to locally produced rap, tracing references to the city in lyrics and rapping style. Pesses (2009) has done similar work in analyzing the way Los Angeles is present in and intertwined with the music and imagery of the Red Hot Chili Peppers.

In this chapter, I want to heed the call for a different perspective on music production and creation, voiced by for example Ruth Finnegan (1989) and later on by Tia DeNora (1999): instead of looking at professional music production exclusively, we should also consider the domain of amateur music making. Indeed, the majority of music making and creation takes place in everyday life, through the activities of amateur musicians. Acknowledging the perspective of the amateur music maker, and in line with my focus in this dissertation on the audiences of music and tourism, in this chapter I explore a form of music tourism that combines amateur musicianship with tourist travel: taking part in adult music workshops abroad.

By focusing on tourists who make music themselves, the theme of co-creation that has already been present in the previous empirical chapters can be explored more thoroughly: tourists 'create' tourism destinations and experiences in tandem with whomever they encounter on site. This meeting on site and the ensuing creative process are embodied very tangibly in adult music workshops, as tourists make music together.

An adult music workshop as studied in this chapter is a short course, usually between one and fourteen days, during which tuition and group playing is offered under the guidance of one or more professional musicians. Workshops typically have a rigidly repeating structure of lessons, food, and leisure time, and usually are residential or offer accommodation close by. Music workshops are offered in different genres, from traditional world music genres such as flamenco and Irish traditional music, to classically oriented instrumental workshops, orchestra practice and chamber music weeks, to popular music workshops offering singer-songwriters and guitar players a week of playing and learning.

Despite a lack of concrete and combined numbers, music workshops in Europe seem to be quite popular. For example, when I conducted an online search focusing on classical instruments alone, the results already showed almost 300 workshops offered across Europe during the summer of 2017.<sup>10</sup> The size of music workshops across genres varies, from small scale with a few participants to extensive festivals taking over a local area. For example, one of the workshops I attended as part of this study involved over 1500 workshop participants, while the workshop-related events and concerts drew many more casual visitors to the area. In spite of its apparent popularity, research on music workshops remains scarce.

Music workshops are interesting for this research project as a whole as they offer a way to critically examine one of the most persistent and pervasive assumptions underlying research on music: the idea that music connects people across places, time and cultures (Hesmondhalgh, 2013b). This influential assumption is particularly present in research on music tourism, and it has already appeared as a more covert theme in the previous chapters. In chapter 5 for example, participants felt they landed on 'planet Bono' or 'planet Wagner' when attending concerts, experiencing a sense of connection with other audience members.

In Gibson and Connell's work on performing tourists (2005: 150–160), taking part in music workshops is framed as cultural tourism, aimed at getting to know a place and its culture through music making. The holiday serves as an escape to exotic paradise or to a society that has ceased to exist, and through playing together tourists get an 'authentic' sense of the host culture. Beyond the exotic paradise, this dynamic also works in Western regions, as the interest in Celtic music and music making shows (Connell & Gibson, 2003; Feintuch, 2004) – with folk music especially having the potential to offer an escape from the tribulations of everyday modern life, connecting different cultures and people in a pre-modern notion of togetherness.

The specific role of music making in these touristic experiences is connected frequently to the Turnerian notion of *communitas* (for example by Ellis, 2011; Granger, 2015; Sarbanes, 2006). According to this line of thought, music workshops have the capacity to stimulate a sense of flow across multiple days of playing, creating feelings of belonging (Ellis, 2011; Granger, 2015). According to Ellis (2011), Granger (2015) and Sarbanes (2006), music provides a sense of flow and connection, and the period of musicking (Small, 1998) together provides a liminoid space of change. Stating that music workshops offer a Turnerian rite of passage, the outcome of taking part in a workshop is a sense of community and personal growth (Ellis, 2011; Granger, 2015; Sarbanes, 2006).

This role of music in creating a sense of community has already presented itself in the previous chapters, and in the current chapter I would like to critically investigate that notion more openly. For as music tourism can bring people together, by doing so it

<sup>10</sup> Simple search through Google on 'classical music summer workshop' on 16/04/2017.

by default also contributes to exclusion. Adding to the study by Saldanha (2001) on the exclusionary practices on Goa dancefloors, I will explore this idea from the perspective of amateur music making during music workshops.

Exploring if and how music workshops bring people together and by doing so, create spaces of exclusion, I employed a multi-method, comparative approach based on participant observation during three music workshops in different genres, as well as a series of interviews with 19 participants. The analysis shows how music workshops offer a fractured sense of belonging to tourists, as they feel like they are part of the temporary playing group, the local community, and the translocal music scene in some respect, while they also feel excluded at times.

I argue that the workshops indeed offer ritual spaces for *communitas* and flow, while at the same time a sense of competition and hierarchy underlies the workshop experience for participants. The workshops should therefore be seen as spaces that offer a temporary escape from the rhythms of everyday life and work, while they are also ritual spaces where contemporary values of work, self-realization and personal achievement are negotiated and celebrated. Building on the literature on music workshops already mentioned, I state that the popularity of these workshops is not only based on nostalgia and escape into archaic cultures; based on my analysis, the workshops appear to offer a way to balance and engage with two seemingly competing discourses, involving on the one hand (romantic) notions of community and inspiration, and on the other hand, contemporary demands and ideals of progress, competition and development.

## **Performing tourists – participatory music tourism and cultural belonging**

With music workshops as discussed in this chapter I mean short-term vacations, in which participants learn about a particular music genre under the guidance of professional musicians, usually through individual or group instruction or a combination of both.

Music workshops can be traced back to two distinct traditions of travel: indigenous cultural tourism and following music maestros. In literature on the topic, music workshops are usually discussed in the context of the first kind of travel, as a form of indigenous cultural tourism. The origins of this type of travel date back to an ethnomusicological tradition of learning about a specific local culture, through learning to play the music natively played on location. Especially in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, ethnomusicologists and anthropologists hoped to learn about (music) cultures through playing. With the advent of tourism, larger groups of people have been able to make leisure journeys elsewhere, performing with local musicians and learning about local music traditions. Gibson and Connell (2005) call this type of music tourism ‘performing tourists’, although in my view the emphasis on learning instead of on performing would make ‘participatory music tourism’



a better term – this links up with the way Turino (2008) usefully categorizes different ways of engaging with music, which imply different social codes and interactions involved.

This social role is important, as tourists take part in activities to get to know the host culture, creating (as discussed in chapter 2) a give and take: tourists play ‘traditional’ music and thereby keep rituals and certain musical styles and forms preserved, while these forms are often adjusted to fit with the attention span and taste or expectations of tourists. A well-documented example is the Balinese dance described and analyzed by Dunbar-Hall (2001). Likewise, flamenco has been able to develop into a national symbol and transnational success through tourism (Aoyama, 2007 and 2009). According to Connell and Gibson, this kind of holiday serves as an escape to exotic paradise or an escape to a pre-modern type of society, although this dynamic can also work in Western regions, as the interest in folk music shows (Connell & Gibson, 2003: 246).

The specific role of music making in these touristic experiences is connected frequently to the notion of *communitas*. Music making in general is analyzed for its role in creating a sense of community (Small, 1998; Turino, 2008), dissolving boundaries and creating a sense of Durkheimian effervescence, an experience I have discussed in the previous chapter in the context of concert attendance. According to Ellis (2011) and Granger (2015), music workshops also have the capacity to create this sense of flow across multiple days of playing, thus creating a sense of belonging.

Ellis analyzed adult guitar workshops as liminoid spaces of personal, ritual transformation (Ellis, 2011) and concluded that the focused and intense experience of the workshop created a safe atmosphere for participants to overcome personal challenges in performing as they prepare for a final concert night.

As mentioned above, Granger analyses a similar sense of community and personal growth in participating in a steelpan festival (2015). Moving beyond the rather placeless analysis of Ellis (2011), Granger observes how participation in festival playing means that although she is geographically dislocated from home, nonetheless she feels at home through the music. Music provides a sense of flow and connection through its aural nature and its social practices. The period of musicking (Small, 1998) together provides a liminoid space as it separates the players from everyday life through the music making. According to Granger, the outcome of what she calls a ‘Turnerian rite of passage’ is a sense of community and personal growth – apparently, taking part in music workshops changes participants to some degree, although it does not become clear in what way and to what extent this change is durable and specific to music beyond the ways in which holidays are deemed ‘healing’ or ‘relaxing’ in general (cf. Urry & Larsen, 2011 as discussed in chapter 2).

In my view, what music workshops bring to participants can perhaps be better understood by recognizing that there is a second tradition of music-related travel that feeds into them: the tradition of travelling to meet and learn from famous artists and composers. This type of journey to other places, in line with the practices of artists from the Romantic movement onwards to ‘follow the Maestro’, do not act as much as ‘escape’ but

as sources of Romanticized ‘inspiration’ (Whiting & Hannam, 2014: 73). Where Whiting and Hannam mainly refer to visual artists, composers like Bach, Beethoven and Mozart would also travel extensively in their younger years to learn the tricks of the trade from older masters, developing and honing their skills (Burkholder, Grout & Palisca, 2014). Despite changes in conveying music and in learning opportunities that an expanding world has brought us – ranging from traveling musicians to sheet music to recording technology – learning face to face, or embodied learning, has retained a certain value in acquiring musical skills (Van den Dool, 2018).

In this chapter, I explore how participants of music workshops construct this value, more particularly in relation to the ways music workshops both create spaces of community and exclusion. In order to do this, a closer look into what community can mean in contemporary de-territorialized society is necessary.

A starting point is the work of David Morley. Morley analyzes ‘how, in a world of flux, forms of collective dwelling are sustained and reinvented’ (Morley, 2001: 429). He looks into the processes by which a modern sense of community rises from the interplay of what he calls different ‘spaces of belonging’. Morley builds on a notion of belonging described by Grossberg: ‘the various ways people are attached and attach themselves (affectively) into the world’ (Morley, 2001: 440, referring to Grossberg, 1996: 185–186). Spaces of belonging are spaces in which people feel ‘at home’: places shared with other people who use the same ‘rhetoric’, who know the same social codes – these places can be physical, virtual and rhetorical, and, referring to Massey (1994), stand in connection with other places and social spheres not necessarily local.

Spaces of belonging are useful to analyze music workshops, as they are exactly the spaces where ‘the relationship between the physical and virtual forms of social and cultural exclusion’ can be explored, ‘through which both geographical and, in Anderson’s (1983) terms, “imagined” communities are constructed’ (Morley, 2001: 440). Analyzing music workshops through this notion of belonging opens up the research to the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion that is inherent to music making (Hesmondhalgh, 2013b).

Morley explores how his notion of belonging relates to experiences of national identity, analyzing ‘spaces of belonging’ on three geographical scales: local, national and transnational (Morley, 2001: 425). In this chapter, I am not so much interested in how national communities are established and experienced in a de-territorialized world, but rather in music communities. Thus, to analyze the role of spaces of belonging in music workshops, I will slightly adapt the geographical scales to fit with the spaces that during interviews turned out to be relevant to the participants of this study. For example, as became clear in the interviews, the specific location of the music workshop was relevant for the sense of *communitas* experienced, which matches the role of workshop locations described by Ellis (2011). In the analysis, I therefore explore the experiences of music workshop participants in relation to belonging to the music workshop group (workshop location), the local host culture, and in relation to a translocal music community.

## Methods

Using sensitizing concepts (Bowen, 2006) such as ‘communitas’ and ‘belonging’ as a starting point, three music workshops were visited during May, July and August of 2016. This comparative design was chosen for two reasons.

First, to gather rich and substantial data of the process of community experience and construction during a music workshop, it was necessary to move across settings (Charmaz, 2006: 21). Aiming to offer a holistic analysis (Bird, 2003: 7), the focus was on exploring music workshops as ‘moments of cultural interaction’ (Bird, 2003: 8), being able to analyze these moments in a context of mobility and de-territorialization.

Second, I compared music workshops involving different music genres, as the research in previous chapters has shown that music connects differently to place in relation to genre (see for example chapter 4 of this dissertation). For this reason, I took into account different metagenres of music, resulting in a comparison of a classical, folk and jazz music workshop.

Practical reasons influenced the specific choice for the music workshops compared. As discovered during the design stage of the research, music workshops are often booked fully quite some time in advance, with participants often booking the next workshop right away after one is over. Another practical reason was the possibility to participate actively, meaning only workshops that offered flute tuition were considered, as this is the instrument I have a high command of. This would make it possible to participate fully in all workshop elements, while not being challenged to the extent that a focus on participation would take over the observational and reflexive elements of doing research. Only during the jazz workshop did this turn out to be an issue, as the jazz workshop was at a more advanced level than advertised. This was solved by cutting back on taking part in instrument tuition, which made it possible to participate more fully in other parts of the workshop. During combo practice a more advanced jazz flautist joined the group, which made it possible for me to take a more observing position during this particular part of the workshop as well.

The fieldwork consisted of ethnographic methods. I took part in all activities offered during the three workshops, such as playing along in group sessions and the final concert. In this respect, I acted as a regular participant. I did make myself known at the start of each workshop and I briefly explained my research. Initially this may have caused some distance between me and the other participants, but as the workshops progressed and I showed I was a regular participant in most respects, participants started to loosen up and be more open about their experiences. I choose to inform the participants beforehand of my reasons for being there in order to explain behavior on my part that I expected would not be typical during workshops, such as taking notes and asking fellow participants about their experiences during the workshop. This also provided me with an opportunity to ask participants if they would be willing to agree to post-workshop interviews.

My own participation therefore had a dual goal: to understand the events and experience ethnographically, as well as to establish rapport with the participants of the workshops (Crang, 2011). This was important, as I would be conducting post-workshop interviews by telephone and over Skype, and previously established rapport facilitates the richness and depth of the interview in that particular setting (Bird, 2003: 14).

Every day I took time to write down memos during the workshop activities, and at the end of each day I wrote field notes reflecting on the events that had happened during the day, on the conversations with fellow participants and teachers, and on my own experiences and thoughts during that day. Next to participant-observation and written reflections, I took audio recordings of the lessons, of playing during the lessons, and of playing during the concerts, in order to be able to listen back to the interaction between players and teachers and compare this to what was said about this during interviews. Upon return of each workshop, I thematically coded the memos and fieldnotes, and listened back to the audio recordings to link to and reflect on the notes and memos.

After the workshops, I conducted 19 semi-structured in-depth interviews (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009) with participants, most of them over Skype. One interviewee lived close enough for a house visit, and one interview was an email conversation as the interviewee felt more comfortable with that. The interviews on average took 56 minutes, the recordings were transcribed verbatim and analysed through Atlas.ti, using line by line coding and gerunds in the first phase of open coding as explained in chapter 3 (and suggested by Charmaz, 2006: 21). In the subsequent phase of reflexive coding, the codes were combined and grouped into several categories, such as 'becoming a better musician' and 'exploring the location'.

Comparing the categories of interview coding with the coded fieldnotes and memos, the way the music workshops contributed to participants' sense of belonging emerged. The interviewees discussed this sense of belonging in relation to the different communities they felt they connected to during the workshop. First, participants felt a sense of belonging towards the workshop group as a small-scale social unit. Second, they felt a complex sense of belonging towards the host community. Third, they experienced the workshops in relation to the translocal community engaging with the music genre in question.

In the analysis that follows, I will discuss these senses of belonging in the spatial order the participants perceived them: from small scale to global. As the analysis shows, the senses of belonging discussed were not unproblematic to the participants, and point toward a rather complex way in which workshops function as spaces of community and competition. Before going into this analysis further, I will first describe the workshops participated in and the profile of the participants in more detail, as these factors contribute to and shape the subsequent analysis.

### **Music workshops and participants**

The music workshops I visited were organized by small companies and private foundations that either ran the course commercially, or were subsidized by private foundations supporting the particular music genre. As I will discuss in the analysis, the workshops all had a strict schedule that contributed to the way the participants experienced the workshops. In this section I describe each workshop and its participants, in order to give an impression of who the participants were that I met during my research, and to explain why the workshops were experienced with such an intensity.

In May 2016, I visited a flute retreat on the Greek island of Corfu, organized by a UK company called *Flutes en vacances*. Two professional musicians, one a flautist and one a saxophonist/clarinetist, run the retreat. They organize retreats of this kind regularly, both in the UK and in other European countries. The people going on the retreats are a mixture of regular pupils of the musicians and those who find out about the retreat online or through marketing efforts such as advertisements in the British Flute Society magazine. The retreat is designed to be no longer than 4 days, as according to the organizers this is short enough for students to stay focused, while being long enough to learn new things and work on particular music pieces (personal communication). The retreats offer tuition to small groups of 3 to 15 people. The typical person going on retreat is a senior, highly educated, financially well to do player, with the time and family situation to go on a vacation costing at least 800 British pounds in tuition fee, traveling expenses excluded.

The Corfu interviewees were in their 50's and 60's, either employed, self-employed or retired, all with demanding jobs or in demanding jobs before retirement. In terms of playing level, the interviewees signed up for an advanced course or a beginner course. The advanced course consisted of a diverse group of participants, including three professional flute teachers, three advanced life-long amateur players, and one student who had started playing only 6 years before, but had risen to a grade 8 in the UK system, the highest amateur level. For most of the students the trip to Corfu was a long weekend away, for a few it meant the start of a longer holiday on the island.

A typical retreat day would start with communal breakfast at 8:30 am, after which the morning session of tuition would be from 9:30 am to 12:30 pm. Then there would be communal warm lunch cooked by the organizers, after which the afternoon was free to spend at leisure. At 5 pm, another tuition session would take place until 6:30, after which there would be a communal meal cooked again by the organizers at 7:30. During the afternoon, students would go out together to explore the nearby sights, or would relax and enjoy the beach or pool, or the quietness of their private bedroom. The location was a relatively secluded villa in the North of Corfu, a part of the island outside the gathering of regular tourist towns and areas.

In July 2016, I visited the Willie Clancy Summer School, one of the biggest summer schools for Irish Traditional Music, held each year in Miltown Malbay in County Clare, Ireland. During the 2016 edition, the school provided tuition, concerts, exhibitions and

pub sessions, hosting 1500 students and many more visitors to the small village in County Clare (personal communication). The pupils of the summer school could take lessons in instruments associated with traditional Irish music, such as Uilleann pipes, concertina, fiddle, thin whistle, Irish flute and banjo, and they could take dancing lessons such as Irish set dancing. The summer school took place from Saturday until Sunday the week after; tuition was offered from Monday until Saturday, each morning from 10 am to 1 pm.

On Monday morning, the students were asked to play a tune for the gathered teachers in order to be placed in an appropriate group. The groups spread out to schools, empty houses, buildings and abandoned pubs for their tuition sessions. Pupils attended from all over the world, including sometimes flying in especially for the summer school. Others attended the summer school as part of a more extended visit to Ireland and Europe. Tuition was offered to both children and adults, of all abilities. While a majority of younger pupils was Irish, adult visitors from outside Ireland were mainly from the UK, the USA, Australia and Japan. In the afternoon, there were lessons in conversational Gaelic, and people visited the pubs to listen to or play in ad hoc sessions.

During the week, all instruments had a dedicated concert in the Summer School Hall or the large tent set up especially for the Willie Clancy Week outside the village. On Saturday night, a closing concert marked the end of the summer school, featuring professional players representing all instrument groups. Playing in sessions happened all day, in the pubs in the village and in some neighboring villages. The sessions were open to everyone who wanted to play, but they took place according to a certain etiquette that most people seemed to be aware of and took into account. For example, you could join if you were invited by one of the players or the session leader. Generally, the place in the pub the session took place in already showed whether the session was open to other players – if there was an empty seat you could sit there, but only if invited through, for example, a nod of the head. Other ways to include or exclude students that I observed were playing in a less common key, picking unfamiliar tunes, and/or playing in a very fast pace.

The third music workshop chosen was a jazz summer school in Prague that took place in the first week of August 2016. The summer school offered tuition in jazz singing, gospel singing, and several instruments associated with jazz, such as percussion, guitar, double bass, saxophone, piano, trombone, trumpet, and flute. The total amount of pupils for this particular workshop was 86, ranging from professional jazz students to advanced adults, with ages ranging from 15 to people in their 60's (personal communication by the workshop organizers). Accommodation and tuition took place on the outskirts of Prague in a children's music school, and a student dormitory turned into a hotel during summer. At night, jam session would take place in a Thai restaurant with an adjacent music venue owned by the summer school organizer, located along the Danube River in the city center. Instrument specific tuition took place every morning from 10 to 12 am, with all students playing the same type of instrument grouped together. Only the singing and piano groups split up to keep the amount of students in one group to a workable number (10 or

less). After instrument class, there would be a jazz harmonics theory class for 45 minutes (advanced level), followed by free time for lunch, which most participants was used to practice individually. From 3 pm to 4:30 pm, there would be combo class, students being put in a combo if they signed up for this, preparing for the closing concert on Saturday night or the gospel concert on Sunday. After combo, there would be a lecture on aspects of being a jazz musician (how to behave in a combo, how to practice, etcetera) or jazz composition class. At night, the jam sessions started at 8 pm, lasting until 12.

The pupils were varied in age and background: coming from all over Europe (Germany, Switzerland, Turkey, France, Finland, Iceland, Czech Republic, Bulgaria), and a mix of jazz students, music teachers, and enthusiastic, advanced amateur players. The amateur players tended to be a bit older (40 to 60 years old), while the jazz students were generally between 15 and 25. For the interviewees, ages ranged from 25 to 57, the average being 44, of whom 5 were amateur players and two (aspiring) professional musicians.

Comparing the fieldnotes, memos and conversations with participants, several similarities between the three workshops appeared that form the context for the more in-depth analysis to come. First of all, across the workshops, the participants appeared to be ambitious people, both in their careers and in their personal lives. They reported working long hours and were highly educated, and generally spoke of having little time for daily practice on their instruments. The younger participants, especially in the Irish trad and jazz workshops, had not yet decided on pursuing a professional career in music, and often explicitly held this option open for the future. Taking part in the workshop was a way for them to improve their skills and to see if playing professionally would be something worthwhile to pursue.

Secondly, the participants were in a position to spend money on quite an individual holiday – either on their own or away from their family. They apparently had the funds and the time to finance such a holiday, which requires both traveling expenses to a foreign country and tuition fees. The participants seemed to have an upper middle to upper class upbringing and social circle, judged both on their ability to pay for the workshop, their career, and educational level. This was especially noticeable for the Corfu flute retreat, where a sensibility to class differences seemed to be present during the workshop – for example in the way food preferences were discussed, and through remarks made about participants. Matters of class difference were discussed openly during the interviews with the Corfu participants, and I will return to this in the analysis below.

## **Analysis**

Comparing the fieldnotes, memos and post-workshop interviews with the 19 participants, the workshops emerged as offering the interviewees a sense of belonging complementary to and intersecting with their everyday lives. Interviewees talked about feeling isolated at times during their everyday lives. Some interviewees felt this way in their working life, as

their high powered or entrepreneurial jobs were fulfilling while also harboring a certain element of loneliness. Some interviewees were single, and preferred music workshops over singles holidays. Other participants felt isolated as musicians; in their everyday life they had taught themselves how to play through online videos, or they mentioned that practicing their instruments was a necessary although lonely task.

Against this background, throughout the interviews the participants talked about different ways of feeling 'in place', feeling like they 'belonged' through taking part in music workshops. Belonging in this sense meant belonging to a community on different levels, and as I will show, this emerged as a complex notion fraught with tensions and contradictions.

First, the music workshops offered a way to feel part of a team working towards a common goal, matching the way the workshops have been discussed in previous literature. Opening up to a broader sense of community, I then discuss how the participants related to feeling part of the host culture; in the final section, the meaning of 'community' is opened up even wider, as the participants talked about the ways the workshops provided them access to a translocal music community.

These different perspectives on the workshops and the way they provide spaces for inclusion and exclusion allow me to bring some order to the complexity of the sentiment of 'feeling in place'. The workshops turned out to be places where different social values were constructed and reaffirmed, which rendered the spaces of belonging they offered to the participants ambiguous.

### ***Belonging to the workshop group: experiencing flow***

All interviewees describe the workshop as a very intense experience, different from everyday life. Alison captures this feeling in what she calls the 'mental buzz' she experiences while on a music workshop holiday:

*When you're playing music with a group of people, it is very exciting the way that people react to one another, musically, you feed off each other, and there is just such a mental buzz, in a room. It's probably nothing you can see, but you can feel it, if you're part of the group, you can feel people working together on something. You don't just play the music ... you're all very engaged with the music, and with the other people in the group. You express yourself, but it's more than just expressing yourself, it is following on from what other people are doing, so they're expressing themselves and then you fit in with that and ... collectively, you're doing something ... and it's very in the moment. (Alison, classical music, English, 56)*

The mental buzz Alison refers to in this quote is not unique to this particular workshop or to the three workshops compared in this research: Ellis (2011), Granger (2015), Sarbanes (2006) and Morton (2005) explain this 'mental buzz' through the concept of flow famously



described by Csikszentmihalyi (1990): a peak experience of affective feeling that is both timeless and mindless. As Alison refers to ('collectively you're doing something, and it is very in the moment'), it is a feeling in which personal identity is let go off while being fully engaged in and consumed by the activity undertaken.

During the workshops analysed for this study, interviewees attributed reaching this particular state of flow to several characteristics of the workshop that set it apart from everyday life. These characteristics are attributed to the setting of the workshop, and, equally important, to the particular activity engaged in: making music.

The setting is referred to first of all as the geographical location: the workshops all take place in private spaces, offering to a certain extent a 'safe space' (Hillary, classical music, English, 63) for the participant group. The workshop venues are buildings that are used for other purposes in everyday life, such as a holiday villa (Corfu), a children's school (Prague), or the kitchen of a house that is for sale (Miltown Malbay). The locations are on the periphery of tourist areas, ensuring a certain amount of seclusion. The workshops in this way function as separate spaces from everyday life, both the everyday life of the participant and the everyday life of the local community.

A second element of the setting that contributes to establishing flow is the structure of the workshops. As described in detail above, the workshops all have a rigidly structured program, every day unfolding according to the same schedule of playing, learning and leisure. This repeating structure offers the amount of predictability needed to reach a state of flow, as well as the level of playing ability needed. Flow is reached when executing a task that requires focussed concentration and a level of skill that is challenged but not superseded (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). During workshops, people play for several hours a day, where in everyday life the majority of interviewees struggles to find time for regular practice. The prolonged playing during the workshop stimulates their playing ability, increasing the chances of being able to reach a state of flow.

In addition to the physical setting, what returns across the interviews is that the particular type of workshop taken contributes to the 'mental buzz', to reaching a state of flow: the activity revolves around making music. First of all, the workshops involve making music *together*. The interviewees appreciate making music with likeminded people, having the same attitude towards and enjoyment in playing. As Alison says, making music requires this attitude practically as well. While playing, the participants need to respond to each other, be open to each other, and as Jackie (classical music, English, 62) points out: playing together requires the musicians to literally tune into each other; 'alone one always plays in tune.'

Playing an instrument or singing in a group requires adjusting to other people in various ways, making sure you 'tune in', becoming part of the group both literally and symbolically. More than adjusting to other people's playing, what contributes to the group spirit according to the interviewees is the way they work together as a group towards a shared goal, polishing the performance, 'feeding off each other', as Alison describes it. In

the case of the jazz and classical workshops, the course results in a public performance at the end of the workshop. For the Irish trad workshop, public performance is possible every day, as sessions take place in pubs that are open to the general public to listen in on.

All these factors together create the sense of togetherness as described by Sue (classical music, English, 60): *'I like the camaraderie, that's the word really, of it all ... it's just the other people and doing stuff together, you know.'* According to the interviewees, it is a shared passion for this particular activity that allows the participants to reach a state of flow, in spite of differences of age and social class as Helen (classical music, English, 66) points out. In this way, the workshops create a sense of belonging to the playing group and can create moments of flow while playing, which affirms what has been written about adult music workshops (Ellis, 2011; Granger, 2015; Sarbanes, 2006; Morton, 2005).

However, the idea of 'musicking' (Small, 1998) as a social leveller, creating oceanic feelings of flow and experiences of transcendence (Malbon, 1999), does not continuously or always happen. As the interviews and participant observation show, the sense of belonging to the playing group is not without its issues, largely due to the group dynamics at play during the workshops. This makes the sense of belonging to the playing group a somewhat fractured sense of belonging.

One of the issues encountered in this context related to group dynamics. The interviewees talked frequently about the way the group changed throughout the course of the workshop, what their own position in the group was, and how they related to others and to the workshop teacher.

The intensity of the workshop contributed to the potential rise of tensions between participants and teachers. Being close together for several days, and playing together with all the mental vulnerability as described, with an ambitious schedule, contributes to people letting their self-control go from time to time. Group dynamics contribute to this, influenced among other things by the pressures that inherently come with playing in a group and playing in front of people you do not know. People felt they were constantly being evaluated while playing in front of other people, and this caused stress and discomfort from time to time.

As Chris explained, a certain combination of diverging playing levels and characters might have influenced the sense of feeling comfortable in the group. Different types of personalities put together in a pressure cooker situation can cause issues when people do not adapt to each other. As Chris elaborated:

*I remember there were some little ... problems of people getting on (laughs). I think anywhere where people are exposing their emotions and their souls because of music, that tends to allow people good relationship contact, but it also exposes the potential for conflict. I suppose people drop their guard or lose their normal social norms sometimes, because they're opening up and being... Some people might have been more cautious and standoffish and therefore more polite in a certain*

*situation. Introduce music and emotion and the drive of music and suddenly people become more likely to be more ... open and communicative. And sometimes that's good, and sometimes it causes conflict. (Chris, classical music, English, 60)*

Not only the playing itself can cause this to happen, as Chris refers to, but also the history of a group can contribute to this. Some workshops have been running successfully for years, and pretty much the same people tend to go on them. Sue described a situation where she participated in a workshop where she could not become part of the group, as the other players had been playing together in that workshop for years, and did not accept her lower level of playing ability.

Several interviewees mentioned strategies to cope with the intensity of the workshops. For example, some participants insisted on having a private room to retreat to, while others spent scarce free time alone by going for a walk on the beach, or by doing a spot of solo practicing. One participant remarked that he always books an extra week of holiday in a remote natural environment after the workshop is done, to let off steam and be away from people.

To summarize, the participants were challenged during the workshops in developing playing skills, and this was not always successful. Acquiring new skills required a certain level of vulnerability and cooperation with others, which sometimes caused tension and conflict. At the same time, when cooperation succeeded, the participants experienced flow and became better players. This sense of flow was shared with the group, a sharing of experience and feeling that made the group feel a sense of group identity through achievement.

The experience of flow described here would suggest that the seclusion and lack of contact with the local host community were essential to reaching flow. In literature on music workshops however, workshops are frequently discussed as giving access to 'authentic' experiences of local culture (Connell & Gibson, 2003; Gibson & Connell, 2005; Sarbanes, 2006). In the next section, I will explore how the interviewees negotiated this apparent tension.

### ***Music workshops and host culture: the locality of music***

The participants of the music workshops related in different ways to the geographical location and the local community the workshop took place in. Overall, the participants emphasized they were not primarily interested in the location, as 'the workshops could easily take place elsewhere' (Pekka, jazz, Finnish, 40). Or, in the words of Judy: 'I'm not looking for a hugely cultural experience in terms of the culture of the place that I'm in. It could be anywhere, actually.' (Judy, classical music, English, 59). In this way, the participants did not conform to the traditional cultural tourist who wishes to gaze upon and experience the local culture of a destination (cf. Smith, 2016).

Even for the Irish traditional music workshop, where the link between the music genre (Irish trad) and the workshop location (Ireland) is inherent, participants seemingly downplayed the importance of the workshop actually taking place in Ireland. Although at first this seems rather contradictory, several elements combined contribute to the workshop's purported placelessness.

First of all, the elements that contributed to establishing the experience of flow as described in the previous section, valued so highly by the participants, were not necessarily conditioned by the specific destination. Rather, from the participant's point of view the workshop location needed to be conducive to the workshop as vacation, so preferably it has nice weather and enough space, and the participants expressed a need to feel at ease to actually produce sound. Many interviewees mentioned it was nice when the location of the workshop matched their expectations, but more in terms of atmosphere and level of comfort than in expectations of cultural Others.

Secondly, the reported disconnect between the workshop location and local culture can be explained by looking at the way the participants frame their disinterest in the destination. Here is how Patrick explained his opinion on the matter:

*It's usually pretty separate. My trips are either a kind of cultural trips, so going to different cities to experience the culture and museums and food and all that... They're nature trips, so like kayaking or climbing, I do a lot of those ... or music trips. So usually they're very focused on one thing or the other, I don't really combine things when I'm doing them. (Patrick, Irish trad, American, 48)*

What the participants emphasized with quotes like this is that they were not interested in the location as a *tourism* destination. The interviewees differentiated between different kinds of holidays undertaken, mostly distinguishing between family holidays, tourism trips, activity holidays involving a type of sport done in nature, and music workshops. Tourism trips were seen as traditional sightseeing holidays or cultural holidays, going to a touristic centre or attraction to gaze upon (mass) tourism sites. The participants emphasized they have different goals and aims during their different types of travel. Since they were on a music workshop they were not in their 'tourism' state of mind and therefore, exploring the destination outside of the workshops spaces was not on the program of interest – the destination did not matter in this respect.

Some interviewees distanced themselves all together from sightseeing, describing themselves as 'anti-tourists':

*'I'm not so much the type who likes to go sightseeing. I like to be in a place that kind of you know, comes a bit closer to the people, or to the society, or has bit a different approach to where I am.' (Mark, jazz, Swiss, 44)*

Anti-tourism, or rejecting the 'collective gaze', is as old as tourism itself (Urry, 2002), and the quote by Mark is a clear instance of it being used for social distinction: Mark is not the type of person to act like a tourist.

Interviewees also used anti-tourism in a different way, to identify themselves as truehearted, authentic musicians. Exemplary is this quote by Pier:

*I don't feel like a music tourist. I don't get fascinated by an album cover and then feel like I have to go there. Multiple routes took me to Ireland ... it seems like destiny maybe. It's not that the workshop absolutely has to take place there, but I do feel it is part of it. And that is because ... it's the cultural togetherness ... it's the music culture in the pubs... I do realize it's only part of the Irish people for which the music has meaning, but still. It could be possible outside of Ireland, but it is one of the elements that appeals to me, the social entourage, it happens to be in a pub where you happen to be able to drink a pint of Guinness. (Pier, Irish trad, Dutch, 65)*

Pier indirectly gives an impression of his idea of music tourism: to him, his workshop travel to Ireland stems from a longstanding connection with the music and the culture ('multiple routes took me to Ireland'), and this does not compare to the whim he sees in traveling to a place because of merely seeing an album cover. Ireland to Pier is not a whim, it is his 'destiny'. There is a tension in this quote between the touristic collective gaze (Urry & Larsen, 2011) and a more personalized, local, in this case: musicalized, gaze, leading to the resistance against calling oneself a (music) tourist. Pier also shows a conflicted attitude towards the relation between Ireland, the music and the culture – he acknowledges it is constructed, but at the same time the connection does not lose its power to Pier.

The shift from a collective to a more meaningful and engaged gaze is framed by Richards (2011) as the shift from cultural to creative tourism. This shift is helpful in explaining the complex relation between music and locality as expressed not only by Pier but in the other interviews as well.

Richards defines creative tourism as 'participative, "authentic" experiences that allow tourists to develop their creative potential and skills through contact with local people and their culture' (Richards, 2011: 1237). It refers to more than acquiring learning experiences on holiday; creative tourism according to Richards offers the potential to get under the skin of a place in a way that mass tourism fails to achieve due to extensive commodification and serialization (2011: 1238). This notion of getting a glimpse of local culture was described exactly in this way by Mark:

*I really enjoyed meeting the Czech people there. Just talking to them and see how they are, and maybe just getting a small notion of how they lived and there was this afternoon where, ehm, Hanka – was her name, the singer? – took us on a small sightseeing tour through Prague which was just wonderful, I enjoyed that so much*

*(...) these are the small glimpses, these are the things that you wouldn't get if you were just ... you know, if I just went to Prague as a tourist.'* (Mark, jazz, Swiss, 44)

Like Mark, most interviewees emphasized how they appreciated exploring and getting to know the location off the beaten track. This different, off the beaten track gaze was possible first of all because the workshops took place in locations that regular tourists do not get to see. For example, the jazz workshop took place in a school building on the outskirts of Prague, while the Irish music lessons took place in defunct pubs, houses up for sale, and local schools. Participants slept at local families during the Irish workshop, as the little village could not accommodate such a large amount of people in the local hotels and B&B's.

Next to being grounded in the everyday life of locals, creativity is tacit, meaning tourists 'co-create' their experiences by learning through social interaction. Creative knowledge is embedded in the skilled person who possesses it. According to Richards, this means that spaces where people can meet and learn become essential in the tourism experience (Richards, 2011: 1233). This is exactly what Pier referred to when describing his fondness of Ireland: Ireland offers those spaces of social interaction, where he can learn, and where he experiences what he called 'cultural togetherness'.

Putting this idea in the context of the other interviews, the interviewees expressed their appreciation for meeting local musicians during the workshops, both as participants and teachers. Meeting local players, playing with them and being shown around the location by them, made the location feel more personalized, and more special, as Mark indicated.

Next to the participants in the workshop, the teachers played a connecting role between music and place. They were seen as being firmly grounded within the locality of music. As Dilek said, as she explained why she preferred being taught by native musicians: 'they have the music inside of them' (Dilek, jazz, Turkish, 38), they 'live and breathe' the music. What happens in statements like this is that music becomes synonymous for local culture, which according to the interviewees was expressed and expertly carried by local people and local musicians.

The locality of music was experienced through the players and teachers, and also through the ways of playing together, as the music workshop setting mimicked the way the music is typically played outside of the workshop space. People learned how to play in sessions and jams, and got to experience this in public during the workshops as well. They gained a sense of the music as played in the everyday life of local people. The participants got a sense of where that particular way of musicking exists, and where they thought they would typically find the social settings where the way they had learned to play actually transpires.

In the interviews, there seems to be a small distinction between the space of the workshop and the space of the local music making by locals and in local places – the

workshop was experienced as a sort of safe space before fully being able to participate in the wider music scene.

Although the interviewees accepted and acknowledge the constructed nature of the link between music and geographical location, between music and landscape for example, it turns out that place myths did apparently play a powerful role in their experience of music and culture, but only when completely detached from a tourism discourse. As Pier already indicated, he had issues separating Irish music from Ireland, because Ireland is where the people are from and where the social spaces are that harbour the specific way of musicking.

Next to the musicians, the music itself made participants feel part of the location – the interviewees talked about how the music expressed national character and mood through instruments and through the structure, rhythms and melodies. Learning how to bring this character out in playing means learning something profound about the country:

*There is something about the style of music that gives you a clue to the character of the nation as a whole ... and ... so I ... I think listening to local music ... gives you more of an insight into the character of a people. (Alison, classical music, English, 56)*

Again what this quote shows is that the role of the locality of music is complex. What the interviews and participant observation seem to suggest, is that in the experiences of participants, people are as important as place (geographical location) in how music gets anchored to culture. Music offers a way into local culture (Alison), through the music itself and through the people who make the music (Pier).

This chimes in with what Whiting and Hannam have called a Romantic discourse of local inspiration (Whiting & Hannam, 2014), of art having an origin in a certain place and culture. What surfaced through the interviews was that local musicians became bearers of local inspiration in the eyes of the interviewees, even if they were not teaching workshops in the place of origin of the music genre. This was because for the interviewees, music genres have become dislocated from their places of origin and have taken root in other places through traveling musicians (cf. the fixity and fluidity of music as discussed by Connell and Gibson, 2003). This meant that for the interviewees, the musicians who carry with them the tacit knowledge of the music genre were equally important in terms of conceptual authenticity (Richards, 2011) as being in the 'original' locations of musicking.

Musicians therefore played a pivotal role in 'authenticating' the experience of the music workshops. Moreover, the tacit knowledge and mobility of the professional musicians introduced another important theme in the interviews: being and becoming part of this translocal music community of traveling music and musicians. As Granger writes about steelpan music (2015): 'you can be geographically displaced, but feel at home in the trans-local music community.' In the next section, I will explore how the music workshops are ritual places where participants become part of this translocal community.

### ***Being part of the translocal music community: communitas and competition***

The interviewees saw the music workshops as an important way to establish and to maintain their place in the translocal community of the music genre. As Patrick explained:

*'You meet the same people, and a lot of people bounce around to different seisiúns<sup>11</sup> and the same instructors will kind of appear at different seisiúns so you end up knowing a lot of the people. So it's not like you're going into an event unknown, you'll go there and you'll know almost everyone who's there and it's kind of a ... a gathering of people you already know and a continuation of a learning process.'*  
(Patrick, Irish trad, American, 48)

Patrick mentions elements in this quote that according to more interviewees contributed to the way workshops made them feel part of translocal music scenes. First of all, he mentions the people he already knows from previous workshops, and continuing that connection through repeat-visiting.

Secondly, he mentions the continuous learning process. The learning process the interviewees went through during the workshops relates to becoming a better musician according to the social codes of the respective genre. In Irish music, playing technique is valued less than the amount of tunes memorized and being able to play in the moment, or the speed with which one can play tunes. In classical music, technical mastery of the instrument is valued most highly, while in jazz the level of improvisational skill is valued most (at least according to the workshop teachers spoken to). Learning these lessons and becoming more adept at implementing them contributes to the participants' perceived playing level, and hence, their perceived legitimate claim to being part of the community of people who master the respective music genre. It is no surprise, then, that participants frequently discussed why they would want to or why they had not become a professional musician.

Becoming part of the music community is indeed one of the most important aspects of music workshops according to recent studies by Granger (2015), Ellis (2011), Sarbanes (2006), Morton (2005) and Feintuch (2004). According to these studies, music is a special activity, more so than for example cooking, skiing or surfing (Cooley, 2014), as making music together dissolves boundaries and creates a Durkheimian sense of effervescence through the sense of flow also described in the first section, offering 'an authentic experience of personal interest, *outside of social pressure*' (emphasis is mine, Ellis, 2011).

In relation to flow I have already discussed that social pressure does play a role in how the music workshops are experienced, contributing to possible moments of conflict. This is not only related to openness and vulnerability, as in the first section of this analysis;

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<sup>11</sup> Patrick used the Irish language word for 'session', which could mean he wanted to show his intimate knowledge of the music and language.



it is also related to the way the participants felt they became part of the translocal music scene. In the interviews this became clear through a major, recurring theme that up until now has not had a role in academic analyses of music workshops: becoming a better musician and the subsequent ranking that went on according to playing level.

The interviewees constantly ranked each other and themselves according to their perceived playing level. This was emphasized by the participants themselves, being ambitious people, which inevitably translated into a constant comparing of their own performance with others:

*There was an element of ego that made it ... quite difficult from the playing point of view. And it seems to work very well when most people don't necessarily feel that they're very much better than others around them. Or are more willing to accept that there's a variety of standards and just go with it... That didn't quite happen that time. (Chris, classical music, English, 60)*

Chris offers an explanation here for a conflict that arose during the classical music workshop that ended with one of the participants leaving prematurely and being banned permanently from future music workshops. Hierarchy, ranking, conflict and exclusion were as much part of the music workshops visited as the experience of flow.

This continuous ranking has a role in the ritual dimension of the music workshops. As French philosopher Girard (1972) describes, communities are established through creating group hierarchies, thereby ordering the social structure. As shown by Reijnders, Rooijackers and Van Zoonen (2007) in their analysis of music talent shows, making music together has the potential to boost feelings of community, even more so when this musicking is combined with an element of competition. This also happened in the music workshops, as participants were constantly aware of who was playing better than whom, and who was developing quicker than others.

The workshop teachers played a special role in this process. As Sue explained:

*I actually wasn't comfortable being put in the situation where you are being torn to pieces in front of people. We went and watched the flutes, and I could see the way that she would ... well I don't know whether you witnessed this, but she'd stop and there was one particular... Well, you could tell that she had her favourites, and it was ... I was cringing you know, so I wouldn't go back to them for that reason really, even though I could see they were brilliant musicians and all. (Sue, classical music, English, 60)*

Tutors had a big role in determining group dynamics, and this role could be both positive and negative. In this instance, having presumed favourites among the participants

contributed to the continuous ranking that went on. For ambitious players those details could be quite difficult to deal with, which sometimes resulted in a loss of *communitas*.

Beyond pet peeves and personal issues, the themes of ranking and establishing hierarchies can be seen as elements in a process of establishing, engaging with and celebrating certain social values. Hierarchies within a community show central values to that community; in the case of music communities, who plays better than whom is determined through whatever quality is deemed valuable in that genre. As explained in relation to the learning process Patrick mentioned earlier, the different music genres value different skills and abilities, and participants ranked themselves and others according to these different standards. This is why, for example, I was seen differently, 'ranked' differently, in the classical music workshop than the jazz and Irish trad workshops; in the classical workshop I was considered what Ellis has called an 'adept', someone who had already mastered the skills required, while in the other two workshops I clearly was a 'neophyte', lacking the genre specific skills (Ellis, 2011). The teacher played an important role in this process as gatekeeper, as ultimate example of mastery, and in the division of roles – literally by dividing playing parts, but also in assigning social status as in the case of Sue.

What was valued most by participants and teachers across the three workshops was the idea of becoming a better musician – those participants who had mastered skills were ranked more highly. Those who were celebrated by the teacher as progressing quickly, embodied the idea of being able to shape their position – as long as you put the effort in and work hard, you are able to reach the goal set through the workshop. Thus, the often-mentioned notions of 'work', 'achievement' and 'personal development' turned out to be central in the hierarchies of the workshop participants.

Being challenged and liking to be challenged was a returning theme in the interviews, something that connected back to the daily lives of the participants. The interviewees all expressed, in differing degrees, ambition in several areas of their lives, for example in work or in relationships, and this extended to the way they were ambitious in becoming better musicians. The workshops in this sense were not just liminoid spaces of flow and effervescence, but were also 'active ritual arena's in which social values are discovered, expressed, represented, discussed AND forgotten' (Reijnders et al., 2007: 283). The workshops made participants feel they were in social 'place', through the way they ranked themselves, and thereby adhered to the values of both the music genre and their everyday working lives.

## Conclusion

Through the analysis in this chapter, I have shown how music workshops indeed can stimulate experiences of togetherness, for example by stimulating shared feelings of flow,

by bringing participants in contact with local musicians, and by including participants in a translocal community through their learning process.

At the same time, through the situated analysis of the workshops (Hesmondhalgh, 2013b) I have shown that these different senses of togetherness or belonging are not all there is to say about the music workshops. In this chapter I have described the complex process of creating senses of belonging, and how this process was sometimes interrupted and halted.

First of all, the music workshops potentially contributed to experiencing a sense of flow, through the setting and the activity of music making itself. This sense of flow however was temporary, and group dynamics caused by insecurity and being challenged could interrupt or prevent flow from happening all together.

Second, as music workshops in the literature on the topic are primarily framed as ways to get to know and connect with local culture, surprisingly in this chapter it turned out that participants did not see taking part in music workshops as cultural tourism. As participants were focused on their learning process, the host destination was not of interest to them – they did not consider themselves to be tourists, they saw themselves as musicians. Digging deeper, however, the participants did indicate they appreciated meeting local musicians and being and performing in spaces of local everyday life. In this sense, the participants seemed to be creative tourists instead of cultural tourists, looking for a more engaged experience off the beaten track, differentiating themselves explicitly from any tourism discourse.

Third, as culture and music were seen to be as dependent on the people as on the destination, the music workshops were also a way to become part of a translocal music community. I analyzed the music workshops as ritual spaces, where – through learning in the structured and intensified way that the participants did – they came out as having become part of that translocal community. Remarkably, this was not a process without social pressures: through constant ranking and comparisons, sometimes resulting in conflict, hierarchies were established, making participants feel they were in (social) place.

Referring to ritual theory on conflict and hierarchy, ranking involved negotiating and learning about the values that were deemed important in the respective communities. The workshops therefore contributed to establishing and developing these values, which related among other values to place myths of music genre origin. At the same time, the focus on becoming a better musician and the celebration of personal development showed something about the values that were shared and celebrated across these European music workshops: in the cultural context of the workshops, personal growth, ambition, and work were ranked highly and were valued in individuals. In this way, the workshops offered places where romantic ideals of inspiration and *communitas* were shared and celebrated, as well as more individualized notions of work and achievement.

Thus, music workshops can indeed be seen partially as places to temporarily escape the pressures of modern day working life, as they offer spaces for flow and taking the mind

of everyday life. At the same time, because work and achievement were ranked highly as values to uphold, everyday life could not be escaped completely – the workshops therefore can also be seen as a continuation of everyday life values and interests, perhaps even in a more ‘pure’, uninterrupted sense. In line with Whiting and Hannam (2014), music workshops can potentially serve as a source of inspiration and as a space to negotiate different values and demands, instead of escaping these entirely.

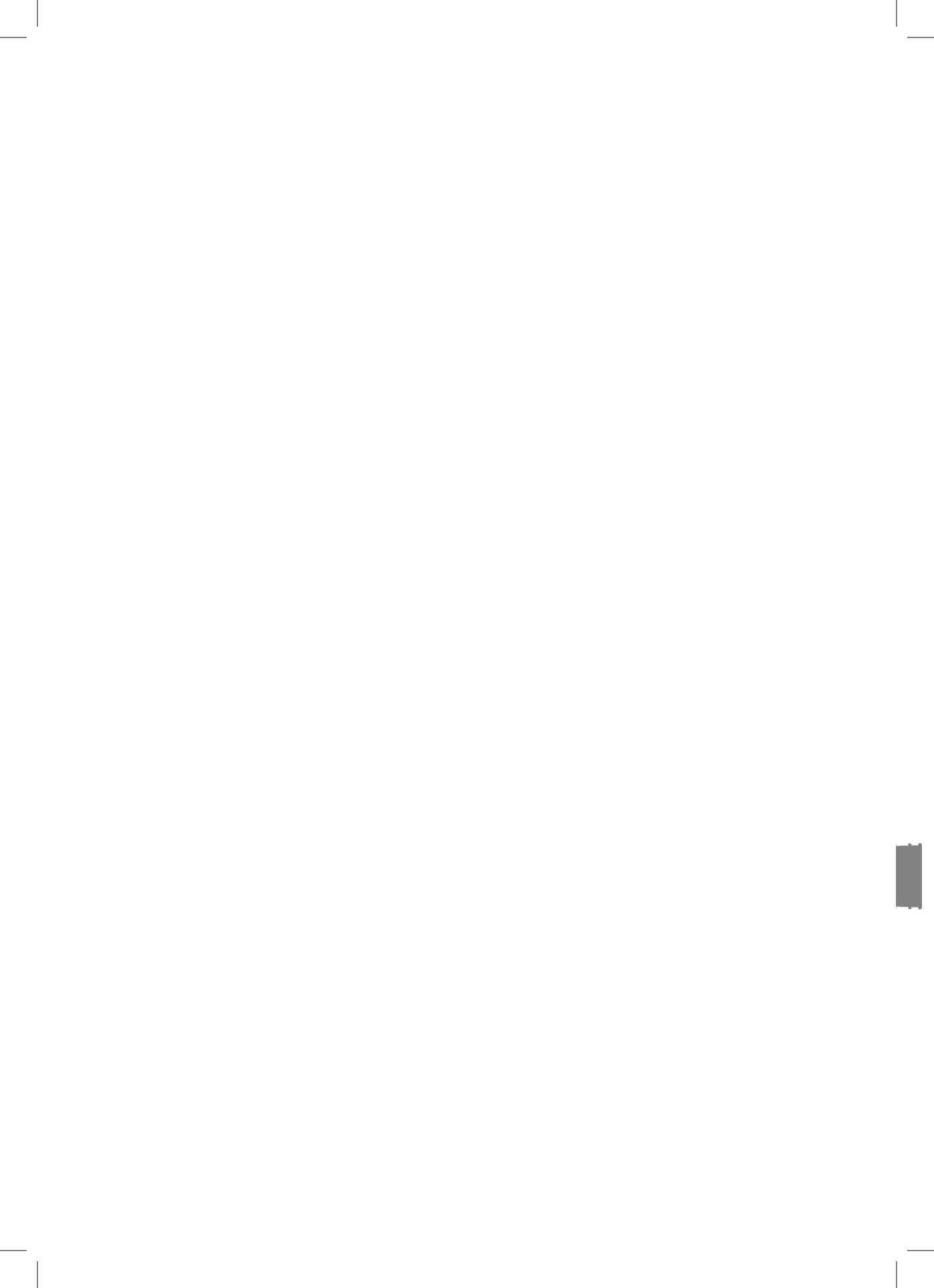
However, where the visual artists Whiting and Hannam interviewed discarded the collective gaze all together, what I have shown in this chapter is that the music workshop participants did not do away with the collective gaze. They simply went on different kinds of holidays, during which they typically did not switch gazes. The most frequently mentioned types of holiday the interviewees distinguished were what they saw as ‘traditional’ cultural tourism, creative holidays such as the music workshops, family-focused holidays, and activity-focused holidays such as going skiing or hiking.

The role of place in the music workshops was therefore complex. Place myths of music origin were upheld, as these myths formed part of the genre. At the same time, these notions seemed to become embodied, embedded in the skills and knowledge of the teachers and musicians present during the workshops. This is one of the reasons why participants emphasized that in their opinion, workshops could take place anywhere, as long as it was practically manageable to get to the workshop location, and as long as well-respected teachers would teach them. The role of teachers, as gatekeepers of knowledge and of the translocal community, was very important and overt in both interviews and participant observation – the teachers turned out to be the key to successful, fulfilling music workshops, assigning parts and symbolic roles to stimulate flow and forming the connection to tacit knowledge of the central values of the music genre, thereby functioning as gatekeepers to the translocal music scene.

What this research has shown as well is the tension present in labels such as ‘cultural’ and ‘creative’ tourism. As creative tourism is presented as somehow different from the cultural tourism that came before (for example by Richards, 2011 and Smith, 2016), I have shown in this chapter how music tourism can be seen as creative tourism ‘avant la lettre’, with roots in both an ethnomusicological tradition of cultural travel as well as rooting in the tradition of ‘following the maestro’ to learn and be inspired. This does not seem to be very different from what the music workshops are today.

More fruitfully, what this study of music workshops in my view has brought to the fore is the role of music workshop participants in co-creating their touristic experiences of place. The music workshops showed to be a place where romantic discourses about music and community were repeated, confirmed and experienced, while at the same time, they functioned as social arenas where through continuous ranking values were celebrated that oppose that simple, idealized notion of community: personal development and achievement above all else. This balancing between romantic inspirations of collective magic with the individualized, achievement-focused values celebrated during the

workshops across genres seemed to be emblematic of the pressures participants reported to face in today's society. In this sense, the values of achievement and development described could perhaps reflect a neoliberal discourse (see also Couldry, 2010). Without inferring too much, the conclusion of this chapter is a bit more modest: although the music workshops can be connected to a long tradition of music-related travel, the workshops as studied in this chapter showed to be a way of dealing with and balancing contemporary issues and values involving notions of community and displacement, togetherness and individualization.



# Chapter 7

## Conclusion



Walking once again in the direction of the little café, I had returned to Leipzig for a second time. The streets felt familiar, and so did the sight of Bach rising up in front of me. This time I entered the church, which was bustling with people speaking languages from all around the world, trying to find their place among countless wooden benches and chairs. In the middle of the church, I saw flowers on the floor, flowers that marked the grave of Johann Sebastian. The opening concert of the Bach festival was about to start.

As I looked around, I remembered my previous visit to the city. The city looked and felt so different now, and in hindsight the Goth festival seemed to be like a carnival, a temporary inversion of city life that had now returned to normal. Still, the Gothic fans I spoke to on my previous trip had not felt out of place; they had talked about enjoying the city as a free space of expression and a meeting place of old friends. Some locals I encountered in turn spoke affectionately about the Goths, as they considered them as bringing some diversion to the city. But while the classical music heritage seems to be celebrated in Leipzig all year round, playing a central role in official representations of the city, the Gothic festival is not anchored physically in the city at all, only as a memory in the minds of some.

The example of Leipzig brings several issues to the fore that I have explored in this dissertation. As an example it shows different ways in which music as an aural medium and intangible heritage is present in a city, how music is able to create places through its presence, and the ways in which music enriches places as a fluid imaginary of local identity. It shows how music is traded on through marketing and festivals, how it entices audiences and continues to be valuable to fans and locals. At the same time, it shows which narratives of place are valued by different audiences and stakeholders, celebrating some images of local identity while excluding others.

In this dissertation, I have aimed to explore the various connections between music and place that feed into contemporary music tourism. It is a topic worth studying, first because music tourism is a growing form of niche tourism and a successful billion-dollar industry that up until now has been studied primarily through individual case studies. Second, exploring the connections between music, place and tourism opens up ways to examine the creation, negotiation and celebration of personal and collective identities. Music tourism in this sense is a prism through which more wide-ranging socio-cultural issues and themes, such as topophilia, globalization, and mediatization can be studied.

More specifically, music is often attributed positive powers in bringing people together and creating mutual understanding across cultures and places. However, an unequivocally celebratory view on music should be critically re-assessed in a world that is increasingly characterized by technological, social and cultural mobilities and processes of de-territorialization and displacement. Music can potentially create 'music bubbles' for the affluent and nostalgic (Bull, 2007), both through technology (iPods, mp3's), and through the social practices that are involved whenever music and tourism converge (Saldanha,



2002). With this dissertation, I have aimed to contribute to such a critical analysis of music's role in society.

In this final chapter, I answer the research questions that I formulated in order to explore the connections between music and place in the context of music tourism, to study the practices involved, and to situate these within the wider cultural context described. The central question of this research is: what explains the popularity of contemporary music tourism? As I have argued, an answer to this question first requires an exploration of the underlying process in which music listeners connect music to place, and how these connections become meaningful to tourists. I have called this a process of engaging with 'musical topophilia' – creating affective attachments to places through and with music.

Exploring this process provides a preliminary answer to the main research question. In short, in a world that is characterized by different kinds of mobilities, people continue to try and bring order and meaning to that world, to 're-locate' (Stokes, 2007) themselves – places continue to give meaning to the lives of people. Music functions as a social and affective resource in this context, affording both opportunities to create community, anchored in place, as well as to create spaces of exclusion.

In order to apply this broader idea to the phenomenon of music tourism, I have introduced a theoretical model, and I have conducted three qualitative empirical studies to refine and critically examine my hypotheses. Now, I will first briefly summarize the model, and then I will show how this model can be used to find answers to the research questions formulated at the beginning of this dissertation.

## **Contemporary music tourism: engaging with musical topophilia**

Underlying contemporary music tourism is a process of creating affective attachments to place through connections with music. Place in this definition is more than a physical geographical location: places are cultural constructions, both localized and connected to other places (Massey, 2005), both imaginary and physical. Music tourism is a way to engage with this musical topophilia.

To develop and refine this theory, I have explored three steps central to music tourism that are involved in creating, sustaining and developing musical topophilia: 1) listeners map their musical imaginings onto a mythscape; 2) as tourists they step into this mythscape; 3) the experience of physical place feeds back into both the experience and creation of music. More specifically, in chapter 4, I explored imagining place through music by interviewing music streamers about their holiday playlists. In chapter 5, I compared Wagner tourism to Bayreuth, ABBA tourism to Stockholm, and U2 tourism to Dublin, in order to look into how tourists experience place through music. Finally in chapter 6, I turned to three music workshops and analyzed how amateur musicians make music in place, where the experience of the workshop space, the local host culture and the translocal music community fed back into the way music afforded embodied musical

experiences. In the next sections, I will draw the findings from these case studies together in order to answer the research questions initially formulated.

### ***How does music stimulate the imagination of place?***

Based on the importance attributed to the imaginary dimension of tourism travel (Crouch et al., 2005; Reijnders, 2011; Salazar, 2012; Urry & Larsen, 2011), I started my model for music tourism with a focus on the imagination. Imagining refers to the mental capacity of meaning making (McGinn, 2004), which has an affective dimension (Lennon, 2014) – imaginaries provide the world with an affective texture, as imaginaries according to Lennon are affective patterns, forms and images that bring order and feeling to our individual and collective worlds. It was my hypothesis that music is one of the tools and sources for providing these affective imaginaries, possibly through the workings of metaphoric thought, as already alluded to in ethnographic research on music and place (Cohen, 2007; Feld & Basso, 1996).

Looking more specifically at the ways in which music can be given meaning, I drew on Peircean semiotics to explore how music functions as a sign in a socio-cultural context. According to Turino (2008), musical sounds, lyrics, images and music-related discourses serve as semiotic signs, and as pointed out by DeNora (2000), these signs are given meaning in a specific social context by listeners. Narrowing down this general process of giving meaning to music, I hypothesized that there could be four ways in which music can be connected to place – which, in line with the work of Bolter and Grusin (1999) on mediation and remediation, I called four ‘mediations’. The first one is the primary sign system (sound), then the secondary sign system (lyrics, images), the third mediation is the biography of the maker, and the fourth mediation is the place of production, distribution or consumption of music.

Finally, I emphasized that music is partially an intangible medium, as it consists of airwaves that in first instance do not have a denotative meaning. Music therefore affords generous opportunities to construct, explore and celebrate identities, both on a personal and cultural level, and music allows listeners to mediate between these levels. As scholarship predominantly focuses on the social context of these processes (DeNora, 2000; Hesmondhalgh, 2013b), I aimed to look at how these social processes are also embedded in a spatial context.

Moving from theory to empirical data, I described in chapter 4 how music stimulates the imagination in a specific way. From the interviews with music streamers it turned out that when people listen to music, they do not necessarily connect it to a geographically pinpointed location. Music can evoke embodied experiences as discussed in the theoretical chapter, which are non-reflexive as the streamers talked about. These experiences may or may not be associated with a broad idea of a place. Only in specific circumstances is this free-floating impression turned into concrete mental images of a place.

When an association with a location did exist, the analysis of the interviews showed music indeed signified place in the four ways hypothesized: one, connecting to place through the musical sounds of instruments or musical structure (primary sign system); two, connecting to place through secondary sign systems such as lyrics, videos, and album covers; three, signaling places connected to the life and death of the artist, musician or composer – biographical connections; and four, locating music through places where it is produced, distributed or consumed.

When a notion or idea of ‘place’ was evoked in the mind of the streamers, the interviews showed that what music provided was a type of metonym called ‘hypallage’. This meant the streamers used a word to describe the way they felt, and attached that to a location: ‘relaxing Scandinavia’ for example, denoted that the listener felt relaxed when listening to music associated with Scandinavia.

What I showed in chapter 4 is that this process works through the mechanism of musical imagining. Building on Cook (1990) and Walton (1996), I argued that music listeners did not imagine the artwork or the composition; what interviewees imagined, or what music evoked in the imager’s mind, was the feeling streamers experienced when listening to music. When this feeling was connected to an idea of place, a musical sense of place was created.

According to the interviewees, their feelings of listening to music were influenced firstly by images encountered through the media such as films and brochures. Secondly, the interviewees talked about the importance of personal memories, relating to key moments in their life. When taking the step to actually visit the places connected to their musical topophilia, these were the two elements tourists compared with their experiences on site: do the locations visited match the images in their mind and as seen in the media, and do they connect with their personal narratives of memory and identity? Therefore, musical imagining was not reserved to the stage before travel: this process turned out to be present throughout all the phases of music tourism studied.

Interestingly, in chapter 5 a dimension of musical imagining surfaced that I had not discussed extensively in the playlist study: involuntary musical imagery – hearing music that is not there. Besides the interpretive and experiential dimensions of the musical imagination I described in chapter four, musical imagining therefore also consists of both visual and auditory ways of imagining. All dimensions are involved and actively engaged with during music tourism.

Reflecting on these findings, the marked role of the media in musical memories and associations points towards the pervasiveness of mediatization, both in everyday life (Couldry & Hepp, 2016) and in tourism (Jansson, 2002; Månsson, 2011). In specific relation to the mediations, the interviewees in the playlist study did seem to indicate a hierarchy in the mediations. Musical sounds seemed to be experienced as being ‘closer’ to the music, while lyrics were experienced as being more part of a song than for example the album cover. However, it is perhaps the combination of multiple mediations that enforces

a connection between music and place, as also seems to be the case when analyzing examples of places that are seen as or advertised as ‘musical’ – the most durable examples of music tourism seem to harbor more than one mediation between music and place.

### ***How does music contribute to the touristic experience of place?***

In this dissertation I started out with the idea that tourism has a topophilic character: tourists gaze upon places that somehow are different than everyday life (Urry & Larsen, 2011), a difference that is based in tourism imaginaries (Salazar, 2012) – ideas and images that people form of particular places before going there. Tourism destinations in this sense are ‘places of the imagination’ (Reijnders, 2011), places that are ‘lieux de mémoire’ of music-related narratives and people.

I explained in chapter 2 how in this dissertation I would approach touristic experiences of place as cognitive, affective and embodied social processes in which personal and cultural identities can be performed and negotiated, drawing on literature from the fields of both tourism studies (Edensor, 2007; Rakić & Chambers, 2012) and music sociology (DeNora, 2000; Hesmondhalgh, 2013b). Drawing on this literature, I connected the notions of co-presence and intense co-presence used by Urry in a tourism context to the notion of ‘sonic knowledge’ provided by Waitt and Duffy (2009).

Based on this connection, my hypothesis was that music is capable of creating touristic spaces in specific ways and can add an affective dimension to tourism experiences. By hearing and feeling music through the body, in certain situations causing moments of flow, embodied musical experiences make places more intensely lived and tangible. Thus, I stressed the importance of music ‘taking place’: hearing and making music in place contributes to collective social identifications, which is often connected to the concept of *communitas*.

In the theoretical chapter I subsequently described how musical co-presence has been found and analyzed in relation to Goa dancefloors (Saldanha, 2002), live concerts (Cohen, 2005; Malbon, 1999), and music workshops (Ellis, 2011; Feintuch, 2004; Granger, 2015; Morton, 2005). However, I also pointed out studies that question the role of concerts and listening experiences (Hesmondhalgh, 2013b; Sandvoss, 2014), as they do not seem to fully account for the special experience of community ascribed to them. There are more dimensions to the music tourism experience, both offline and online, as touristic experiences of places take place before, during and after travel (Cohen, 2005).

This is why I explored all these dimensions of how tourists experience place in the empirical chapters. During these empirical research projects, I encountered many ways music was present in the touristic experiences of the interviewees I met along the way. Music was indeed part of and present before, during and after their trips, in several distinctive ways.

As I have already described in the previous section, music stimulates the imagination, and in that sense forms an indelible part of the interviewees’ lives. All my interviewees

were music listeners (although in varying levels of frequency and intensity), and enjoyed engaging with music in their everyday life. The music that was meaningful to them turned out to be part of their story of self, and was connected to emotionally powerful memories and experiences. For some this meant that the music was part of their past, while for others the music still played an important role in their everyday lives. The U2 fans I interviewed, for example, for the most part were still very active in their fandom and formed an active part of the international U2 fan community. Less inclined to call their practices 'fandom', the amateur musicians I met during the music workshops discussed in chapter 6 all talked about the active and profound investment learning to play their instrument had been, and saw the workshops as a continuation and deepening of that commitment.

Across the case studies, I also learned about the music-related rituals several interviewees carried out before going on and during their holiday, for example by preparing special signs and discussing ways to draw out specific responses from performers during concerts (the U2 fans), but also more personal rituals to signal the start of the holiday, for example when one streamer told me he and his wife would play a specific song in their car when they had packed up and would start the engine to take off for the holiday. All these different levels of engagement and ways of involving music before travel played into the role of music during the trip, as the places visited indeed functioned as 'places of the imagination' (Reijnders, 2011), places where interviewees could engage with the stories and memories associated with the music they love.

Based on the three empirical chapters, what stands out about the experience of music tourism on site is the way tourists mediated between an emotional, private experience of self-identity and discourses of cultural identities. This process was present through remembering and through visceral experiences of music on site.

Remembering played a role since, as I pointed out in the theoretical chapter, music allows people to map personal music stories with strong emotional content onto stories of other individuals or cultural narratives (cf. Bagnall, 2003; Van Dijck, 2006; Van der Hoeven, 2014). In the examples studied, the tourists visited particular places because they were connected to music that played a part in their story of self. On location, they connected this personal experience of music with stories told to them by other fans or locals met while travelling, or presented to them by museums or walking tour guides providing a picture of an era.

Next to these concrete narratives and examples of storytelling that tourists encountered on site, particularly the study on music workshops showed two broader discursive narratives that played a role in the experiences of tourists. One was a romantic discourse of roots and origin, connecting music to places where it supposedly originated. A second discourse was one of work and achievement, also present as an emphasis on personal development and wellbeing. This can perhaps be linked to neoliberal values and thinking (Couldry, 2010), although the nature of my research does not warrant too strong statements in that direction.

In the interviews with tourists, what turned out to be equally important in their experiences was the way their process of connecting different narrative levels was stimulated by bodily experiences. For the interviewees, music effectively mediated between personal spaces of the imagination and shared, social spaces of music making and music listening, contributing to different degrees of feeling immersed and absorbed.

For tourists going on walking tours and visiting museums, this included visiting concerts, how they were invited to sing along during walking tours, and also the way music was playing in the minds of the tourists while walking around – involuntary musical imageries. Just as I have discussed how music can stimulate an idea of place, I have also shown how moving through places evokes music – in that sense, instead of a musical topophilia, one could also speak of a ‘place-induced musicophilia’.

In the eyes of the tourists, visiting music-related places offered a ‘lived and felt knowledge’ (Plate, 2006), or, in the words of Waitt and Duffy (2009), a certain ‘sonic knowledge’, that lifted the experience of music out of the ordinary, in a way that to them was different from listening to a CD or playlist at home. These embodied practices formed what the tourists called an experience of ‘being there’, an experience that was valued as being special and could in itself become an experience playing a role in the story of self and in the memories which stimulated the imagination when music was listened to or made.

The music workshops even offered fully absorbed embodied experiences, analyzed through the notion of flow (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). As discussed in chapter 6, ‘being there’ as an experience of local culture was less openly discussed as important to the touristic experience, although when the word ‘tourism’ was taken out of the discussion, tourists still turned out to value having an experience of the local community, acquiring the ‘lived and felt knowledge’ off the beaten track and through a more personalized and musicalized gaze.

While for fans and the music workshop tourists the trip provided an anchor point in a continued emotional connection to place and music, for accidental tourists, experiences of music-related places could form the starting point of an emotional connection to music. The touristic experience of music in situ across the cases turned out to be able to become a valuable memory, a new reference when listening to music, and a powerful element to stimulate the musical imagination of place. In this way, the circle of music tourism experience was completed.

Exploring the perspective of the tourist in this way has shown the value of an audience perspective. The audience is not passive, and in the case of tourism the role of the tourist influences the host destination and the practices involved – referring to the notion of co-creation as discussed throughout the empirical chapters. In this research, the U2 walking tour was an organized fan tour, showing a sign of Do It Yourself preservationism (Bennett & Janssen, 2016; Brandellero & Janssen, 2014). The voice of the fan-tourist is increasingly present, through DIY initiatives, and in research, by a growing attention for the role and

experience of tourists (Reijnders, 2011; Waysdorf, 2017; Van Es, 2018) and fans (Duits, Zwaan & Reijnders, 2014; Duffett, 2014; Sandvoss, 2014).

The visitor is increasingly participating in the storytelling in music museums as well, as museums are becoming ever more interactive and incorporate stories of fans and visitors into their displays. The ABBA museum visited during this research project is a good example of this development, combining a focus on fans with a high level of commercialism. In this respect, it is remarkable that museums such as The Beatles Story in Liverpool move in an opposite direction: although the museum recreates scenes from the past through adapting the exhibition space and music, the route ends in an enshrinement of the death of John Lennon, pushing the visitor in a passive role of humble devotion.

Studying tourist experiences of place also offers routes for further research. First, this dissertation fits within a range of articles emphasizing a multi-sensory approach to tourism studies (Chronis, 2015; Edensor & Falconer, 2011; Trandberg Jensen et al., 2015; Waitt & Duffy, 2009). Based on the affective dimensions explored in chapter 4, the musical identity-work analyzed in chapter 5, and the notions of flow and *communitas* central to chapter 6, this research shows how music can mediate between reflexive symbolic aspects of worldbuilding, and unreflexive, affective aspects of tourism. The study of the role of music in embodied, multi-sensory experiences draws attention to what Thrift calls the non-representational dimensions of practice and experience (Thrift, 2008). However, by adopting an expanded notion of embodiment, which means that embodied touristic experiences are simultaneously cognitive and affective, I argued in the conclusion of chapter 5 that it is perhaps more fruitful to see touristic experiences of place as encompassing both dimensions simultaneously, as two sides of the same coin.

Engaging with non-representational and intangible aspects of experience poses methodological challenges as well: how to research experiences that are not easily put into words, and how to capture the ways people make the intangible tangible while it happens? In this research project I have used fairly traditional ethnographic methods, such as participant-observation and interviewing. I have employed sketch-mapping on occasion, in cases where an interviewee felt more comfortable sketching their imaginations, although this remained rather incidental. However, music and music tourism offer rich and potentially fruitful ways of researching the imagination and experience of place further, through different techniques. Sketch-mapping has been used more thoroughly in the work of Cohen (2014) and by Mangaoang and O'Flynn (2016), while recording sound diaries and creating soundscapes is an obvious but infrequently used way to capture the experience of music and place more imaginatively (Wood & Smith, 2004; Waitt & Duffy, 2009).

### ***How do music tourists give meaning to their practices?***

As I hypothesized at the start of this dissertation, music tourism becomes meaningful to tourists because it is a way to engage with musical topophilia. I argued that musical

topophilia refers to a sense of belonging through music, exploring how music is involved in 'the various ways people are attached and attach themselves (affectively) into the world' (Morley, 2001: 440, referring to Grossberg, 1996: 185–186).

Referring to recent work in ethnomusicology, musical topophilia can potentially take on special significance in a world that is characterized by processes of 're-territorialization, or 'rehoming'; in which tourists are 'often aided by new technologies, new opportunities to travel, and new spaces of interaction and experience' (Krüger & Trandafoiu, 2014: 23). Thus, musical topophilia potentially forms a way of exploring how people continue to try and bring order and meaning to this globalizing world, to 're-locate' themselves.

Moreover, I discussed the work of the 'founding fathers' in the field of music tourism research, Connell and Gibson, and the specific 'spaces of belonging' they envisioned for music tourism. In the conclusion of *Music and Tourism* (2005), Gibson and Connell give an overview of global music tourism, and characterize the type of spaces music tourism potentially contributes to. At that moment in time, music tourism seemed to be predominantly centered on 1960's popular music, whereas examples of classical music were few and jazz and world music even less. The audience for music tourism consisted predominantly of senior fans of Sixties pop, having the nostalgic need and the expendable income to travel to the locations associated with their (former) idols. As the landscape of music tourism examples has changed in the meantime, I hypothesized that musical topophilia potentially engages with other meanings and meaningful spaces, beyond nostalgia.

Turning to the empirical data I gathered, I defined spaces of belonging in the previous chapter as both physical and imagined places where people find like-minded others, spaces where they feel literally and figuratively 'in place'. Music functions as a social resource in this context, affording both opportunities to create community and to create spaces of exclusion.

To start with, I encountered different senses of community that tourists related to. One kind of community was the physical groups that tourists were part of, be it the walking tour group or the music workshop-playing group. These groups offered, sometimes very temporarily, small music tourism bubbles, in which tourists in some way or another were brought together to share an (often enjoyable) activity.

Secondly, music tourists across the interview studies related in complex ways to host communities. Narratives of origin and roots continued to give meaning to the experiences of tourists, while at the same time interviewees acknowledged and reflected on the constructed nature of these connections. Next to feeling part of a group on site, many interviewees found a more engaged, though partially virtual and imagined, community in fandom and in being part of a translocal music scene.

Interviewees often referred to perceived 'special powers' of music. Some interviewees mentioned the 'special experience' of being part of a concert audience, an experience of absorption I have analyzed alongside musical experiences that were less immersive.



Interviewees were able to create their own time and place through musical experiences, for example when interviewees said they felt like they had been transported to ‘planet Bono’ and ‘planet Wagner.’ In music workshops I encountered narratives of flow and *communitas*, where music was seen as a positive power in experiences of sociability and community.

At the same time, I encountered moments and situations where music did not play this positive role. During the music workshops, the euphoric experience sometimes did not occur, in moments when people did not attune to one another, when personal issues surfaced, and when a sense of competition took over. Also, sometimes the reality of a location did not match the imagination, visually, or tourists were confronted with unwanted elements to their beloved music, as was the case with Wagner and the dark history of the festival.

In this sense, my research confirms and builds on Hesmondhalgh’s view that music can be seen as a force for good, but also as a social phenomenon that has negative and unwanted sides to it (2013b) – music is limited by social context. This means music can exclude as much as it can include. Building on Saldanha (2002), music practices such as music-related mobility delineate spaces. In my research this happened for example with the ABBA walking tour, as interviewees reported they enjoyed the ‘music bubble’ that singing along to the songs provided them, carving out a special space from other tourists and the locals that they moved among. In the streaming study, interviewees talked about the ways digital technology such as mp3 players and mobile phones made it easy for travelers to retreat in their own music bubble when they wanted to, retreating from social engagement. At the same time, my interviews and observations show how tourists used these devices less than expected, preferring to hear the natural sounds on location, wanting to experience the reality of ‘being there.’ Whether to engage or not to engage with the location through music was the question facing interviewees and the interviewees felt that this choice, perhaps now more so than before, was left to the tourist.

Turning to the meaning of these affective spaces created through music tourism, we have seen in this dissertation that nostalgia and escape are part of the reasons tourists travel to music-related places, and this links up well with the attention for *retromania* and nostalgia in contemporary culture (Lizardi, 2015; Reynolds, 2011). Beyond nostalgia, I discussed in the theoretical chapter how Connell and Gibson hint towards music’s role in stimulating wellbeing, which matches up with an attention for music as therapy, offering refuge from the pressures and insecurities of everyday life. In the music workshop study, interviewees remarked on how going on such a holiday refreshed them, as they could immerse themselves in a focused period of playing and learning, taking their minds of whatever awaited them back home.

Although travel as contributing to wellbeing can be and frequently is compared to pilgrimage, I explained in chapter 2 why in my view this concept is more usefully applied from an *emic* than an *etic* perspective. When tourists use words such as ‘pilgrimage’ to

describe their journeys, they describe experiences in which values central to the music genre, tourists' spiritual self-representations, and discourses of fandom play a role. Based on this hypothesis, I aimed to explore when, why, how and by whom comparisons to pilgrimage were made in my interviews.

Throughout the interviews for the different studies, 'pilgrimage', like 'anti-tourist' and 'traveler', were terms to indicate the meaning of music tourism to tourists, when the practices engaged in meant more than mere entertainment and hedonism. Pilgrimage and religious terms also related to notions of communality and community, as interviewees talked about how they wanted to become part of a larger story than just their own. I have shown how this relates to fan communities in chapter 6, and to notions of *communitas* and flow in chapter 7. However, as I already described in chapter 2, music tourism also diverges from religious pilgrimage in important ways, and this also surfaced during the interviews: in my interviews it turned out that the comparison with pilgrimage usually applied only to a small, very dedicated group of fan-tourists, who would use the term to indeed indicate the depth of their experience by using the comparison. However, they were also quick to note that for them, although their journey might have had spiritual dimensions, their fandom was not a religion.

Music tourism in many respects is the setting of tensions between attitudes of tourism and anti-tourism, professed by both tourists themselves and by researchers. In these debates, a dichotomy is created between mass tourism as superficial sightseeing, and music-related travel as more than that – a more profound engagement with places and identities. In this dissertation the reasons for creating these dichotomies are related to the commodified image of mass tourism, as tourists want to signal they are in some way more serious or looking for more than hedonism. In some respects, they seek to deepen their engagement with something that is very much part of and meaningful in their everyday lives.

## **The popularity of music tourism: an affective sense of belonging**

In Reijnders' (2011) theory of media tourism, the popularity of media tourism is explained by the way tourists negotiate the boundaries between perception and imagination, conceptualized as an *emic*, perceived opposition of reality and fiction (Reijnders, 2011). As the boundaries between what is real and what is mediated have become more foregrounded in times of extended mediatization (Couldry & Hepp, 2016), according to Reijnders, media tourism is rising in popularity as it is a way to play with and get a grip on these boundaries.

As has become clear from the analysis in this dissertation, music tourism likewise revolves around imaginary and experiential aspects of place, in which musical mythscapes illuminate place experiences, while the experience of physical place enriches the musical mythscape for tourists. Moreover, I have discussed the ways the study of music foregrounds

certain aspects of the tourist imagination and tourism experiences, especially the ways music engages the 'intangible'. By analyzing the underlying process of musical topophilia, I have shed light on the affective dimension in play in this process. Music allows listeners to connect the personal with the communal, to access and connect intimate and personal feelings that are considered to be part of inner worlds with outer worlds of perception.

Therefore, the explanation of the popularity of music tourism foregrounds a slightly different opposition: as boundaries and margins become increasingly present and powerful in the world of today, music seems to be a particularly effective tool to give meaning to, negotiate and cross these boundaries and margins. Thereby, music tourism involves an array of practices which give access to rich imaginative worlds that reflect and shape ways to feel at home in the world. As I have shown in this dissertation, for some these imaginative worlds serve to escape from changing realities, and for others they provide ways to engage with them.

Based on these findings, a pessimist might argue that people have become alienated from their lives and place in the world, and seek solace elsewhere – connecting with the familiar trope of tourism as escape from everyday life. As I have discussed in this dissertation however, across the cases it turned out that for the interviewees music was very much a part of their everyday life and habitus. Music tourism therefore can be a magnifying glass to enlarge and make visible the ways tourists make sense of their lives, and the continuous role of music within that process. Engaging or not engaging with the world around us seems to have become a conscious choice, even though I have shown in my analysis that this choice is not entirely free of social and cultural constraints when it comes to music tourism. An example of this is the way associations between music and place for music streamers turned out to be influenced by films as well as memories of key social situations.

This is why it is relevant to explore if, how and to what extent, the findings of this research apply to different groups of tourists. Research on the relation between music, place and identity suggests that class, ethnicity and gender have a major impact on the ways in which music tourism is experienced (Cohen, 2014). Moreover, as I contribute with this dissertation to the limited body of work exploring the relation between music, identity and place in the cultural practices of Western urban tourists, further research is needed that includes non-urban and non-Western contexts. For example, it would be interesting to explore what the role of the dual discourses of community and competition discussed in chapter 6 might be in a non-Western context.

In this dissertation I hope to have shown the continued value of music tourism to a range of tourists, interested in different genres and engaging with a diverse range of music-related practices on site. As Gibson and Connell argued, cultural homogeneity caused by globalization could mean the end of music tourism; as I have shown in this dissertation, the opposite seems to be the case: music tourism is a relevant and crucial entry point to studying the changing world of today.

At the time Gibson and Connell were writing about music tourism, the question was whether music tourism would last, as it seemed a phenomenon governed by fad and hype, and the hippies and snowbirds would of course dry up at some point (Gibson & Connell, 2005: 268). As music tourism has spread out across genres and practices, music tourism today is at the center of debates around urban regeneration and heritage politics, as de-industrialized urban regions try to redevelop their inner cities (Cohen, 2007; Cohen et al., 2015; Lashua et al., 2014; Roberts, 2014). At the same time, the expectations of music tourism are also high outside of urban city centers, as for example is clear from the enthusiasm around the pull factor of 2017 summer hit ‘Despacito’ – as hopeful newspaper articles appeared that predicted a hot summer for Puerto Rican tourism. However, an equal number of articles questioned whether one song can be powerful enough to have such an effect (for example Draper, 2017; Friedman, 2017).

Finally, the question arises if the sense of belonging I have described here is specific to music as a medium. Not everyone is touched in the same way by music, and although it is hard to imagine for music researchers, there are people who prefer other art forms or other activities to express themselves, to relax with, and to find communities of likeminded spirits, and all the other wonderful functions ascribed to music. Research on cultural taste discourses for example suggests so-called ‘high potentials’ attach little value to music as part of their cultural taste (Michael, 2017), while research on other forms of media tourism suggests film and literary tourism are just as capable of offering profound emotional and affective experiences (Waysdorf, 2017; Van Es, 2018).

In my view, the study of music as a medium, through its specific characteristics such as the ephemeral qualities of sound, allows to foreground certain aspects of experience that are perhaps less pronounced or overshadowed in the case of other media. However, there is a cultural belief in the value of musical experiences such as concert attendance, being specific to music and eliciting experiences that are deemed more profound than anything else. In the interviews conducted for this dissertation, the valuation of this idea certainly returned. What I set out to do is not to take away from this enchantment music can have, but rather attempt to understand the reach of its power better, both theoretically and empirically, through critically exploring the premises on which this idea is built.

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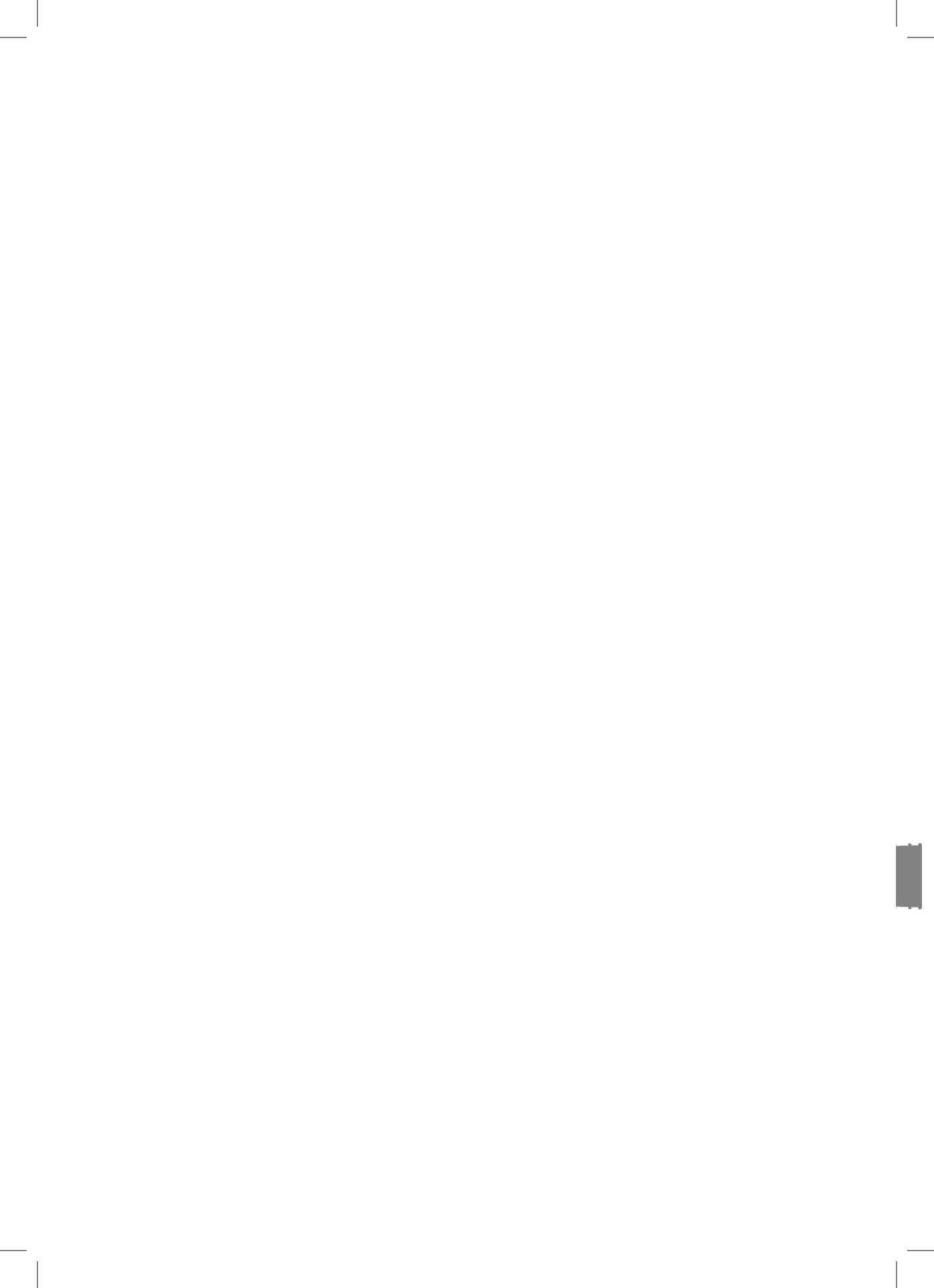
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# Appendices







## Appendix A | List of Interviewees

#	Name (gender)	Age	Country/city (nationality)	Education	Occupation	Case	Date of interview
1	Janice (f)	83	USA	PhD	Professor art history	Wagner	15 Aug 2013
2	Richard (m)	48	USA	PhD	Professor art history	Wagner	15 Aug 2013
3	Elisabetta (f)	44	Italy	PhD	Professor mathematics	Wagner	16 Aug 2013
4	Fransz (m)	68	Germany	MA	Retired personal banker	Wagner	16 Aug 2013
5	Gita (f)	67	Germany	BA	Retired teacher	Wagner	16 Aug 2013
6	David (m)	63	NL (USA)	BA	Recording engineer	Wagner	15 Oct 2013
7	Benny (m)	56	Germany	BA	CEO	ABBA	11 Sep 2013
8	Annifrid (f)	54	Germany	– <sup>1</sup>	House wife	ABBA	11 Sep 2013
9	Robert (m)	50	USA (Australian)	MA	VP international bank	ABBA	14 Sep 2013
10	Paul (m)	37	Ireland	Vocational education	Tour guide	U2	22 Sep 2013
11	Elviira (f)	44	Finland	BA	Bank employee	ABBA	25 Sep 2013
12	Anna (f)	29	Sweden (Russian)	–	House wife/ Russian tour guide	ABBA	09 Oct 2013
13	Gloria (f)	44	NL	BA	Communications professional	U2	05 Mar 2014
14	Martin (m)	41	NL	BA	Unemployed	U2	10 Mar 2014
15	Patrick (m)	50	NL	BA	Image editor national newspaper	U2	12 Mar 2014
16	Tara (f)	43	UK	Vocational education	Bank employee	U2	14 Mar 2014
17	Jaap (m)	35	NL/Groningen	Vocational education	Quality analyst call centre	Playlist	29 June 2015
18	Sander (m)	34	NL/Leeuwarden	BA	Employee call centre, former opera singer	Playlist	18 Aug 2015
19	Paul (m)	50	NL/Amersfoort	BA	Marketing manager	Playlist	19 Aug 2015
20	Naziha (f)	34	NL/The Hague	MA	Start-up owner	Playlist	20 Aug 2015

<sup>1</sup> Some interviewees did not disclose their educational level.

#	Name (gender)	Age	Country/city (nationality)	Education	Occupation	Case	Date of interview
21	Mayke (f)	29	NL/Amsterdam	MA	Psychologist and student art academy	Playlist	22 Aug 2015
22	Alice (f)	26	NL/Amsterdam	MA	Secretary at a high school	Playlist	24 Aug 2015
23	Pascal (m)	30	NL/Amsterdam	Business Studies (BA or MA)	Account manager Benelux at start-up	Playlist	28 Aug 2015
24	Marlies (f)	32	NL/Haarlem	MA	Procurement officer	Playlist	28 Aug 2015
25	Ronald (m)	25	NL/Amsterdam	BA	Secretary	Playlist	4 Sep 2015
26	Camilla (f)	25	NL/Amsterdam	BA	Student MA	Playlist	7 Sep 2015
27	Nicky (f)	26	NL/Utrecht	BA	Journalist	Playlist	8 Sep 2015
28	Lisette (f)	26	NL/Utrecht	BA	Student MA	Playlist	10 Sep 2015
29	Martijn (m)	44	NL/Pijnacker	MA	Personal banker	Playlist	10 Sep 2015
30	Angelo (m)	24	NL/Amsterdam	Vocational education	Student BA	Playlist	11 Sep 2015
31	Tim (m)	23	NL/Rotterdam	MA	Student REMA	Playlist	16 Sep 2015
32	Luna (f)	22	NL/Rotterdam	BA	Student MA	Playlist	16 Sep 2015
33	David (m)	32	NL/Rotterdam	MA	Marketeer music venue	Playlist	2 Oct 2015
34	Jennifer (f)	19	Australia	High school	Au pair	Irish music (fiddle)	3 July 2016
35	Carole (f)	53	Canada/Quebec	–	Science teacher	Irish music (fiddle)	14 July 2016
36	Chris (m)	60	UK	MA	Veterinary surgeon	Classical music (flute)	19 July 2016
37	Alison (f)	56	UK	MA	IT consultant	Classical music (flute)	19 July 2016
38	Jackie (f)	62	UK	PhD	Lecturer and independent researcher	Classical music (flute)	22 July 2016
39	Pier (m)	63	NL	BA	Music teacher, partially retired	Irish music (Uilleann pipes)	25 July 2016
40	Chelsea (f)	24	USA	BA	Teacher primary school	Irish music (Irish flute)	27 July 2016
41	Mary (f)	63	UK	–	Flute, piano and recorder teacher	Classical music (flute)	28 July 2016

#	Name (gender)	Age	Country/city (nationality)	Education	Occupation	Case	Date of interview
42	Patrick (m)	48	USA	–	Visual artist	Irish music (Uilleann Pipes)	28 July 2016
43	Dilek (f)	38	Turkey	MA	Import manager	Jazz (voice)	9 Aug 2016
44	Fano (m)	57	France	MA	R&D telecom company	Jazz (saxophone/ flute)	9 Aug 2016
45	Pekka (m)	40	Finland	–	Music teacher high school	Jazz (guitar)	10 Aug 2016
46	Judy (f)	59	UK	–	CEO fundraiser cultural field	Classical music (saxophone)	11 Aug 2016
47	Cheong (f)	53	France	MA	Quality manager transportation company	Jazz (saxophone/ piano)	12 Aug 2016
48	Sue (f)	60	UK	PhD	Respiratory nurse	Classical music (saxophone)	16 Aug 2016
49	Mark (m)	44	Switzerland	MA	Teacher English and History high school	Jazz (bass guitar)	17 Aug 2016
50	Ivan (m)	25	Bulgaria	BA	Orchestra musician (classical music)	Jazz (trombone)	19 Aug 2016
51	Beatrice (f)	68	UK	BA	Flute teacher	Classical music (flute)	22 Aug 2016
52	Line (f)	56	Iceland (Norwegian)	BA	Music teacher high school	Jazz (voice)	23 Aug 2016



# Appendix B | Interview Guides

## Interview guide playlist study

### *Music preferences*

- What music do you like and why?
- Are you fan of certain music/band/artist? How did you become a fan?
- What music do you detest?
- Do you make music yourself?

### *Musical development*

- Which music/songs/artists hold special or specific memories for you?
- What is that music about for you?
- What ambiance (Dutch: sfeer) does that music evoke?
- What space or place comes to mind when you think about that music?

### *Listening to music*

- When do you listen to music?
- In what setting do you listen to music?
- With whom do you listen to music?
- In what ways do you listen to music?
- Did this change throughout the years, and how?
- What role does technology play in that?
- What other things have played or play a role in listening to music?

### *Music streaming*

- What streaming services do you use to listen to music?
- What do you like about this service?
- What disadvantages does this service have?

### *Spotify*

- How did you get to know Spotify?
- How often do you use it?
- When do you use Spotify?
- What kind of playlists do you have?
- When do you create new playlists?
- Do your playlists remain the same, or do you change them after you have created them?

- Do you listen to your own playlists exclusively, or do you also listen to playlists made by others?

#### *Holiday playlists*

- Do you create holiday or seasonally themed playlists?
- What holiday themed playlists do you have? How do you create them?
- What do you base your choices on?
- What influence does the type of holiday have on the playlist created? And the people you travel with?
- What limits you in making your playlist?
- How did you do this before you had Spotify?
- When do you listen to your holiday list?
- Who do you share your holiday list with?
- Do you also create lists for places you do not visit?
- Why do you make your own holiday playlist? When do you choose for existing albums/curated lists?
- What role does your playlist play in your idea of going on holiday/travelling/the season?
- How does your playlist give you an idea of your holiday destination?

#### *General holiday and music*

- What role does music play when you travel or are on holiday?
- What is your favourite country or place?
- What role does music play in that?
- With a holiday playlist, you go somewhere and you make a list. Have you ever turned it around: that you went somewhere because of music?

## Interview guide ABBA tourists

### *Role of music in life and level of fandom*

- How did you first come into contact with ABBA and how did you experience that moment?
- Do you listen to it at special or particular moments?
- What meaning does the music of ABBA have in your life?
- Do you have special or particular memories about the music or particular concerts?
- Would you describe yourself as an ABBA fan?
- Why did you come to Stockholm?
- How do you experience being in Stockholm? What is it like for you to be here?

### *ABBA walk*

#### Preparation

- How did you come to know of the tour?
- Why did you decide to take the tour?
- To what extent did you already have a clear picture in your mind of particular places in Stockholm? How did you make these images?

### *During the tour*

- What did you like the most about the tour? Why?
- What will you remember most about the tour?
- Is there a particular place you remember? Can you describe it?
- How did you experience being at the locations?
- What made it special?
- (als er muziek was tijdens de tour:) What did you think of this? In what way did it influence your experience of the tour?

### *After the tour*

- In what way is your image of ABBA different after the tour than before?
- Have you visited other ABBA related locations in Stockholm, like the museum or Bjorns' house?

### *Specifically for the museum*

- ABBA phone: did you pick up the horn of the ABBA phone? How did this make you feel? Do you think it is a gimmick? Does that matter to you? And what about Benny's piano?
- Imitation Viggsö: what did you think of the house? Did you go into it? How did you experience this? Does it matter to you that it is a copy? Do you want to or have you ever visited the original?

- The 5<sup>th</sup> ABBA member: did you do this? How did you feel? Did this mean anything to you or was it just something fun?
- Stikkan's office: did you go into it? What did you think of it? What did you feel? Does it matter it is a copy? Have you ever visited the original or do you want to? And what about the Polar Studio? And the helicopter?
- Dance floor: did you dance there? How did that make you feel?

*After the trip*

- With whom did you share your experiences of the your visit to Stockholm? How did you share your experiences (live, online)? What responses did you get?
- For the museum: did you look back using the identity code on your ticket? How did that make you feel?
- Did visiting the locations add or change something about how you feel about Abba? About their music? About Stockholm?
- In what way do you feel closer to Abba or their music after this trip?
- In what way do you experience the music differently now? Do you listen to it differently; does it mean something else to you now?
- What does your trip to Stockholm mean to you?
- In what way would you say the experience is important to you?
- How much are you inclined to visit other ABBA places, like Viggso?



## Interview guide music workshops

### *General instrument*

- When and how did you start to play?
- How much and in what situations do you play in everyday life?
- How is your tuition organised?
- What place or places do you associate with your instrument?

### *Music workshop*

- Have you been on a trip like this before? Why/why not?
- How did you learn about this trip?
- Why did you decide to go on this particular one?
- What were your expectations of the holiday prior to going? To what extent were they met?
- How do you feel about the program of the course?
- How do you feel about being part of a group holiday?
- What did you do during your free afternoons?
- What places did you visit during your stay and why?
- What does music mean to your experience of this place?
- What does making music/playing add to your holiday experience?
- How does playing on holiday compare to playing at home?

### *Back home*

- How do you look back on your holiday?
- Would you go again? Why/why not?
- In what moments do you think about it, if at all?
- What does listening to music or making music mean to your memory of the holiday?
- How does this type of holiday fit in with other holidays/journeys/traveling you do?
- General holiday and music:
  - What role does music play in your traveling or holiday habits in general?
  - What is your favourite country or place?
  - What role does music play in that?



# Summary

Music tourism – the phenomenon of people visiting places because of a connection with music – is a growing form of media tourism. As a successful billion-dollar industry, music tourism holds particular promise to city marketers and policy officers in terms of urban (re)development. Besides its economic value, music tourism is also academically relevant, as it offers a way to interrogate more wide-ranging socio-cultural issues in the domains of tourism studies and (ethno)musicology, such as questions of mobility and belonging in a globalized world, and the increasing convergence of media and tourism culture.

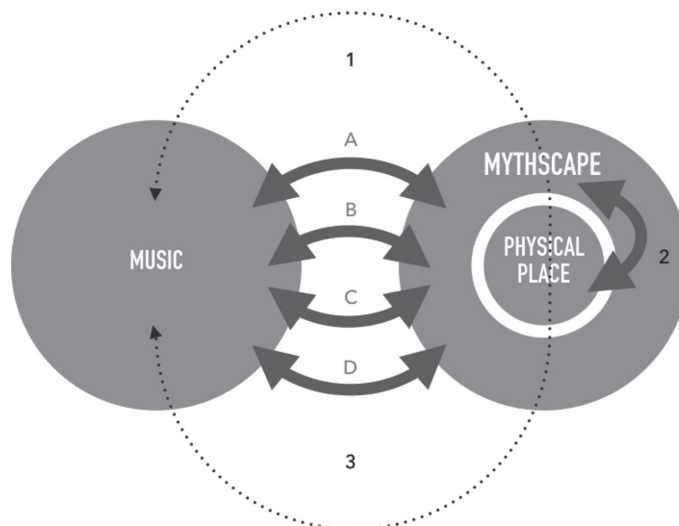
One of the more fundamental questions concerns the ephemeral character of music: how can an abstract art form such as music lead to tourism? Moreover, what explains the popularity of music tourism in contemporary culture? In this dissertation I answer these questions from the perspective of the tourist, as there is still little understanding of what drives tourists to visit places related to music, and what these visits mean to people. This is surprising, since music tourism exists by the grace of visiting tourists. Therefore, it is in the heads and hearts of tourists where the key to understanding music tourism can be found.

Based on a comparative approach to a rich collection of qualitative empirical data, I develop a theoretical model to explain the popularity of contemporary music tourism. Music tourism up until now has been studied primarily through individual case studies conducted within separate disciplines such as cultural geography, tourism studies and ethnomusicology. In this dissertation, I bring the separate perspectives together in a holistic approach, thus laying the foundation for a more general theoretical grounding of music tourism as a research field.

## Music tourism in theory and practice

In order to understand the popularity of music tourism, the concept of ‘musical topophilia’ is introduced: an affective attachment to place through and with music. This concept helps to get a grip on the complex and often quite abstract ways music, place and tourism are connected in practice. Through the lens of musical topophilia, music tourism can be analyzed as a process in which music listeners establish and engage with their music-induced place attachments. This process consists of three steps: 1) listening to music stimulates the imagination of place; 2) music listeners step into their imagined places by visiting locations as tourists; and 3) when the listener-tourist returns home, the experiences and memories of the holiday become part of the dual connection that listeners feel with both place and music. The symbiosis between place and music works in two ways: on the one hand, visiting specific places can stimulate the love for a particular music; on the other hand, through the connection with music listeners can potentially establish an affective

bond with a particular place. In the theoretical chapter of the dissertation, I present this dual process in a model:



Three qualitative studies support and refine the notion of musical topophilia and its role in music tourism, grounding this ideal-typical model in practice. The studies presented in chapters 4 to 6 are comparative in design, cross meta-genres of music, and incorporate different kinds of music tourism, such as heritage and concert tourism. Moreover, particular attention is paid to the specific role of music in the tourism imagination (chapter 4) and the touristic experience of place (chapter 5 and 6), analyzing tourism not only as a visual but also as an aural phenomenon.

The geographical focus of the empirical section is on music tourism in Europe. Europe is a popular region for tourism worldwide, and it offers a great variety of music tourism examples, covering different genres of music and different types of tourism. Where current research focuses predominantly on Anglo-Saxon examples of music tourism, in this research other regions of Europe have been included.

In the first empirical study, presented in chapter 4, I explore step 1 of the model: how does music stimulate the imagination, and how does the process of imagining place through music work? Based on a study involving music listeners and the playlists they make for going on holiday, I argue in chapter 4 that music listeners use four ways to relate music and location, which I call 'mediations' (indicated by letters A to D in the model). First (A), music can be connected to place through characteristic sounds, linked to instrumentation and/or musical structure. Second (B), other aspects of music – such as lyrics and album covers – can evoke associations with particular places. Third (C), listeners can connect music to specific locations linked to the biography of the artist. Fourth and

final (D), music is associated with the places where it is or once was produced, distributed, and/or consumed. Furthermore, the analysis of the interviews shows that through these mediations, listeners attach the feeling that listening to music evokes in them to specific locations. This way, the listeners come to associate their love of music with particular places.

In chapter 5 and 6, I explore what happens when listeners step into their imagined musical places (step 2), and how these on-site experiences feed back into and stimulate the love for music and place (step 3). In chapter 5 I compare and analyze three examples of music tourism relating to different decades of music history and different music genres: Wagner tourism to Bayreuth, Germany; ABBA tourism to Stockholm, Sweden; and U2 tourism to Dublin, Ireland. I do not focus solely on nostalgia in this chapter, as this might be too narrow of a perspective to understand contemporary forms of music tourism. Instead, the analysis is focused on the experience of music tourism through the concept of identity-work, showing how tourists relate their personal music memories to cultural narratives and embodied musical experiences on site. Based on the multiple ways music plays a role in the tourist experience, I conclude that existing music affinities illuminate the touristic experience of place, while the knowledge of the soundscape of a city, gained during the holiday, can enrich the future music experience.

In chapter 6, I analyze the role of making music on-site in stimulating and creating experiences of community and flow, paying particular attention to the role of place. I explore this topic through an ethnography of music workshops of different sizes in three countries, involving three music genres: Irish traditional music, classical music and Prague jazz. To the participants, 'locale' – the experience of place as a social space – is not limited to on site experiences, but also exists in relation to translocal fan communities. More remarkably, where music workshops can indeed induce moments of flow and community, participants also continuously rank themselves in relation to other participants. This turns the music workshops into spaces where values of community, competition, and individual achievement are negotiated and celebrated.

In the conclusion I move beyond the specifics of these cases and discuss how the analysis of the empirical data supports and further refines the approach to music tourism as presented in the theoretical chapter. I conclude that music can literally 'move' people, first by moving them emotionally: music stimulates the imagination and creates the start of a musical topophilia. Subsequently, listeners travel to make this love of music and place tangible, by being able to walk around in and experience the destination. Their travel experiences reinforce their love for both music and place, growing the link between them. Therefore, on the one hand, music contributes to the popularity of and the affinity with certain place identities. On the other hand, it is through visiting these places that one can experience proximity to the otherwise more abstract nature of music. In this way, music functions as a social and affective resource to 'locate' oneself in an increasingly 'fluid' world,

making the ephemeral more concrete, while at the same time enchanting the tangible world with something beyond sight.

# Samenvatting

Muziektoerisme – het bezoeken van een plek vanwege een associatie met muziek – is een groeiende vorm van mediatoerisme. Als succesvolle industrie is muziektoerisme aantrekkelijk voor stadsmarketeers en beleidsmakers, die via het ontwikkelen en uitbaten van muzikaal erfgoed duurzame stadsontwikkeling hopen te stimuleren. Muziektoerisme is ook wetenschappelijk relevant, als prisma om sociaal-culturele ontwikkelingen op het gebied van toerisme en (ethno)musicologie te onderzoeken. Het gaat hierbij bijvoorbeeld om kwesties rond mobiliteit – je ‘thuis’ voelen in een globaliserende wereld – en om de toenemende verstrengeling van media en toerisme.

Een van de meer fundamentele vragen heeft betrekking op het ongrijpbare karakter van muziek: hoe kan een abstracte kunstvorm als muziek aanleiding geven tot toerisme? In het verlengde van deze vraag: wat maakt muziektoerisme precies zo populair? In dit onderzoek beantwoord ik deze vragen vanuit het perspectief van de toerist. Er is op dit moment niet veel bekend over de drijfveren van muziektoeristen, en wat deze reizen voor hen betekenen. Dat is verrassend, omdat toerisme bestaat bij de gratie van de toerist die besluit op reis te gaan. Daarom begint de zoektocht naar een verklaring voor de populariteit van hedendaags muziektoerisme in het hoofd en het hart van de toerist.

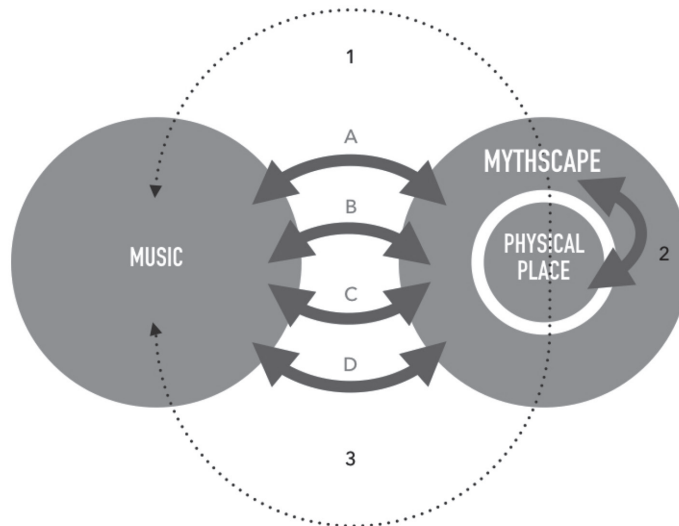
Deze verklaring wordt gevat in een theoretisch model, dat gebaseerd is op een rijke verzameling kwalitatieve data. Tot nu toe bestaat veel onderzoek naar muziektoerisme uit individuele casussen, uitgevoerd binnen afzonderlijke onderzoeksdisciplines zoals culturele geografie, toerisme, en ethnomusicologie. In deze dissertatie kies ik voor een holistische benadering, waarmee ik bijdraag aan het theoretische fundament van muziektoerisme als interdisciplinair onderzoeksveld.

## Muziektoerisme in theorie en praktijk

De aantrekkingskracht van muziektoerisme wordt in deze dissertatie verklaard aan de hand van het begrip ‘muzikale topofilie’: via en vanwege muziek een (emotionele) band voelen met bepaalde plaatsen. Dit begrip is nuttig om de complexe en nogal abstracte manieren te vatten waarop muziek, plaats en toerisme in praktijk verbonden raken. Als muziektoerisme benaderd wordt als een vorm van muzikale topofilie, dan kun je dit gedrag analyseren als een proces waarin luisteraars via muziek een band opbouwen met bepaalde plaatsen. Dit proces bestaat uit drie stappen: 1) muziek luisteren stimuleert de verbeelding van plaats; 2) luisteraars stappen vervolgens letterlijk in hun verbeelding als ze als toerist op reis gaan; 3) als de luisteraar-toerist huiswaarts keert, worden de ervaringen die opgedaan zijn tijdens de reis en de herinneringen aan de reis onderdeel van de emotionele band die luisteraars voelen met plaats en muziek. Dit proces werkt twee kanten op: aan de ene kant kan het bezoek aan bepaalde plaatsen de waardering

voor de muziek stimuleren; aan de andere kant kan de liefde voor muziek uitmonden in de liefde voor een bepaalde plaats.

In het theoretische hoofdstuk van de dissertatie vat ik dit proces in een model:



Via drie kwalitatieve empirische studies wordt dit ideaal-typische model verankerd in de praktijk, waarmee het begrip muzikale topofilie verder verfijnd en onderbouwd wordt. De drie studies (hoofdstuk 4 tot en met 6) zijn vergelijkend qua opzet, betreffen uiteenlopende muziekgenres, en beslaan verschillende soorten muziektoerisme, zoals erfgoed en concert toerisme. Bovendien wordt aandacht besteed aan de specifieke rol van muziek in de verbeelding van toeristen (hoofdstuk 4) en de toeristische ervaring van plaats (hoofdstuk 5 en 6). Hiermee wordt toerisme niet alleen als visueel maar ook als auditief fenomeen geanalyseerd.

De geografische focus van het empirische deel van de dissertatie ligt op muziektoerisme in Europa. Europa is wereldwijd een populaire bestemming, en herbergt een grote verscheidenheid aan soorten muziektoerisme. Waar bestaand onderzoek vooral ingaat op Angelsaksische voorbeelden, beslaat het onderzoek in deze dissertatie ook andere regio's van Europa.

In de eerste empirische studie, besproken in hoofdstuk 4, verken ik de eerste stap van het model: hoe stimuleert muziek precies de verbeelding, en welke rol speelt muziek in de verbeelding van plaats? Op basis van een studie waarin muziekstreamers vertellen over de vakantie playlists die ze maken om mee te nemen op vakantie, stel ik in hoofdstuk 4 dat luisteraars muziek op vier manieren met plaatsen associëren. Ik noem deze associaties 'mediations' (letters A t/m D in het model). Ten eerste (A) wordt muziek via



kenmerkende geluiden verbonden met specifieke plaatsen, bijvoorbeeld via het geluid van karakteristieke instrumenten en/of de muzikale vorm. Een tweede manier (B) om muziek met plaats in verband te brengen, is via niet klinkende onderdelen van muziek, zoals tekst en beeld. Een derde manier van associëren (C) is via de biografie van de artiest. Muziek wordt tenslotte (D) geassocieerd met de plaatsen waar muziek gemaakt, verkocht of geconsumeerd wordt. De analyse van de interviews laat bovendien zien dat luisteraars via deze associaties het gevoel dat de muziek bij hen oproept, verbinden aan specifieke plaatsen. Op deze manier hevelen luisteraars hun liefde voor muziek over naar hun beeld of idee van specifieke plaatsen.

In hoofdstuk 5 en 6 verken ik vervolgens wat er gebeurt als luisteraars op reis gaan naar de plaatsen uit hun verbeelding (stap 2), en hoe de ervaringen ter plekke terugvloeien in de liefde voor muziek en plaats (stap 3). In hoofdstuk 5 vergelijk en analyseer ik voorbeelden van muziektoerisme die drie verschillende periodes uit de muziekgeschiedenis beslaan: Wagner toerisme in Bayreuth, Duitsland; ABBA toerisme in Stockholm, Zweden; en U2 toerisme in Dublin, Ierland. Ik bespreek deze reizen niet aan de hand van het begrip nostalgie, omdat dit geen recht doet aan de verscheidenheid van hedendaags muziektoerisme. In plaats daarvan analyseer ik de drie voorbeelden door middel van het concept 'identiteits-werk', waarmee ik bestudeer hoe de toeristen hun persoonlijke muziekherinneringen relateren aan verhalen en ervaringen die ze ter plekke tegen komen. Gebaseerd op de verschillende manieren waarop muziek tijdens hun bezoek een rol speelt voor toeristen, concludeer ik dat een bestaande affiniteit met muziek de toeristische ervaring van plaats kan verrijken, terwijl de kennismaking met de geluiden van de stad tijdens de vakantie – de lokale soundscape – de toekomstige beleving van de muziek kan veranderen.

In hoofdstuk 6 analyseer ik vervolgens hoe muziek *maken* tijdens de vakantie kan bijdragen aan het tot stand brengen van een gemeenschapsgevoel en ervaringen van 'flow', waarbij ik specifiek aandacht besteed aan de rol van plaats in deze processen. Ik heb voor dit hoofdstuk drie muziekvakanties van verschillende omvang bezocht in drie verschillende landen: traditionele Ierse muziek in Miltown Malbay, een workshop jazz in Praag, en een workshop klassieke fluit op Corfu. De deelnemende amateurmuzikanten voelden zich niet alleen onderdeel van de workshop groep ter plekke, maar voelden zich ook verbonden met een 'translokale' gemeenschap van muzikanten. Wat opviel was dat de muziekworkshops inderdaad aanleiding gaven tot ervaringen van flow en een gemeenschapsgevoel opriepen, maar dat de deelnemers ook voortdurend bezig waren met hun positie binnen de groepshierarchie. De workshops zijn daarmee plaatsen waar verschillende sociale waarden met elkaar geconfronteerd en in balans gebracht worden, zoals gemeenschapszin, competitie en individuele prestaties.

In de conclusie stijg ik boven de specifieke casussen uit en bespreek ik hoe de verzamelde data mijn theoretische benadering van muziektoerisme ondersteunen en verfijnen. Ik concludeer dat muziek mensen letterlijk in beweging kan zetten door hen

eerst emotioneel in vervoering te brengen: muziek stimuleert de verbeelding en legt daarmee de basis voor een muzikale topografie. Luisteraars gaan vervolgens op reis om hun liefde voor muziek en plaats tastbaar te maken, door ergens rond te kunnen lopen en de plaats fysiek te ervaren. Deze reiservaringen versterken de liefde voor zowel muziek als plaats, waarmee ook de verbintenis tussen muziek en plaats versterkt wordt. Daarmee draagt muziek aan de ene kant bij aan de populariteit van en de affiniteit met bepaalde plaatsen. Aan de andere kant kunnen luisteraars via het bezoek aan bepaalde plaatsen dichterbij de ongreepbare aard van muziek komen. Zo functioneert muziek als een sociaal en emotioneel hulpmiddel om jezelf een plaats te geven in een snel veranderende wereld; een hulpmiddel waarmee het ontastbare te hanteren is, en waardoor de tastbare wereld betoverd raakt met iets dat zich aan het zicht onttrekt.

## About the author

Leonieke Bolderman (1985) is assistant professor Cultural Geography and Tourism Geography and Planning in the Faculty of Spatial Sciences at the University of Groningen. After completing the bachelor Arts, Culture and Media (2006 – cum laude), she graduated from the research master Literary and Cultural Studies at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Groningen in 2009. From 2010 until 2013 she worked as a press officer to the Rotterdam Philharmonic Orchestra, after which she returned to academia to pursue a PhD in music tourism. Her PhD research was part of the NWO funded project *Locating Imagination. An Interdisciplinary Perspective on Literary, Film and Music Tourism*. During the spring of 2016 she was a visiting researcher at the Institute of Popular Music, University of Liverpool. Currently living part-time in Detroit, USA, her present research focus is on the role of music in processes of urban development.



# Publications related to the PhD project

## International peer reviewed journals

Bolderman, S.L., & Reijnders, S.L. (2018). Musical topophilia: creating an attachment to place through holiday playlists. *European Journal of Cultural Studies* (under review with minor revisions).

Bolderman, S.L., & Reijnders S.L. (2016). Have you found what you're looking for? Analysing tourist experiences of Wagner's Bayreuth, ABBA's Stockholm and U2's Dublin. *Tourist Studies* 16(3): 234-252.

Bolderman, S.L. (2016). [Review of the book *The Twenty-First-Century Legacy of The Beatles. Liverpool and Popular Heritage Tourism*, by Michael Brocken]. *Perfect Beat* 17(1): 83-84.

Reijnders, S.L., Bolderman, S.L., Van Es, N., & Waysdorf, A. (2015). Locating imagination: an interdisciplinary perspective on literary, film, and music tourism. *Tourism Analysis* 20(3): 333-339.

## Book chapter

Bolderman, S.L., & S.L. Reijnders (2017). Tuning in – setting the scene for music tourism. In Lundberg, C., & Ziakas, V. (Eds.) *Handbook of Popular Culture and Tourism* (pp. unknown). London: Routledge (accepted for publication).



# Portfolio

## Courses followed during the PhD trajectory

### **Academic**

Masterclass David Hesmondhalgh, 25 November 2016 in Brussels, Belgium, organized by RMeS and hosted by the Free University Brussels (1 EC).

Research period at the Institute of Popular Music, February and March 2016, University of Liverpool (supervised by Dr. Marion Leonard and Prof. Dr. Sara Cohen).

EGS3H Deans' Masterclass on 'Religion', 17 September 2015, The Hague.

RMeS Summer School 'Transmedia Storytelling', June 2015, Leiden.

Masterclass Nick Couldry 'Participation and Voice in Everyday Culture', 15 May 2014 in Utrecht, organized by RMeS and NICA, hosted by Utrecht University (1 EC).

Course 'Qualitative Research', February – June 2014, offered by the Erasmus Graduate School of Social Sciences and History (10 EC). Together with the Graduate School I organized this course for PhD students. Evers Research was responsible for teaching the course.

Course 'Advanced Qualitative Methods', January – April 2014, offered by the research master program Sociology of Arts and Culture at Erasmus University Rotterdam (5 EC).

Masterclass Simone Mahrenholz 'Music as a knowledge system', 23 January 2014 in Amsterdam, organized by NICA and hosted by the University of Amsterdam (1 EC).

Peer reviewing workshop, 12 December 2013 in Amsterdam, organized by RMeS (1 EC).

RMeS Summer School 'Audiences and Users', 10 – 14 June 2013 in Rotterdam, hosted by ERMeCC (5 EC).

### ***Didactic***

University Teaching Qualification, Research Training Consultancy Risbo, started in February 2016.

Language assessment English, Language and Training Centre EUR, February 2014: assessed as having C1 level speaking skills and C2 level writing skills on the Common European Framework of Reference scale (C2 is the highest obtainable level).

Assessment criteria, DeLoeff Training, 22 January 2014.

Blackboard, DeLoeff Training, 30 October 2013.

Lecturer improvement course DeLoeff Training, September 2013 .

Basic didactics course, Research Training Consultancy Risbo, March – April 2013.

### ***Courses taught during the PhD trajectory***

2015 – 2017: supervision of students writing their MA-thesis in Arts and Culture Studies.

2015 – 2017: teaching the seminar group 'Economic Geography of Creativity and Urban Development', Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication (ESHCC).

2014 – 2015: coaching of a research master internship (student: Rosa Schiavone), ESHCC.

2013 – 2017: development, coordination and lecturing BA I course 'Organization of Art and Culture', ESHCC.

2013 – 2014: teaching a BA I tutorial in the course 'Cultural Policy', ESHCC.



### **Conference papers**

Bolderman, S.L. (2017, June). Musical Topophilia. Music, Place and Experience. Paper presented at the biannual IASPM International Conference in Kassel, Germany.

Bolderman, S.L. (2017, April). Musical Topophilia. Music, Place and Experience. Paper presented at the international conference Locating Imagination. Popular Culture, Tourism and Belonging, Erasmus University Rotterdam, The Netherlands.

Bolderman, S.L. (2016, August). We'll walk in fields of gold. Music tourism, imagination and place. Paper presented at the biannual International Tourism and Media (ITAM) Conference, University of Lund/Helsingborg Campus, Sweden.

Bolderman, S.L. (2016, April). Musical Topophilia: musical place making practices in the digital age. Paper presented at the 2016 conference of the British Forum for Ethnomusicology, 'New Currents in Ethnomusicology', as part of the organized session: 'Rethinking 'Place' and 'Space' in Ethnomusicology: Applying Digital, Ecological, Experimental, and Geographical Methodologies to Fieldwork', University of Kent/Chatham campus, UK.

Bolderman, S.L. (2016, February). Musical Topophilia – imagining places through holiday playlists. Paper presented at the 2016 Etmaal conference 'Closer: Connecting through intimate communication technologies' of the Netherlands Flanders Communication Association, University of Amsterdam.

Bolderman, S.L. (2015, June). Have you found what you're looking for? On the experience of music tourism. Paper presented at the biannual IASPM International Conference in Campinas, Brazil.

Bolderman, S.L. (2015, May) Have you found what you're looking for? On the experience of music tourism. Paper presented at the International Communication Association Conference in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Bolderman, S.L. (2015, April). Have you found what you're looking for? On music tourism as fan practice. Paper presented at the Popular Music Fandom and the Public Sphere: A One Day Symposium organized by the University of Chester.

Bolderman, S.L. (2014, November). Have you found what you're looking for? On the experiences of traveling music fans. Paper presented at the international conference 'Fan Communities and Fandom' by Interdisciplinary.net, Prague.

Bolderman, S.L. (2014, November). Have you found what you're looking for? On the experience of music tourism. Paper presented at the international conference 'A Long Way to the Top. The production and reception of music in a globalized world,' by the International Association of Popular Music Studies Benelux, Rotterdam.

Bolderman, S.L. (2014, June). Have you found what you're looking for? Materializing music memories in music walking tours. Paper presented at the 'Musical Materialities in the Digital Age' international conference by the University of Sussex, Falmer.

Bolderman, S.L. (2014, June). Have you found what you're looking for? On value attribution in music tourism motivations. Paper presented at the 'Tourism and the New Global Economy' international conference of the Tourism and Travel Research Association, Bruges.

Bolderman, S.L. (2014, June). Have you found what you're looking for? Materializing music memories in music walking tours. Paper presented at the 'Things to Remember: Materializing Memories in Art and Popular Culture' international conference of the Faculty of Humanities, Radboud University Nijmegen.

Bolderman, S.L. (2014, February). Have you found what you're looking for? On value attribution in music tourism motivations. Paper presented at the 2014 Etnaal Conference 'Bridging the gap – between scientific and local knowledge' of the Netherlands Flanders Communication Association, University of Wageningen.

Bolderman, S.L. (2013, October). Music Tourism: Have you found what you are looking for? Paper presented at the international conference 'Locating Imagination: Media, Tourism, Rituals' by NWO, RMeS and ERMeCC, Rotterdam.

### ***Invited lectures***

Bolderman, S.L. (2016, December). Music Audiences: State of the Art. Guest lecture BA3 International Bachelor of Art and Culture Studies, ESHCC.

Bolderman, S.L. (2016, December). Qualitative Data Analysis. Guest lecture BA2 Communication Science at University of Utrecht.

Bolderman, S.L. (2016, March). Musical Topophilia. Invited presentation for the Institute of Popular Music Research Seminar Series, University of Liverpool.

Bolderman, S.L. (2016, February). Music Tourism. Invited presentation for the Post Graduate Research seminar group at the Institute of Popular Music, University of Liverpool.

Bolderman, S.L. (2015, September). Muziekstreaming. Guest lecture BA3 Music Management at Stenden University of Applied Sciences, Leeuwarden.

Bolderman, S.L. (2014, October). Muziektoerisme. Guest lecture BA3 Music Management at Stenden University of Applied Sciences, Leeuwarden.

Bolderman, S.L. (2013, December). Contemporary Music Tourism: Have you found what you're looking for? Invited presentation for the Television in Transition (TViT) research group, Utrecht University.

## **Consulting and public speaking related to the PhD trajectory**

2016 – 2017, participant and winner of Science Battle. Science Battle is a contest for PhD candidates, performed in theatres throughout The Netherlands. The research that is most convincing and comprehensible to the audience, wins.

2015 – 2016, member of the think-tank advising the city council of Rijswijk and the Alderman of Culture on developing the municipal cultural policy 2016-2020.

3 October 2016, Tafelwetenschapper Avond van Wetenschap en Maatschappij 2016. During a dinner in the Ridderzaal, selected top researchers present state of the art research and discuss the societal relevance of their findings with key players from the worlds of politics, business, media, and sports.

27 September 2016, organizer and academic presenter of 'From Thomaskirche to Penny Lane', Spui25 – an event about music tourism for a non-academic audience, featuring music journalist Merlijn Kerkhof and music tour operator Taco Stronks of Musico Reizen.