

**CELEBRATING THE RIVER: THE MEANING
AND FUNCTION OF RIVER FESTIVALS**

THESIS

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in Partial Fulfillment of
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Master of Applied Geography**

By

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To Thea,
whose nurturing support and
patience made this work possible.
Thank you.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

As research in the social sciences examining the meaning and function of festivals continues to expand, so too does the awareness of how festivals—in their many forms—establish and reaffirm social values, “. . . renew periodically the lifestream of a community, . . . and give sanctions to its institutions” (Falassi 1987, 3). Although several scholarly studies explore festival meaning and function, the literature provides few, if any, examples of research examining the meaning and function of festivals oriented toward natural resources. Since group identity and place identity associate closely with festival meaning, investigating festivals focused on a natural resource may reveal much about the process by which the resource becomes a part of these group and place identities.

Despite the lack of research on festivals oriented toward natural resources, such festivals occur frequently. For example, an examination of any list of annual festivals--such as those created by tourism bureaus or for special event professionals--will reveal a substantial number of festival titles incorporating names of rivers. By focusing on festivals that celebrate rivers, this study intends to help further illuminate how

communities interact with natural resources. Hopefully, knowledge of how river festivals affect the relationship between community identity, place identity, and human interaction with a river will contribute to practices in environmental education and public outreach as well as tourism planning and management.

The central questions that guided this study are:

How do river festivals attempt to affect people's concern and involvement with rivers?

and

What evidence indicates whether or not such attempts do affect people's concern and involvement with rivers?

This first portion of this work reviews the academic literature relating to the study of festivals. In the "Purpose and Methods" section, following the literature review, a statement of the purpose precedes a description of the process and methods used in gathering and analyzing the data. This section also introduces the events on which the "Case Studies" section elaborates. Detailed descriptions of the three case studies provide the scenarios from which the data originated. Also in this section, tables compare many features of each case study. The section following "Case Studies," "Festival Morphology," further explores the significance of rituals and behaviors observed in the case studies. The next section is a discussion of how a sense of community and a sense of place relate to people's experiences with the three festivals from the case studies. Considerations of the educational aspects and learning processes associated with river

festivals follows. The last section, “Festival Impacts and Accomplishments,” examines any evidence indicating whether or not river festivals do affect people’s concern and involvement with rivers.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW; EVALUATION OF FESTIVALS

The examination of scholarly literature relating to festivals reveals certain categories of benefits; these include economic incentives, cultural agendas, educational efforts, environmental management efforts, and leisure interests. The literature also provides several definitions of “festival.” Aldskogius’ (1993) definition, which recognizes a thematic element in a festival, readily applies to such events based on a river theme. Therefore, for the purposes of this research, an adaptation of Aldskogius’ criteria will define “river festival” as an event that:

- is not part of normal activities for the organizing body,
- is arranged during specific time periods,
- takes place in specific locality or within a limited region,
- is open to the public,
- has a dominating theme of river or rivers.

Economic Benefits

The potential tourist dollars festivals attract account for economic benefits of festival production. Consequently, publications from the tourism literature provide the majority of contributions to research on festival economics. Long and Perdue (1990), for example, examine the economic impacts of rural festivals and special events by assessing spatial distributions of expenditures. In Mitchell’s (1993) study of theatre festivals in

small Ontario communities, determined that the highest average expenditures at festivals tend to be in towns with large commercial sectors capable of sustaining a tourist market. Although small town festivals may account for a smaller portion of festival expenditures as compared to larger urban areas, the relative economic (and cultural) impacts may frequently be more pronounced in smaller communities where a considerable proportion of the population participates in producing the festival (Aldskogius 1993; Waterman 1998). The benefits festivals bring to small towns may explain why rural festivals, which became very popular in 1980s, accounted for most of the over 4000 total festivals in the United States in 1984 (Janiskee 1990).

Although the primary objectives of festival production may not include economic benefits, achieving any of the festival's potential benefits usually requires economic success (Getz 1991). The maintenance of financial viability relies heavily on extending marketing efforts past the local area (Frisby and Getz, 1989). In discussing the origins of a "rattlesnake round-up" in the Southern United States, Brown (1997) explores the motives of the local residents. The round-up, interviewees claimed, provided market diversity for special event products in the region and served as a means for the community to respond to an environmental hazard. Even with the appeal of generating a profit, investigations into the original objectives of festivals, such as Brown's study, typically reveals multiple motives among communities and planners. In fact, the economic benefits of festivals might not become evident until well after the planning and establishment period. Following World War II, many government bodies of cities in Europe and the United States began using festivals as a cultural regeneration strategy. Consequently, these bodies discovered the associated benefit of economic regeneration,

such as tourism income, attracting businesses, and employment generation (Waterman 1998).

In the case of the Hamefarin, an ethnic festival in Shetland, Scotland, Church (1990) identifies the organizers' original motives to simultaneously include economic gains and cultural regeneration. This example signifies the interrelated nature of economic and cultural phenomena. The Shetland Development Council recognized that publicizing Shetland culture might serve as a means by which to gain a sense of community while facing the negative effects of chronic unemployment and massive depopulation.

Cultural Benefits

Several authors explore the process by which festivals function as a means to establish and maintain cultural and place identity (Boyle 1997; Church 1990; Dávila 1997; Douglas 1991; Goode 1990; Jackson 1992; Lavenda 1983; Manning 1983; Murillo 1996; Nolan 1992; Smith 1993; Sugget 1996; Urry 1990; Waterman 1998; Zeppel 1992). In contrast to the research on the evaluation of economic benefits, however, very few methods for measuring cultural impacts appear in the literature. Several case studies do analyze social aspects of the festival in a more general sense.

The literature pertaining to perceptions and festival participation motives typically divides people affected by festivals into three main groups: (1) local community members or hosts, (2) tourists, and (3) sponsors (including government and corporate). Similarly, the literature explores different types of social conflicts resulting from differences in the objectives of interest groups involved in or affected by a festival. These conflicts

involve economic versus cultural objectives (Lavenda 1983; Nolan 1992; Waterman 1998; Zeppel 1992), collective social memory (Murillo 1996), group unity and identity (Abrams 1982; Brown 1997; Church 1990; Douglass 1991; Falassi 1987; Goode 1990; Hart 1997; Jackson 1992; Manning 1983; Nolan 1992; Smith 1975; Smith 1993; Sugget 1996; Zeppel 1992), place identity (Urry 1990; Waterman 1998; Zukin 1991), social control and political power (Aldskogius 1993; Waterman 1998) and the role of government and corporate sponsors (Boyle 1997; Church 1990; Dávial 1997; Lewis 1996; Smith 1993; Waterman 1998). Distinguishing between various segments of a population involved in a festival—as well as potentially conflicting motives and goals of each segment—will likely provide important insights in regard to the questions posed in this study.

Educational Benefits

Educational Objectives

An examination of academic literature from the field of education reveals an interest among educators and educational administrators in festivals as a means for structuring learning experiences. Festivals provide ideal settings for learning experiences due to their emotionally uplifting atmosphere (Davies 1991; Heath 1996), their encouragement of hands-on activities (Davies 1991; Zeppel 1992), and the access they provide to new ideas (Poulsen 1996). Festivals also receive recognition as means for encouraging the development of cultural awareness (Nunez 1997; Scheichl 1996), environmental awareness (Weston 1999), and human relationship skills (Lewis 1990).

One study of an environmental resource oriented festival—the Children’s Groundwater Festival—incorporates the assessment of outcome based objectives (Seacrest and Herpel 1997). In this study, Seacrest and Herpel determined that participation in the festival did lead to behavior change with respect to conserving ground water. Such a finding significantly strengthens the justification for continued support by festival sponsors.

Public Sponsorship

Appreciation of the relationship between educational components in a festival and public sponsorship appears to be strong in the United Kingdom (UK) where, in 1991, 57 percent of public subsidies for festivals were allocated to festivals that included educational components. Rolfe reports that the involvement of school groups in festival activities is an increasing trend in the UK.

Benefits for Environmental Management Programs

The benefits festivals provide for achieving environmental education objectives, including the promotion of environmental stewardship, create a bridge that links educational benefits to environmental management objectives. Regarding involvement of children in community and environmental stewardship, Hart (1997, 190), says that festivals:

- serve as necessary occasions for the celebration of a program’s existence.
- enable groups to focus on successes.
- provide a means of representing the beginning of new directions.
- publicize an organization to a community.

However, Hart warns against the assumption that festivals, by themselves, will result in children's involvement in long-term participatory projects.

Only one study is known, by Seacrest and Herpel (1997), that attempts to evaluate a festival's educational benefits. In fact, with the exception of evaluation models for economic impacts of a festival, very little discussion appears in the literature on the development of evaluation methods for social and environmental impacts. One of few such works, by Frisby and Getz (1989) does mention the value of understanding different orientations to festivals in order to determine goals that will facilitate planning and evaluation. These orientations include tourism, organization, community development, and visitor benefits. Additionally, the authors refer to Getz's conceptual framework for examining festival effectiveness. This framework, based on systems theory, emphasizes the cultural, social, political, economic, and community environment in which organizations that produce festivals operate. The absence of models other than Getz's suggests a lack of development of a theoretical perspective. To date, reports on individual case studies, rather than comparative studies, dominate the literature. More comparative studies may encourage the development of theoretical models for comprehensive festival evaluation.

Entertainment/Leisure Benefits

Perhaps a festival's most obvious purpose also receives the least attention in the scholarly literature; having fun and experiencing a sense of well being. Similar benefits that, for the purposes of this review, belong in the category of entertainment and leisure benefits include the nostalgic re-creation of ritual (Brown 1997), spiritual uplift

(Waterman 1998), and the experience of novelty within the structure of predictability (Smith 1975). Festivals allow the public to enjoy art and events that are concentrated in time and space thus providing access to experiences that might otherwise be inaccessible (Waterman 1998).

Additional Considerations of Evaluation

Crompton and McKay (1997) present a method for assessing visitor motives for attending festivals that would contribute to a larger comprehensive evaluation of festival benefits. They identify six domains for inclusion on a festival motivation instrument: cultural exploration, novelty/regression, equilibrium recovery, known-group socialization, external interaction/socialization, and family togetherness. Methods for gathering a greater scope of data than just visitor motivations include audience surveys, attendance counts, organized discussions during festivals, media coverage (Rolfe 1992), interviews in a focus group format, and the use of pretests and post tests (Seacrest and Herpel 1997). In terms of evaluating economic benefits, Long and Perdue (1990) state that survey design should ask visitors specifically what they spent their money on and how much was spent. Childress and Crompton (1997) propose a method for evaluating overall visitor satisfaction that appears to relate largely to the “leisure” category of benefits in this review. They recommend a “perceptions minus expectations” (Childress and Crompton 1997, 43) format in which respondents rank their accepted minimum and desired levels of quality.

Qualitative methods

Seaton (1997) discusses the value of qualitative data collection techniques for festival evaluation. The case study he presents demonstrates the value of these methods primarily for determining financial benefits from a theatre festival. However, the methods of data collection might ideally serve to assess the less tangible social impacts and leisure benefits of any festival. The study examined indicators of festival success relating to audience perceptions and values. Seaton based the research design on the “Mass Observation” (Seaton 1997, 27) technique developed by British anthropologists in the 1930s to map the activities and experiences of ordinary people in everyday situations. Specific methods and data targeted are estimations of audience numbers, records of audience reactions to performances, conversations with audience members, open-ended notes, structured questions, records of spontaneous verbal comments, notes on nonverbal responses (including facial expressions and length of applause), noise levels, numbers of audience members dancing, proportion of people staying until the end of the event, voiced appreciation, complaints, and looks of discontent. In using the results from the qualitative data gathering techniques as a crosscheck with a main quantitative survey, Seaton identified a previously unrecognized segment in the audience profile—friends and relatives of performers. The author also discovered feelings of resentment from one segment of the audience toward another as well as high levels of overall satisfaction among the general audience. The benefit of employing quantitative methods, as Seaton demonstrates, is gaining the ability to capture the complexities of a festival that quantitative methods fail to access.

Categorizing Festivals

In cataloging festival occurrence, various authors use festival themes as a basis for categorization. Such a framework may help in the development of festival evaluations if certain groups of objectives correspond with various festival types. Shemanski (1984) lists 44 festival types in *A Guide to Fairs and Festivals of the United States*. In references such as this, many of the festivals fall under multiple categories (Henderson and Thompson 1997; Wasserman and Applebaum 1984; West 1998). Another organizational system uses growth stages as a basis. These stages include (1) origin, (2) informal organization, (3) emergence of leadership, (4) formal organization, and (5) professionalization (Katz 1981). The more simplistic classification systems, such as the dual classification of rural and urban, provide inadequate structure for conceptualizing the distinctions between various festivals (Waterman 1998). Since festivals combine several different meanings and functions (Sugget 1996), meaningful categorization systems will likely reflect this complexity.

The Difficulty with Categories

Much of the discussion in the literature, as well as this review, distinguishes hosts from tourists, local participants from non-local participants, and performers from spectators. Such distinctions facilitate analysis of multiple motives, objectives, expectations, and perceptions. However, categories such as those listed above do not represent all segments of a population involved in a festival. For example, tracking the flow of money spent at a festival may reveal a portion of vendors involved with festival production who are not members of the local community (Long and Perdue 1990).

Unidentified segments of the population involved in hosting or attending a festival might require special consideration in the evaluation and planning process (Seaton 1997).

These segments could potentially fall under two or more categories. The evaluation design and results might be affected by the category into which the evaluator assigns the group. In recognizing that festivals traditionally create a setting that breaks down barriers between performers and audience (Waterman 1998), distinctions made by researchers become even more troublesome.

CHAPTER 3

PURPOSE AND METHODS

The purpose of this research is to discover the role of river festivals in the development of people's concern and involvement with rivers. This study examines three river festivals using a case study approach.

Study Sites and Event Descriptions

Riverfest on the Lower Colorado River, Texas

One case study focuses on the events and event locations leading up to and including "Riverfest on the Colorado," a river festival that, until recently, was held annually in conjunction with other community festivals throughout the Lower Colorado River Basin. Riverfest originated in 1992 and 1993 from a combination of community river clean-up efforts and Chautauquas--a revival of the turn of the century community gatherings for the purpose of entertainment, education, and spiritual uplift. Like the Chautauquas of the late 1800's and early 1900's in North America, the Chautauquas in towns along the Colorado River were held outdoors, during the summer months, and in rural locations. Dealing with issues more relevant to a late twentieth century audience, however, the Chautauquas along the Colorado in 1992 and 1993 involved an

environmental stewardship theme--particularly emphasizing the importance of appreciating and protecting the Colorado River.

The river clean-ups and Chautauquas, organized and conducted through grassroots efforts by the non-profit organization Adopt-the-Colorado-River-Foundation, evolved by 1994 into Riverfest on the Colorado, organized and sponsored by the Lower Colorado River Authority (LCRA), an environmental management and power utility corporation. The primary goal of Riverfest--as with the previous clean-ups and Chautauquas--was to increase the public's awareness of and involvement with the Colorado River (Cullick 1999a). The original Riverfest concept, which the LCRA implemented the first year (1994) with very limited success, involved participants traveling by canoe downstream over a period of several days and participating in festival events with local community members, musicians, performers, and speakers. This format, also inspired by the traveling Chautauquas of early twentieth century America, failed to attract many participants (Cullick 1999a).

After the first year, the LCRA gradually shifted the project's focus and the organization became less involved in organizing river-oriented events. Riverfest became more of a sponsorship and promotional program for already existing community festivals; festivals that in many cases had no direct orientation toward the river. The transition of Riverfest's function from one of establishing, encouraging and supporting festivals with a river orientation to one of promoting community festivals parallels another transition: a change in the festival's primary objective. Although the initial objective of "bringing people to the river" (Cullick 1999a) existed to some degree until the final year of the program in 1999, the program, in its later years, aligned more with the LCRA's efforts to

promote community development. Another important transition in Riverfest from the time of its conception to the final year involves the change in the LCRA's role in festivals on or near the Colorado River. Initially, and in addition to providing sponsorship, the agency's role included the organizing, hosting, and managing of festival events; responsibilities shared with members of the local community. With the gradual decline of this latter role, the LCRA eventually served only as a sponsoring agency in respect to many of the springtime community festivals along or near the Colorado River. (Cullick 1999a). Exploring the conditions and events that led up to the LCRA's decision to discontinue Riverfest after 1999 will likely contribute to any conclusions about the central research questions.

Although the LCRA no longer actively participates in the organizational process of festival events on the Colorado River, many of the community festivals the LCRA became involved with along the river are still in existence. Despite the cancellation of most of the river-oriented activities in recent years, several of the festivals continue to take place at sites adjacent to the river. This research will examine some of the festivals at these sites in the months of March, April, and May from 1992 to 1999. The specific sites and corresponding events for field study in 1999 are as follows:

- The Smithville Jamboree, Smithville, Texas, April 7-11 at Riverbend Park, located on the bank of the Colorado River on highway 71.
- Columbus Springtime Festival, Columbus, Texas, May 14-16 at various locations in town as well as at Beason's Park on the Colorado River.
- Bay City Riverfest Pilot Club Duck Race, Bay City, Texas, April 24 at Riverside Park on the Colorado River.

The Haw River Festival, Alamance and Chatham Counties of North Carolina

In his book, *An Invitation to Environmental Philosophy*, Weston (1999) describes the Haw River Festival as an event “. . . in which musicians, ecologists, and storytellers paddle down the Haw River, stopping at every town to teach the ecology and history of the river to children . . . and to promote general environmental awareness” (173). The 1999 festival, marking the tenth year of the celebration, took place in the last two weeks of April and the first week of May (Haw River Assembly 1999). Field research for this project occurred from May 1 to May 7. Events scheduled as part of the festival occurred in three towns on the Haw River, all of which are in North Carolina: Brown Summit, Saxapahaw, and Bynum. Field research to collect data for this study was conducted between April 30th and May 7th of 1999 at the Bynum site--about 50 miles southeast of Greensboro--in Chatham County, North Carolina.

Available promotional information on river festivals—mainly from web sites on the Internet—suggest that river festivals occur for several different purposes (see for example Ryan-Shanklin, Ltd. 1999). In addition to increasing awareness and involvement with rivers, festival organizers promote river festivals as a means for recreation, competitive water sports, as a theme for music and drama performances, and urban boosterism. The focus of the Haw River festival, as described by Weston (1999), Ryan-Shanklin, Ltd. (1999), and the Haw River Assembly (1999) suggests a very similar purpose and format with the initial Riverfest festival. According to the Haw River Assembly, the festival features activities that “. . . demonstrate environmental concepts, stream monitoring, cultural history, river walks, wildlife, music and storytelling” (Haw River Assembly 1999, 5). Due to the festival’s similarities with Riverfest, an

examination of these festivals will likely provide an informative comparison of the two case studies.

The Rollin' Down the River Festival, Kansas (or Kaw) River Valley, Kansas

Held for the first time in the autumn of 1997, this festival involves events occurring on consecutive dates and at consecutive locations in communities along the Kansas River, also known as the Kaw River, from Junction City to Kansas City. During the festival's first year, 289 programs over a 31-day period—from mid September to mid October—took place in 23 different communities along the river. The festival organizers and sponsors included members of the Kaw Valley Heritage Alliance as well as several local, state, and federal agencies (DeBres 1998). Since the festival is not an annual festival and did not occur in 1999—thus prohibiting observation and participation through field research—data gathering did not involve participant observations. This form of data collection, according to Creswell (1998), “. . . involves prolonged observation of (a) group . . . in which the researcher is immersed in the day-to-day lives of the people or through one-on-one interviews with members of the group” (58). Since this form of data collection was not possible for the Rollin' Down the River Festival, data sources included interviews with festival organizers and sponsors, promotional material, media reports, video tapes, and an academic paper exploring the festival's effects.

Rationale for Study Site and Event Selections

Although much larger in terms of the number of events and communities involved in the festival, the Rollin' Down the River Festival closely resembles Riverfest and the

Haw River Festival. Organizers for all three festivals plan events that include educational activities, musicians, storytellers, artists, performances, and lectures (Cullick 1999a; Weston 1999; Haw River Assembly 1999; Debres 1997). The festivals on the Haw and the Kansas rivers, and the initial festival on the Colorado River, all involve travel by canoe of participants down a river corridor over a several day period. In each festival the boaters stop at communities along the way where they engage in activities with members of the local community as well as non-local visitors. Organizing bodies of the Kansas, the Haw, and the Colorado River Festivals each encourage involvement of residents not only from communities in close proximity to the river channel, but from groups and individuals in the entire river basin (Cullick 1999a; Haw River Assembly 1999; Debres 1997). Similarly, during each festival, the basin serves as the spatial dimension from which to explore and celebrate heritage, culture, and natural resources. Interestingly, the festival organizers in each case were unaware of the other festivals in this study (Haw River Assembly 1999; Cullick 1999a; Parks 1998).

Incorporating a case study of the Rollin' Down the River Festival into this research, together with the previously discussed case studies, permits an interesting comparison of the festivals. The festivals possess a great deal of similarity in terms of their format, focus and goals. The degree of similarity is surprising given that the organizing bodies of each festival conceived of the events independently from one another. Yet despite these similarities, significant differences appear to exist between the festivals in terms of levels of participation, longevity, and frequency. An exploration of why these differences exist will contribute to the process of answering the central questions of this research.

Time Periods for Analysis

The time periods for analysis of each festival include the approximate date at which initial planning occurred for the first year of the festival to the spring of 1999. In the case of Riverfest on the Lower Colorado, the period for analysis begins in 1992. The period for the Haw River Festival in North Carolina begins in 1989. For the Rollin' Down the River Festival on the Kaw River in Kansas, the period of analysis begins in 1996.

Qualitative Analysis

Rationale for a Qualitative Approach

This research uses the concept of grounded theory to build an explanation of how river festivals attempt to increase people's concern and involvement with rivers. A qualitative approach will serve as the primary strategy for data collection and analysis.

According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), a qualitative approach is ideal for research that

- focuses on human experience, attempting to uncover the nature of people's experience,
- investigates phenomena that are not well understood, and
- captures intricate details of phenomena that are difficult to convey with quantitative methods.

Additional study characteristics, as described by Maxwell (1996), include research that

- reconsiders or modifies the research design in response to unanticipated developments,
- focuses on meaning and context of a phenomena,
- is exploratory,
- examines the process, rather than outcomes, by which events and actions take place,
- develops causal relationships.

These criteria support the use of qualitative methods for this research.

In light of the traditional view that qualitative research cannot identify causal relationships, Maxwell (1996) supports the assertion by pointing out that qualitative methods raise different kinds of questions than quantitative research. He states, “quantitative researchers tend to be interested in whether and to what extent variance in x causes variance in y . Qualitative researchers, on the other hand, tend to ask *how* x plays a role in causing y , what the process is that connects x and y ” (p. 20). Similarly, this research asks *how* river festivals attempt to affect people’s concern and involvement with rivers.

The second research question, *what evidence indicates whether or not such attempts do affect people’s concern and involvement with rivers*, is two-fold. On one hand, the question attempts to *identify* kinds of evidence that can indicate whether or not such attempts do affect people’s concern and involvement with rivers. Addressing this question may also result in *determining* whether or not people’s concern and involvement changes as a consequence of river festivals. Addressing this question’s second interpretation would require a longitudinal study using questionnaire surveys of a large number of festival participants to quantitatively measure the acquisition of skills, knowledge, or values associated with river experiences. However, due to monetary and time constraints, such an analysis was not conducted. Therefore, discussion of the second research question will involve only the identification of types of evidence that can indicate--in future studies--whether or not river festivals affect people’s concern and involvement with rivers.

Limitations and Obstacles in Qualitative Research

One potential problem in relying primarily on qualitative methods is the risk of drawing unwarranted conclusions due to reliance on inferences (Maxwell 1996). A strategy this research uses to reduce but not eliminate inferences is formulating research questions that reflect the limitations of self-reported data (Maxwell 1996). For example, by asking how river festivals *attempt* to affect people's concern and involvement with rivers rather than asking how they in fact affect concern and involvement, the difficulty in measuring concern and involvement is acknowledged. Inferences to the actual situation--the affect of river festivals on people's concern and involvement--are more indirect (and therefore more problematic) than inferences to respondents' *perspectives* of how river festivals affect concern and involvement (Maxwell 1996).

Maxwell also discusses threats to validity and strategies for reducing this threat. To avoid inaccuracy in descriptions of observations, he suggests audio and video recordings of observations and interviews. To help ensure accuracy, interviews were tape recorded except when respondents indicated discomfort with the presence of recording equipment. If a tape recorder was not used, detailed notes were taken during and immediately after the interview. To avoid interpreting data based on my perspective rather than the perspective of respondents, I listed, whenever possible, known assumptions about the phenomena prior to interviews and observations. Also, I avoided asking leading, closed, or short answer questions that might prevent respondents from giving their own perspectives. Soliciting feedback from the people being observed about the data and conclusions was intended to reduce inaccurate descriptions as well as most other threats to validity.

I also used other standard techniques of qualitative research, as described by Maxwell (1996) to help ensure validity including:

- the *modus operandi* method (ruling out other plausible explanations of events).
- searching for discrepant evidence and negative cases.
- triangulation (using other sources for verification).
- feedback from others.
- ensuring descriptions or reports of events and interviews are detailed.
- simple numerical analysis.
- comparisons of events at various sites.
- comparison of events over time at a single site.

Sources and Techniques for Data Collection and Analysis

Sources

I conducted a total of 35 interviews for this study--both in person and through phone conversations. I also collected data from the people being studied through engaging in casual conversation, observing behaviors and events, attending meetings, eavesdropping, and corresponding via electronic mail. Other primary sources of data include meeting notes, newsletters, newspaper articles, videotapes, web pages, brochures, and reports associated with the festivals under study. Secondary sources of information are published and unpublished academic research articles and papers. As the literature review suggests, this research draws upon festival related literature in the fields of social science, tourism studies, special event management, environmental resource management, museum studies, geography, and history (such as studies of the Chautauqua movement).

Techniques

Through a content analysis of field notes, printed material, and transcriptions of recordings, letter codes were assigned to each datum. These codes indicated to what category (or categories) of information each datum is assigned. After this process, I created an index to provide a reference to each coded datum listed by category. This index facilitated the process of incorporating all available data relating to each subject category into an analysis of the data.

Maxwell (1996) reviews forms of categorizing that contributed to this research. These include rearranging data into smaller and larger categories to facilitate comparison within and between categories and themes. Comparisons of data categories enabled the development of concepts about river festivals. During the collection, coding, categorizing and comparing of data, new categories of information emerged, as expected, based on the development of new concepts. These new categories were therefore grounded in the information they served to encode. In addition to codes, memos and diagrams recording and relating thoughts about analysis were kept also to aid in linking new concepts and categories to the data from which they arose (see Maxwell 1996 and Strauss and Corbin 1990).

A Rationale for the Use of Case Studies

Case study analysis together with concepts of grounded theory serve as the main approach for this research. Creswell (1998) identifies several characteristics of the case study approach that support the appropriateness of its use in this study. He describes the case study approach as one that

- is ideal for developing in-depth analysis of a single case or multiple cases,
- focuses on phenomena bounded in time and place--as are the river festivals under investigation,
- facilitates incorporating multiple sources of data into the research.

Unit of Study

Of primary concern in this research are the experiences of festival organizers including managers, volunteers, paid staff members of festival organizations, and sponsors. Therefore, the unit of study is a person involved in the production of any of the three festivals in this study.

Significance of Study

This study seeks to examine a very particular style of river festival. This style is summarized as

- attempting to increase concern and involvement with rivers,
- consisting of travel by participants down a river corridor,
- events sequenced in consecutive days and at consecutive locations,
- an intentional educational component,
- celebrating heritage and culture associated with the river,
- encouraging the involvement of all residents of a river basin in the festival,
- rural.

Exploring how the river festivals investigated in this research influence people's relationship with rivers will inform future research on river festivals of all formats. For example, future research might raise the question "how might river management agencies use festivals to facilitate management goals?"

This research will likely provide direct and immediate benefits to the festival organizers and sponsors studied in this research. Since the research questions relate to the goals of increasing awareness and concern for the river, this study serves as a long-term evaluation for Riverfest on the Lower Colorado River and the Haw River Festival. Furthermore, the research findings will provide equally valuable information to the many organizers and sponsors of the Rollin' Down the River Festival on the Kaw River. For all organizers of river festivals, this research may help justify decisions relating to planning and spending. Managers may also find insights to effective evaluation of river festivals. In light of competition from a growing number of festivals (Childress and Crompton 1997) as well as the media (Waterman 1998) for providing leisure and entertainment experiences, understanding a festival's success and problems may insure its survival.

Answers to the research questions posed here will also contribute to the understanding of how a natural resource such as a river, with great cultural, historical, and environmental significance, ties in with the identity of a community and a place. Therefore, this research will benefit efforts in environmental education, public outreach, comprehensive river basin management, and tourism planning and management.

CHAPTER 4

CASE STUDIES

A detailed comparison of the three festival case studies provides the scenarios from which the data originated as well as a necessary context for data analysis and subsequent conclusions.

Festival Histories

Longevity

The longevity or number of annual festivals held for each festival case study varies considerably. In 1997, the Rollin' Down the River Festival's first year, members of the Kaw Valley Heritage Alliance (KVHA) planned to stage the festival once every three years. However, in the year 2000 the Alliance did not receive an anticipated grant from the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) for the festival. Due primarily to the loss of one of the festival's main funding sources, the festival occurred only once (Wolf 2000). Similarly, in the fourth year of Riverfest on the Colorado, 1997, the LCRA chose to reduce the financial and in-house support allocated for the project with the intention of phasing-out all support by 1998 (Cullick 1999a). Conversely, the twelve-year-old Haw

River Festival, with the continued support from the Haw River Assembly, shows no signs of ending.

Initial Visions

Despite the similarity of the festivals' formats, foci and goals, three very different models served as the initial visions for each festival.

Riverfest on the Colorado

Riverfest originated from the efforts of Joe Kendall, the founder of the Adopt-the-Colorado River Foundation--an organization of volunteers who met periodically to remove litter and debris from the river. With support from the LCRA, in 1993, Mr. Kendall organized a "floating Chautauqua" that drew audiences to riverside sites near towns along the Colorado. Inspired by the Chautauqua movement in the United States that occurred in the early decades of the 1900s, Mr. Kendall sought to provide communities along the river an entertaining yet educational venue to teach people about the river's heritage and to promote river stewardship. The Chautauquas occurred in conjunction with a three day canoe race hosted by the LCRA in an effort to promote the "Colorado River Trail" program--a campaign by the LCRA to increase the public's awareness of recently established riverside parks as well as cultural attractions within and near towns in the Colorado River Basin (Kendall 2000a).

By 1994, the LCRA launched the Riverfest on the Colorado program to encourage further involvement and interest in the Colorado River in communities throughout the river's drainage basin. Instead of just canoe races and Chautauquas, Riverfest on the

Colorado became the LCRA's attempt to promote awareness of the river as a valuable resource through incorporating many river related activities as part of pre-existing community festivals (Cullick 1999a).

Haw River Festival

Louise Omoto Kessel, the founder of the Haw River Festival, modeled the event after perhaps the best known river festival in North America--the Hudson Clearwater Revival--an event initially started by the musician Pete Seeger and his family on the Hudson River in New York State. In fact, the Haw River Festival is one of several events modeled after the Clearwater Revival. Among other duties, Ms. Kessel served over ten years as a storyteller at the Clearwater Revival beginning in 1978. Having underwent a “. . . transformative experience . . .” as the result of her work with this event as well as with the Mississippi River Revival, another offshoot from the Clearwater Revival, Ms. Kessel decided to bring the idea home to North Carolina (Kessel 1999). In May of 1990, with funding support from the Haw River Assembly, Ms. Kessel arranged for “. . . a group of environmental educators, performers, and volunteers to walk and paddle the length of the Haw River . . . stopping in each river town to put on a river front festival with music, theatre, storytelling, aquariums, microscopes, recycling, . . . stream watch activities, and in general: celebration and learning” (Kessel 1999).

Rollin' Down the River Festival

The idea for the Rollin' Down the River Festival originated from an event titled “Forty Days on the Santa Fe Trail” hosted by the Kansas Historical Society. In this event,

the Historical Society invited the public to attend educational programs and observe displays at the locations of old mail posts along the Santa Fe Trail (Wolf 1998b). Just as the traveling Chautauqua tradition provided the inspiration for what eventually led to Riverfest on the Colorado, members of the Historical Society envisioned an event similar to Forty Days on the Santa Fe Trail to highlight another historically significant corridor: the Kansas River, known to most in times past as “the Kaw.” In 1996 members of the recently formed Kaw Valley Heritage Alliance, which included several members of the Kansas Historical Society, set to work on planning the Rollin’ Down the River Festival for the Fall of the following year.

Table 1. Comparison of Festival Histories

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Number of annual festivals held as of May, 2001	5	12	1
Year(s) festival held	1994 to 1998	From 1990 to present	1997
Events providing initial vision or model of festival	Chautauqua tradition, river clean-ups, possibly music festival	Clearwater River Festival--community festival to celebrate and teach about the protection of the Hudson River.	Kansas Historical Society events: Forty Days on the Santa Fe Trail

The Volunteers

The three festivals in this study depended largely on the efforts of volunteers--as do nearly all festivals and events (Getz 1997). As might be expected, comparing volunteer staff characteristics between the three festivals shows considerable variation.

Even among the crew of a single festival, diversity is apparent in terms of background experiences, motives for volunteering and level of contribution to the event. However, observations and interviews of crew members did result in the identification of general trends in volunteer characteristics when comparing the three festivals.

Crew Sizes

The volunteer crew sizes varied from year to year as well as from different festival sites within a single year, since multiple sites existed for each festival. Volunteer staff for Riverfest on the Colorado included individuals associated with the LCRA who were involved with the larger Riverfest project as well as volunteers within each of the community festivals under the Riverfest umbrella. From the time of the early Chautauquas and river clean-ups--from which Riverfest originated--until 1997, LCRA employees assisted with the event productions either as volunteers or for monetary compensation. The total number of volunteers for the Chautauquas, canoe races and river clean-ups in 1992 numbered over 300 (Kendall 2000a).

By 1998, the LCRA began phasing-out the Riverfest program and the number of volunteers and paid staff for the larger Riverfest on the Colorado project declined. In 1999 volunteers consisted almost entirely of individuals from the communities at which the events took place and few, if any, worked for the LCRA (Fletcher 1998). The total number of volunteers for all of the Riverfest events during any given year is unknown. However, volunteers in 1999 for the Riverfest-associated events this study examines numbered approximately eighty for the Smithville Jamboree (Bell 1999), fifteen for the

Columbus Springtime Festival (Rau 1999), and eight for the Bay City Riverfest Pilot Club Duck Race.

During its twelve-year history, thousands of volunteers served as crew members for the Haw River Festival (Chiosso 1999a). Newspaper articles reporting on past festivals report crew sizes of 300 and 400 (Greensboro News and Record 1995, 16 April; The Weaver Street Market 1991). A considerably smaller number staffed the 1999 production. Approximately 135 volunteers served as crew members at one of three sites during the three weeks of the festival. During the week in which observations for research occurred, a total of 45 volunteers participated with at least 30 on site at any given time.

The *Rollin' Down the River Festival 1997; Festival Guide* (KVHA 1997) lists 76 names of volunteer staff members. Although several members of the Kaw Valley Heritage Alliance assisted with the entire month long festival, most volunteers assisted with single events and became involved with the festival through affiliations with one of several organizations.

Volunteers' Affiliations

Volunteers frequently held memberships or, as in the case with Riverfest on the Colorado, employment with the organizations providing the festival's primary financial and organizational support. Several employees from the LCRA provided assistance for Riverfest-related events both as part of their salaried positions and while off work. Many volunteers became involved in assisting with Riverfest activities as the result of their

affiliations with local community groups such as chambers of commerce, Boy Scouts, or the Lions Club.

The membership of the Haw River Assembly, the nonprofit organization that provides the primary support for the Haw River Festival, served as a valuable source of volunteers. Of the 45 volunteers observed during one week of the festival in 1999, at least eight held memberships with the organization. Of the remaining volunteers, many initially became aware of the opportunity to volunteer through a friend or family member affiliated with the Haw River Assembly. As in the case of the volunteer networks for Riverfest, many crew members of the Haw River Festival learned about volunteer opportunities through their affiliation with community groups. Whereas volunteers for Riverfest frequently became involved with festival work through affiliations with more traditional community service organizations, such as the Boy Scouts or the Lions Club, volunteers for the Haw River Festival, in several cases, became involved through affiliations with networks of social/environmental advocates, artists, musicians, performers, and home-school groups.

As might be expected, members of the KVHA provided much of the volunteer support for the Rollin' Down the River Festival. Additionally, however, members of the KVHA solicited a great diversity of community organizations in seeking volunteers. These include government agencies, faculty and staff of academic departments, agricultural organizations, recreational groups, and social/environmental advocacy organizations.

Volunteer Involvement in Planning

In the case of each of the three festivals, individuals involved in planning festival activities also served as volunteers. However, many of the volunteers did not participate in planning. A comparison of the levels of volunteer involvement in the planning process between the three festivals shows considerable variation. In the case of Riverfest on the Colorado, a small team of LCRA employees stationed in Austin, Texas worked with local festival coordinators to plan and incorporate river related activities with local festivals. With the exception of a few coordinators, volunteers at these festivals had little or no role in planning these events.

The Haw River Festival, in contrast, involves planning by many volunteers. With Louise Kessel's original vision as a general guide to what the festival entails, volunteers provide new ideas each year. In fact, during a festival staff meeting, crew members received encouragement from the director of the Haw River Assembly to try out new ideas. As one crew member stated, "every year it's something different, something new" (Froeber 1999).

Plans for the Rollin' Down the River Festival took form with a moderate amount of input from volunteers. Members of the KVHA planned the festival with a general idea of what each event or exhibit would entail. However, local volunteers took responsibility for determining many of the details--such as subject matter of speeches or exhibits. KVHA staff empowered local volunteers (volunteers for specific events and residing in close proximity to those event locations) to adapt activities to fit local tastes. One event, for example, involved elders living in a community adjacent to the Kansas River gathering to share memories of life in that community. Local residents attending or

participating in this public event took responsibility for facilitating the discussion and determining the subjects of discussion.

Another example of volunteers participating in festival planning involves a canoe float open to the public. Members of a canoeing club requested that the KVHA include this event as part of the festival. Although members of the KVHA concluded that the KVHA could not grant official sponsorship to the canoeing club due to liability issues, the KVHA did include the event in the festival program.

Volunteer Time Contributions

For each of the three case study festivals, few if any volunteers assisted at every event site. Only a few individuals intimately involved in the planning process and affiliated with each of the three supporting organizations made daily time contributions throughout their festival's duration. In the case of Riverfest on the Colorado and the Rollin' Down the River Festival, most volunteers participated only during a single day and at a single location. However, volunteers for the Haw River Festival typically served as a crew member for a week at a single location. Consequently, most volunteers served on one of three crews. Since a unique set of individuals crewed each week of the festival, the individuals who participated for the duration of the festival (three weeks) referred to these crews by the festival's location during each of the three weeks: the Saxapahaw crew, the Bynum crew, and the Pittsboro crew.

Another distinguishing characteristic between volunteers for the festivals studied also involves time contributions; the continued participation of volunteers over several years. Predictably, the festivals occurring over several years on an annual basis maintain

a high proportion of returning crew members. Of those interviewed, crew members for the Haw River Festival averaged five years as volunteers. Karen Bell, who coordinated the 47th annual Smithville Jamboree in 1999, states the festival draws about 80 volunteers--many of whom offer their assistance year after year.

In contrast, two other Riverfest-related festivals examined here-- the Columbus Springtime Festival and the Bay City Pilot Club's Duck Race--began only recently. 1999 marked the beginning of the Columbus Springtime Festival and the second year for the Bay City Pilot's Club Duck Race. Similarly, the Rollin' Down the River Festival occurred only once and, like many of the Riverfest events, could not serve as a reunion for volunteers.

Volunteer Responsibilities

In addition to the above characteristics, the relative number of responsibilities per volunteer also distinguishes the festivals studied. Crew members for the Haw River Festival usually participated in a great variety of activities necessary for the festival production. These duties included greeting and orienting school groups, leading guiding interpretive hikes, learning about the natural and cultural heritage associated with the river and river basin, planning and presenting educational activities, supervising fellow crew members' children, cooking, washing dishes, emptying and burying the contents of the toilets, attending meetings, and setting-up and breaking-down camp.

Only a few volunteers working for the other case study festivals took on a variety of activities in planning and production. These individuals volunteered time in connection with their work as a member or employee of the festivals' supporting

organizations. In the case of the LCRA, between two and six employees, depending on the year, volunteered hours outside their paid time for festival related work (Heffington, 1998). These people worked with local residents of festival locations in planning and coordinating many of the logistical details for several events associated with Riverfest on the Colorado. Their volunteer hours, however, were spent in on-site work at the festivals. Their duties included transporting equipment and materials provided by the LCRA, staffing information booths and assisting festival attendees in various activities.

With the exception of the LCRA staff, volunteers for the three Riverfest-related festivals examined as part of this study had only one or a few duties. Even volunteers who contributed a much larger quantity of time than other crew members typically did so in work on one task. For example, volunteers selling tickets at the Smithville Jamboree's entrance booth stayed at that one job throughout the first evening of the festival. In exchange for their service, they attended the festival for no charge and free from duties during the following evenings (Saunders, Karcher, and Danner 1999).

Like many similarities in the volunteer experience between Riverfest on the Colorado and the Rollin' Down the River Festival, few responsibilities per volunteer characterized the Kansas festival. Only a small team of KVHA members donated time in planning and coordinating for *all* events associated with the festival (Wolf 2000).

Volunteer Interactions

The volunteer experience for crew members of the Haw River Festival contrasted with the experience for those volunteering at the other festivals in terms of the quantity and quality of interactions among volunteers. Events associated with Riverfest on the

Colorado and the Rollin' Down the River Festival allowed volunteers to interact face-to-face, usually during a single day. At the end of a day, volunteers returned home and their service for the festival, in most cases, was complete. Since events typically lasted a single day, sometimes two, and occurred at many distant locations, it is reasonable to assume volunteers at these two festivals had comparatively little opportunity to further their relationships with fellow crew members.

In contrast, the Haw River Festival occurred at only three locations with crew members on site all day and night for a week at a time. Crew members camped in tents at each festival site and shared several responsibilities such as preparing food, setting-up camp, breaking-down camp at the end of the week, and caring for children. During the week of participant observations, the crew gathered several times each day for meals, staff meetings, songs and games. Individuals received encouragement to share thoughts and feelings about their experiences as a crew member each day during a group check-in time. The group engaged in rituals such as forming a circle to sing inspirational melodies before meals or passing a stick during meetings to designate a person's turn to speak. Informal and often impromptu recreational staff activities included a talent show, folk dances, playing musical instruments, and swimming in the river. With a cluster of several tents in a clearing, a kitchen tent, a dining area and constant human activity, the encampment resembled a small village. Sharing experiences with the same forty or so people over the course of a week contributed to the village atmosphere as well as a strong sense of communion among crew members. Several crew members described the experience as an annual reunion of special friends. In this way, volunteers developed close ties with one another.

The Smithville Jamboree also functions as an annual reunion for volunteers and non-volunteering participants. Unlike the Haw River Festival, however, staff members do not camp, they do not share all duties, and they do not spend several hours a day together over the course of a week. For the Jamboree, the vast majority of volunteers reside (or formerly resided) in Smithville. Therefore, the Jamboree serves as one of several venues and events throughout the year in which community members interact and develop relationships. For these reasons and others, the volunteer experience at the Smithville Jamboree differs from what one would experience volunteering at the Haw River Festival--especially in terms of the development and maintenance of intimate relationships among volunteers.

Table 2. Comparison of Volunteer Staff Characteristics

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Number of volunteers	8 to 300 (depending on year and event)	45 to 400 (45 present during one of three weeks)	76
Volunteers' memberships or affiliations in organizations	Employees of a company or agency (river authority, chamber of commerce) members of social organizations (Boy Scouts, Lions Club)	Members of environmental advocacy group Haw River Assembly, home schooling group, environmental/ social activists	Members of government agencies, academicians, environmental advocacy groups, agriculturists
Level of volunteer involvement in planning events and programs	Low on river related activities--conceived and planned largely by LCRA employees.	High--activities and programs frequently introduced or changed by volunteers	Moderate--many activities planned by KVHA members but adapted to fit local tastes

Table 2--*Continued.*

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Relative time contributions among volunteers	Little: most volunteers involved in one day long event at one location	Large: all day for one to three weeks, averaging 5 years on festival crew	Little: most volunteers involved in one day long event at one location
Relative level of interaction among volunteers	Low: Most volunteers attend activities for a day and return home. Volunteers involvement in festival is connected with job or social club, or special interest group. Volunteers typically know a small number of other volunteers (less than 10).	High: volunteers camp, eat, work, play and meet together daily for one to three weeks. The volunteer encampment resembles a small village with group activities, gatherings and rituals. Volunteers frequently develop close ties with many other volunteers (20 to 30).	Low: : Most volunteers attend activities for a day and return home. Volunteers involvement in festival is connected with job or social club, or special interest group. Volunteers typically know a small number of other volunteers (less than 10).
Relative number of responsibilities per volunteer	Few	Many	Few
Crew member responsibilities	Assisting in the planning and coordination of events and activities, staffing educational activity or information booths/areas, leading educational or recreational activities, set-up and takedown. Volunteers typically had only one or a few of these responsibilities.	Leading group educational activities with school children, performing, childcare (of crew members children), manning educational, activity or information booths/areas, attending meetings for planning and coordination of activities and events, cooking, cleaning after meals, emptying toilets	Duties include assisting in the planning and coordination of events and activities, staffing educational, activity or information booths/areas, set-up and takedown, giving speeches, leading panel discussions and leading educational or recreational activities.

Table 2--*Continued.*

Crew member responsibilities-- <i>Continued.</i>		(burying excrement), camp set-up and take-down, transporting materials between event sites, and frequent communication with coordinator and other crew members about overall operation and special concerns. Volunteers typically had most or all of these responsibilities.	Volunteers typically had only one or a few of these responsibilities.
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Motives for Volunteering

Developing and maintaining intimate relationships with other volunteers served as one of the major motivations for crew members of the Haw River Festival. Of the many motives to volunteer described by those interviewed in all three case studies, this particular motive distinguishes the volunteer experience at the Haw River Festival from the volunteer experience at the other festivals. Other motives described by volunteers appear to occur with roughly the same frequency among the three festivals.

Experiencing Communion

When discussing the importance of developing and maintaining intimate relationships with other crew members, volunteers for the Haw River Festival frequently made references to experiencing “community” to describe these relationships. In this

context, “community” means feelings of connectedness and emotional bonds and is synonymous with “communion” (Schmalenbach 1961; Bell and Newby 1978). In order to distinguish this meaning from others, such as “a group of people whose members reside in a specific locality,” those interviewed were asked to explain what they meant by “community” when they used this term.

Although the motive of experiencing communion *with fellow crew members* distinguishes the volunteers at the Haw River Festival from volunteers at the other festivals, the desire to promote communion at other levels occurred in all three case studies. Informants described their desires to promote a sense of community among festival attendees, people living in the vicinity of the festival sites, and--at the regional level--people living within the river basin. This last motive--to promote communion at the regional or basin level--was reported mainly by volunteers in each case study who participated in the planning process. As will be discussed in detail later, promoting the experience of communion represents a key strategy with which festival organizers attempt to get people concerned and involved with rivers.

Other Motives

Informants typically discussed a combination of motives for volunteering. In addition to those associated with experiencing communion, motives included opportunities to reunite with family and friends, promoting place identity at festival sites and within the river basin, personal growth and enrichment, leisure activity, gaining educational experiences, facilitating educational experiences for others, natural and cultural resource protection, and enriching or facilitating vocational activities. Table 3

provides a list of volunteer motives grouped by category. Table 4 lists motives for volunteering by festival.

Table 3. Motives for Volunteering by Category

Experiences of communion
To be part of a community
To establish community
To build a sense of community through a challenge
To maintain community
To feel a sense of community with residents of the watershed
To promote a sense of community and sense of place in the river basin
To give something back to the community in which I live
To experience rural community
To meet and work with like minded people
To develop a network of relationships
To enjoy the people
To spend time with family and friends
To visit old friends
To reunite with friends
Personal growth and enrichment
To enjoy the challenge
To experience a challenge for personal growth and enrichment
To learn more about the festival
Leisure and entertainment
To have fun
To be entertained
To get away
To relax
To enjoy the challenge of putting on a festival
To have a novel experience

Table 3--*Continued.*

Educational	
	To educate others about natural and cultural resource protection
	To assist in raising awareness of the cultural and natural heritage associated with the river.
	To protect and restore the river through education
	To raise awareness of the problem of pollution in river
	To educate school children
	To educate my own children
	To increase public awareness of issues involving the river
	To help communicate the importance and value of the river as a precious resource
	To spread the word that the river is once again fishable and swimmable
Vocational	
	To make job easier
	To further share in the festival experience outside regular working hours
	To further my service with the Kansas Historical Society
Political and Social	
	To help protect environmental resources
	To help preserve and protect the river
	To work with an environmental advocacy group
	To make a large impact with a small operation
	To bring consensus to the process of long-term preservation of cultural and natural resources

Table 4. Motives for Volunteering , by Festival

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Motives for volunteering	To spend time with family and friends	To enjoy the challenge	To further my service with the Kansas Historical Society
	To get away	To experience being part of a community	
	To visit old fiends	To establish and maintain community	To "bring consensus (to) the process of long-term preservation of (cultural and natural) resources" (Wolf 1997)
	To give something back to the community in which I live	The challenge builds sense of community	

Table 4--*Continued*

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Motives for volunteering-- <i>Continued</i>	<p>To help communicate the importance and value of the river as a precious resource</p> <p>To spread the word that the river is once again fishable and swimmable</p> <p>To have fun</p> <p>To improve conditions in the river by raising awareness of pollution in river</p> <p>To make my job (with the LCRA) involving removing debris at a pumping station easier through raising awareness of the problem of pollution in river</p> <p>To further share in the festival experience outside regular working hours</p>	<p>To enjoy the people</p> <p>To reunite with friends</p> <p>To feel a sense of community with residents of the watershed</p> <p>To experience rural community</p> <p>The challenge promotes personal growth and enrichment</p> <p>To have a novel experience</p> <p>To learn more about the festival</p> <p>For fun and entertainment</p> <p>To meet and work with like minded people</p> <p>To develop a network of relationships</p> <p>To help protect environmental resources</p> <p>To work with an environmental advocacy group</p>	<p>To assist in raising awareness of the cultural and natural heritage associated with the river</p> <p>To help preserve and protect the river</p> <p>To promote a sense of community and sense of place in the Kaw (Kansas) River basin</p> <p>To increase public awareness of issues involving the Kaw</p>

Table 4--*Continued*

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Motives for volunteering-- <i>Continued</i>		<p>To protect and restore the river through education</p> <p>To make a large impact with a small operation</p> <p>To help educate school children as well as my own (home schooled) children</p> <p>To educate others about natural and cultural resource protection</p>	

Supporting Organizations

In each of the three case studies, single organizations provided access to nearly all the financial and organizational support necessary to make the festivals possible. These three primary supporting organizations contrast significantly with one another in terms of their structure, mission, and history. Furthermore, the differences between the three supporting organizations account for many of the differences between the festivals. Determining the various ways in which river festivals attempt to affect people's concern and involvement with rivers requires an exploration of how the supporting organizations differ, as well as how those differences relate to variations in the form and function of the festivals. Table 5 provides a summery comparison of the supporting organizations.

The Lower Colorado River Authority is a quasi-governmental agency created in 1934 through a mandate by the Texas legislature to build dams for the provision of a reliable water supply, to control flooding, and to provide electricity to the area (LCRA 2001). The LCRA is a large organization with many departments and functions. “Riverfest on the Colorado” represents one of many projects in which the LCRA dedicated its resources.

The Haw River Assembly, the supporting organization for the Haw River Festival, is a nonprofit, grassroots citizens’ group established in 1982 to help restore and preserve the health and beauty of the Haw River and to support conservation of the land along the river. The annual festival represents the organization’s largest project in terms of monetary and time expenditures (Haw River Assembly 2001).

The Rollin’ Down the River Festival’s supporting organization, the Kaw Valley Heritage Alliance (KVHA), is a coalition of 42 partnering governmental and non-governmental organizations established in 1995 to promote greater awareness, appreciation, and stewardship of the cultural and natural resources of the Kansas (Kaw) River Valley (KVHA 1997). In 1997, the only year the event occurred, the Rollin’ Down the River Festival was the primary project for the KVHA (Wolf 1998a).

Revenue Sources

The LCRA operates solely through funds generated by the sale of water and electric utilities primarily to residents within the Colorado River basin. All of the funding from the LCRA for festival sponsorship and support, therefore, comes from utility sales.

The Haw River Assembly charges membership fees to cover operating costs. In addition to this source of income, other funding sources exist specifically for the annual festival. In 1999 schools sending students to the Haw River Festival paid \$2.00 per student. Additionally, the Haw River Assembly acquired money from attendees at the weekend portions of the festival through donations, t-shirt sales, the auctioning of artwork, and the sale of raffle tickets for a new canoe. Donations of goods and services from individuals and businesses helped minimize festival operating costs. These included occasional catered meals for festival staff provided by area restaurants, a canoe donated by an area outfitting business, and an auctioned sculpture created on site during the festival by a local artist.

Membership fees also provided revenue for the Kaw Valley Heritage Alliance. Additional funding came in the form of grants provided by various organizations associated with the Kaw Valley Heritage Alliance. The Environmental Protection Agency, for example, provided a large portion of the grant money for the 1997 Rollin' Down the River Festival (De Bres 1998).

Funding the Festivals

The LCRA spent a total of \$30,000 to \$50,000 per year on the Riverfest on the Colorado in the projects early years (Cullick 1999a). Expenses took two forms: grants to each of the community festivals associated with Riverfest as well as the provision of services from the LCRA to each community festival. In a typical year, local community groups involved with the festival production each received about \$400 from the LCRA. LCRA grants totaled approximately \$8000 per year to all of the local festivals combined.

In addition to grant money, the LCRA spent thousands more on in-house services for local festivals such as on site law enforcement officers, press releases, advertising in local and regional media, festival brochures, transportation services, and equipment (Cullick 1999a, Fletcher 1995). In return, the LCRA received sponsor privileges at festivals including banners with the corporate logo displayed at the festival sites and information booths on site during the events.

In contrast to the annual budget for Riverfest on the Colorado, the Haw River Assembly spent only \$17,000 per year for the Haw River Festival (Chiosso 1999a). The stipend for the festival coordinator consumed the majority of the funding. Other expenses included supplies, advertising, insurance, and food for the volunteer crew members.

The amount spent for the 1997 Rollin' Down the River Festival is unknown. Grants and in-kind support from partnering agencies provided the means necessary for the festival production. Although the total sum for the festival production was not determined in this research, three types of expenditures were identified: costs for a part-time festival coordinator, the publication of 25,000 festival brochures, and payments to performers and educators. A grant from the Environmental Protection Agency intended to promote community based environmental education programs provided funding to hire a part-time festival coordinator (Wolf 2000). Funding for the festival brochure came from the Kansas Department of Commerce and Housing's Travel and Tourism Division, the National Endowment for the Arts and Ag Press (Kaw Valley Heritage Alliance 1997). In addition to volunteer performers, speakers, and educators, a small number of people received payment from funds the KVHA obtained through grant money. Agencies awarded these grants for very specific purposes. For example, the National Endowments

for the Arts and the Kansas Humanities Council paid for the services of a Native American balladeer from the Kaw Indian Nation (De Bres 1997).

Missions, Visions, and Goals

Examining each supporting organizations' mission and/or vision statements and goals will provide insight into the motives of each organization for hosting a river festival. The LCRA's mission statement reads as follows:

The mission of the Lower Colorado River Authority (LCRA) is to provide reliable, low-cost utility and public services in partnership with our customers and communities and to use our leadership role and environmental authority to ensure the protection and constructive use of the area's natural resources. The LCRA is a Texas conservation and reclamation district operating with no taxing authority (Lower Colorado River Authority 2001).

In this context, Riverfest on the Colorado serves as one of many strategies “. . . to ensure the protection and constructive use of the area's natural resources (LCRA 2001).

The Haw River Assembly's mission is “. . . to protect the Haw River and to build a watershed community that recognizes the River as a valuable natural resource” (Haw River Assembly 2001). Staging a large annual celebration of the Haw River serves as a primary means to fulfill this mission.

With the 1997 Rollin' Down the River Festival, the KVHA attempted to promote the following vision:

The people of the Kaw Valley will maintain a strong sense of place and community. The valley will be a land of farms and families, of neighborhoods, towns, and cities. It will be a place where industry and business thrive; where natural and historical places are preserved; and where clean, healthy rivers and streams support aquatic life and offer recreational opportunities. People will build consensus for resource conservation and will promote responsible use of air, water, and land, while supporting a healthy economy (Kaw Valley Heritage Alliance 1997).

This vision promotes the idea of the people of the Kaw Valley working towards a consensus in deciding on the most appropriate manner in which to interact with the land and river. Joyce Wolf, a founder of the KVHA states:

The people that are coming regularly to the alliance meetings I think have a real personal commitment to the concept of looking at the status of the cultural and natural resources within the Kaw Valley, trying to determine what are the most significant among those resources, and then trying to bring consensus the process of long-term preservation of those resources (Wolf 1997).

As the major project of the KVHA in the organization's first three years, festival planners designed the Rollin' Down the River Festival as part of this consensus building process.

In addition to the mission statement, the Rollin' Down the River Festival brochure also lists three goals of the KVHA. They are to:

- foster partnerships to identify and preserve the significant natural and cultural heritage,
- avoid and resolve conflicts by building bridges between interests, and
- promote responsible use of our air, water and land while supporting a healthy economy (Kaw Valley Heritage Alliance 1997).

Supporting Organizations' Goals in Hosting Festivals

In addition to how the festivals serve as a means for the supporting organizations to fulfill their published missions, each organization also listed specific goals as a rationale for hosting the festivals. The LCRA sought to work towards the goals of promoting river stewardship and heritage preservation (Cullick 1999a); promoting the towns hosting festivals as tourist destinations; providing financial, marketing, and organizational support; establishing an event “. . . underlining the river's importance;” and “. . . (creating) a sense of community” (Lower Colorado River Authority 1997a).

In explaining the purpose of the Haw River Festival, the Haw River Assembly writes, “We hope to awaken and nurture in the children a sense of wonder about the natural world and the place where we live. In nurturing a relationship with the Haw, we hope that people will come to think of our communities as connected to the river” (Haw River Assembly 1995).

The Kaw Valley Heritage Alliance (1997) also states a purpose for its festival in the subtitle on the brochure: “Promoting Community, Kinship and Place in the Kaw Valley.” Two common themes arise in the stated purposes for the three festivals: promoting community and place. Bell and Newby (1978) as well as Schmalenbach (1961) remind us that “community,” as used in the contexts described here, is synonymous with “communion.” This study will further explore the significance of how the festivals serve as a vehicle for promoting communion experiences as well as connection to place.

Grassroots, Local Planning Efforts vs. Top Down, Regional Planning

Another way of comparing the supporting organizations in the case studies involves exploring the involvement of the organization in planning and production at the local and regional levels. Consideration of the supporting organizations’ roles at these two levels will hopefully provide additional insight into the first research question: how do river festivals attempt to affect people’s concern and involvement with rivers?

The LCRA promoted many festival events throughout the river basin. LCRA staff interviewed described participating in the planning and attendance of Riverfest activities in the programs early years, such as river canoe races, barbecues, and fishing contests (Heffington 1998, Cullick 1999a, McCann 1999). However, with involvement in twenty separate festivals throughout the Colorado River Basin (McCann 1999), the LCRA could provide only limited attention to any single festival. Rather than attempting to establish and maintain an annual river festival, the LCRA encouraged many community festival planners throughout the basin to include river oriented themes and activities in their events. In return for including this river orientation in their festivals and allowing the LCRA name and logo to be associated with the events, local planning organizations received funding and publicity from the LCRA.

Despite efforts by the LCRA to encourage the inclusion of river oriented themes and activities in annual festivals of the basin, very few people from the various communities involved in planning and producing the festivals expressed enthusiasm for the LCRA's efforts (Cullick 1999a). Consequently, the river authority eventually reduced its role in the Riverfest project from that of a participant in planning, production, funding, and promotion to that of providing only financial sponsorship to local festival planners.

This style of top-down participation--in which the LCRA involved itself with planning and sponsorship of community festivals at the regional level--contrasts to the Haw River Assembly's involvement in the Haw River Festival. During each year of the festival both the organization's director as well as the festival coordinator, hired by the Assembly, spearheaded all aspects of the festival planning process (Chiosso 1999a).

Additionally, several members of the Haw River Assembly's board of directors, as well as several general members, served as volunteer crew members from the festival's beginning (Manning 1999). Many of the volunteer crew members represented the local population. Of the thirty crew members interviewed at the Bynum, North Carolina festival site, eight of the crew members resided in that county. All eight claimed membership in the Haw River Assembly. Clearly, the Haw River Assembly's involvement in the processes of festival planning and production occurred at a grassroots, local level.

The KVHA approached festival planning in a manner somewhere between regional and local planning. Like the LCRA, the KVHA made arrangements for river oriented festival activities throughout the river basin (particularly at sites on the Kansas River itself). However, unlike the LCRA, the KVHA was not in a position to allow local event planners to make most of the decisions. The reason for this difference in planning approaches stems from a fundamental difference between these two festivals. Riverfest on the Colorado was more of a promotional program for pre-existing events in the river basin. The Rollin' Down the River Festival, in contrast, consisted almost entirely of original events throughout the basin: events designed as part of the larger river festival. Consequently, the planning of these events *began* at the regional level within the KVHA office in Manhattan, Kansas. Each KVHA member then took responsibility for planning and coordinating festival events for at least one particular site. The festival coordinator, planning at the regional level, worked with the local level planners to ensure the logistical feasibility of the festival by sequencing events throughout the basin in time and space. Similar to the local planning approach employed by the Haw River Assembly, members

of the KVHA actively sought the involvement of local residents and citizen groups from the areas at which the events occurred. As a strategy for maximizing involvement, representatives of the KVHA invited a great quantity and diversity of individuals and organizations to host activities and provide services for the festival. Any person or group that the KVHA thought might share the vision of promoting community and place in the Kaw River Valley received an invitation to participate (DeBres 1998). Therefore, activities planned for each event depended largely on the interests of local participants. Although much of the planning and coordinating occurred in KVHA meetings at the regional level, the specific nature and details for each event occurred at the local level.

Table 5. Comparison of Supporting Organization Characteristics

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Name of main supporting organization	Lower Colorado River Authority	Haw River Assembly	Kaw Valley Heritage Alliance
Structure/ description of supporting organization	River authority established by Texas state legislation	Nonprofit, grassroots citizens' group	Representatives from 42 partnering governmental and non-governmental organizations that collectively make up the Kaw Valley Heritage Alliance
Reason for establishment	To provide a reliable water supply, to control flooding with dams, and to provide electricity to the area	To restore and preserve the health and beauty of the Haw River, and to support conservation of the land along the River	To promote greater awareness, appreciation, and stewardship of the cultural and natural resources of the Kansas River (Kaw) Valley

Table 5--*Continued.*

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Is (was) festival a primary project for the supporting organization?	No	Yes	Yes
Date of primary supporting organization's establishment	1934	1982	1995
Primary source(s) of funding for supporting organization	Sale of water and electric utilities	Membership fees, donations	Membership fees and grants from partnering organizations
Supporting organizations' revenue sources for funding festival	Funds obtained primarily through sale of electric utility. Also, substantial in-kind donations and soliciting of funds from other corporations as tax deductible contributions payable to a nonprofit working in conjunction with supporting organization	Funds obtained primarily through membership dues to supporting organization. Also, sale of food and beverages during festival, t-shirts, and art auction during festival	Funds obtained primarily from grants from partnering corporations and agencies.
Approximate average dollar amount spent by supporting organization of festival per year	Started at \$30,000 to \$50,000 per year total in early years, much less in later years. A typical year averaged \$8000 for funds provided directly to community festivals plus thousands more worth of services and in-kind support.	\$17,000	Unknown- Funded by grants and in-kind support from partnering agencies. Enough money was spent to hire a part time festival coordinator, produce 25,000 brochures, and hire a small number of performers.

Table 5--Continued.

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Function, mission, vision and/or goals of supporting organization	<p>Mission Statement:</p> <p>“The mission of the Lower Colorado River Authority (LCRA) is to provide reliable, low-cost utility and public services in partnership with our customers and communities and to use our leadership role and environmental authority to ensure the protection and constructive use of the area’s natural resources.</p> <p>The LCRA is a Texas conservation and reclamation district operating with no taxing authority. ”</p>	<p>Mission Statement:</p> <p>To protect the Haw River and to build a watershed community that recognizes the River as a valuable natural resource.</p>	<p>Vision statement:</p> <p>“The people of the Kaw Valley will maintain a strong sense of place and community. The valley will be a land of farms and families, of neighborhoods, towns, and cities. It will be a place where industry and business thrive; where natural and historical places are preserved; and where clean, healthy rivers and streams support aquatic life and offer recreational opportunities. People will build consensus for resource conservation and will promote responsible use of air, water, and land, while supporting a healthy economy.”</p>

Table 5--*Continued.*

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Mission or goals of supporting organization in hosting festival	<p>To accomplish mission of river stewardship and heritage preservation</p> <p>Additionally:</p> <p>To Building out-of-town interest</p> <p>Financial, marketing, organizational support</p> <p>Underlining river's importance</p> <p>Creating sense of community</p>	<p>"We hope to awaken and nurture in the children a sense of wonder about the natural world and the place where we live" (Haw River Assembly 1995).</p> <p>"In nurturing a relationship with the Haw we hope that people will come to think of our communities as connected to the river" (Haw River Assembly 1995).</p>	<p>"Promoting community, kinship and Place in the Kaw Valley" (Kaw Valley Heritage Alliance 1997).</p>
Grassroots, local planning effort vs. top down, regional planning	More regional, top down planning for river related events and programming	More local, grassroots planning and participation	Combined-- Regional, top down programming for many events but local planning based on interest of local volunteer and community groups

Attitudes and Values of Area Residents

Festivals serve as symbols of collective identity and a representation of culture (Waterman 1998). Since festivals bring community focus on the existing social structure and new ideas for structure, they facilitate the transformation of society as well (Lavanda 1983). The first question of this research, "how do river festivals attempt to affect

people's concern and involvement with rivers?" deals in part with the manner in which festivals relate to collective identity and the transformation of social values. This research attempts to provide an understanding of the festival planners' perceptions of the public's attitudes and values relating to each river as well as each supporting organization. Such an understanding may help explain the motives behind how the case study festivals (and their producers) attempt to represent culture and transform society.

As part of the interviewing process for data collection, individuals associated with each supporting organization and involved in event planning were asked to describe their perception of public awareness, attitudes and values--relating to the river and the supporting organization--held by residents of their river basin. Table 6 and 7 summarize the results.

Public Awareness of Resources Associated with Rivers

One question relating to values involved public awareness of the natural and cultural resources associated with rivers. Planners were asked, "do you think people residing in the (Colorado, Haw or Kaw) River Basin have been generally aware of the river's significance in terms of the cultural and natural resources the river provides?" Representatives from each of the three supporting organizations involved in festival planning felt the public's level of awareness of the cultural and historical significance of their respective basin's river was generally low (De Bres 1997; Cullick 1999a; Kessel 1999). In the view of one planner the people have "... turned their backs on the river" (Cullick 1999a).

Table 6. Comparison of Public Awareness of Significance of Rivers
as Perceived by Members of Supporting Organizations

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Supporting organization representatives' opinion of river basin residents' awareness of the river's cultural and historical significance	Low	Low	Low

Conflicting Values

Human Use of the River

Festival and program planners from each supporting organization also reported that ongoing controversies between various interest groups revolved around human use of rivers as well as land-use practices within the watershed that ultimately impact the river. As an example in the Kaw Valley, representatives from canoeing clubs and those promoting the protection of wildlife habitat frequently voiced opposition to industrial practices impacting the river such as sand dredging (Buchanan 2000).

In the Haw River Valley, parties who place high value on the river as habitat for wildlife and as a source for drinking water and recreation continue to criticize state regulations and law enforcement practices that permit pollution of the Haw River. Two phenomena in particular--runoff from hog farms creating high levels of fecal coliform in the river and sediment from construction sites--receive occasional attention in the press (Chiosso 1999a).

A recent conflict in Central Texas involving the Colorado River involves the transfer of water--by the LCRA--out of the Colorado River Basin to areas of rapid growth in need of an increased water supply. Despite the efforts of environmentalist groups to legally prohibit the construction of a fourteen-mile long pipeline for water from the Colorado River into Hays County Texas, west of the Austin metropolitan area, a federal judge ruled in favor of the LCRA, thus allowing for the pipeline's construction. According to those opposed to the pipeline, increasing the water supply to the rural area west of Austin will threaten environmentally sensitive land by promoting a rapid and undesirable population growth in the region at the expense of increased pollution and the loss of wildlife habitat (*Austin American Statesman* [Austin, Texas] 5 February, 2000).

Aesthetic Qualities of the River

In the Colorado River Basin, valuation of the river's aesthetic qualities appears to vary considerably. A promotional brochure for one Riverfest event states the festival is to take place "... on the beautiful banks of the Colorado River" (Bastrop Chamber of Commerce 1995). Contrasting with this image of the Colorado River, an employee from a local visitor bureau near this event site described the river as "... all muddy and not very pretty at all" (Moeller 1998). She felt the riverside park in the area is not an ideal location for festivals and special events due to the river's appearance.

Public Attitudes Toward Supporting Organizations

In addition to values relating to human use of the land, the river and aesthetic qualities of the river, public attitudes about the festivals' supporting organization also

differed. Representatives from each supporting organization reported that their organization generally was well supported by the public but that some people--in each river basin--expressed distrust of the organization. In Texas, the LCRA's reputation suffered in the mid 1980s due to a few abuses of power, including illegal activities, by a small number of employees (Cullick 1999a; Bishop 1999a). The organization's reputation may have also suffered as the result of poor public relations as well as few opportunities for public input into the projects undertaken by the river authority. An Austin newspaper columnist claims that during the 1980s, "... the LCRA treated downriver towns with a glinty-eyed disdain" (Bishop 1999b). Additionally, according to one local festival planner, Texans, especially rural Texans, are generally distrustful of government and associated agencies such as the LCRA (Barnett 2000). Although she personally feels grateful to the LCRA for contributing to her community's festival, she also suspects the LCRA's support for festivals along the river may indicate a hidden agenda for the organization and that the LCRA may make future requests in return for their generosity.

Similarly, distrust of government related organizations exists in the Kaw River Valley. A small town newspaper featured the headlines "KV Heritage Alliance; Does organization have sights on more than a river festival?" (*The Wamego Times* [Wamego, Kansas] 24 September 1997). This expression of distrust reflects a public opposition to the public acquisition of land in the Kansas River Valley (Wolf 2000; Buchanan 2000).

In the Haw River Valley, according to one festival coordinator, some of the more conservative residents have viewed the festival events as "... the activities of strange hippies in the woods" (Geshuri 1999). Otherwise, members of the Haw River Assembly

report a great deal of support from the communities in the Haw River Basin (Chiosso 1999a; Geshuri 1999; Manning 1999; Kessel 1999). However, considering that the Haw River Assembly originally formed as an organized attempt to resist the construction of a dam in the Haw River, the very existence of the organization reflects, to some degree, conflicting values regarding the human relationship with the river.

Table 7. Comparison of Perceived Attitudes and Values toward River and Festival's Supporting Organization among Basin Residents as Reported by Event Planners

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Conflicting values regarding human use of the river	Construction of a pipeline to transport water--accessability for a growing population vs. protection of environmentally sensitive land	Human water supply, wildlife habitat, recreation vs. livestock production and construction	Recreation and wildlife habitat vs. resource extraction (sand dredging)
Public's value of river for aesthetic qualities	Varying from "beautiful" to "not very pretty"	No data collected	No data collected
Residents of the river basin's feelings about the supporting organization	Most people are supportive. Some history of distrust of government and agencies associated with government, including LCRA.	Overall, feelings expressed about the Haw River Assembly are very positive. However, some suspicion expressed about intent of festival staff by residents in towns near river in past years.	Residents who are aware of the KVHA showed support for its efforts. However, suspicion expressed in one community newspaper about intent of supporting organization fearing it may try to acquire privately owned land for public. In general, little support for public acquisition of land exists in Kansas River Valley.

Event Sites

The selection of event sites by festival planners involved not only logistical concerns--such as planning for enough space for the anticipated crowds, parking access and proximity to facilities--but concerns relating to what Falassi (1987) describes as morphological elements of a festival. Festival morphology involves festival form, function, and meaning. It includes, among other aspects of "festival behavior" (Falassi 1987, 3), a set of rituals; rituals unique to festivals that serve to provide meaning. The second section of this work, "Festival Morphology," will explore the relationship between sites selected by festival planners and the festival meaning. As a prerequisite to this task, tables 8 and 9 provide an inventory of the cultural amenities used for and at event sites.

The types and quantity of event sites vary considerably among the three case studies. A 1995 LCRA report (Fletcher) indicates as many as twenty locations for Riverfest related events. In 1997, however, only eleven communities participated in Riverfest (LCRA 1997a). By 1999, the LCRA provided funding for just ten festivals in the river basin (Cullick 1999a). Table 9 lists the cultural amenities used at or for event sites in 1997. During this year, eleven events occurred at or in a total of seven different types of cultural amenities.

Unlike the other two case studies, planners for the Haw River Festival chose all outdoor sites for the festival events. In the event of rain, however, indoor back-up sites included a church and a retreat center. Each year since the festival's beginning, the Haw River Festival occurs at three sites along the river channel. In 1999, six types of cultural amenities served as locations for the Haw River Festival.

Certainly among the case studies the Rollin' Down the River Festival on the Kansas (Kaw) River ranks as the most diverse for types of resources used as well as the most expansive for total number of event sites. Eighty-two separate event sites in 26 cities, towns and rural areas made-up the 1997 festival.

Table 8. Number of Event Sites for Each Festival

Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Varies from 10 to 20 depending on year, 11 in 1997	3 (every year)	82 sites total in 26 cities, towns or rural locations (1997)

Table 9. Comparison of Cultural Amenities Used for Festival Event Sites

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Waterfront parks	•	•	•
Waterfront mall			•
Waterfront plaza			•
Town historic districts	•	•	•
Municipal buildings			
City hall	•		•
Libraries	•		•
Museums			•
Visitor center			•
School auditoriums			•
Airport displays			•
Buildings and structures with historical significance			
Railroad facility	•		
Old mill		•	•
Old School			•
Church		•	•
Cemetery			•
Bridge		•	
Dam	•		•
Spillway			•
Gaging station			•
Boat access ramp	•		•

Table 9--*Continued.*

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Water treatment plant			•
Farm			•
Farmers' market			•
Wildlife sanctuaries and nature preserves			•
Retreat center		•	

Subject Matter

In terms of subject matter, as summarized in appendix A, as well as type of activities presented, appendix B, the Haw River's Haw River Festival and the Kaw (Kansas) River's Rollin' Down the River Festival both involved a strong educational orientation as compared to Riverfest on the Colorado. Typically, Riverfest-related events did not attempt to incorporate any educational activities. The three events examined in depth as part of this research involved little, if any, of the subjects listed in appendix A. The infrequent educational activities that did occur usually took place at a single event during a single year and *not* as part of an annual, basin wide effort on the part of the LCRA. For example, festival attendees may have witnessed water quality monitoring demonstrations during the 1995 Bay City Annual Out and About Day--the predecessor to the Pilot Club Duck Race. During this year personnel from the Colorado River Watch--a volunteer water monitoring organization affiliated with the LCRA--setup a booth at six Riverfest events (Cullick 1995). Except for the 1995 Riverfest, and the earlier 1992 and 1993 Chautauquas held by the Adopt-the-Colorado River Foundation (Kendall 2000c), no further evidence was found among Riverfest-related events of any involving water quality

monitoring. Also occurring in 1995--and only in that year--attendees of the Columbus Banjo Jamboree witnessed a reenactment of a famous battle in Texas history; Santa Anna's surrender at San Jacinto (LCRA 1995a).

One festival unique among Riverfest-related events due to its consistent educational orientation incorporates a historical theme. The Bastrop Yesterfest, still held annually in Bastrop, Texas, focuses on the cultural history of the town and area through living history, reenactments of historically significant events, and hands-on experiential activities for the public. Like Yesterfest, the Chautauquas that spawned the vision for Riverfest on the Colorado also pursued an educational objective. They too involved living history--such as a public speech by Mark Twain on river stewardship--as well as water quality monitoring, river clean-up efforts, group discussions, presentations, and the sharing of "river folklore" (LCRA 1993).

Regarding solely their strong educational focus, the Chautauquas of 1992 and 1993 more closely resembled the Haw River Festival and the Rollin' Down the River Festival than the later Riverfest program. However, unlike the Chautauqua leaders, Riverfest planners adopted the festival morphology as a means to increase public interest and involvement with the river. This work will further explore how event and program planners utilized this festival morphology to promote rivers. Within this analysis, this research will also further examine specific educational aspects of the festivals--including content and methods to promote learning about rivers and watersheds. Appendices A and B provide a reference base for this analysis.

Logistics

As with planning for any large event, planners for the case study festivals made numerous decisions regarding site location, scheduling and the movement of people and equipment to and within event sites. Since many of these decisions tie in either directly or indirectly with a festival's purpose and goals, they require consideration in this research. This section focuses primarily on key decisions planners made in staging the festivals. Much of the discussion on the significance of logistical decisions will arise throughout the remainder of this work. Table 10 provides a summary comparison of logistical concerns for the three case studies.

Table 10. Comparison of Logistics in Festival Planning

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Number of event sites for the festival	Varies from 10 to 20. 20 in 1997	3	82 sites total in 23 cities, towns or rural locations
Duration of entire festival (number of days)	Varies, 30 to 120	21	31
Number of days events held at particular sights	1 to 5	7	1 to 2 (except for ongoing displays or museum exhibits)
Approximate dates of festival	Between March and June. In 1995, all occurring in April	April 23 to May 14	September 19 to October 19, 1997
Number of events/activities, held as part of festival--including all, performances, tours, lectures, discussions, exhibits and demonstrations	Approximately 100	12 ongoing activities on weekdays, repeated each day 14 each Saturday	289 scheduled activities total

Table 10--*Continued.*

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Proximity of event sites to river	Some events staged in close proximity to river and others several miles from river	All events within view of river	Most events staged within view of river. All events within five miles of river.
Consecutive or simultaneous activities and events	Typically activities held consecutively according to a program schedule for individual festivals. However, in a few cases, festivals occurred simultaneously in different locations. Therefore, Riverfest events and associated activities occasionally overlapped.	Multiple activities happening simultaneously. Participants roam from one activity to another	Activities held in sequence, one at a time according to a program schedule. However, some community festivals--promoted by supporting organization as part of river festival--occurred simultaneously with other events that were part of the river festival.
Provisions for crew members provided by supporting organization	None observed	Camp kitchen (including stoves, coolers, cookware, utensils, wash tubs) food to prepare all meals, toilets, canopies and storage tents, camping area, some catered meals, access to shower facilities	None observed

Table 10--*Continued.*

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Transportation and parking arrangements	Mostly parking at the event sites with--in a few cases--shuttle service from parking area to event site or from one event site to another.	Children, teachers and parents bused to event site from schools on weekdays. On weekends, when festival opens for general public, attendees park in a small lot (30 cars) at the site or on the street in town--out of view from the festival site	Mostly parking at the event sites with--in a few cases--shuttle service from parking area to event site or from one event site to another. During one event, shuttle was a horse drawn carriage.

Number of Event Sites

The number of event sites for Riverfest on the Colorado varied considerably from 1994 to 1997. Following the pattern established by the Chautauquas sponsored by the Adopt-the-Colorado River Foundation in 1992 and 1993, LCRA staff focused on sites along the Colorado River corridor where community festivals were to receive support and publicity (Cullick 1999a). Concerned after Riverfest's first year that customers throughout the basin receive equal access to festival sponsorship dollars and support, the LCRA chose to expand the Riverfest program to include all communities within the basin that would accept the support. By 1997, Riverfest included twenty community festivals throughout the Colorado River watershed (LCRA 1997a). Many of these communities were several miles from the Colorado River.

Three sites along the Haw River provide the spaces each year for the Haw River Festival. Although site locations changed occasionally from year to year, usually planners with the Haw River Assembly secured sites in or near the same three towns adjacent to the Haw River: Brow Summit, Saxapahaw, and Bynum, North Carolina (Kessel 1999). In addition to the three main event sites, the festival's opening and closing ceremonies--which included a portion of the crew members and not the public--occurred at the river's head waters and mouth (Kessel 1999).

Sites for the Kaw (Kansas) River's Rollin' Down the River Festival included eighty-two locations in a total of 23 cities, towns or rural areas (De Bres 1997). Planners with the Kaw Valley Heritage Alliance selected sites adjacent to or in close proximity (within five miles) to the river (KVHA 1997).

Duration, Dates and Event Scheduling

Riverfest on the Colorado

The Riverfest program promoted events occurring in the spring, beginning in March and continuing usually throughout June. An effort in 1995 to maximize the public's association of Riverfest with springtime festivals resulted in the LCRA limiting the time span for events promoted within the program to the month of April (Cullick 1999a). Throughout the program's history, any single Riverfest event lasted from one to five days. In 1999, the Bay City Pilot's Club Duck Race occurred in the course of an afternoon, whereas the Columbus Springtime Festival occurred over three days from a Friday evening to a Sunday evening. The Smithville Jamboree involved events staged over a five-day period. In 1997, with 20 event sites, approximately one hundred activities

made up the events associated with Riverfest (LCRA 1997a). Local planners not affiliated with the LCRA controlled the planning and scheduling for nearly all events. In the case of the three Riverfest festivals attended to collect data, most activities occurred consecutively according to a pre-arranged schedule. Although local planners attempted to avoid planning their events simultaneously with events in neighboring communities, in a few cases events associated with Riverfest did occur simultaneously (Cullick 1999a).

The original idea developed as part of the earlier Chautauquas along the Colorado River included staging events sequentially in time and space. That is, the events followed the movement of the crew down the river corridor, with the first event occurring the furthest upstream and the last event occurring the furthest downstream--near the river's mouth--where it flows into Matagorda Bay and the Gulf of Mexico. Planners with the LCRA abandoned this scheduling strategy since their new plan involved promoting pre-existing festivals--events which the LCRA had little or no control in scheduling.

The Haw River Festival

The three week long Haw River Festival occurs each year from the last week of April through the first two weeks of May. Three festival segments--each held at separate event sites--all lasted for one week. During the weekday "learning celebrations," 12 activities per day occurred in which school children participated (Chiosso 1999a). During the Saturdays following each of the three weekday segments, a "community celebration" involved a total of 14 activities (Chiosso 1999a). Festival segments occurred sequentially in time and space with the first week's celebration held upstream near the headwaters, the second week further downstream, and the final week closer to the river's mouth where it

flows into the Cape Fear River. Unlike the other two case studies, festival planners with the supporting organization scheduled multiple activities to take place simultaneously. At one moment during the festival, for example, attendees might chose between attending a children's performance, a musical performance on a main stage, a kayaking demonstration, or a panel discussion. Many people observed wandered between activities, staying only a few minutes in any one area.

The Rollin' Down the River Festival

The Rollin' Down the River Festival in 1997 lasted exactly 31 days from September 19th to October 19th (KVHA 1997). Festival events at each site lasted from one to two days. All events included a total of 289 activities (De Bres 1997). Like the Haw River Festival and the Chautauquas preceding Riverfest, the Rollin' Down the River Festival also consisted of events scheduled sequentially in time and space, beginning in a community near the headwaters and ending in Kansas City--the confluence of the Kaw and the Missouri Rivers. Activities, in most cases, occurred consecutively according to a schedule determined by festival planners. In a few instances, community festivals that the KVHA promoted as part of the larger festival overlapped in the schedule with other festival activities (KVHA 1997).

Crew Member Provisions and Responsibilities

Due to the manner in which crew members for the Haw River Festival camped on-site for several days at a time, the Haw River Assembly arranged for extensive provisions for the staff. Equipment used for the kitchen tent alone required transportation

in a large size pick-up truck. In addition to equipment and materials necessary for the preparation, serving and storage of food, the Haw River Assembly provided two large tents for gatherings and equipment storage--including volunteer personal possessions such as musical instruments and folding chairs. Crew members also had access to a portable composting toilet facility, portable sinks, and dishwashing equipment such as tubs and racks. The festival coordinator working for the Haw River Assembly also made special arrangements to increase crew members' comfort and pleasure. With the generosity and cooperation of area restaurant owners and managers, crew members received an occasional catered meal--prepared and delivered by restaurant staff. Crew members responded with strong expressions of gratitude and delight, for high quality food that required no work among the crew to prepare. The festival coordinator also made arrangements with nearby residents for crew members to use the residents' bathrooms for hot showers.

Volunteers for the other case study events usually resided in close proximity to the event sites at which they served. Therefore, no extensive provisions were necessary for a large group camping scenario such as those provided for the Haw River Festival. For the other two festival programs, no special crew member provisions were evident during the data collection period of this research.

Transportation and Parking

Generally, parking access for events associated with each of the three festival case studies occurred in close proximity to the event site. Attendees and crew members could walk a short distance from their automobiles to the site. Programs for both Riverfest on

the Colorado and the Rollin' Down the River Festival list shuttle services for specific activities or events. Table 10 describes transportation arrangements for each case study. The Haw River Festival was unique among the case studies in that school children arrived to the festival site on school buses. The buses remained in a nearby parking lot for the duration of the day's activities, about 4½ hours, after which children returned on the buses to their schools.

Transportation during the Rollin' Down the River Festival events frequently incorporated themes of historical and cultural significance. In some instances attendees could reach event sites via a horse drawn carriage, a hayrack ride, or on a tram.

As previously mentioned, all three festivals began with a vision in which festival participants--crew members and/or attendees--traveled by canoe on a symbolic journey down stream from one event site to the next. Crew members of the Haw River Festival continued this practice during the festival's early years. Similarly, the Colorado River Chautauquas preceding Riverfest also incorporated this canoe voyage for crew members. Due to the difficult challenges of coordinating departure and arrival times with other scheduled activities--as well as other challenges long river trips impose--crew members no longer travel between event sites in this fashion. However, representations of the symbolic canoe journey still occurred in all three case studies in various forms. For example, in the Rollin' Down the River Festival, in which realization of the infeasibility of the canoe trip occurred prior to the festival's first day, ceremonial canoe arrivals and departures marked the beginning and ending of events at most of the sites. This research will further discuss specific examples of the symbolic canoe journeys as well as the significance of these rituals to the research questions.

CHAPTER 5

FESTIVAL MORPHOLOGY

Both the social function and the symbolic meaning of the festival are closely related to a series of overt values that the community recognizes as essential to its ideology and worldview, to its social identity, its historical continuity, and to its physical survival, which is ultimately what festival celebrates (Falassi 1987, 2).

Drawing from the work of many of the social sciences, Falassi describes a set of rituals unique to the festival, thus establishing a festival morphology: a framework in which to identify and interpret the festival rituals present among the three case studies. From an etic or outside perspective--as described by Headland, Pike and Harris (1990)--applying Falassi's categories of festival rituals in examining the case studies serves to identify the rituals' basic social functions.

In planning many of the activities and events, festival producers may have had little if any awareness of the ritualistic and symbolic nature of the events. Nonetheless, their thoughts relating to the events provide information key to understanding the events' meaning and purpose. Therefore, in addition to the use of an etic approach for understanding the basic social function of the festival events, an emic or inside perspective (Headland, Pike and Harris 1990)--gained through participant observation

and interviews--allows for greater depth in interpreting the festival symbology.

Incorporating these two approaches, this section will examine the nature of the rituals planned by festival producers as the first approximation to answering the research question, *how do river festivals attempt to affect people's concern and involvement with rivers?* In the final section of this work, consideration of the manner in which, and degree to which, people participated in these rituals will then allow one means of answering the second research question; *What evidence indicates whether or not such attempts do affect people's concern and involvement with rivers?*

Rites of Valorization

The first in a limited set of rituals associated with the festival involves the preparation of the event site. During these framing or opening rituals, known as rites of valorization, “. . . an area is reclaimed, cleared, delimited, blessed, adorned, (and) forbidden to normal activities” (Falassi 1987, 4). In the three case studies, rites of valorization took many forms.

The confluence of the Republican and Smokey Hill Rivers--the headwaters of the Kaw--served as the site for the opening ceremony for the Rollin' Down the River Festival. The event included a performance by a marching band, decorations, displays of flags--including a flag with the KVHA logo--and the erection and use of a stage for speeches by “. . . local dignitaries and community leaders . . .” (KTWU 1998), academics and festival planners (KVHA 1997; KTWU 1998). One speaker, Rex Buchanan, noted “the atmosphere was like a big spectacle with so much emphasis on the kick-off” (Buchanan 2000).

Crowds at several other festival sites included in the Rollin' Down the River Festival also participated in rites of valorization. Each of the events along the river corridor--other than the first event--began with a ceremonial welcoming of canoeists. The same canoeists departed the sites with blessings and farewells (KVHA 1997; De Bres 1998)--thus setting the stage for the valorization of the next downstream site upon their reception the following day. Due to time constraints and challenges with scheduling and coordinating events, most of the canoe travel as part of the Rollin' Down the River Festival began and ended with these ceremonies. The canoe ceremonies symbolized a longer journey down the river left to the imagination. In this way, festival participants not only symbolically claimed each site along the river and declared its great significance, but the entire river corridor received valorization.

Similarly, the Haw River Festival once included ceremonies for the arrival and departure of canoeists between festival sites (Kessel 1999). As was the case with the Rollin' Down the River Festival, festival participants at the Haw paid honor to the headwaters--the river's source--with a ceremonial gathering each year. After collecting water in a vase and declaring the intention of insuring its safe transport downstream, some participants departed in canoes, traveling to the first festival site. This ritual focused attention on the entire river by emphasizing the movement of water and people along its corridor.

In discussing the preparation of a festival site for first a learning celebration attended by school children followed by a larger weekend community celebration, Elaine Chiosso (1999b) stated the crew would “. . . transform (the site) rather rapidly . . .” first to a “. . . wonderful village . . .” of crew members and school children and then to a “. . .

scene of a couple thousand people.” The transformation of the Bynum site from an empty field adjacent to an abandoned mill involved creating a “village” consisting of approximately twenty tents and canopies of various sizes, shapes and colors--all in very close proximity. Preparations for the weekend community festival required a subsequent transformation in which crew members displaced many of the tents--those providing their shelter--with a stage for performances and booth spaces for community organizations’ displays.

Many rituals of valorization frequently occurred in an informal manner with no ceremony and no public participation. For the Bay City Pilot’s Club Duck Race, the initial preparation of the site involved reserving a pavilion in the park and putting up a few handmade signs, an LCRA banner and a small number of balloons for decoration. Crew for the Columbus Springtime Festival prepared the town square as the festival site by setting up barricades to prohibit automobile traffic and erecting fences in various locations to guide foot traffic. In Smithville, barricades allowed the main street through the downtown district to become a parade route. Despite the absence of formal opening ceremonies or elaborate decorations in these examples, the simple act of delimiting the event sites indicates the festival planners’ desire to symbolize the significance of these spaces as a part of their community’s identity; an identity linked to the river corridor, locations adjacent to the corridor, locations within the river basin, and the watershed as a whole.

Rites of Purification

Rites of purification involve the symbolic expulsion of “. . . the ‘evil’ and ‘negative’ out of the community” (Falassi 1987, 4). A clergy blessing for the canoeists during a “Festival Rivercraft Re-Launch Ceremony” (KVHA 1997) served to aid in their safe passage on the river as well as protect all others attending festival events. Similarly, festival planners included a “Native Blessing” (KVHA 1999) as part of the closing ceremony in Topeka, Kansas, immediately prior to the departure of canoeists.

As evident in the Haw festival, rites of purification sometimes “. . . include various forms of benediction and procession of sacred objects around and through significant points of the festival space setting, in order to renew the magical defenses of the community against natural and supernatural enemies” (Falassi 1987, 4). Such was the case in the previously mentioned opening ceremony for the Haw River Festival-- involving a rite of purification as well as a rite of valorization. Each participant reflected, in silence, on the significance and meaning of the symbolic gestures; the collection and gathering of spring water at the river’s origin; the water’s transport by canoe to each festival site; the anticipated return of the water to the river’s end where it flows back into the waterway still as clean as it was at the headwaters; the wish for safety of the water and of the canoeists (Kessel 1999). After a long silence, “when the spirit moved (them)” (Hudson 1991, 6), each person added water to the jug. Whether or not the participants considered this ritual magical, it almost certainly served as a powerful symbol of participants’ desires to commit to preserving the river’s health and connect with the river on a spiritual level.

At the end of the Haw River Festival, several crew members, including nearly all of the children on the crew, gathered on the riverbank for a ceremony characteristic of a rite of purification. One of the adult crew members explained the dual purpose of the activity to others; first, for each individual to express gratitude for whatever made him or her feel safe and happy, and second, for each person to make a wish for something they would like have changed. Following each participants' turn to express their thoughts, they each threw a flower into the river for their expressions of gratitude and wishes for change to be carried downstream by the river--presumably to a higher power capable of receiving and responding to these messages; a power to which or to whom the river provides a connection.

Rites of Reversal

By inverting social roles and functions from what society considers normal, rites of reversal “. . . drastically represent the mutability of people, culture, and life itself” (Falassi 1987, 4). In 1997, the celebration in Bay City, Texas included not only the duck race but also a race downstream on inner tubes by area celebrities--including several individuals representing local government and business (LCRA 1997c). Festival goers witnessed community leaders reversing their roles, from the officials responsible for the daily operation of the town's government and commerce to ordinary citizens engaged in an unusually trivial, foolish competition.

Rites of Conspicuous Display

Rites of conspicuous display permit the most important symbolic elements of the community to be seen, touched, adored, or worshipped. . . . Sacred shrines, relics, magic objects are solemnly displayed and become the destination of visitations from within the immediate boundaries of the festival, or of pilgrimages from faraway places. In sacred processions and secular parades, the icons and symbolic elements are instead moved through space specifically adorned with ephemeral festive decorations such as festoons, flower arrangements, hangings, lights, and flags (Falassi 1987, 4).

Displays of Watercraft

Riverboats

Replicas and images of riverboats in events associated with Riverfest and the Rollin' down the River Festival emphasized the importance of the river in times past and present; in the past as a means of transportation and commerce; in the present as the original template for human settlement patterns still in existence. An image of a steam powered paddleboat served as the stage backdrop during the Adopt-the-Colorado River Foundation's 1993 Chautauquas (Kendall 2000c). At this event, presenters and performers promoted the historical importance of the river as a framework to discuss and encourage modern society's rediscovery of the river's value (LCRA 1993). Similarly, in 1995, Yesterfest--a Riverfest associated festival held in Bastrop, Texas, highlighting local history--featured a re-creation of an historical Colorado River Ferry (Fletcher 1995). During a televised interview Joyce Wolf--a festival planner and KVHA founder--discusses the Rollin' Down the River Festival as a means to ". . . get people thinking again about the river, about our connection to the river, the heritage that we all share" (Wolf 1997). Recorded at a festival site on the banks of the Kaw River, the tape of the

interview included a large steam powered paddleboat visible in the background behind Ms. Wolf.

Canoes

The display of canoes as an element of community identity occurred several times in each case study. Several events associated with Riverfest, including the earlier Chautauquas, involved the use and display of canoes. The Chautauqua of 1993 occurred in conjunction with the Great Colorado River Canoe Challenge, a five-day, 196-mile race from Austin to Wharton, Texas. With resting spots in proximity to each Chautauqua site, observers witnessed dozens of canoes in the river corridor at multiple locations (Adopt-the-Colorado River Foundation and the LCRA 1993; Lower Colorado River Authority 1993). The LCRA funded the purchase of \$8000 worth of canoes and equipment prior to the event (Kendall 2000b). In 1994, the LCRA hired the Adopt-the-Colorado River Foundation to help with a shorter, 300-yard canoe race--featuring celebrities as participants--as part of Riverfest on the Colorado (Kendall 2000b). Upon the request of the LCRA, organizers of the Smithville Jamboree also included a canoe race in the 1997 celebration (Cullick 1999a; LCRA 1997b). Perhaps the most conspicuous display of a canoe on the Colorado River occurred during Bay City's 1995 Egg-Stravaganza--the forerunner to the Pilot Club Duck Race. According to a local newspaper, this event featured a public ". . . presentation of a mahogany canoe" (*Banner Press* [Bay City, Texas], 20 April 1995). Whether these Riverfest events conspicuously displayed canoes in a large quantity or exceptional quality, the canoes represented the recreational opportunities the river provides the community.

In addition to canoe races, the Chautauquas and at least one later Riverfest event also involved the use of canoes for “river clean-ups” (Kendall 1999b), in which participants removed litter from a designated segment of the river channel (Kendall 1999b; Heffington 1998). The canoes then became tools and symbols for recreation as well as river stewardship.

The 1999 Haw River Festival also provided a venue for the display of canoes and the recreational aspects of the river they represent. During the end of the week-long community festival, a space within the event site featured a canoe to be given away in a raffle drawing at the end of the day. Festival activities also included kayak demonstrations in the river, again highlighting the river’s recreational potential.

Featured in the canoe arrival and departure ceremonies as part of the Rollin’ Down the River Festival, a replica of the type of canoe used by pre-settlement era frontiersmen carried two men--dressed accordingly--downstream (KTWU 1998; Wolf 2000). During their departure that concluded the festival’s opening ceremony, a musket fired several times from the canoe into the air announced the festival’s commencement in a style representing a heritage associated with the river (KTWU 1998).

Displays of People

Falassi mentions the appearance of certain people in these rituals of conspicuous display. In parades and processions “. . . ruling groups typically display themselves as . . . (the) guardians and keepers (of icons and symbolic elements) and as depositories of religious or secular power, authority, and military might (Falassi 1987, 4).

Supporting Organizations

Such a display of people involving the Lower Colorado River Authority--among other groups--occurs every year during the annual parade marking the start of the Smithville Jamboree (Bell 1999). The 1995 parade, for example, featured the LCRA's general manager, Mark Rose (Cullick 1995). In 1999 a parade float decorated with red and yellow metallic fringe and displaying the words "Gideon Power Plant; Lower Colorado River Authority," along with the Texas state seal carried a large model of this LCRA plant. In addition to several small trees, the float carried four adults and four children--presumably power plant employees and their family members. This combination of people, symbols and words, presented conspicuously in bright colors, demonstrated the power plant management and the LCRA's display of state mandated authority and roles. These roles include keeper of utility services, guardian of the environment, and provider of employment for the community.

Another display by a supporting organization of its desired roles of guardian and authority occurred during the opening ceremony of the Rollin' Down the River Festival. On stage behind the speakers' podium, audience members--both live and via a televised videotape of the event--could view a flag displaying the Kaw Valley Heritage Alliance logo (KTWU 1998). Similarly, banners displaying the LCRA name appeared at the Chautauquas on the Colorado--also visible on the backdrop behind the stage (LCRA 1993). As part of the sponsorship agreements, the LCRA requested from local festival producers that they display the river authority's banner at each festival site (Cullick 1999b). A report from 1995 indicates in that year alone, the LCRA distributed two of these banners to each of the towns hosting Riverfest associated festivals (Fletcher 1995).

Celebrities

Just as the Smithville Jamboree parade served as a venue for the LCRA's display of institutional authority and the faces associated with that authority, the Haw River Festival provided the Haw River Assembly an opportunity to display a human icon representing the organization's social role. Symbolizing the power of grassroots citizen involvement in environmental protection, environmental justice, and river stewardship in particular, the 1995 Haw River Festival included a performance by the folk music celebrity and social activist Pete Seeger and his son Tao Rodriguez Seeger (Haw River Assembly 1995). As a founder of and crew member for New York's Hudson Clearwater Revival Festival--the event providing the original model and inspiration for the Haw River Festival--Mr. Seeger's presence emphasized the global nature of the cause: society's responsibility for protecting all rivers and the necessity of adapting an environmental stewardship ethic in general.

As a representative not of a ruling class but of the common folk, Mr. Seeger's festival performance suggests festival rituals involving the conspicuous display of people include a larger set than mentioned by Falassi. The Haw River Assembly included a demonstration/performance by local "river-artist" and celebrity Clyde Jones; a long-term Bynum resident whose animal sculptures, constructed of "... driftwood and other materials salvaged from the river . . .," inhabit lawns visible from every road in the area (*Chapel Hill Herald* [Chapel Hill, North Carolina], 27 January 1991). As a displayed element in the festival, Mr. Jones symbolized the colorful character of the town, Bynum, as well as the significance of the river to its community.

Common Citizens

In addition to members of “. . . ruling groups . . .”(Falassi 1987, 4) and celebrities, the case studies involved displays of individuals and groups associated with the lives of ordinary people. Events at the Rollin’ Down the River Festival—including a pictorial presentation of “Family Life on the Frontier” (KVHA 1997), an “Informal Conversation with Lawrence’s Riverman” (KVHA 1997), and several community round-table history discussions with local residents (KVHA 1997)--recognized and displayed members of the working class and their contributions to the region’s heritage.

Historically Significant People

The display of historically significant individuals or groups frequently included performances, living history demonstrations, historical event re-enactments and the display of historically accurate costumes or attire. In addition to the previously mentioned canoe carrying frontiersmen in costume as part of the display, the Rollin’ Down the River Festival also included performances by a balladeer from the Kaw Indian Nation to represent the region’s diverse cultural heritage (De Bres 1997; KVHA 1997). This performance, as well as a presentation about the Delaware Indians that included a display of historical artifacts, symbolized the importance of Native American culture as part of the community heritage (Wolf 2000).

Festival planners did not limit displays of symbolic people to those still living. An actor playing the part of Mark Twain appeared to a Chautauqua audience on the banks of the Colorado in 1993 to discuss values relating to river stewardship from the perspective

of a nineteenth century social commentator (*The Bastrop Advertiser* [Bastrop, Texas]. 1 August, 1992; LCRA 1993). Similarly, the LCRA invited Yesterfest attendees to join a storyteller--playing the role of a local citizen from the eighteen hundreds--on a replicated river ferry “. . . to hear yarns from the ‘good old days’ ” (LCRA 1995b). The 1995 celebration in Columbus, Texas, included a re-enactment of the battle in which Santa Anna, the Mexican General, surrendered to the Texas Army. A parade and military encampment featured the members of the group portraying this historically significant event (Fletcher 1995).

As in the case of the Texas Army display, all of the conspicuous displays of people in the festival rituals demonstrated festival producers’ desire to represent more than just the interests and accomplishments of a single person or group; the presence of these symbolic individuals or groups indicated festival producers’ attempts to represent and promote sets of values shared between the human icons and the communities hosting and attending the festivals.

Displays of Important Places

In his analysis of festival morphology, Falassi (1987, 4) mentions “. . . shrines, relics, (and) magic objects . . .” as examples of “. . . the most important symbolic elements . . .” the community displays during festival. However, the Rollin’ Down the River Festival’s presentation on the Delaware Indians demonstrates not only the use of symbolic objects, it also involves the conspicuous display of a place to represent a community value--in this case an identity associated with Native American Heritage.

Due to its symbolic value, festival planners chose the “. . . tiny community of Fall Leaf, named for a Delaware Indian chief,” as the location for this presentation (De Bres 1997). This presentation demonstrates the use of a place as more than a “. . . theatre of festive events . . .” where festival rites and behaviors occur; this event demonstrates the use of a place as a symbolic element in a rite (Falassi 1987, 4). Several examples of the ritual display of place occur in the case studies.

Towns

Among the events associated with Riverfest on the Colorado as well as the events held by the Rollin’ Down the River Festival were two examples of the display of towns as symbolic elements. During the 1999 Springtime Festival in Columbus, Texas, festival participants had the opportunity to take a self-guided tour of the town’s historic buildings—including log cabins from the nineteenth century, homes built by early settlers, and historic municipal buildings. Additionally, planners arranged to stage most of the festival activities for the Springtime Festival on the grounds of the courthouse in the center of the town square and historic district. The festival brochure for the Rollin’ Down the River Festival also includes tours in the list of events; a walking tour of historic Lecompton, Kansas, and “Lawrence Neighborhood Walk” led by an historian (KVHA 1997). Displaying buildings and public spaces that appear today as they did in the towns’ early history emphasizes the physical environment as a key element in the community heritage while serving as a symbol of the communities’ longevity and stability.

Public Facilities

On one occasion, Rollin' Down the River Festival participants gathered near dusk in the schoolyard of an old, abandoned school in Buck Creek, Kansas--a short distance upstream from Lawrence. As a ceremonial gesture to begin a discussion on memories of the old school and the community it served, participants witnessed the ringing of the school bell and the raising of the flag. The festival also “. . . stopped at (other) sites considered ghost towns” along the river corridor (De Bres 1997). As the river's historical focal points, festival producers used these places to reunite former residents within a larger gathering of people. These gatherings attempted to encourage old-time and former residents to share memories of growing up in small towns along the Kaw, thereby reinstating the significance of the small--and sometimes forgotten--town within the modern community identity of the river basin (De Bres 1997).

The Rollin' Down the River Festival included several other conspicuously displayed public facilities. Like the Buck Creek School, festival sites like the Old Dutch Mill now serve primarily in a symbolic and educational role, representing community heritage (KVHA 1997). Others sites used for “. . . community gathering(s) and remembering . . . ,” such as an old stone church in Maple Hill, Kansas, and the Willard town cemetery, were likely still in use in 1997, therefore providing both the originally intended community function as well as the symbolic function promoted by the festival (KVHA 1997).

The list of events in the festival brochure indicates two events that involved rites of conspicuous display in the Rollin' Down the River Festival, which included dedication ceremonies; the dedication of the Cedar Creek boat ramp and the Klataske Conservation

Easement, “. . . dedicated as the first event of the Manhattan area” (De Bres 1997). The display of these places as festival sites attempts to symbolize their value to the community, stressing the importance of access to the river--in the case of the boat ramp dedication--and wildlife habitat preservation in the case of the conservation easement dedication.

Places Abundant with Wildlife

Festival planners also included tours of places with abundant wildlife. The Rollin’ Down the River Festival brochure lists several nature hikes, wildflower walks and bird viewing via foot trails and boat trips (KVHA 1997). All children attending the weekday learning celebrations as part of the Haw River Festival participated in a river walk on a trail adjacent to the river’s edge meandering through lush riparian habitat. In addition to providing settings for educating festival participants about habitats associated with rivers, these sites also served as symbolic displays representing the need for a strong and continuous commitment by society to maintain wild places for the good of the environment.

Structures in the River Channel

Each of the three case studies involved the conspicuous display of man-made structures in the river channels. In 1995, Riverfest on the Colorado included the Buchanan Dam Celebration, featuring tours of one of the river’s large dams constructed in order to provide flood control, reservoirs to maintain a steady water supply, and a means of hydroelectrical power generation (Fletcher 1995; Cullick 1999a). The Rollin’

Down the River Festival featured tours of an emergency spillway in Manhattan and a water treatment plant as well as a gauging station in Lawrence (KVHA 1997). Featuring these structures in festival events suggests a desire among festival planners to honor the achievements of modern engineering in controlling the rivers' flow. The construction of these monuments no doubt resulted in significant changes in the lives and livelihoods of the residents near the river.

No such tribute to structures designed to alter the flow of water occurred in the Haw River Festival. This difference between the festival on the Haw River and the other two rivers stems from a fundamental difference between the mission and philosophies of the supporting organizations. The LCRA began with the primary purpose to provide electric power supply and flood control through dams. Regardless of the other roles the river authority now serves--including environmental manager and steward--the organization still carries on its original responsibility. Promoting the Buchanan Dam as a symbol of community identity then serves the interests of the LCRA as well as the communities upstream that developed along the lake created by the dam.

Like the LCRA, the KVHA seeks to represent a large diversity of interests. The KVHA does so not to satisfy the needs of utility customers or fulfill a state mandated obligation. Rather, the KVHA's motive for including the voices of so many, and sometimes conflicting, parties in its operations involves a strategy to balance environmental and economic interests by working toward a consensus on what constitutes responsible use of resources (KVHA 1997; KTWU 1998). The path toward consensus begins with recognizing and celebrating a shared heritage intricately connected to the river.

As a grassroots advocacy group, the Haw River Assembly formed in an attempt to prevent the building of the dam that now forms Jordan Lake (Chiosso 1999a). As the festival attempts to communicate, both through symbolic representations and educational programming, major alterations within the basin or in the river channel are considered by many to pose serious threats to the health of the river and the community's well being. Therefore, the symbols selected for display in the Haw River Festival primarily represent a community identity that embraces an environmental conservation and protection ethic.

Interestingly, the festival does display a large structure serving as a symbolic element of community identity. A bridge over the river in Bynum once provided a crossing point for automobiles. Closed in recent years except for pedestrian and bicycle traffic, the bridge now provides a stage and course for a foot race held annually as a festival event (Chiosso 1999a). The display of the bridge in this way celebrates a community identity that values non-motorized transportation and, therefore, a lifestyle that facilitates environmental stewardship.

Riverfront Sites; Displays of the River

One element frequently displayed in the case studies distinguishes a river festival from other types of festivals: the river. The LCRA made considerable efforts to encourage local communities to stage festival events in the river or at the riverbank. A few of the events previously mentioned include races in canoes, inner tubes, and "anything that floats" (1995a). Additionally, the 1995 celebration in Columbus, Texas, included "... the first annual Colorado Canoe Regatta Queen's Contest at Beason's Park" in which contestants, young women from the Columbus area, floated downstream in

canoes paddled by escorts to a location in the park where judges selected a winner of the pageant to be river queen (*The Colorado County Citizen* [Columbus, Texas], 3 May 1995). In addition to conspicuously displaying the river and other symbolic elements (such as canoes) this event incorporated a rite of competition. Further discussion will elaborate on the appearance of this ritual during the Canoe Regatta and other events within the case studies. Holding events such as this in and next to the river served as an attempt to raise awareness of the river as a valued resource. Since the water oriented events occurred in the context of a festival, they also demonstrate an attempt on the part of festival planners to incorporate the river as an element of community identity.

Riverside event sites also allowed the conspicuous display of the Haw River. Within the Bynum site alone, Festival planners made use of four locations that allowed festival attendees to participate in multi-sensory experiences with the water. During “river walks,” for example, crew members encouraged children to listen to and describe sounds generated by flowing water, smells along the riverbank, and sights in and adjacent to the water’s path (Chiosso 1999). When describing personal emotional attachments to the river, as well as the many value resources the river provides for humans and the environment, crew members did so with words and intonations that communicated a feeling of reverence for the river. Descriptions of the river, including words such as “. . . magnificent . . . ,” “. . . vital to our well-being and the well-being of all living things . . .” and “. . . spiritually uplifting,” made the display of the river more than an opportunity for transferring knowledge; the river became an element of adoration to be absorbed through the senses, praised and celebrated (Kubick 1999; Winters 1999a; Raxter 1999a).

Since the festival founder's original vision, planners for the Haw River Festival recognized the importance of enabling festival staff and attendees to make contact with water from the river as a means of engaging their interest in, and enjoyment of, the river (Kessel 1999). The same vase of water collected during a rite of valorization in the festival's opening ceremony also served in a ritual of conspicuous display of the water. Collecting water in the vase by hand and then transporting the filled vase downstream over several days emphasized the value of clean water--an act symbolizing water from the river's source as a precious and even sacred substance.

One festival activity enabled school children to explore, with their hands, the water and many specimens of minerals, plants, and animals--particularly macroinvertebrates--from the river. Water pumped out of the river through a hose flowed through a series of troughs, over the specimens, and then back into the river. Despite obstacles prohibiting children from wading in the river-- such as steep banks, poison ivy, venomous snakes and strong currents--the troughs enabled children to make contact with the river and its contents. In this way, children gained opportunities to explore and appreciate the river in a manner only physical contact allows.

One instance of conspicuous display of the river involved a representation of the river as an entity--perhaps a spirit--in a dramatic ritual with great aesthetic and emotional appeal. Concluding a puppet show in which the main character chooses to become a steward for the river rather than reaping profits from activities that damage water quality, a procession of very large puppets--one as tall as fifteen feet--approached the puppet theatre to the accompaniment of singing and drumming by festival staff. Heading this procession, the largest puppet--held up and carried by poles--depicted the river as a

female human form. Attached to the face, long pieces of colorful fabric resembling flowing water created the being's body. Several children from the festival crew in animal costumes--including deer, raccoons, frogs and fish--followed close behind the large river entity. Facilitating the interpretation of this largest puppet as Mother River, lyrics to the melody carried by the festival staff praised the river as a nurturing maternal being.

The river is flowing,
Flowing and growing,
The river is flowing,
Down to the sea.

Oh Mother carry me,
Your child I'll always be,
Oh Mother carry me,
Down to the sea.

Upon reaching the audience of children, Mother River turned toward the Haw and proceeded to the river's edge. Hand gestures from the crew encouraged children in the audience to follow behind the procession leading to the riverbank. Before the children could reach the bank, the giant puppet and its entourage of river critters disappeared into the brush, clearing the view for the literal display of the flowing water. Soon after the puppet show, the children and their teachers boarded their buses and left the festival site. These dramatic displays of the river likely provided the children with lasting memories and concepts, memories of the river's aesthetic qualities and, among other concepts, the idea that if we take care of the river, the river will take care of us.

Displays of the Kaw River for festival participants gathered at several riverside sites occurred in the context of lectures, discussions, presentations, tours, demonstrations, performances and interpretive outings--such as "River Ecology Walks and Talks" (KVHA 1997). Even at event sites not on the riverbank, topics frequently highlighted the

importance of the river to the community. For example, the festival program brochure lists the title of one session of speakers presenting in an auditorium in De Soto, Kansas as “Farmers, Floods and Big Fish” (KVHA 1997). In addition to presentation titles, photographs used during presentations and in exhibits conspicuously displayed the river corridor. In several towns in which festival planners could access riverside public spaces, canoe arrival ceremonies preceding other activities focused festival attendees’ on the river (KVHA 1997).

As is the case with the efforts of Haw Valley’s river artist Clyde Jones, the celebration on the Kaw also displayed the river and associated elements via artwork. Festival producers worked with a local art guild in Lawrence, Kansas, to stage a “. . . river-oriented art show (featuring a) 1996 ‘Ebb and Flow’ river performance video” (KVHA 1997). A café in Lawrence served as a site for an event featuring performances of poetry, storytelling, and songs about not only the Kaw River, but the entire river valley as well, through non-visual, yet still conspicuous, displays of the river (KVHA 1997).

Displays Representing the River Basin

In addition to the performances in Lawrence, Kansas, several examples from each of the three case studies indicate festival producers’ attempt to promote each river basin as the geographical entity for community identity, efforts paralleled by their arrangements to display the river channel conspicuously as a core element of community identity. One very conspicuous display of the watersheds occurred in two of the case studies. The Haw River Festival and the Rollin’ Down the River Festival displayed maps of the watersheds, printed on various media. Haw River Festival t-shirts sold during the festival each

displayed a watershed map on the back. Due to the t-shirt's popularity, any observer attending the Haw River Festival would soon notice t-shirts from the current year as well as from past festivals--all displaying the same map. Festival attendees along the Haw also viewed the watershed map painted on a large piece of plywood displayed at the festival as well as on the printed program schedule (Haw River Assembly 1999b). Rather than highways and political boundaries dominating the visual hierarchy of the map--elements certainly dominant on road maps of the region and likely dominant in the cognitive maps of festival attendees--the map featured the path of the river corridor, the many tributaries feeding into the river, the shape of the river basin, and the location of the basin's cities and towns relative to the river. During presentations to groups of fourth grade students, crew members leading the discussion assisted children in locating the streams closest to their homes and schools. The map in this activity provided the visual tool necessary to facilitate a discussion on the effects of human activities in one part of the basin on water quality down stream. In this way, the map served as a visual demonstration of how the river basin connects the lives of its residents. Additionally, the map provided children and adults an extended period to view the network of stream channels in their watershed, thereby serving as a graphic symbol of identity for the community living within the basin.

As is the case with the Haw River Festival, the Rollin' Down the River Festival also displayed a watershed map on program brochures, t-shirts and flags featuring the network of stream channels within the river basin (KVHA 1997; KTWU 1998). Although the cartographer limited the set of cities and towns featured on the map to the twenty-five communities hosting festival events, the boundaries of the map encompassed

a large portion of the watershed. Text transposed over the map reads “Rollin’ Down the River Festival; Promoting Community, Kinship and Place in the Kaw Valley” (KVHA 1997). This combination of text and graphics suggests two efforts on the part of festival producers: first, to communicate the idea that the celebration is as much about the river as it is about entire river basin; second, to display the map as a symbol of community identity for residents of the basin thereby raising awareness of the community’s existence.

A planner for the Rollin’ Down the River Festival stated:

One of the underlying goals was certainly to have an identity with this watershed. The use of the map, the use of the logo for the alliance ... I think all of those things were really helpful. And I do think people ... just looking at the festival guide and knowing where the festival was going up and downstream --(would ask) “now, where is it now? And where's this community?” There was some attention given to where communities are and how many river miles there might be betwixt and between. And all of that gave a real continuity and connection from Junction City to Kansas City (Donelin 1998).

In a 1997 program brochure for Riverfest on the Colorado, the LCRA also displayed a map representative of a community defined by a watershed (LCRA 1997d). Rather than displaying the entire network of stream channels flowing into the Colorado, as did the other festival programs, the LCRA chose to feature the eleven counties in the river basin that border the river and make-up the spatial boundaries of the river authority’s customer base. Although the map features political boundaries different than the natural boundaries formed by a watershed, the concept symbolized by the map is the same; the river serves as a common thread in the region’s community identity.

During the 1990’s, while involved in the Chautauqua and Riverfest projects, the LCRA began work on another program that would one day tie in with the festival events: the Colorado River Trail. With the idea beginning in 1991, this program served as an

attempt to raise public awareness of cultural attractions in towns in the river basin as well as the opening of several public riverside parks, owned and maintained by the LCRA, that allowed increased public access to the Colorado River (*Austin American-Statesman* [Austin, Texas], 30 March, 1995). The meaning of “trail” in the program’s title has two components (Cullick 1999a). In the literal sense, it refers to the 500 mile-long river corridor from San Saba County to the Gulf of Mexico and the attractions along the corridor, including several towns and over 30 riverside parks (Cullick 1999a; TPWD 1997a). In its second meaning, “trail” refers to the many driving routes throughout the basin. Routes that figuratively follow the course of the river (Cullick 1999a) and provide access to communities’ “. . . best assets and resources that make use of the Colorado River (such as) their towns, their museums (and) their parks” (Cullick 1997a). In addition to “. . . emphasiz(ing) the importance of the Colorado River and . . . celebrat(ing) its exceptional environmental condition” (Fletcher 1995), the Riverfest program, according to LCRA spokesman Bill McCann, served as a venue to “. . . make the public more aware of the Colorado River Trail” (*Austin American-Statesman* [Austin, Texas], 30 March, 1995). By 1995, much of the Riverfest publicity generated by the LCRA--in the form of press releases, a television feature, radio features, brochures and sponsorship informational packages --promoted the Colorado River Trail (Fletcher 1995; LCRA 1995a, 1995b, 1995c, 1997b, 1997c, 1997d, 1997e; Texas Parks and Wildlife Department (TPWD) 1997a, 1997b). By 1997, when the LCRA finished development of the riverside parks, Riverfest became the publicity vehicle to mark the official grand opening of the Colorado River Trail (TPWD 1997a). Thus, promoting the River Trail concept with the Riverfest program allowed the LCRA to conspicuously and symbolically display, in the

context of festival, not only the river corridor and their riverside parks, but also locations throughout the basin as elements with strong links to community identity.

Rites of Conspicuous Consumption

Rites of conspicuous consumption usually involve food and drink. These are prepared in abundance and even excess, made generously available, and solemnly consumed in various forms of feasts, banquets, or symposia Traditional meals or blessed foods are one of the most frequent and typical features of festival, since they are a very eloquent way to represent and enjoy abundance, fertility, and prosperity (Falassi 1987, 4).

In two of the case studies, festival planners arranged for traditional community meals to which the public was invited. In 1995, the LCRA together with local festival crew members served festival goers barbecue dinners during the Columbus celebration (LCRA 1995a; Fletcher 1995). For three years, 1995 to 1997, the LCRA promoted a catfish fry, free to the public, as part of the Riverfest events staged at Bay City, Texas (LCRA 1995a; *Daily Tribune* [Bay City, Texas], 11 April 1996; LCRA 1997c). One local festival planner in Smithville recalled an event in the early years of Riverfest in which the LCRA promoted the catching, cooking and serving of fish as a way to demonstrate to the public the cleanliness of the Colorado (Richards 2000); a river that contained fish contaminated with toxins and considered unsafe to eat in previous decades (Carsen 1962; Cullick 1999a).

In De Soto, Kansas, a presentation about potato production--a predominant agricultural activity in the area--occurred in conjunction with a potato bar dinner. As in the case with the barbecue dinners and fish fries held during Riverfest events, the potato dinner represented abundance and prosperity. Additionally, as elements in rituals of

conspicuous display, these particular foods hold symbolic importance in community identity. While the barbecue and potato dinners represent livelihoods of many agriculturalists in the regions, the catfish fries suggest yet another contribution of the quality of life.

Ritual Drama

In discussion of the subject matter of ritual dramas staged at festival sites, Falassi (1987, 5) states:

Their subject matter is often a creation myth, a foundation or migratory legend, or a military success particularly relevant in the mythical or historical memory of the community staging the festival. By means of the drama, the community members are reminded of their Golden Age, the trials and tribulations of their founding fathers in reaching the present location of the community, the miracles of a saint, or the periodic visit of a deity to whom the festival is dedicated. When the sacred story is not directly staged, it is very often hinted at or referred to in some segments or events of the festival.

The re-enactment of the battle between Mexican forces and the Texas Army staged during the Columbus, Texas celebration in 1995 (LCRA 1995a; Fletcher 1995) certainly demonstrates the significance of that historic victory for the Texas militia as a symbol of Texas identity to the festival producers and actors portraying soldiers. Staging this drama in conjunction with Riverfest suggests festival producers attempt to imply the historical importance of the river to the community. Flowing in approximately the same path for centuries, the river played a vital role in the lives of the area's early settlers, frontiersmen, and soldiers--the symbolic ancestors of the present community. The river than connects not only the lives of community members in the present, it also connects the lives of those from past generations to the present.

Drama involving the portrayal of the past also came in the form of living history presentations in which festival and event goers participated more directly in the ritual by engaging in dialogues with (whom appear to be) their community's ancestors. The stories told by the river ferry operator during the Yesterfest celebration or the lecture presented by Mark Twain illustrate this point (LCRA 1993; Fletcher 1995). These dramas also illustrate symbolically as well as in a very literal manner the importance of the river in community development.

The children's puppet show staged during the Haw River Festival reminds the audience of the river's "Golden Age" and the modern threats in the new age. The drama optimistically looks to a future time--when human activities no longer threaten the river's ability to support life (Falassi 1997, 5).

Rites of Exchange

Rites of exchange express the abstract equality of the community members, their theoretical status as equally relevant members of a "*communitas*," a community of equals under certain shared laws of reciprocity. At the *fair*, money and goods are exchanged at an economic level. At more abstract and symbolic levels, information, ritual gifts, or visits may be exchanged; public acts of pacification, symbolic *remissio debitum*, or thanksgiving for a grace received may take place in various forms of redistribution, sponsored by the community or a privileged individual, who thus repays the community or the gods for what he has received in excess.

As with several other examples of symbolic elements that--through ritual--appear in multiple contexts, the serving of meals demonstrates a ritual exchange in addition to the previously discussed rituals of consumption and conspicuous display. Along with the free meals provided by the LCRA-sponsored fish fries and barbeques and the community potato dinner meals served in De Soto, Kansas, many of the events in each case study, as

evident from observations or the program brochure, included food available for purchase from vendors (KVHA 1997). During the 1999 Bay City Riverfest Pilot Club Duck Race, a bake sale raised funds for the local organization involved in producing the festival--the Bay City Chamber of Commerce.

Festival goers made financial contributions to the Haw River Assembly in a donation jar placed near the festival entrance booth, as well as through participation in an art auction and the purchase of raffle tickets for a canoe. The ceremonial drawing and presentation of the canoe to the winner also demonstrates the use of ritual exchange.

At the Haw River Festival, the ritual exchange of information occurred, among other ways, through the use of booths at which representatives from various organizations conversed with the public. Formal speeches and presentations at the Rollin' Down the River Festival, as well as the less formal panel discussions and demonstrations, promoted public access to a great diversity of information necessary for understanding and appreciating the natural and cultural heritage associated with the Kaw River.

Whether involving food, goods or information, all of these ritualized exchanges served to express the value of participation in the festival and involvement in the cause of celebration. The exchanges relate to a concept of equality as described by Falassi; they underscore the idea that all community members hold equal responsibility for and benefit from protecting the heritage associated with the river.

Rites of Competition

Festival competitions include various forms of contest and prize giving, from the election of the beauty queen to the selection of the best musician, player, singer, or dancer, individual or group, to awards to a new improvised narrative or work of art of

any kind or to the best festive decorations. By singling out its outstanding members and giving them prizes, the group implicitly reaffirms some of its most important values In their symbolic aspect, festival competitions may be seen as a metaphor for the emergence and establishment of power (Falassi 1987, 5-6).

During a Rollin' Down the River Festival event “. . . advertised as a ‘reunion of communities’ (for the towns of) Willard, Valencia, Union Town and Pony Boy”, festival staff awarded prizes to the traveler from farthest and the oldest person (De Bres 1997). This competition reflects festival planners’ promotion of a value: maintaining the experience of communion despite the obstacles of large expanses of time and space.

Tournaments promoted as part of Riverfest on the Colorado involved direct contact with the river. Awards for the fastest in canoe racing or for the person able to catch the largest fish promote the values of personal growth, strength and achievement through the pursuit of activities associated with the river. The 1995 Canoe Regatta Queen’s Contest in Columbus, Texas (*The Colorado County Citizen* [Columbus, Texas], 3 May 1995)--the pageant in which community members selected a river queen from contestants displayed floating in canoes and later interviewed by judges--promoted the values of aspiring to achieve beauty and intellectual abilities. This event also suggests festival planners’ desire to associate the river with the traditional competitive ritual of the pageant, a tradition valued less by many younger community members in the Columbus area (McCain 1999).

At the Haw River Festival, festival producers focused little attention on competitive rituals. In fact, as the only competition observed, the events during the weekend community celebration in Bynum included a foot race across a bridge the Haw River Assembly had recently campaigned to make into a pedestrian bridge. Judging from

the comments of one festival planner, drawing the public's attention to the bridge provided the main motivation for the race rather than singling out the fastest runners in the community (Chiosso 1999b). Children's games observed during the festival did not involve competition. Rather, the observed festival staff explained games to children emphasizing the value of individual coordination and cooperation within the group. In this way, whether intentionally or not, the activities avoided the creation of a "... hierarchical order" associated with competitions (Falassi 1987, 5).

Rites of Devalorization

Occurring at the end of festivals, rites of devalorization bring closure to events and mark a "... return to the normal spatial and temporal dimensions of daily life" (Falassi 1987, 6). Suggesting an attempt to ensure the well being of festival participants as they make this transition, a "Native Blessing" concluded a closing ceremony in Topeka, Kansas (KVHA 1997). This ceremony then served as a rite of purification--as well as a rite of devalorization.

Concluding the Haw River Festival, crew members deconstructed the village of tents that had transformed the space adjacent to an old abandoned mill into a festival site. The festival staff took great care in removing all signs of their presence as well as the festival activities in returning the site to its normal condition. After packing away all equipment into automobiles for transport to storage, crew members gathered at the home of a local resident for a farewell dinner party. Much of the discussion at this event included reflections of their time together during the festival as well as their plans and activities in their daily lives away from the group. Just as the crew worked to return the

site to its previous condition, the ritual of a final gathering prepared crew members to return to their lives away from the festival site.

Function of Festival Symbology

Having explored the rituals embodying the symbolic elements of the festival case studies, a summary of their social function is now possible.

Renewal of Community Energy

In her 1989 proposal for support and funding to stage the first Haw River Festival, Louise Kessel drew upon her past experiences with river festivals in predicting the festival's effect on people. She explained the festival activities would provide opportunities for “. . . adventure and hard work, (experiences that are) likely to bring people together in a powerful way The individuals touched in such ways provide a resource to our community and organizations that should not be underestimated Although the project will require a tremendous amount of energy, it will build energy in the Haw River Assembly rather than deplete it” (Kessel 1989, 2). The activities described by Ms. Kessel, and discussed previously in this text, became rituals due to their occurrence in the context of a festival--rituals designed to evoke inspiration, motivation, commitment and a sense of spiritual fulfillment among crew and festival participants.

Through activities incorporating the use of rituals, festival planners from the other two case studies also attempted to “. . . renew . . . the lifestream of (their) communities” (Falassi 1987, 3). Symbolic elements and behaviors attested to the opportunities offered

by the river for recreation, learning and the appreciation of nature--experiences with the potential to provide intellectual and emotional fulfillment.

Sanctioning Institutions

Riverfest on the Colorado provided the LCRA a venue in which to display its state mandated authority and responsibilities. Even for the other two supporting organizations that possess no state authority, the festivals served as a demonstration of their power to organize and mobilize people for the good of a cause. The events attempted to publicize not only the cause of protecting and celebrating heritage associated with the river, they also provided access to considerable media attention focused on the supporting organizations' achievements in spearheading the cause (Kessel 1991).

Promotion of Social Values

In each case study, the river frequently served as the focal point for the message promoting care for the environment at local, regional and global levels. Symbolic elements emphasized the need to maintain wild places as well as lifestyles that facilitate environmental stewardship. The display of artifacts, people, and places along with exchanges of food and information suggested the need for all individuals to maintain a strong environmental stewardship ethic--a value the rituals represent as part of a community identity.

In addition to valuing the health and stewardship of the environment, the festivals also involved symbolic elements and behaviors to foster the appreciation and stewardship of other aspects of community heritage associated with the river--all of which are

intricately linked to environmental aspects. Festival producers employed ritual drama to illustrate the contribution of past generations to present social conditions as well as the relation between current human actions and the lives of future generations. The river became the predominant symbolic element connecting past, present, and future generations in the form of community.

The festivals and the rites they embodied represented the value of places--the value in terms of their “. . . local color and . . . flavor” (Cullick 1997b), as well as their individual cultural and historical significance on a larger scale--the river basin. Just as events represented the significance of large and small towns and their histories to the modern community identity of the river basin, the festivals also exhibited the contributions from a diversity of human groups from various segments of society--such as agriculturalists, engineers, artists, scholars, social activists, veterans and several ethnic groups. In addition to representing the contributions of people and places, in many cases the festival rites also illustrated the river’s significance in making those contributions possible.

In the Rollin’ Down the River Festival and Riverfest on the Colorado, competitions such as fishing contests, canoe races, and beauty pageants rewarded achievements and abilities valued by the communities: strength, skill, intellectual ability and beauty. Serving as a backdrop during these contests and award ceremonies, the river represented a means to achieve these qualities.

The festival symbols promoted the value of communion within a social network linked together by the river. Staging events at sites throughout the basin extended this link to include the river basin as the territorial basis for a single community, thus

encouraging people to think of their relationships with other people, the land and the river in terms of a system integral to the watershed. This link between community and place--as well as the symbolic and literal representations of the two--will provide the subject matter for the next section of this text.

CHAPTER 6

SENSE OF COMMUNITY; SENSE OF PLACE.

Promoting community and place appear as central themes in the analysis of the three festival case studies. This section proposes three hypotheses that offer an explanation of how producers of river festivals use the concepts of community and place to affect people's concern and involvement with rivers:

1. *Communion and sense of place hypothesis:* People who stage the three river festivals in these case studies perceive river festivals as a means for people to experience communion with others as well as to experience affection and attachment toward the river and the river basin.
2. *Concern and involvement hypothesis:* People who stage the three river festivals in these case studies believe that experiences of communion with others and affection and attachment toward the river and the river basin will result in increased concern and involvement with the river.
3. *Consensus hypothesis:* People who stage the three river festivals in these case studies believe that experiences of communion with others and affection and attachment toward the river and the river basin will result in an increased likelihood of agreement between people on issues affecting the river, the river basin and people who live in the basin.

The evidence supporting these hypotheses stems from an analysis of informants' motives for producing the festivals. Having already focused on the festivals' symbolic meanings, the festival producers' verbalized communications--both spoken and written-- will also provide insight into their motives.

Definitions

Much of the data supporting these hypotheses involves a term and a phrase frequently used by informants: “community” and “sense of place.” Discussion and definitions of these terms as well as “communion” will provide clarification in the analysis. Bell and Newby, define community in various contexts:

community as a ‘geographical expression’, i.e. a finite and bounded physical location; community as a ‘sociological expression’, i.e. a local social system; and community as a particular kind of *human association* irrespective of its local focus. . . . Community, then, can be characterized as that order of social coherence which develops on the basis of natural interdependence The natural . . . includes all those attributes that one has inherited collectively, into which one has grown and been born . . . (such as) a matter of custom and of shared modes of thought or expression (1978, 195-196).

However, the term’s use in academic literature and in common usage, as the authors point out, frequently refers to feelings of connectedness and emotional bonds shared among members of a community--what Schmalenbach (1961) refers to as “communion.” Bell and Newby follow Schmalenbach’s lead in arguing for use of the term “communion” to distinguish this emotional experience from the three definitions of “community.” To clarify the relationship between the two terms, Bell and Newby state:

Communion can . . . be a product of community, but community itself does not consist of feelings or emotions, for community precedes emotional recognition by its members. Communion is simply the subsequent form of community experience at the level of consciousness" (1978, 197).

For the purposes of this analysis, “communion” is defined as *awareness of membership, connectedness, or emotional bonds shared among members of a community.*

Cosgrove provides a definition for “sense of place” and discusses two meanings:

1. The character intrinsic to a place itself. 2. The attachments that people themselves have to a place. These are two distinct but interlocking perspectives.

In the first sense, certain places are regarded as distinctive or memorable through their unique physical characteristics or 'imagability', or through their association with significant events, real or mythical In the second sense, in everyday life individuals and communities develop deep attachments to places through experience, memory and intention (1994, 548-549).

The discussion presented here will distinguish between the above meanings as well as any other intended meaning of the informants when they use the phrase “sense of place.” As with efforts to provide clarification for informants’ use of “community,” determining their intended meaning will require consideration of the context in which individuals use the words as well as their responses when asked what they understand the words or phrases to mean.

Communion and Sense of Place Hypothesis

People who stage the three river festivals in these case studies perceive river festivals as a means for people to experience communion with others as well as to experience affection and attachment toward the river and the river basin.

An examination of the data relating to motives for staging the festivals reveals a close connection between two concepts festival producers associate with festival function: the experiences of communion and affection/attachment toward place--or sense of place. As one festival producer stated, “community means pride, commitment and a distinctive sense of place” (De Bres 1998). Because the concepts appear intertwined in the minds of festival producers, the hypothesis and discussion in this subsection address both ideas simultaneously while exploring their relationship.

As previously indicated in the discussion on volunteer motives, informants frequently reported a desire to experience communion as well as promote communion experiences among festival attendees. The festival as an opportunity to promote communion experiences among residents within the river basin represents a view common especially among paid staff members of the supporting organizations involved in festival planning as well as production. Along with attempting to promote communion, or a “sense of community” as stated by sources in all three case studies (Arnsberger 1999; De Bres 1997; Dreyfors 1999; Ford 1999; KVHA 1997; LCRA 1997a), festival planners staged events in an effort to promote a sense of place: both affection towards and an identity associated with the river basin (Buchanan 1997; De Bres 1997; Haw River Assembly 1991; Kessel 1989; KVHA 1997; LCRA 1993; TPWD 1997a; Wolf 1998a, 1998b). Certainly the festival symbology as interpreted in the previous section of this research reflects a perception among planners that the festival provides a means for people to experience communion as well as affection and attachment toward the river and the river basin. The following text provides further data to support this hypothesis.

Loss of Community and Sense of Place

In observing the many social changes since preindustrial times, some scholars note a loss in the heterogeneity of landscapes resulting in a lost or diminished sense of place (Heidegger 1962; Relph 1976). Similarly, Putnam documents the loss of community activity and social ties in the United States during the last three decades. In discussing “the collapse . . . of American community,” he writes, “. . . most Americans

today feel vaguely and uncomfortably disconnected” (Putnam 2000, 1, 402). Kirkpatrick

Sale also notes a loss of community cohesion in modern urban culture:

Small towns are everywhere threatened, and rural populations dwindling; the newly burgeoning suburbs have shown themselves to be particularly weak in creating community cohesion and mutuality; and it is the rare section of the infrequent city in which any strong sense of communality is to be found any longer The increasing loss of communal life is undoubtedly at the heart of the malaise of modern urban culture and its disappearance clearly cannot bode well for the future (Sale 1980, 181).

Sale later proposes that community and sense of place are inherent human needs, needs that present social conditions leave unfulfilled for most people (Sale 1985; 1994).

Implicit in both of these authors’ discussion of “loss of community” is the notion of loss of communion.

Many of the informants involved in the planning and production of the three case study festivals hold similar views to those of these authors; that people feel disconnected in their social ties and in their relationship with the land (Arnsberger 1999; Buchanan 2000; Cullick 1999; Kessel 1999; Wolf 1998b). For example, in reference to lack of knowledge or awareness about the Kaw River, Buchanan addressed a festival audience with the following words:

Knowledge about the river's past and present is surprisingly small, as too is people's awareness of the river. Considering how central the river is to all of our lives, I find it very surprising that people don't know the river very well today The average person . . . doesn't know much about it-- except when it floods. They may only be aware of a bridge they cross over occasionally (Buchanan 1997).

During an interview, Buchanan expressed thoughts concerning a lack of connection between people living in the basin of the Kaw River, Buchanan:

One thing that all the people in the area have in common is they are on land drained by that river. Most people wouldn't think of that--most people don't think in these terms--the idea of the river as a unifying force between people. The festival tried to bring together communities of towns (Buchanan 2000).

The idea of loss of place and community identity associated with rivers certainly predates the three case study festivals. In his 1981 account of his journey down the Mississippi River, Jonathan Raban laments over his encounters with towns that lost their orientation to the river, the very source for much of each community's heritage (Raban 1981). Echoing Raban's sentiments, Robert Cullick, an LCRA employee centrally involved in the planning of Riverfest, stated:

We turned our back on the river, we polluted it, we didn't use it and we've forgotten it. Now it's time to get back to the river We need people that have a relationship with the river (Cullick 1999).

Similarly, in his speech at the Rollin' Down the River Festival, Buchanan refers to Raban by relating the author's observations along the Mississippi to communities along the Kaw River:

Raban describes cities that have turned their back on the river, looked the other direction, built away from it, almost ignored it, rather than face the Mississippi and celebrate it.

In some ways, our time along the Kaw has been the same. For a long time we've dammed the river and dumped things into it, and probably only noticed it when it demanded our attention, the way it did in 1951 and again in 1993. But maybe this celebration is a sign that now we're beginning to pay attention. Maybe this is a new morning for the Kaw, the way Twain saw the sun come up on the Mississippi. A time to remember that the river is a part of this place. That the river, like water throughout the state, is not an afterthought, but something to be celebrated and protected (Buchanan 1997).

Re-establishing Community and Sense of Place

As the festival symbology suggests, the festival planners viewed the events as a means of establishing and re-establishing connections among people and between people and places. "Promoting community and place . . ." (KVHA 1997), as the Rollin' Down the River Festival program proclaims, became a common element in planners' initial

visions for the three festivals. In referring to the Rollin' Down the River Festival, Ron Parks stated:

The wonderful thing about this is that the river itself is a tremendous metaphor for connection, because literally, all things ...someone once said, come to the river ... or must finally come to the river. That is really what we're trying to say here -- is that the river is a central thread that holds together all aspects of human life and non-human life -- past, present and future ... and we need to become cognizant of that and re-embrace the river as a central element of our identity, and then proceed on that basis (Parks 1997).

Similarly, in representing the LCRA during a radio broadcast promoting Riverfest on the Colorado, Robert Cullick stated, "Riverfest is an event put on by the people in the eleven counties along the Colorado River. Each community has their own special event in their town with a lot of local color and a lot of local flavor, and all of them are tied together by the Colorado River and the significance of the River to their community" (TPWD 1997a).

In her proposal to the Haw River Assembly for staging the Haw River Festival, Louise Kessel anticipated the affect of participating in the production of the festival for crew members. She wrote:

Our festival crew will camp along the way. Cooking on fires, sharing the work of teaching, performing, setting up the displays, preparing food, etc. In this way the festival crew will have a unique and inspiring experience with the river, with each other and with the people we meet along the way. It will be a lot of work. It will be A LOT of fun. We will know the river and each other a whole lot better when we are through. . . . People will be drawn together as a result of the celebration. (Kessel 1989, 1, 2).

Ms. Kessel's statement predicting how the festival would foster the development of relationships with other people and the river through fun, inspiring and challenging experiences, supports the first hypothesis. In accordance with the original vision, many

of the people involved with the production of the 1999 festival also viewed the festival as an opportunity, for themselves and others, to experience communion and to connect emotionally to the river (Arnsberger 1999; Burgur 1999; Carver 1999; Claudia 1999; Conley 1999; Ford 1999; Froeber 1999; John 1999; Kent 1999; Kessel 1999; King 1999; Manning 1999; Mark 1999; Monast 1999; Raxter 1999b; Winters 1999b; Zimmerman 1999). Marjorie Hudson, a writer for *Wildlife in North Carolina* magazine and former crew member for the Haw River Festival described her experience in bonding with the people and the places along the river corridor:

I have pledged to volunteer a few days for the festival, and find myself pulled into its current. Wanting to be part of each week's crew, wanting to get to know the people and the river both up and downstream from where I live in Chatam County The idea is catching in hometowns up and down the Haw, that the river makes us neighbors (Hudson 1991, 22).

Like many others in later years, Hudson recognized how participation in the festival encourages feelings of connectedness to people and a place: people in the two categories of crew members and "neighbors" and place consisting of all the locations along the river.

In response to having ". . . turned our backs on the river" (Cullick 1999), festival planners from each case study articulated a common rationale for their events; the time has come for society to return to or rediscover the river (Buchanan 1997; Cullick 1999a; Kendall 2000a; Manning 1999; McCann 1999). As one board member and festival planner for the Haw River Assembly stated during an interview, ". . . this festival and other events like it bring people back to the river. Coming back year after year helps them develop a sense of place. People become emotionally attached to the river" (Manning 1999). Also appearing in printed materials, broadcasts and speeches associated

with the events, the phrase of rediscovering/returning to the river served as a metaphor for acquiring a common sense of place characterized by and centered around the river.

In addition to gaining or increasing a shared sense of place, this concept--rediscovering/ retuning to the river--also implied, in several cases, promoting communion experiences among people living in proximity to the river or within the basin. Returning for a moment to Bell and Newby's definitions, the festivals attempted to promote "community" in two (academic) senses of the word: as both geographical and sociological expressions. In the geographical sense, those people attending the festivals and/or becoming aware of the festivals through the media were presented with the concept of returning to the river as part of a community, with membership in the community based on their residence in proximity to the river or within the river basin. In the sociological sense, the messages implied membership in a community or social system tied to the river, connected by the many resources and values associated with the river. These include aesthetic and spiritual values, the river as a major component of drinking and wastewater systems, recreational opportunities, a source for wildlife habitat and the source of the community origins, development and present existence. By being promoted as the basis for human habitat and shared heritage, the river served as a focal point for conceptualizing community in both the geographical and sociological senses as well as in the common (non-academic) sense of shared feelings of connectedness or, returning to the academic terminology, communion. Raising awareness of community existence and identity rooted in the river and river basin, the festivals attempted to promote communion, " . . . the subsequent form of community experience at the level of consciousness" (Bell and Newby 1978, 197). In this way, the

returning to/rediscovering the river theme served as yet another attempt to increase people's feeling of membership in a community based not only on geographical proximity to a river but, additionally, on a shared emotional attachment to the river.

In the context of his discussion on remedies for the loss of community, Sale poses the question, “. . . is it not possible to envision the criteria for an optimum community in the modern world?” (Sale 1980, 181). The river festivals explored here serve as an attempt to help people envision these criteria.

Concern and Involvement Hypothesis

People who stage the three river festivals in these case studies believe that experiences of communion with others and affection and attachment toward the river and the river basin will result in increased concern and involvement with the river.

In a 1991 press release, the Haw River Assembly indicates the underlying goals of promoting a sense of place and communion experiences connected to the river:

The festival awakens and nurtures in the children a sense of wonder about the natural world. The Haw River Festival will also have a profound effect on the more than 300 volunteers coming together to create the event. The volunteers will form a community of learning and teaching, to canoe, camp and live together, to celebrate the river, to foster a love of place and to increase their commitment to the protection of our watershed.

In creating a project for children we will present whole communities the opportunity to gather to give help and support, and in so doing, promote a coming together of people around the principles of caring for the earth (Haw River Assembly 1991).

Additionally, in refereeing to the purpose of the Haw River Festival, Kessel stated, “When people really love the place where they live, they think more about the choices they make and how those choices will effect the environment and community” (*The Daily Tar Heel*. April 26, 1991). Planners from each case study encouraged river stewardship and “. . . the protection of (the) watershed” as a festival goal (Haw River Assembly 1991).

In each case, acquiring a sense of place (or, as Kessel stated “. . . love [of] . . . place”) and communion experiences appear to serve as the prerequisite, in the minds of planners, for increasing concern and involvement with the river.

Gaining Support for the Festival's Supporting Organization

Kessel's original proposal to the Haw River Assembly described the festival as a way to increase support for the organization, thereby helping the Assembly work toward its mission, to restore and preserve the health and beauty of the Haw River, and to support conservation of the land along the River. To gain this support, Kessel made several statements promoting the festival as a means to foster community and love for the river:

It will have a definite impact and reach a large number of people

Teaching people about the wonders of their own river is an activity that has potential for cultivating a broad base of support

People will be drawn together as a result of the celebration

The Haw River assembly needs more active members. Providing an inviting and exciting way for people to become involved is a good way to work on this

Adventure and hard work (are) likely to bring people together in a powerful way. The individuals touched in such ways provide a resource to our community and organizations that should not be underestimated (Kessel 1991).

Establishing Connectedness and Promoting Responsibility in the Watershed

A planner for the Rollin' Down the River Festival, Joyce Wolf, stated:

The idea was to get people to thinking again about the river, about our connection to the river, the heritage that we all share. Just thinking about the watershed as a whole as well. The river is part of the watershed ... an important part of the watershed, but what we do on the land is equally important to what ultimately happens to the river (Wolf, 1998).

When asked during an interview to explain what was meant by the word “community” on the program brochure, she stated:

It's more than just people who live in a certain place. The idea of community goes beyond geopolitical boundaries to a watershed area. How the river connects them, how upstream actions affect down stream actions--not confined to place--a feeling of connectedness. If we can accomplish this goal of establishing connectedness in the watershed, then we can begin to promote responsibility in the watershed and then look at it and respond to ideas about improving the water quality (Wolf 2000).

Returning to and Cleaning-up the River

Some festival promotions used the “returning to the river” or “getting back to the river” metaphor in conjunction with the stated goal of increasing river stewardship. For example, LCRA spokesman Bill McCann claimed, “The whole idea of the outing is to get people back to the river. It’s a time for people to enjoy and learn about the river while helping clean it up” (*Daily Tribune* [Bay City, Texas], 28 September 1992). In refereeing to the Chautauquas on the Colorado River, Joe Kendall said, “we see this program as a way to let people rediscover and appreciate the river, while convincing people not to litter” *Austin American Statesman* [Austin, Texas], 29 May, 1992.

Encouraging Emotionally Uplifting Experiences

Publicity for the Chautauquas on the Colorado frequently promoted the aesthetic qualities and recreational opportunities associated with the river. In discussing the pleasures of canoeing on the Colorado, a Chautauqua participant stated:

this is the reason to do it for anyone, the beauty of the river. Even though there is pollution and we must all work to correct that, the wildlife and the plant life on the side of the river give you peace (LCRA 1993).

Another participant provides a similar opinion:

I think it makes me appreciate natural things so much more because I see a lot of things, hear a lot of things --you can't help but hear the birds sing. It makes you appreciate another side of nature that you don't see when you're in Austin or in your car or in your office building or on your way to work (LCRA 1993).

When asked to describe his views on the role of education in promoting river

stewardship, Joe Kendall stressed the importance of “get(ting) to know the river . . .”

through fun, safe and comfortable experiences:

(Lecturing on) the environmental message, testing water quality, who wants to go? At least in my kind of thinking. Bill and I, we don't want to go and study test tubes. What we want to do is go hoot and holler, howl at the moon, and make music and margaritas. And the idea of trying to communicate an environmental message using entertainment . . . what better way to get education across than to go and get to know the river in a fun way. And that's why the foundation has evolved from instead of trying to teach people about water quality, all we try to do is get people on the river and show them a good time. And that includes teaching them about how to be comfortable on the river. Not too hot, not too cold, not too hungry. And people have an incredibly good time (Kendall 2000b).

The later Riverfest events incorporated a similar strategy. As Robert Cullick expressed in an interview:

Riverfest was planned with the belief that the more people who got interested, the more who would fight for its reclamation. We need people that have a relationship with the river. That is, the project was in part an effort to increase the public's level of understanding and citizenship with the river (Cullick 1999a).

Supporting the concern and involvement hypothesis, these statements from producers of the Chautauquas and Riverfest on the Colorado indicate a belief that encouraging emotionally uplifting experiences and first-hand knowledge of the river serves as an appropriate means for promoting environmental stewardship.

Intellectual and Emotional Awareness of Community and Place

In a speech titled “Sense of Place” delivered to an audience as part of the opening of the Rollin’ Down the River Festival, Buchanan connects community identity and consciousness with knowledge of place and a land ethic. Borrowing Leopold’s metaphor of “thinking like a mountain,” Buchanan views the festival as an indicator of society’s ability to “think like a river”:

... we can’t really know ourselves until we know the place around us, how we are shaped by that place and how we shape that place in return. I’d suggest that most of us don’t know the Kansas River very well, and as a result, we really don’t know ourselves very well. That may be why we don’t do a very good job of anticipating the consequences of our actions.

Maybe that’s starting to change. If we could fast-forward a few hundred years, a mere drop in the bucket of time to a river, we might see that we are, right now, in the midst of a very important period. Events like this river celebration signal a new level of awareness about the river and this region. Concern about water quality and runoff, the establishment of minimum streamflow levels, and the creation of bodies, like groundwater management districts, to deal with water issues--all of these are signs that we’re beginning to think in the longer terms. We’re trying to understand the impact of our actions, not just a few months or a few years from now, but for some longer period of time. Maybe someday our children, or their children, will look back at this period of history and see that, without even realizing it, we were beginning to think like a river (Buchanan 1997).

As his speech states, Buchanan views the Rollin’ Down the River Festival as an indicator of “... a new level of awareness about the river and (the) region.” The above excerpt from this speech also suggested he considers the celebration as a means to “... know ourselves ... (by) know(ing) the place around us, how we are shaped by that place and how we shape that place in return.” An interview held in 2000 confirmed this assumption (Buchanan 2000). Buchanan mentioned the significance of this self-knowledge and place-knowledge as necessary for “... anticipating the consequences of our actions” (Buchanan 1997).

In addition to discussing the value of increasing this knowledge, he also promotes establishing an emotional connection with the river: a connection at the individual and societal levels of consciousness (Buchanan 1997). To illustrate this connection, he refers to various literary works relating to human interactions with rivers. Quoting Norman MacLean from *A River Runs Through It*, Buchanan says, “ ‘I am haunted by waters.’ I think we all are. I know I am” (Buchanan 1997). Later in the speech, when relating his experience of visiting, as an adult, a river he visited frequently as a child, Buchanan states, “It was a far different place than it was 35 years earlier--in some respects better, at least by my opinion, in some respects worse. But its hold on me was still strong. It could still haunt me” (Buchanan 1997).

Buchanan also quotes a passage from Mark Twain’s *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. He states:

Mark Twain described dawn on the Mississippi River in almost spiritual terms, like he was describing the creation of the world. He could have been describing a morning on the Kaw. “Not a sound, anywheres--perfectly still--just like the whole world was asleep, only sometimes the bull-frogs a-cluttering, maybe. The first thing to see, looking away over the water, was a kind of dull line--that was the woods on the other side--you couldn’t make nothing else out; then a pale place in the sky; then more paleness, spreading around; then the river softened up, away off, and warn’t black any more, but gray; . . . sometimes you could hear a sweep screaming; or jumbled up voices, it was so still, and sounds come so far; . . . and you see the mist curl up off the water, and the east reddens up, and the river, . . . then the nice breeze springs up, and comes fanning you from over there, so cool and fresh, and sweet to smell, on account of the woods and the flowers; but sometimes not that way, because they’ve left dead fish laying around, gars and such, and they do get pretty rank; and next you’ve got the full day, and everything smiling in the sun . . .” (Buchanan 1997).

He ends his speech by linking intellectual knowledge of place to the emotional connection to, or love of place, as well as to efforts to protect that place--the place being the river. Again, referring back to MacLean’s haunting metaphor, Buchanan states:

The first step in doing that--in celebrating and protecting this river--is to know it. We can only protect what we understand. We can only love what we know. Maybe today we’re taking a first step, a very deliberate step, of putting the river back in our lives.

For that, I thank the people who put this celebration together, and all of you for being here. I hope this river haunts us for a long, long time (Buchanan 1997).

Clearly Buchanan's speech provides evidence supporting the second hypothesis; he believes that affection and attachment toward the river and the river basin will result in increased concern and involvement with the river. Statements he made during an interview further support the hypothesis, particularly in regard to the role of communion experiences resulting in increased concern and involvement. He believes that an increased awareness of the river as a unifying force between people will encourage people to better protect the shared heritage associated with the river (Buchanan 2000).

Stewardship of the River; Stewardship of the Community

Festival producers viewed the case study events as a means to raise awareness of many issues concerning society's relationship with the river: awareness of the significance of the river in the lives of residents within the basin, of the human impact on the river, of the natural and cultural heritage associated with the river and awareness of the threats to that heritage. The producers also considered the festivals as a venue for establishing social consciousness on the part of a community, a community founded not only on the geographical boundaries of the river basin but the social and ecological aspects of the river's heritage. As a key element in establishing community self-awareness, festival producers promoted a sense of place. They attempted to foster both affection toward the river and basin as well as knowledge of the river and basin's characteristics. In this way, the producers linked community identity with place identity, attempting to raise an emotional and intellectual awareness of a shared connectedness to

place as a strategy to facilitate consciousness of community and feelings of connectedness to others, i.e. the communion experience. Nurturing social bonds based on a shared connection to the river then served as the producers' strategy to increase people's desire to protect and maintain the heritage associated with the river.

A point first made by Schmalenbach (1961) and reiterated by Bell and Newby, “. . . community implies the recognition of something taken for granted and the assertion of the self-evident--they are ‘given’; they simply exist. For this reason, our membership of communities is largely unconscious unless it is threatened” (Bell and Newby 1978, 196). In recognizing threats to the natural and cultural heritage of the river, festival producers also recognized the threat to the existence of the community tied to that heritage. Therefore, efforts to raise awareness of the community's existence and the promotion of communion experiences based on that awareness serve not only to protect the heritage associated with the river but the community itself. Through the statements of producers and the symbology of rituals, the festivals equate concern and stewardship of the river with concern and stewardship of community.

Consensus Hypothesis

People who stage the three river festivals in these case studies believe that experiences of communion with others and affection and attachment toward the river and the river basin will result in an increased likelihood of agreement between people on issues affecting the river, the river basin and people who live in the basin.

The data presented thus far suggest that the production of the festivals occurred with planners' awareness of the events as “. . . opportunities for agency . . . ,” a way to stimulate social consciousness and change (Lavenda 1983, 96). As in the case with the

first two hypotheses, the third hypothesis intends to explain how, if at all, planners understand this agency to operate. Like the second hypothesis, the third hypothesis assumes the first hypothesis is correct, that people who stage the three river festivals perceive the events as means for people to experience communion and a sense of place tied to the river and basin. As did the second, the third hypotheses also extends the first by offering an explanation of how festival producers view the significance of the communion and sense of place experiences the festivals encourage.

This analysis has demonstrated that festival producers used the case study events to promote community and place as a means to protect the heritage associated with the rivers. As central to the purpose of the three festivals, promoting community involved the promotion of a community identity, an awareness of membership within that community and communion experiences with other members of the community. The festival producers appear to have viewed the communion experience--the emotional connection or feeling of belonging to a community--as a primary motivation for public stewardship of the community's foundation, the river and river basin.

In addition to stimulating community motivation to protect its river heritage, festival producers may have been aware of the function of the festival as part of a larger process by which various interest groups within the community may come to agreement; agreement on what, specifically, their heritage consists of, and what, if anything, should be done to maintain that heritage. In order better to understand the festival as part of a process by which a community gains consensus on its identity and direction, the discussion will return to the academic research relating to the social function of festivals. This will then provide a context for considering any evidence indicating a consciousness

or awareness among festival producers of the potential of their events to function as tools for building consensus.

The Festival as a Collective Expression of a Community's Identity and Direction

Several examples from the academic literature on the social function of festivals report that the festival serves not only as a representation of culture, but also as “. . . an agent of change” (Smith 1975), a means by which to establish and redefine community and place identity (Dávila 1997; Lavenda 1983; Smith 1993; Waterman 1998). Lavenda notes that, “. . . as festivals spread across the landscape, they form a context, both historical and cultural, within which members of communities decide what the course of their communities ought to be” (Lavenda 1983, 23).

The festival serves as a primary means for community expression of collective emotions and loyalties (Smith 1975). In looking to the past, the festival functions as a means for “. . . co-constructing a renewing social memory” (Murillo 1996, 1). The festival also represents a localized and collective effort among members of a community to engage in a dialogue with the larger society in order to establish community identity (Smith 1993). Although frequently functioning to “. . . neutralize social conflict” (Waterman 1998, 60), in some cases the festival serves to establish community identity via a collective opposition to such an event (Jackson 1992).

Lavenda provides insights as to how the festival facilitates collective expressions of identity. First, he demonstrates that festivals allow people easily to feel part of a group, even if they are in conflict with other members in that group. By “. . . encouraging easygoing participation . . . festivals cut across (all) boundaries, allowing

people to assert their membership in the community without having to disagree—and without having to exert themselves too much (Lavenda 1983, 3). He later states:

if everyone drops out, the community collapses. So community festivals cannot press too hard. They need to make participation easy while reminding people of what they have in common (Lavenda 1983, 46).

Regarding how participation serves as a form of expression he writes:

By continuing to participate in these celebrations, as organizer, as participant, as spectator, people make a conscious statement of their commitment to what they think the festival represents. The festival becomes a symbol of identity for them, providing a way for them to celebrate their way of life, just because it is *theirs* Festival becomes a tool that allows people to think about their community in concrete ways (Lavenda 1983, 6).

Finally, relating to the idea that festivals serve as mechanisms for social change, Lavenda mentions the concept of agency.

The festival provides the opportunity for people to experience themselves as members of a community that transcends mere coresidence, and it provides an opportunity for agency for one set of people—the organizers—as they act *in* the community *as* community members. Indeed, it can be argued that attending the festival, to the degree that people must choose to attend, itself provides an environment for agency (Lavenda 1983, 96).

None of the informants gave any indication of having, previous to their participation in these events, knowledge of the claims academic researchers such as Lavenda make about festivals. However, in line with the perspective of social scientists, they did appear to consciously view the events they planned as a means to achieve social awareness and change. Regarding the precise mechanisms of social change, a question still remains: did they consider the festival to serve as a tool for facilitating agreement among various community interests? The next section examines evidence suggesting festival producers believe that experiences of communion and a shared sense of place tied

to the river will help achieve a consensus among community members about issues affecting the river, the river basin and the people of the river basin.

Perspectives of Festival Producers

Building Consensus for a Common Vision

According to one festival producer, achieving consensus on the process of preserving resources within the river basin was central to the efforts of members attending KVHA meetings. She stated:

The people that are coming regularly to the alliance meetings I think have a real personal commitment to the concept of looking at the status of the cultural and natural resources within the Kaw Valley; trying to determine what are the most significant among those resources; and then trying to bring consensus the process of long-term preservation of those resources. I think that's the thing that they all share in common - is a personal commitment to this concept that we're developing (Wolf 1997).

In order to establish partnerships, manage conflicts and promote the responsible use of resources, the Rollin' Down the River festival served as the organization's first attempt to build such a consensus on how to accomplish these goals.

A portion of the program brochure for the Rollin' Down the River Festival explains the stimulus for the KVHA's formation:

The Kaw Valley Heritage Alliance was formed with the common belief that we need consensus to preserve our natural and historic legacy in the Kaw River Valley. State and local government agencies, agricultural organizations, environmentalists, historians, scientists, business groups, and interested citizens signed partnership agreements to work cooperatively on mutual goals--people who otherwise would never have had the opportunity to exchange and understand different perspectives. The goals include

- Foster partnerships to identify and preserve the significant natural and cultural heritage.
- Avoid/resolve conflicts by building bridges between interests.
- Promote responsible use of our air, water and land while supporting a healthy economy (KVHA 1997).

The KVHA vision statement, also printed on the program brochure, also refers to consensus building as a means for working toward this vision:

... People will build consensus for resource conservation and will promote responsible use of air, water, and land, while supporting a healthy economy (KVHA 1997).”

Evidently, festival producers and other members of the supporting organization understood that the Rollin’ Down the River Festival functioned as part of a larger process to build a consensus. Statements among some of the festival planners also indicate their understanding of how to plan the festival to best promote consensus.

Developing a Program to Include all Interests

The founders of the KVHA intended from the organization’s start to include as diverse an array of partners as feasible in the organization’s membership (Wolf 2000). The festival program brochure lists 35 partnering organizations representing government, and government-associated and private organizations (KVHA 1997). A review of the names and organizations listed in the program of events indicates participation among all of these groups in producing the festival. Similarly, in order to develop and promote a vision that all people in the Kaw River Valley could share, planners demonstrated a desire to include all interested groups and individuals in the festival. In describing the extent to which the festival involved small towns relative to the involvement of larger cities, one festival producer said:

There was a certain democratic air that underscored this festival: Wamego (population 4,000) for example, was given two days on the program and so was Kansas City (population 144,000) (De Bres 1997).

Additionally, planners incorporated five themes into the festival in an effort to include all voices with interests relating to the heritage associated with the river and river valley (De Bres 1997; 1998). These include recreation, the role of agriculture, water, history and culture, and natural resources. Also, as part of an effort to make the festival as inclusive as possible, planners developed festival programs to involve all ages (De Bres 1997).

Avoiding Controversial Issues

Also, in the case of the Rollin' Down the River Festival, festival planners made participation easy for all parties by avoiding controversial issues. In referring to a decision by members of the KVHA in setting the organization's agenda, including festival programming, Wolf notes:

. . . the group has agreed that on controversial issues it would not take a position. And I think that's probably the only way that we'll be able to keep a variety of folks at the table. I don't expect us to have detailed discussions that will be divisive. I think this is the big concept and the big picture kind of thing so that people can buy into farmland preservation, working for water quality, promoting recreation and economic development and tourism -- things that are pretty hard to say "no" to (Wolf 1998a).

In this way, planners did what Lavenda says is necessary for a festival's success; they made “. . . participation easy while reminding people of what they have in common” (Lavenda 1983).

Understanding Different Opinions

During an interview for a televised program featuring the Rollin' Down the River Festival, Latane Donelin discusses the value of working with the many different interest groups that make-up the KVHA. She states:

When people look at the variety or diversity of (KVHA) partners that are listed on the festival brochure, and this was again questioned, how can you have these groups that have different points of view all come together? And that has been, I would say, the strength of the alliance -- is to have everybody at the table. And . . . , there may be some differences of opinion, but everybody needs to understand the other side just as well as their own side. And this is a forum in which that can be done (Donelin 1998).

Donelin ends the interview by suggesting the significance of the festival to the region's future:

. . . I think that's what the festival did for a lot of the communities, was to make them realize what a great place they have -- each of the river communities. And to share that with the other communities was a wonderful reawakening We're pretty fortunate to have as much of the natural resources left that we have. Many parts that have greater populations don't have this opportunity. And we need to wake up to it because the population is continuing to grow. There will be more people here in Kansas all up and down this river valley. And what we do with the resources that we have is going to be critical to Kansas in the future (Donelin 1998).

Based on Donelin's statements, the KVHA appears to have used the festival as a process of incorporating a diversity of opinions to decide, as a community, what should be done with the resources of the river valley. One KVHA member described the organization's efforts, including the festival, as a process attempting to achieve "a unified vision . . . that allows us as communities to come up with the best kind of place to live" (Napier 1998). Building community and a sense of place via the festival served as the basis for this process.

The Consensus Hypothesis Rejected

Although data from the Rollin' Down the River Festival supports the consensus hypothesis, little if any data from the other case studies suggests a similar awareness among festival planners of this aspect of festival social function. Since this hypothesis applies to producers of all three festivals, it must be rejected. However, the presence of

this awareness in one study does suggest at least some degree of recognition of the festival as a legitimate component in a larger process of public participation in regional planning, community development and environmental management. Although the role of the festival in efforts to establish a community voice remains less clear, this study does demonstrate the festival's role in attempts not only to establish community awareness and identity tied to a watershed, but to promote stewardship of such a community and its heritage.

An additional aspect of the case studies also links festivals with the process of public participation in regional planning, community development and environmental management: the educational component. The next section of this text will examine the efforts of festival producers to use education to promote interest and involvement with rivers.

CHAPTER 7

EDUCATIONAL ASPECTS AND LEARNING PROCESSES ASSOCIATED WITH RIVER FESTIVALS

Considerable variation existed between the three festival case studies in terms of the educational programming. As previously described in the “subject matter” subsection of the “Case Studies” section of this text, Riverfest on the Colorado included a considerably smaller educational component than did the other two festivals. Certainly all three festivals shared some educational aspect; they all intended to raise public awareness of the river’s significance to the community living in the basin. Additionally, all three case studies used festival symbology to promote a value, protecting the shared heritage associated with the river. The educational efforts examined in this section go beyond attempts to raise awareness and promoting a general value. The analysis will now focus on efforts directly to teach the public concepts, principles, skills and a set of values associated with protecting the heritage: initiatives that occurred primarily at the Rollin’ Down the River Festival and the Haw River Festival.

Subject Matter

Examining in greater detail the subject matter of the educational efforts recorded with each case study will provide a more thorough understanding of how festival producers attempted to affect people's concern and involvement with rivers. Nine subjects occurred in all three case studies and include:

- biota; in stream channel
- crafts, traditional (ceramics, rope making, quilting)
- interpretation of cultural features present at event site
- history and cultural significance of river
- human-river relationship
- land stewardship
- natural features present at event site
- river stewardship
- water quality issues and concerns; nonpoint source pollution

With the exception of the first and last items in this list, the subjects observed in all three case studies involve more general themes as compared to items occurring in only two or one of the three case studies. These subjects all fit within the even more general theme shared among all festivals of appreciating, preserving and protecting the heritage--both natural and cultural--associated with the river.

Tables 11 and 12 below identify additional subjects observed in the case studies that occurred in either two case studies (table 11) or only one case study (table 12).

Table 11. Subjects Occurring in Two of the Three Case Studies

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Biota; in stream channel; as indicators of water quality	•	•	
Biota; species present near banks of channel		•	•
Dams (history, construction, operation, displays)	•		•
Dams (undesirable consequences of)		•	•

Table 11--*Continued.*

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Development and urban sprawl, effect on river		•	•
Ecology of river valley		•	•
Games; nontraditional and modern	•	•	
Games; traditional (representing a way of life in past centuries among specific cultures)	•	•	
Geology of river channel		•	•
History; general history presentations; river history		•	•
History; general history presentations; specific sites along river channel	•		•
History; mills		•	•
History; pre European; Native American culture		•	•
History; pre European; river as means of transportation and commerce		•	•
History; pre European; river as water supply		•	•
History; pre European; resources in or near river		•	•
History; steamboats	•		•
History; rate of change since first European settlement		•	•
History; river as means of transportation and commerce		•	•
History of region; exploration and settlement		•	•
History of region; geologic history		•	•
Human impact on river		•	•
Hunting, fishing and trapping	•		•
Map interpretation; scale		•	•
Natural resources river provides	•		•
Population growth		•	•
Public awareness, knowledge & feelings about river's significance; rediscovering & returning to the river	•		•
River features, processes; channel changes		•	•
River features, processes; erosion		•	•
River features, processes; sediment transport		•	•
River as system--with interconnected parts (river ecology)		•	•
River as component in larger hydrological system; water quality in river affects water quality in lakes and oceans		•	•
Significance of river; central to most people's lives		•	•

Table 11--*Continued.*

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Water quality issues and concerns; water quality problems associated with agriculture		•	•
Water quality issues and concerns; improvements in water quality as compared to previous years	•		•
Water quality issues and concerns; pH levels	•	•	
Water quality issues and concerns; river as source of drinking water as well as channel for waste water		•	•
Water quality monitoring	•	•	
Wastewater treatment plant operation		•	•
Wild nature for human appreciation and needs and for wildlife habitat		•	•

Table 12. Subjects Occurring in One of Three Case Studies

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Agriculture; Some agricultural practices exemplifying conflicting values with those promoting river stewardship		•	
Architecture			•
Biota; In stream channel; Collecting and identifying species		•	
Biota; Legislation to protect fish species		•	
Biota; Throughout river basin			•
Biota; Changes in species over past decades			•
Drinking water supply issues		•	
Geology of river basin		•	
Government regulations pertaining to river use		•	
History and cultural significance of river; Floods			•
History and cultural significance of river; Pre European; Native American games		•	
Map interpretation; Determining distances between locations			•
Native American issues, past, present and future			•
Planning-urban and regional, importance of wise planning			•
Public awareness, knowledge & feelings about river's significance; Promoting affection toward river; Developing personal relationship with and commitment to protect river	•		

Table 12--*Continued.*

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Quality of life concerns			•
Recreational opportunities on river			•
Rowing team (exhibit)			•
River as a living entity metaphor			•
River restoration efforts		•	
River as system--ancient			•
River as component in larger hydrological system; Water cycle: evapotranspiration, precipitation, channeling into river, flowing into ocean		•	
Rivers of state and North America			•
Significance of river; Importance of water in lives for individuals and society			•
Water conservation for agriculture other than dams (terracing, retention ponds)			•
Water quality issues and concerns; Sediment		•	
Water quality issues and concerns; Sewer lines		•	
Water table levels			•
Wastewater treatment, aquatic composting		•	

Judging solely from the number of subjects observed, Riverfest on the Colorado involved considerably less emphasis on educating the public about river heritage than the other two case studies. The types of activities planned for each festival confirms this conclusion. The events on the Haw and Kaw rivers in most instances involved efforts to teach specific concepts or skills whereas Riverfest events typically relied only on the symbolic presentation of a more generalized subject matter. As will be discussed in greater detail, the educational activities that did appear in association with Riverfest occurred less frequently than the educational activities in the other case studies. The Haw River Festival and the Rollin' Down the River Festival involved more educational programming through a greater number of these types of activities as well as greater

repetition of these activities. However, despite the similarities of subject matter and emphasis on education shared between the Rollin' Down the River Festival and the Haw River Festival, the two festivals involved substantially different methods and formats of presentation.

Educational Programming for the Haw River Festival

Hands-on Experiential Education for Children

The original funding proposal for the event clearly indicates the education of children as a central priority for the Haw River Festival (Kessel 1989). Participant observations occurring in 1999 attest to the continued focus of the festival on teaching children about the heritage of the Haw River through hands-on, experiential education. Over the course of a decade, those involved in planning the festival established a set of subjects for volunteers to teach groups of forth grade school children during the five-day “learning celebration” (Chiosso 1999a). Trained volunteer crew members presented lessons or activities in a learning center format in which small groups of students (typically ten) attended one center for approximately forty minutes before moving to a new activity. Some of the main subjects and themes for the learning centers included a “river walk,” (wildlife along the river and the interdependence of species), recycling, the Native American heritage associated with the river, working with river clay and clay face-painting, river inspired water color paintings, water quality monitoring, and the human relationship with the river. See table 8 for a complete list of subject matter.

Training and Involvement of Crew Members

In order to appoint the most appropriate crew member as the leader for each learning activity, the festival coordinator assessed crew members' previous experiences, knowledge and skills. In addition to any previous experiences they brought to the festival, crew members also participated in training sessions that involved a combination of lecture style presentations, group discussions, demonstrations and practice. In 1999 the director of the Haw River Assembly, Elaine Chiosso, led the training, delivering most of the lecture material, choosing the topics for group discussion and answering questions. Considerable input also came from crew members who claimed membership in the Haw River Assembly and that had past experience serving in the festival crew. In addition to contributing to the lectures and group discussion, these senior crew members led the demonstrations and practice sessions for the various learning center activities. The less experienced crew members, including children, teamed-up with the veterans for additional support and instruction during the actual presentation of the festival learning activities.

Transition to Traditional Festival Format for Community Celebration

During the end of the week community celebration, the portion of the festival held on the Saturday following the learning celebration, educational considerations applied to children and adults. The format changed to a more traditional festival style with participants wandering between several activities occurring simultaneously. Crew members' attention shifted from staffing the learning center activities to assisting with performances by musicians and story tellers. Canoeing and wood-sculpting

demonstrations occurred adjacent to educational displays and informational booths set up by various community organizations. One performance staged during the week as well as the Saturday event drew attention from nearly all festival participants: the puppet show. Activity throughout the festival related directly or indirectly to the theme of river stewardship.

As indicated by the original funding proposal, the festival's "learning celebration" was designed to promote stewardship of the Haw River by providing educational, fun activities (Kessel 1989). As witnessed during participant observations, the production of the 1999 festival certainly followed this design. The event blended several approaches intended to communicate the importance of environmental stewardship, all in an atmosphere of celebration.

Educational Programming for the Rollin' Down the River Festival

As in the case with the Haw River Festival, producers of the Rollin' Down the River Festival viewed public education as a priority in planning the series of events that made up the festival. In referring to the function of the festival, the festival coordinator stated, "... it is through people's awareness and education that the people of the valley will be the stewards of this resource" (Donelin 1998).

Rather than several activities occurring simultaneously, as in the case with the Haw River Festival, the Rollin' Down the River Festival involved activities scheduled sequentially. Typically, after an opening ceremony, festival participants became an audience for lectures by academics, speeches by politicians, or performances by musicians or storytellers. Committees within the KVHA representing each of the five

festival themes planned presentations and enlisted support from presenters and performers (De Bres 1997, 1998; Wolf 1998a, 1998b). Expert knowledge and skill characterized the background experience of those presenting or performing (KVHA 1997). Professionals within environmental management organizations, scholars and professional performers, provided much of the festival content. Additional personnel provided the necessary support for the production and display of several art and museum exhibits, all relating to the natural and cultural heritage of the Kaw River.

Subject Matter and Formats Compared

As Appendix A indicates, the Rollin' Down the River Festival presented much of the same subject matter as the Haw River Festival. Of the 47 main subject areas identified among the three festivals (those aligned with the left-hand border in Appendix A), 24 (51percent) occurred in the Rollin' Down the River Festival as well as the Haw River Festival. In comparison with subject matter for Riverfest on the Colorado, 15 (32 percent) occurred in both the Rollin' down the River Festival and Riverfest on the Colorado and 12 (26 percent) occurred in both the Haw River Festival and Riverfest on the Colorado. However, in terms of format and methods, the Kaw Valley planners' approach more resembled the efforts made by planners for the predecessor event of Riverfest on the Colorado: the Colorado River Chautauquas. As the list of events in the festival program indicates, rather than focusing mainly on hands-on experiential learning experiences designed primarily for children, producers of the Rollin' Down the River Festival designed most of the programs for family audiences, presenting ideas and methods to convey those ideas typically at an adult level (KVHA 1997). The Rollin'

Down the River Festival shared many of the same characteristics as the Colorado River Chautauquas but it occurred at a much larger scale, both in terms of the number of event sights and the duration of the program. These similarities appear to be connected in part to the influence of the Chautauqua model established in North America in earlier times.

The River Festival as a Modern Day Chautauqua

In many ways the approach taken in the production of the Rollin' Down the River Festival resembled not only the Chautauquas produced by the Adopt-the Colorado Foundation during the early 1990s, it also resembled the format established by the Chautauqua producers throughout the United States and Canada during the latter half of the nineteenth century and the first three decades of the twentieth century. In light of the similarities existing among the Chautauqua movements of previous decades and the more recent case studies, particularly of events on the Kaw and the Colorado Rivers, further consideration of the Chautauqua movement as a form of education may provide insights into the educational aspects of the three case study festivals.

Combining Education and Recreation

From the movement's beginning in 1847, the Chautauqua served as venue for combining education and recreation (Eckman 1989). Following the model set by the movement's founders at Lake Chautauqua in New York, Chautauquas throughout the U.S. and Canada involved rural outdoor programs, typically under large tents, in places of natural beauty (Eckman 1989). The program "... offered intellectual and cultural uplift, respectable recreation, and a sense of belonging and purpose" (Eckman 1989, 4).

Originally emphasizing religious education, the scope of Chautauquas broadened to include topics on politics, arts, humanities and vaudeville style entertainment. This transformation paralleled the establishment of the circuit Chautauqua in which various companies traveled from area to area, staging the same program for different audiences. Based on “. . . themes of inspirational uplift and amusement . . . (the circuit Chautauqua) highlighted famous lecturers, singing groups and orchestras, jugglers and magicians (Eckman 1989, 5-6). Although the theme of combining education with entertainment persisted throughout the history of the movement, Chautauquas in general became more oriented toward entertainment than education in latter years (Eckman 1994).

Documenting the popularity of the Chautauqua, Eckman notes “by 1921 nearly one hundred separate circuit Chautauquas reached 9,597 communities in the U.S. and Canada, with some 40,000,000 people purchasing single or season ticket admissions” (Eckman 1989, 209).

A Tool for Social Reform

According to one Chautauqua founder, John Heyl Vincent, the program’s educational efforts aimed at social and religious reform (Eckman 1989; Mead 1968). The Chautauquas promoted what Eckman refers to as “. . . an ideology of culture . . .” that includes “. . . a commitment to order, respectability, politeness, the arts, and the humanities” (Eckman 1989, 7). By advocating traditional values in venues staged in rural, resort-like settings, away from the “. . . impersonal sanctions . . .” (Tapia 1981, 172) of an urban-industrial society, the Chautauqua, according to a 1910 program guide,

“undertakes to bring to a community the refinement, the culture and the entertainment of the city with none of the attendant temptations and vices” (Eckman 1989, 213).

The Presence of Conflicting Social Values

In his analysis of the Chautauqua movement, Snyder concludes a tension existed within various Chautauqua assemblies: “. . . the dilemma of retention of traditional values and maintenance of the existing social order, including a retreat from the world, versus the raising of reform issues that might promote social change” (Snyder 1985, 80). The value of continuing education, that included an examination of societal problems, came into conflict with the value of escape from stress.

Involving a Diversity of Interests

Snyder attributes the success and popularity of the Chautauqua to its appeal to a broad range of interests. Programs included religious topics and secular topics of an educational nature, as well as cultural and recreational activities (Snyder 1985).

Promoting the Communion Experience

Communion Among those Attending Programs

In addition to the goals of spiritual uplift and social reform, a third message the Chautauqua conveyed was the value of community building (Mead 1968). Gaining a sense of belonging and purpose, what Snyder (1985, 82) and Eckman (1989, 4) label as “subcommunity” accounted for much of the program’s appeal to many Chautauquans. In addition to what they perceived as wholesome, intellectually stimulating and spiritually

uplifting learning experiences, the programs satisfied participants' desires for close relationships and a sense of “. . . family unity” (Snyder 1985, 82).

This sense of unity, or communion, appeared as a central theme in the Chautauqua promotional literature, reflecting the desire of the public to identify with a community. As Tapia illustrates, “the brochures . . . emphasized the importance of community cohesion and tradition . . . (They) strove to provide the reader a comfortable identity with the community as a nucleus for all positive progress” (Tapia 1981, 171-172). The program brochures also indicate the theme of community spirit and involvement as a common Chautauqua lecture topic (Tapia 1981, 171).

With the public desire and awareness to belong to and participate in a community emerged a role among Chautauqua lecturers, “the community expert” (Tapia 1981, 171). According to Tapia, one brochure promoted such a lecturer as a man concerned with “. . . this new civic spirit of community obligation and responsibility (1981, 171).

Communion Among Those Involved in the Production

In addition to communion experiences among Chautauqua participants, Eckman (1989) and Miller (1968) demonstrate that those who served as Chautauqua committee members in towns and villages and worked together to make the programs possible also experienced an increase in community spirit and community identity. Eckman states, “Although a potential difficulty, the (financial obligation) actually fostered a community spirit and a competitive desire to bolster the town's good name as a center of cultural and moral endeavor” (Eckman 1989, 207-208).

Use of Ritual

The communion experience associated with participation in Chautauquas also involved the use of symbols and rituals unique to the Chautauqua. As the movement spread, associations known as Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circles (CLSC) emerged. With these groups, so came the adoption of circle names, emblems and ceremonies of recognition that created a sense of community among the participants. These symbols and ceremonies contributed to a sense of unity among those involved in these “education fellowship(s)” at local and national levels (Davis 1983, 396).

The Connection to Water

Many of the historical accounts and analyses of the Chautauqua movement describe the settings in which communities decided to stage the events. Like the original program held on land extending into Lake Chautauqua (Eckman 1989), most Chautauquas were located near bodies of water (Davis 1983; Eckman 1989, 1992; Lanier 1984; Snyder 1985; Speer 1980; Towns 1977). Considering Chautauquas intended to provide “. . . places of escape from the city and summer heat” (Snyder 1985, 82), resembling vacation resorts (Eckman 1989), the practice of selecting sites near water comes as no surprise. However, consideration of the manner in which Chautauqua producers promoted water resources may provide insight into the historical context in which planners for the festival case studies used water for educational purposes.

Publicity efforts frequently promoted the aesthetic, recreational and health benefits of the water at the sites. An 1888 Atlanta newspaper promised a peaceful, tranquil setting to residents of “this celebrated site of health, where . . . the life-giving,

health-restoring mineral waters can be found” (Lanier 1984, 221). Similarly, an 1897 brochure promoting a Florida Chautauqua reads:

the altitude of its water, and the rolling character of the ground, together with the abundant shade furnished by the pine, live oak, magnolia, and other Florida forest trees, make it a most desirable place for winter encampment . . . The water is unquestionably the best in Florida, and has accomplished wonders for kidney and other troubles” (Stuart 1977, 233-234).

As a final example, a brochure promoting a Chautauqua site on the San Gabriel River in Texas describes the land as “. . . high, smooth, shady and spacious . . . (with) picturesque, attractive scenery, such as would be hard to find elsewhere” and a source for good mineral water (Speer 1980, 290).

Challenges to the Chautauqua Movement

The circuit Chautauqua, the last of the widely popular Chautauqua programs, died out by 1933. Social changes resulting in the disappearance of the Chautauqua include technological advances, radio and motion pictures, financial hardships in rural communities, and availability of auto travel to other destinations during summer (Eckman 1989). Not only did the Chautauqua face competition from alternative entertainment sources, Chautauqua assemblies sometimes competed with one another in efforts to attract attendees (Davis 1989).

The Chautauqua Concept and River Festivals

As demonstrated by the case study descriptions in this analysis, the Chautauquas of earlier decades functioned in very similar ways to the festival case studies. Both sets

of events adopted education, entertainment and uplifting activities (either emotionally or spiritually) as a means to promote communion experiences and social change.

Use of Symbolism

Regarding the use of symbolism, certainly the case studies and to a lesser extent the Chautauquas of past times attempted to communicate messages via rituals. Both sets offered similar venues consisting of lectures and performances, appealing to a broad range of interests.

The Community Expert

The role Tapia identified as part of the Chautauqua production, of a “community expert” concerned with a spirit of community and social responsibility also occurred in various forms among the three case studies; a living history presentation of (and by) Mark Twain, a discussion with fourth grade students about river stewardship and an opening ceremony speech encouraging an audience to “think like a river” (Buchanan, 1997) all linked community membership with a responsibility for stewardship of the cultural and natural heritage associated with rivers.

The Presence of Conflicting Values

A tension between promoting traditional values and social change exists for the case study festivals as it did for the Chautauquas of the past. Even when the festivals did not serve as an outlet for the expression of the supporting organization’s opinions about appropriate land and water use, as did the Haw River Festival, the events brought to light

the obvious threats to the river heritage being celebrated. Despite the desire of planners for the Rollin' Down the River Festival not to take a stance on controversial issues, the festival did provide a forum to acknowledge the existence of controversies. Like the Chautauquas, the case study festivals incorporated a diversity of interests with considerable potential for conflicting values, yet in an atmosphere of recreation and emotional uplift. Once again the events embodied the conflict between, on one hand, escape from the stresses of daily life and, on the other hand, confronting stress associated with learning about and acting upon societal problems.

The Connection to Water

Planners in the case studies used the same strategy as the earlier Chautauqua producers to foster emotionally and (in some cases) spiritually up-lifting experiences; they relied largely on the aesthetic qualities of scenic outdoor spaces near water. In addition to taking advantage of the aesthetic appeal of these sites as ideal settings for promoting learning and emotional/spiritual uplift, the case study events went one step further; the spaces became the subject matter of educational programming and a source of praise for emotional/spiritual enrichment.

Competition

Both sets of events suffered from competition with other venues. The Chautauquas as well as the Rollin' down the River Festival and Riverfest on the Colorado all involved expressions of concern among planners about poor attendance due to events occurring at different locations but overlapping in time (Davis 1989; Cullick 1999a; Wolf

2000). For all three case study festivals, competition with other types of entertainment seems likely to have negatively impacted event attendance, as was the case with the Chautauqua. Considering the continued technological advances since the days of the circuit Chautauquas, including the many forms of entertainment made available in recent decades, potential event participants now have an even greater number of leisure and recreation options.

Promoting Communion

Many of these modes of recreation do not address peoples' desire to experience communion. In fact, lifestyle changes involving increases in society's use of automobiles, television and computers has actually reduced opportunities for community activity and a sense of belonging to a group (Putnam 2000). An LCRA brochure promoting the 1992 Colorado River Chautauqua addresses the reason for the loss of communion experiences associated with the Chautauquas of earlier times. It states, "movies and television have since replaced the Chautauqua and the comforting sense of community that these tent shows fostered" (LCRA 1992). This loss of communion experiences may accounts for the event producers' attraction to the festival and Chautauqua as means to promote stewardship of a river's natural and cultural heritage, a heritage that includes the geographic basis for a community identity.

The Chautauqua as River Heritage

As the historical accounts of the Chautauqua movement indicate, the Chautauqua itself represents an aspect of community heritage linked to the river. Efforts to promote

community education, awareness and action in a format similar to the Chautauqua then do more than promote social values and reform via a means proven popular to past audiences. The act of re-establishing a Chautauqua (or Chautauqua-like event) in itself attempts to preserve this heritage.

The River Festival as a Social Movement

A question regarding the intentions of festival producers now arises: as part of their efforts to promote education about and preserve river heritage, did event producers consciously attempt to re-establish the Chautauqua or Chautauqua-like events? In the case of the events on the Colorado River and the Kaw River, the answer is clearly yes. As previously indicated, The Colorado River Chautauquas of the early 1990s, the predecessors to Riverfest on the Colorado, provided the stimulus and inspiration for the production of Riverfest. Within the many events making-up the Rollin' Down the River Festival, planners included a "Chautauqua Show" on the banks of the Kaw River featuring an historical character presentation of Kit Carson in 1855 (KVHA 1997). Planners for the festival on the Kaw also consciously and purposely planned events in a style similar to the Chautauqua (Wolf 2000).

As for the Haw River Festival, no evidence suggests the Chautauqua format directly inspired the festival design. Thus, of the three case study festivals, the Haw River Festival's format least resembled the Chautauqua format. The Haw event involved more of the rituals and behaviors unique to festivals with no formal lecture style presentations (and few informal lectures) characteristic of the Chautauqua. The Haw

River Festival also emphasized more hands-on learning experiences geared toward elementary school children.

Interestingly, however, just as Chautauquas spread across the U.S. and Canada based on a model that originated in New York, the Haw River Festival followed a design set by creators of the Hudson Clearwater Revival--also in New York. The name of this river festival suggests at least some inspiration from the religious revival tent meetings, a phenomenon that in part inspired the first Chautauqua (Eckman 1989). In a manner similar to how the Haw and other river festivals based their design on the New York model, the event on the Haw served as the inspiration for two other river festivals in North Carolina (Kessel 1999). In this way, river festivals like the Haw's parallel the Chautauqua as a grass-roots movement for social change based on education and spiritual uplift.

Activities, Methods and Techniques

Comparing the educational activities, methods and techniques observed in each case study will provide further insights into various ways in which festival planners promoted education as part of an attempted to increase concern and involvement with rivers. Just as examining the subject matter for the case studies involved the ideas presented at each festival, this section deals with the means used as attempts to communicate those ideas.

Activities

Appendix B lists 107 activities observed among the three case studies.

Many of these public activities, such as viewing educational displays, indicate a desire among festival planners to promote learning experiences for festival attendees. Others, such as a raffle, suggest festival goals other than education. However, judging whether or not an activity has educational value proves difficult since all of the activities had at least a small degree of value as educational experiences.

The example of the raffle activity illustrates this point. In order to raise money for the Haw River Assembly, festival staff sold raffle tickets for a canoe displayed near the festival entrance. During the festival, planners staged a drawing to determine the winner of the canoe. The activity served not only its intended purpose, to raise funds, but also as a means to communicate ideas symbolically. The canoe raffle underscored and promoted values held by the festival producers, such as cherishing the river as a source of recreational opportunities and the virtue of recreational activities with low environmental impact.

Since most, if not all, of the festival activities had some level of educational value, appendix B lists all of the activities accounted for during data collection. Of all these activities, ten occurred in each of the three case studies. They are:

- Art displays
- Art sales
- Canoeing
- Educational displays; Historic text and photographs
- Educational displays; Wildlife artifacts
- Games and competitions; Foot race
- Information booths; Area community organizations and businesses
- Information booths; Supporting organizations and sponsors
- Music; Performances by professional musicians

- Viewing and discussing river basin map

Based on appendix B, tables 13 and 14 indicate activities that occurred in two of the case studies (table 13) or just one case study (table 14).

Table 13. Public Activities Occurring in Two of Three Case Studies

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Art activities for public to observe; Sculpturing by professional artist	•	•	
Ceremonies; Blessing ceremonies		•	•
Ceremonies; Closing ceremonies		•	•
Ceremonies; Opening ceremonies		•	•
Community meals (for public); Fish fry, barbecue or picnic	•		•
Dance; Folk dancing		•	•
Dance; Street/informal dancing		•	•
Demonstrations; Water quality monitoring	•	•	
Educational displays; Historical (including prehistorical) artifacts		•	•
Educational displays; Historic watercraft	•		•
Educational presentation (group discussion)		•	•
Living history presentations and historical reenactments	•		•
Music; Informal group sing along or playing musical instruments (“jam sessions” [LCRA 1995a])	•	•	
Music; Marching band	•		•
Nature walk		•	•
Panel discussion		•	•
Promotion of smaller community festivals as part of larger river festival	•		•
Reunion (School or former community residents)	•		•
Storytelling; Storytelling by professional story tellers		•	•
Storytelling; Storytelling and sharing memories and oral histories of river and adjacent communities during informal, scheduled gatherings		•	•
Tours; Guided	•		•
Tours; Historic Tour	•		•

Table 13--Continued.

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Tours; Museum	•		•
Tours; Walking	•		•
Wildlife viewing		•	•

Table 14. Public Activities Occurring in One of Three Case Studies

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Art activities for public participation			
Clay sculpting		•	
Painting		•	
Pastel illustrations		•	
Art Auction		•	
Art show--river oriented art, multimedia			•
Car show	•		
Carnival rides	•		
Ceremonies; Collecting water in vase from headwaters for transport, by canoe, downstream to river's end		•	
Ceremonies; Dedication ceremonies			•
Ceremonies; Flag Raising			•
Ceremonies; Pageant; Beauty pageant	•		
Ceremonies; Pageant; River Queen pageant	•		
Ceremonies; Recognition ceremonies			•
Ceremonies; Tree planting			•
Comedy skits or clown performance		•	
Community meals (for public); "Breakfast in the park" (KVHA 1997)			•
Community meals (for public); Chili cookoff	•		
Community meals (for public); Chuck wagon dinner			•
Community meals (for public); Food sampling			•
Community meals (for public); Ice cream social			•
Community meals (for public); Pot luck dinner			•
Dance; Ballroom			•
Dance; Native American dance performance		•	
Demonstrations; Canoeing	•		
Demonstrations; Kayak demonstration		•	
Demonstrations; Native plant landscaping			•

Table 14--*Continued.*

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Demonstrations; Stream flow and water level monitoring			•
Demonstrations; Stream table (modeling flow of water in a river basin)			•
Demonstrations; Rope making			•
Educational displays; Exhibits			•
Educational displays; Facilities for use by public; Composting toilets (waterless)		•	
Educational displays; Facilities for use by public; Low water use portable sinks		•	
Educational displays; Recycling information		•	
Educational displays; Solar powered electricity generation		•	
Experiment, chemical test for pH and nitrate levels in water		•	
Face painting		•	
Fire works			•
Games and competitions; Bingo			•
Games and competitions; Boat races; "Anything that floats" race	•		
Games and competitions; Boat races; Canoe races	•		
Games and competitions; Casino games	•		
Games and competitions; Celebrity tube race	•		
Games and competitions; Easter egg hunt	•		
Games and competitions; Fishing contest	•		
Games and competitions; "Fun walk" for one mile			•
Games and competitions; Horseshoe pitching contest	•		
Games and competitions; Racing rubber duck toys in river	•		
Games and competitions; Sandcastle building contest			•
Games and competitions; Traditional game of specific ethnic group		•	
Games and competitions; Volleyball team competition	•		
Jugglers		•	
Livestock show	•		
Music; Performances by Native American Balladeer			•
Paddle boat ride	•		

Table 14--*Continued.*

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Parade	•		
Poetry reading			•
Puppet show		•	
Raffle		•	
Religious service			•
Speech by political figurehead or local celebrity			•
Tours; Wildlife preserve			•
Tours; Dam	•		
Tours; Driving			•
Tours; Gaging station			•
Tours; Self-guided			•
Tours; Spillway			•
Tours; Water treatment plant			•
Transportation between activity locations or to and from parking area; Bus or van	•		
Transportation between activity locations or to and from parking area; Hayrack rides			•
Transportation between activity locations or to and from parking area; Horse-drawn carriages			•
Transportation between activity locations or to and from parking area; Tram			•
“Writing on the River” (KVHA 1997) workshop			•

Frequency of Activities

These tables indicate a great variety of ways in which festival planners attempted to promote educational experiences. Data collected on both Riverfest on the Colorado and the Haw River Festival indicate 43 different types of activities for each festival. Sixty-six activities are noted for the Rollin’ Down the River Festival. Although a greater variety of activities might appear an indicator of greater educational emphasis for the Rollin’ Down the River Festival as compared to the other case studies, the list of activities in Appendix B does not indicate the frequency with which the activities

occurred. In the case of the Haw River Festival, the program involved repeating the same activities several times each day during the five-day learning celebration portion of the event. For example, the experiment conducted during the Haw River Festival of testing the pH level in water samples from the river occurred approximately 75 times during the course of the three-week festival, each time with a different group of school children. Several other activities designed to teach specific concepts and skills occurring as part of this festival's learning celebration received similar attention.

Activities listed in the program brochure of the Rollin' Down the River Festival indicate considerably less repetition. Although many speeches, lectures, tours and nature walks occurred several times throughout the month-long celebration, each one presented a new subject with a unique set of concepts--yet all relating to the theme of river heritage stewardship. Educational exhibits about the Kaw River and the river valley made available for public viewing over the course of several days account for nearly all of the repetition in activities for this festival.

Riverfest on the Colorado involved even less repetition of activities compared to the other case studies. Furthermore, most of the activities associated with Riverfest occurred as part of a smaller community celebration with little reference to the Riverfest theme of celebrating the heritage associated with the Colorado River. During observations made at the Smithville Jamboree, the Columbus Springtime Festival and the Bay City Pilot Club Duck Race, only the activities in Bay City involved acknowledging a connection to the river. Within these three events, only one activity appeared to be an effort to educate the public; a table setup by a college professor for exchanging ideas and information relating to the cultural heritage of the Smithville region. Other Riverfest

events sometimes included activities apparently designed to educate but which typically occurred in only one location and for only one year. Unlike the earlier Colorado River Chautauquas, Riverfest planners did not embrace education as part of a strategy to increase peoples concern and involvement with the Colorado River. Again, despite Riverfest's lack of emphasis on education compared to the other case studies, many of the activities associated with this festival likely had some educational value. Whether involving eating a Texas-style barbeque dinner at the Columbus Springtime Festival or listening to a local rock-n-roll group at the Smithville Jamboree, each activity conveyed a part of an image of community identity the festival producers sought to represent.

Activities Characterizing Each Case Study

Data collected from numerous sources--and reflected in appendix B as well as tables 13 and 14--allow some generalizations regarding the types of planned activities and educational opportunities unique to each festival. Different sets of activities, as listed in table 15, characterized each festival. Included in this analysis, for each case study, are activities that occurred within one year, at least three times and at three different event sites. Data sources for these sets of activities include participant observations (for events on the Haw and Colorado Rivers) and printed materials (Cullick 1995, 1999b; De Bres 1997; Fletcher 1995; Haw River Assembly 1991, 1995, 1999, 1999b; KVHA 1997; LCRA 1993, 1995a, 1995c, 1997b, 1997c, 1997d).

Table 15. Activities Characterizing Each Case Study

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Art		•	•
Canoeing	•	•	•
Ceremonies		•	•
Ceremonies; pageants	•		
Community meals (public)	•		•
Community meals (festival staff)		•	
Educational displays		•	•
Dancing		•	
Demonstrations		•	•
Games		•	
Games (competitions)	•		•
Information booths	•	•	•
Lectures			•
Music	•	•	•
Nature walks		•	•
Puppet shows		•	
Performances (various types)	•	•	•
Presentations (group discussions)		•	•
Speeches			•
Storytelling		•	
Tours	•		•
Workshops			•
Promotion of smaller community festivals as part of the larger river festival	•		•

As is the case with the analysis of subject matter, the analysis of festival activities demonstrates public education as a central priority for producers of the Haw River Festival and the Rollin' Down the River Festival. For Riverfest on the Colorado, efforts to promote learning about regional heritage, including that heritage associated with the river, occurred in more general and symbolic ways.

Educational Methods and Techniques

Environmental Education and Experiential Learning

The original funding proposal for the Haw River Festival lists “. . . environmental educators . . .” first in a list of the specialist required to produce the festival (Kessel 1989). Indeed much of the educational emphasis for the event focused on environmental aspects, promoting stewardship of the natural heritage associated with the river and river valley. Staff from the festival’s early years describe the event’s educational approach in terms characteristic of practices associated with environmental education. Planners perceived the event as a means to “. . . promote a coming together of people around the principles of caring for the earth . . .” through outdoor “. . . experiential learning” experiences (Haw river Assembly 1991). As a philosophy central to the field of environmental education, experiential learning involves “learning by doing--include(ing) knowledge and skill (acquisition) outside of book or lecture learning situations through work, play, and other life experiences” (Educational Resources Information Center, 2002). Educators and learning theorists promoting this approach believe experiential forms of education greatly enhance learning, make the experiences more relevant for students (Association for Experiential Education 2002) and suit a wide range of learning styles (Mainemelis, Boyatzis and Kolb 2002).

Just as festivals “. . . transform the everyday space of the familiar and the mundane to one that is rather otherworldly and spiritually uplifting . . .” (Waterman 1998, 58), the Haw Festival also offered festival participants--particularly school children taken away from the class room--an array of stimulating informal learning experiences at sites closely linked to the subject of study. Through field trips to heritage sites, students are

likely to gain a much more meaningful and memorable experience than from lessons restricted to the classroom would allow (Herbert, 1995). Connecting academics with festivals enriches children's school experience by providing emotionally uplifting experiences "through a concentrated atmosphere of enjoyable learning" (Heath 1996, xi).

Comments by a festival producer from the Rollin' Down the River Festival suggest that festival participants preferred the experientially oriented activities to activities with a lecture-style format. During this festival, the hands-on activities, such as historical tours and nature walks, had a much higher attendance than the activities primarily involving sitting and listening (Buchanan 2000). In addition to the many lecture style presentations listed in the program brochure, the festival included an equally large proportion of experiential learning activities. A few examples include a "Writing on the River Workshop," historical tours, nature walks, canoe trips and a sand castle building competition (KVHA 1997).

Data sources for Riverfest on the Colorado yielded few examples, relative to the other two case studies, of efforts to promote environmental or experiential education. The 1995 Riverfest, for example, included the participation of environmental educators who set up booths at various festivals to present specimens and other items found along the river representative of riparian habitats (Cullick 1999a). In addition, the Colorado River Chautauquas of the early 1990s promoted a strong message of environmental stewardship through the drama/lecture living history presentations, river clean-ups, and water quality monitoring demonstrations (Adopt-the-Colorado River Foundation and the LCRA 1993; Kendall 2000c). Some other activities occurring at Riverfest-related events that appear to have involved experiential learning opportunities for participants include participating in

the production of traditional crafts, canoeing (including racing and instruction) and tours of historic districts or museums.

Despite fewer conscious efforts to promote education and provide experiential learning opportunities for Riverfest, the nature of the program's festival format likely resulted in many unintended experiential learning experiences for participants. Although Riverfest events typically did not incorporate educational goals into their design, they did involve experiential learning about the heritage associated with the communities and the river.

Integrated Subject Matter

As part of their training to teach school children about the natural and cultural heritage associated with the river, Haw River Festival crew members brainstormed on how to emphasize the connection between various subjects presented at each activity station. During the learning celebration portion of the festival, crew members facilitated transitions for students from one activity to the next by bringing in themes from other stations. For example, while demonstrating a chemical test to determine the concentration of nitrates in the river, a crew member discussed sources of chemical pollutants such as run-off from agricultural lands. He then described the chain of events that such pollution may bring on including reduction in the number of macroinvertebrate species in the river followed by reduction in the number of vertebrate species. Following this activity, students moved to a species identification activity. At this station, students worked with staff to make generalizations about water quality based on species they collected and identified--primarily insects and small fish. Following this activity, the

students moved to a new activity involving sketching and painting (with oil pastels and water colors) images of the river. In addition to discussing art technique and appreciation, the instructor led a brief discussion on the plant and animal species observed in and along the river. The instructor encouraged students to describe or speculate on how various human activities, including the use of chemical fertilizers in agriculture, affected the species they observed and depicted in their art. Students who sketched a snake sighted on a nearby log hypothesized that high levels of fertilizers might cause higher amounts of algae in the river, thereby resulting in less oxygen in the water, causing a reduction in fish species and reducing the amount of available food for snakes. This example of staff member attempts to integrate subject matter represents one of many similar efforts observed during the participant observation period.

Haw River Festival producers perceived efforts to integrate subject matter as one strategy to make the subject matter more meaningful to learners. Staff members also referred to the importance of connecting subjects so learners would appreciate the interdependence of species, including human dependence on the natural environment. Integrating subject matter involved discussion of many issues concerning the human-environment relationship, issues that fall within the realms of political struggles, social dilemmas and environmental threats. In addition to allowing more meaningful learning experiences and promoting a more holistic perspective of the issues, taking a multi-issue approach may also encourage learners to generalize what they learned at the festival to a broader spectrum of issues. As Hungerford and Volk state:

The flaw in a one-issue strategy centers on “generalizability.” It is relatively easy to get learners focused on an issue, particularly if it is one of interest or importance to them. In many instances, educators can also engage learners in citizenship action

strategies related to that issue. Unfortunately, with a single-issue focus, there exists very little opportunity to generalize the knowledge and skills to other issues (unless they are closely related to the first one). Thus the result of our efforts are learners who may act in an environmentally positive manner with relation to one issue (or set of issues), but who do not have the knowledge, skills, and willingness to assume environmentally responsibility in their day-to-day lives (Hungerford and Volk 1990, 17).

At the Rollin' Down the River Festival, efforts to integrate subject matter occurred largely through panel discussions in which experts in various topics gave brief presentations within a larger discussion involving the audience on a more general topic. As an example, four professional academics gathered on one occasion to present a panel titled "The River: Characteristics, Perspectives, Challenges" (KVHA 1997). The four subtopics included:

- Physical Features and Channel Changes of the Kansas River,
- Ecology of the River Valley,
- Settlement Patterns Along the River,
- The River in Historical Perspective (KVHA 1997).

Judging from the case studies, festivals appear an ideal medium to promote public education relating to cultural and natural heritage. Much of the subject integration occurred simply by virtue of association with a central theme. In the case of this research, planners used the theme of the river's heritage in an attempt to associate and connect a large number of issues in the minds of festival attendees. In the case of the Haw River Festival in particular, the Rollin' Down the River Festival, and to a lesser extent events associated with Riverfest on the Colorado, festival producers went beyond simply promoting mental associations of subjects, they attempted to illustrate in detail the interconnectedness of subjects relating to river heritage.

Displays and Demonstrations

Particularly in the case with the Haw River Festival but with several examples from the Kaw River and fewer from the Colorado, the festivals provided space--often at booths--for educators, public relations personnel, social/environmental activist organizations, government related organizations and civic organizations. Booth spaces and other delimited areas on the festival grounds provided space for displays and demonstrations of various topics, activities and associated skills.

Soon after arrival at the Haw River Festival site, crew members showed school children the waterless, chemical-free toilets and low-flow sinks while providing an explanation on proper use of the facilities as well as their significance in water conservation efforts. For weekend attendees of the community festival portion of the Haw River Festival, highly visible decorative signs posted at the facilities provided the necessary directions for their use as well as a brief note on their environmentally sound characteristics.

Some other demonstrations at the Haw River Festival focused on efficient resource use as well. The festival demonstrated energy conservation through the use of solar electricity generation for powering the stage's sound system. Operators of the system provided festival attendees with explanations of how the system functioned. One educator established a contract with the Haw River Assembly to provide a demonstration and an activity at the festival to teach about recycling.

Crew members frequently demonstrated water quality monitoring at the Haw as part of a presentation on human activities that impact water quality. Similar demonstrations occurring during the 1995 Riverfest and the Chautauquas on the Colorado

likely functioned in the same manner: to increase festival participants awareness of several issues relating to water quality including sources of pollution, consequences of chemical alterations in the river, and organized efforts to monitor and reduce pollution. With awareness building and the presentation of a few key concepts in water quality issues as their primary educational value, these demonstrations did not include the more in-depth practice and discussion necessary to serve as training in water quality monitoring.

One demonstration that preceded additional instruction and practice in skill development occurred during some of the 1995 Riverfest events. Canoe outings sponsored by the LCRA provided even novices to the sport opportunities to experience traveling down the river corridor by boat. Although the similar kayaking demonstrations occurred as part of the Haw River Festival, safety and liability concerns among members of the Haw River Assembly limited additional paddling instruction and practice to festival crew members during evening hours when the public was not present.

A demonstration of operations at a river gauging station on the Kaw river exemplifies how festival planners from each case study incorporated the service of professionals from various fields, facilities and organizations. The example also illustrates efforts to educate the public about various technologies associated with measuring or controlling the flow of the river. A tour of a dam facility operated by the Lower Colorado River Authority also exemplifies such an effort.

A reoccurring demonstration at the Rollin' Down the River Festival taught the concept of nonpoint source pollution. Serving as a model of the movement of water in a watershed, a stream-flow table operated by festival staff demonstrated the sources of

pollutants as well as the manner in which they travel to the river channel (De Bres 1998; KTWU 1998). Although this subject occurred in each of the three case studies, only the Rollin' Down the River Festival demonstrated the phenomena.

Multi-Sensory Learning Experiences

The stream table demonstration provides an example of one of many activities occurring in all three case studies that encourage learners to use multiple senses. Watching the demonstration, touching the land/water model and listening to the presenter engaged learners in a manner that a verbal or written description alone could not accomplish. Multi-sensory experiences such as this meet the needs of a greater variety of learning styles than instructional methods that rely primarily on one sense, as do reading assignments and lectures (Mann and Taylor 1973; Price 1982; Staley 1997).

During their training to lead various learning activities, crew members for the Haw River Festival discussed among themselves strategies to incorporate multi-sensory experiences for learners as part of each activity. Led by Haw River Assembly director Elaine Chiosso, this discussion suggests an awareness among Haw festival producers of both a desire to maximize the festival's educational worth and the value of multi-sensory experiences in this effort. Ms. Chiosso also noted in the discussion the value of the festival's outdoor setting as an ideal learning environment for facilitating multi-sensory experiences (Chiosso 1999b).

As an example of how the Haw River Festival incorporated multi-sensory experiences, crew members led school children in a game known as "Meet a Tree."

Working with a partner, each child took a turn putting on a blind fold, walking with a friend as a guide to a tree and exploring the tree by touching, listening, smelling and tasting. After returning to the starting location and then removing their blindfolds, children then relied on their vision to identify the tree they explored through touch. At this point they attempted to identify the same clues but with the aid of their vision. The clues included textures of bark and leaves, scents and tastes from leaves and shapes of trunks. More than one child indicated that sounds from water flowing in the nearby river provided auditory clues about their tree's location. The children likely gained knowledge of tree and forest characteristics as well as a greater appreciation for aesthetic qualities of the trees, forest and river.

For the case studies from the Kaw and Colorado rivers, no evidence appeared indicating producers' awareness of the value of multi-sensory learning experiences. Similarly, no indication appeared in these cases of a conscious desire to promote such experiences. However, just as the case studies involved experiential learning regardless of preexisting educational goals, clearly each case study included numerous opportunities for multi-sensory learning experiences. Like festivals in general, the case studies included music, art, a variety of games, food, speeches, stories and dancing: activities engaging all senses. The feasibility for providing multi-sensory learning experiences at festivals further supports the argument that festivals serve as ideal venues for educational efforts.

Nonformal Settings

With the exception of pre-event curricular activities designed by Haw River Alliance staff for use by teachers in a classroom setting (Chiosso 1999a), all of the educational programming associated with the case studies occurred in the context of nonformal education. Emmons reviews benefits of nonformal vs. formal (classroom) educational settings. They include:

- educational curricula used in schools tend to concentrate only on basic knowledge and neglect other important learning areas,
- many classroom teachers do not feel comfortable discussing environmental values with students,
- formal educational settings frequently have few elements of play and enjoyment,
- nonformal educational settings have fewer curricular constraints,
- nonformal educational settings often promote motivation to learn in students by providing choice, challenge, novelty, and cooperation (Emmons 1997).

Lectures and Speeches

Thus far, much has been said regarding the use of lectures and speeches, educational formats used primarily at the Rollin' Down the River Festival. The use of lectures suggests efforts to recreate a traditional format on which the Chautauquas of previous decades relied. The Rollin' Down the River Festival as well as the more recent Colorado River Chautauquas combined the lecture format with living history presenters to put modern ideas of heritage preservation in a historical context. As a tradition more popular in past generations and rekindled by the Rollin' Down the River Festival and the Colorado River Chautauquas, local politicians delivered speeches to community members in small towns (De Bres 1997; LCRA 1993). Thus the appeal of the lecture/speech format to festival producers and presenters may be explained by more than simply the

efficiency of this method for communicating many ideas in a brief period of time. The format actually celebrates heritage by recreating an aspect of community gatherings from times past.

This analysis has also discussed one advantage of educational methods not associated with the lecture/speech format; addressing the needs of a wide range of learning styles. Concern for a festival design that focuses on educational programming for school children may explain the Haw River Festival's absence of lectures and speeches as well as the planners' conscious efforts to incorporate multi-sensory, experiential learning experiences. As a related factor that likely influenced the educational design of the festival, several members of the festival crew on the Haw had backgrounds in educating children, whether as schoolteachers or as parents of home-schooled children. Additionally, the financial success of the festival required appealing to children, teachers and administrators in the public schools. Creating and marketing a fun and educationally relevant event required producers to include the more experiential, multi-sensory types of activities rather than those involving lectures or speeches.

The degree to which festival producers used the lecture format appears related to two factors: previous experiences of producers and the needs of the target audience. Just as the experiential, multi-sensory nature of the educational programming for the Haw festival stems from efforts of child educators teaching school children, the lecture style format frequently used in the Kaw festival reflects efforts of academicians in designing learning experiences for adults.

Stories

Storytelling occurred in two contexts in the case studies: as performances by professional storytellers and as part of local residents' informal gathering, both planned and spontaneous. Louise Kessel, often referred to as the festival founder among Haw festival crew members, contributed her expertise as a professional storyteller since the event's origin. During the 1999 festival, her stories, as well as those by one other storyteller, included tales from various cultural traditions with messages on moral behavior. The Rollin' Down the River Festival also included professional storytelling performances, as indicated by the program brochure.

Numerous examples of informal story telling occur in the data. At the Haw festival, upon sighting a snake while with a group of children, a festival crew member related his personal experience of encountering a venomous snake while traveling down river in a canoe during a festival of a previous year. According to his account, the snake bit him after it dropped into his canoe from a low-hanging tree limb that the boat brushed up against. The children's attention appeared riveted on the words and gestures of the man telling the story as he described his frightening and dangerous experience. Judging from their facial expressions, the children appeared surprised as the storyteller recounted his emotions following the event. Upon eventually arriving to a medical facility and recovering from the effects of the venom, he felt sympathy for the snake and concern for how his actions not only endangered the snake but also potentially altered the habitat and food sources for other organisms in the vicinity. Thus his story provided entertainment, information about snakes and hazards associated with the river, personal values relating to impacting the natural environment for children to consider and a sense of spontaneity.

In addition to the storytelling performances, planners for the Rollin' Down the River Festival scheduled informal storytelling activities as part of the festival program. At various festival sites along the river, old-time residents gathered and shared stories about the community, frequently incorporating the festival theme by including memories associated with the river (Wolf 2000). Designers of the Colorado River Chautauquas also envisioned the gathering of “. . . plain folk who have lived in the watershed for years . . . (to share) expert knowledge”(Kendall 1992) and “river folklore” (LCRA 1993). Facilitating this type of sharing and participation by community members with personal histories tied to the river enables event producers to legitimize their efforts to educate people about river heritage (Colten 1994).

During Riverfest and Rollin' Down the River Festival events, stories sometimes occurred as part of living history performances. A nineteenth century river ferry operator telling “. . . yarns from ‘the good old days’ ” (LCRA 1995b) described life along the Colorado from times past, perhaps encouraging an audience to consider the highly developed sense of place of early pioneer settlers and their descendents (Utley 1996), a sense of place likely entwined with the river.

The festival stories taught history lessons about life in the watershed during recent times and the distant past. These lessons served as part of planners' efforts to “. . . bring in (the) idea, ‘story of place’ ” to the festivals (Wolf 2000).

Music

In referring to an effect of music on children, a Haw River Festival producer stated, “music is so important for spreading ideas—songs stay in their heads” (Burgur

1999). Such was the experience for several school children who participated in singing “The River is Flowing” not only during the symbolic presentation of Mother River, as previously mentioned, but while lining-up to board the school bus at the end of the day. The songs performed as part of the 1999 Haw River Festival attempted to communicate numerous ideas relating to environmental stewardship as well as social acceptance, empowerment, and equity.

Messages promoting environmental stewardship occurred on several occasions during the Rollin’ Down the River Festival with “eco music” performances by an area musician (KVHA 1997; Wolf 2000). Another reoccurring performance at the Kaw festival was that of a Native American Balladeer who performed traditional songs from people of the Kaw Nation.

The Colorado River Chautauquas also relied on the efforts of musicians to assist in communicating environmental messages. According to a funding proposal, musicians served as part of an effort to “. . . perform, discuss, brainstorm, experiment, study, test, think and just have a good time demonstrating what can be done differently to prevent the damage of runoff” (Kendall 1992). Incorporating music into the events exemplifies one of the festival producers’ key strategies for combining education and entertainment.

Creating Opportunities for Fun

Event producers intended to promote education about rivers by making learning fun. Music, drama and story performances played a large role in this strategy. Additionally, festival producers included humor, jugglers, clowns, games, art, face painting, hayrides, canoeing and campfires. It is reasonable to hypothesize that the

entertainment value of the festivals motivated participation in the events. Thus, maintaining each festival's popularity may require emphasizing the festive qualities of the events.

Educational Programming as a Funding Strategy

Organizations that provide funding for festivals frequently do so because of the festival's educational aspects. The original funding proposal for the Haw River Festival addressed the desires of the Haw River Assembly to promote learning about stewardship of the Haw River. The Assembly then faced the task of gaining the interest of public schools in order to attract participants. Thus the goal of providing an educational experience for festival attendees is closely tied to the ability of festival producers to acquire necessary funding each year.

Similarly, producers of the Rollin' Down the River Festival incorporated an educational approach in their festival design that appealed to the funding programs of various agencies. The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, the National Endowment for the Arts, the Kansas Humanities Council, and the State Water Plan of the Kansas Water Office all served as major funders. The goals of these organizations, as described in the program brochure, are compatible with the educational goals of the festival. They include "... raising awareness . . . ,” working with communities in specific geographic areas to “ . . . solve environmental problems in ways that integrate environmental, economic and social goals . . . , helping citizen groups address their goals, resolve difficult issues, and reach consensus about the future use and protection of important land and water resources” (KVHA 1997). By promoting education about protecting river

heritage, and thereby assisting in the efforts of funding organizations, festival producers successfully acquired grant money necessary to stage the event.

A 1991 survey by Rolfe determined that British festival producers demonstrated a growing interest in involving school groups in festival activities. A desire to acquire funding as well as attract new and younger audiences accounted for the increase in educational programming. At the time of the study, 56 percent of U.K. festivals included “. . . explicitly educational components” (Rolfe 1991, 24). Similarly, 57 percent of public funding for festivals involved events incorporating educational efforts.

Efforts among festival planners in the Colorado watershed to include activities that addressed the LCRA’s goal of “underlining the river’s importance” (LCRA 1997) typically involved the use of symbolism rather than what Rolfe refers to as “explicitly educational components” (1991, 24). The Colorado River Chautauquas that preceded the Riverfest program certainly emphasized education as a central goal and consequently gained funding from the LCRA (Kendall 2000a). As LCRA staff decided to change the event to a festival format, they also decided to increase the number of festivals receiving funding to include festivals not only along the river corridor but throughout the watershed. As a result, the LCRA distributed a larger number of grants to participating community festivals but provided each event with smaller sums than grants from previous years. Simultaneously, the primary goal of Riverfest broadened from raising awareness of the river’s importance to include promoting tourism and economic development (Cullick 1999a). Both the decrease in funds to individual communities combined with the LCRA’s adoption of a broader range of program goals may explain festival planners’ lack of efforts to incorporate educational programming among events promoted under the

Riverfest umbrella. Additionally, planners for the community festivals receiving Riverfest dollars appear to have made few efforts to change the pre-existing formats and traditions associated with their festivals to incorporate the river theme (Cullick 1999a).

Whether due to LCRA staff perceiving a lack of interest among community festival planners or to the belief among LCRA staff that the Riverfest goals had been adequately fulfilled (McCann 1999), the LCRA decided to phase out the Riverfest on the Colorado Program by the end of the 1990s. Judging from the data collected as part of festival observations in 1999, planners for festivals that received LCRA funds made few efforts to incorporate the theme of river heritage into community celebrations in the Colorado River watershed. The event at Bay City was, perhaps, the only exception. Even at this event, however, the LCRA's goal of promoting activities "underlining river's importance" involved only symbolic gestures as part of the festival rituals. Although festival planners staged a rubber duck race and fishing contest that potentially focused awareness on the recreational opportunities provided by the river, the event included no explicit references to the value of the river's heritage.

Considerations Regarding the Effectiveness of Educational Programming in Festivals

As previously mentioned, producers of the Haw River Festival considered the event as form of environmental education. In regard to the Rollin' Down the River Festival, certainly the focus on educating the public about the natural and cultural heritage of the Kaw River fits within the domain of environmental education as well. Therefore, consideration of environmental education goals, as defined by researchers in this field,

may provide insights into the effectiveness of the festival's educational efforts. In turn, judging the effectiveness of educational efforts in the festival case studies will help answer the second research question: *What evidence indicates whether or not such attempts do affect people's concern and involvement with rivers?*

Hungerford, Peyton and Wilke formulated a "Superordinate Goal" for environmental education as follows: "To aid citizens in becoming environmentally knowledgeable and, above all, skilled and dedicated citizens who are willing to work, individually and collectively, toward achieving and/or maintaining a dynamic equilibrium between quality of life and quality of the environment" (Hungerford, Peyton and Wilke 1980, 42). Achieving this "Superordinate Goal" requires success in subordinate goals, all relating to learners' acquisition of knowledge and skills, formation of values and demonstration of behaviors.

More recently, environmental educators began emphasizing active involvement of all people in resolving environmental problems. Emmons identifies two interpretations of "participation" among researchers and practitioners. For some the word means involvement in social action to improve environmental quality, and implies an effort to initiate social transformation on the part of the learner. For others, it means practicing "... environmentally responsible behavior, and that achieving such behaviors is the ultimate goal of environmental education" (Emmons 1997, 34). This interpretation suggests that the learner participates in efforts to achieve the necessary equilibrium between quality of life and quality of the environment through lifestyle adaptations.

The Festival as a Long-term Participatory Project

Based in part on a critical analysis of past efforts in environmental education, Roger Hart offers an approach to children's environmental education that aligns with principles and practices of social transformation through local community participation. Regarding the educational value of festivals, Hart concludes that although they can serve as introductions to long-term opportunities for children to participate in environmental programs, by themselves they will not support children's involvement in long-term participatory projects (Hart 1997). The importance of involving children in long-term participatory projects relating to community development and environmental care, Hart argues, stems from a need for establishing "... a deeper, more grounded involvement of citizens with the environment" (Hart 1997, 8). According to Hart, short-term, top-down approaches to environmental education often fail to empower children to become stewards of their communities and environments. Hart proposes redesigning environmental education and community development programs to involve children at all levels in stewardship processes in which they ultimately initiate actions and share decision making responsibilities with adults. Paralleling Hart's view of these types of programs, Putnam concludes that "well designed service learning programs improve civic knowledge, enhance citizen efficacy, increase social responsibility and self-esteem, teach skills of cooperation and leadership, and may even reduce racism" (Putnam, 405).

Hart also states that in addition to opportunities for participation in all levels in stewardship activities, children need contact with "... nature's diversity" through free access to areas of limited size and over extended periods of time (Hart 1997, 18). The importance of this type of access, Hart argues, is "... that there is considerable

theoretical reason to believe that concern for the environment is based on an affection that can come only from autonomous, unmediated contact with it (Hart 1997, 20). Similarly, others conclude that environmental sensitivity and positive attitudes about the natural world develop through children's direct, positive contact with the natural environment (Harvey 1989-1990; Hungerford and Volk 1990; McKnight 1990; Newhouse 1991). To help children achieve concern for the environment, Hart promotes providing them with “. . . opportunities for the everyday enjoyment of natural environments close to home--wild commonlands, gardens, ponds, city farms, or schoolgrounds, ideally with interested and informed adults nearby” (Hart 1997, 19-20).

If Hart's conclusions are correct, the primary educational benefit for school children attending the Haw River Festival on a single day probably centers only on receiving introductions to long-term opportunities for participation in protecting river heritage. For example, children became acquainted with water monitoring activities, recycling efforts and the efforts of citizen groups like the Haw River Assembly. Emmons research suggests that attending an environmental education program like the Haw River Festival can provide the initial motivation for learners to initiate or become involved in longer-term community participation projects (Emmons 1997). With this consideration, the introduction to participatory opportunities described by Hart includes an important motivational factor as part of the educational value of the event.

The Experience of Children Crew Members at the Haw River Festival

Hart also credits festivals with being necessary occasions for celebrating a stewardship program's existence. However, for the many children who served as

volunteer crew members at the Haw River Festival, the event was more than a celebration of a program's existence: production of the event *was* the program. In 1999, nine crew members ranging in ages from three to sixteen assisted in the production of the festival with their parents for periods of one to three weeks. Many of the children had served on the crew for several years consecutively. One young lady volunteered with her mother every year since the festival's beginning in 1990. The flexibility of the families' home-schooling schedules enabled the children to contribute significant amounts of time as crew members. If Hart's theory of children's participation in community development and environmental care is applied to the experiences of these young crew members, the educational value of the Haw River Festival becomes more apparent.

An Opportunity for Acquiring Local Knowledge

In the approach proposed by Hart for fostering environmental and community stewardship, he credits gaining local environmental knowledge and concern as a prerequisite for global environmental concern. He also recognizes the value of experiences with the local environment in providing the basis for developing ecological understanding. He states:

. . . genuine ecological understanding involves an understanding of environmental phenomena "in place"--that is, in their complex spatial relatedness to one another. If one accepts the theories of developmental psychologists that young children (at least those under ten years of age) require direct interaction with phenomena to understand them, then it follows that children must first investigate small-scale local ecosystems. An eight-year-old child who has once studied in detail the life of a pond and the many forces impacting this ecosystem will be better prepared to understand large-scale ecological issues than a child of the same age who has seen many films and read dozens of books on the Amazon region (Hart 1997, 21).

Observations of the activities of the young crew members at the Haw River Festival indicate they spent considerable time exploring the area in and around the crew members' camp. With the same locations serving as festival sites each year, children gained repeated access to the same small-scale areas for a week at a time.

Autonomous, Unmediated Contact

The amount of time children spent roaming, playing and exploring the local area appeared to relate to their age. The older children took on roles similar to those of adults, assisting in most aspects of the festival production such as setting-up equipment, attending staff training sessions, assisting with instructional activities and supervising the activities of younger children to ensure their safety. Except for an occasional duty, such as setting out supplies for learning activities, younger children tended to spend their time with other children either in a clearing adjacent to the crew member camp, on the river bank, on trails in the wooded area around the camp or wading in the river channel. They appeared to engage almost entirely in self-directed play and exploration, with only those restrictions imposed by older supervisors intended to ensure their safety.

Adult-initiated, Shared Decisions with Children

Hart identifies eight degrees of collaboration and initiation children can have when working on projects with adults. The first three do not involve participation by children. Rather, they serve as means for adults to use children to communicate the adults' message, booster the adults' cause or involve children as tokens with only the illusion of true participation. The next five levels represent increasing degrees of

participation. The titles Hart assigned to each stage describe the child's degree of decision-making power. Beginning with level four, they are:

- 4) Assigned but informed,
- 5) Consulted and informed,
- 6) Adult-initiated, shared decisions with children,
- 7) Child-initiated and directed and
- 8) Child-initiated, shared decisions with adults (Hart 1992, 1997).

The Haw River Festival allowed for the participation of children crew members at level five. While adults designed and ran the festival, they consulted with the children about the day-to-day operation of the event, giving the children's opinions serious consideration. Participant observations yielded examples of this type of participation during staff training sessions. The Haw River Assembly director asked for the input of children and adult crew members in developing ideas about the design and fine tuning of various learning activities. Two young crew members drew upon their past experience as festival volunteers to provide suggestions regarding the operation of various learning stations. Children also voiced their opinions about what duties they would take on during the learning celebration portion of the event. Although no evidence appeared of children participating in the original festival design, the staff made conscious and deliberate efforts to incorporate the children's opinions during the festival production.

Thus, as a educational experience for a small group of children, the Haw River Festival appears to serve as a considerable resource for promoting knowledge of ecological principles, affection toward the river and places of natural diversity, and a sense of empowerment in environmental and community stewardship. For a larger group of children as well as adults, the festival's primary educational value appears to involve

promoting awareness of issues and knowledge of basic concepts regarding stewardship of the river's natural and cultural heritage. Data collected at the Haw River Festival in particular supports research claims that festivals provide ideal settings for learning experiences due to their emotionally uplifting atmosphere (Davies 1991; Heath 1996), their encouragement of hands-on activities (Davies 1991; Zeppel 1992), and the access they provide to new ideas (Poulsen 1996). The data also supports findings that the festival venue serves as a means for encouraging the development of cultural awareness (Nunez 1997; Scheichl 1996), environmental awareness (Weston 1999), and human relationship skills (Lewis 1990). The next portion of this research will further discuss the educational values of each case study, particularly as those values relate to the more general social values of the festivals.

CHAPTER 8

FESTIVAL IMPACTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Within the more general emphasis on the part of producers to promote communion experiences and a sense of place as social values, the interpretation of each festival's symbolic aspects suggests producers' efforts to promote a number of related social values, all relating to stewardship of the river's natural and cultural resources. For example, each case study festival promoted an environmental stewardship ethic as well as an appreciation for the many contributions of various social, cultural and ethnic groups. In addition to social values, the festivals involved various degrees of educational programming as an effort to protect river heritage by increasing public knowledge, skills and behaviors. Having addressed the first research question, *how do river festivals attempt to affect people's concern and involvement with rivers?* the discussion now focuses on the second, *what evidence indicates whether or not such attempts do affect people's concern and involvement with rivers?*

To approach this question, the analysis will focus on any existing evidence of impacts relating to a general set of social benefits the festivals attempted to provide. Additionally, the analysis will include a more specific assessment of the educational benefits. Drawing from the suggestion of Frisby and Getz (1989) the evaluation of

festival impacts will take into account differences in orientations between the case studies. For example, Hart's (1997) approach to involving children in stewardship efforts provides a valuable contribution in the assessment of educational programming at the Haw River Festival, an event oriented toward educating children. However, Hart's model provides little guidance for assessing the accomplishments of either Riverfest on the Colorado or the Rollin' Down the River Festival, both of which have orientations more toward adult education. Also, in accordance with Frisby and Getz's (1989) conceptual framework for festival evaluation, this assessment will consider the cultural, social, political, economic, and community environments in which the supporting organizations that produce festivals operate.

Three primary types of data sources provide evidence of the case study festivals' impacts and accomplishments: a formal post-event evaluation, festival producers' informal assessments and researcher observations. First the discussion will examine the results of a formal evaluation conducted upon conclusion of the Rollin' Down the River Festival with cross-checks for accuracy through incorporating data gathered during interviews of festival producers. Next, the discussion will focus on event planners informal assessments regarding the success of Riverfest on the Colorado. Observations made in 1999 of three festivals associated with Riverfest will supplement this analysis.

Following discussion of these case studies, the analysis will focus on impacts of the Haw River Festival. Data collection for the Haw River Festival involved participant observations made while this researcher served for a week as a volunteer crew member. Consequently, the availability of more in-depth data on this event allows for a more in-

depth analysis as compared to the discussion of the festival impacts for the other case studies.

Assessing the Effectiveness of Planners' Primary Strategy

As evidence supporting the first two research hypotheses indicates, festival producers attempted to increase peoples' concern and involvement with rivers by promoting the experiences of communion and a shared sense of place through participation in the festivals. These benefits demonstrate a lack of any clear distinction between educational benefits and other social benefits the festivals provide. The acquisition of environmentally positive behaviors (Hungerford and Volk 1990; Seacrest and Herpel 1997), community involvement (Hart 1997), environmental knowledge, increased awareness of issues, a sense of belonging to a group or simply entertainment (Kalinowski and Weiler 1992; Lewis 1996; Poulsen 1996) have all been described as festival benefits in an educational context. As demonstrated in this discussion, a primary goal among festival producers in each case study involved portraying the river as a source of group unity. On a literal basis and perhaps relating more to educational efforts, festival activities included raising awareness of the river as a source of transportation and communication routes, water and food. Presentations in each of the three festivals emphasized the role of the river in shaping the human settlement patterns still in existence. Educators also emphasized how human actions in upstream locations can affect water quality and availability for residents in downstream locations in the same watershed.

On a more symbolic level but within the context of a larger set of festival social benefits, the festival rituals emphasized group unity with the river as a focal point for communion experiences and a shared sense of place among residents in the watershed. As is the case with many of the more educational oriented benefits, the task of judging the impact of social benefits, such as promoting communion experiences, proves challenging. Assessing the awareness, understanding and emotional response of a sample set of festival participants (representing the entire set) regarding efforts to promote a communion experience and a sense of place would require considerable effort, a task beyond the scope of this research. Perhaps for this reason, the literature examined and reviewed as part of this research uncovered no model for such an assessment despite the many theoretical arguments provided by social scientists about how and why festivals promote unity, group identity and place identity.

The resources making this research possible do not allow for an in-depth assessment of the extent to which the events achieved these primary festival goals. However, the data gathered via participant observations at the Haw River Festival do permit some important insights into the experiences of volunteer crew members at that event, insights that relate to the relationship between communion/sense of place experiences and concern for, and involvement in, the river. Prior to exploring this data, the discussion will consider impacts of the other two case studies.

The Rollin' Down the River Festival

Among the three case studies, evidence appeared of only one effort among festival planners to document their event's success through a formal evaluation. De Bres reports

the results of the evaluation she conducted as part of the Rolling' Down the River Festival. Through interviews of people who helped stage the event, including members of various planning committees and volunteers, she examined four questions:

- To what extent was the festival a popular success?
- To what extent did the festival serve to educate the public about the importance of the river?
- To what extent did the festival create a sense of place and sense of interconnectedness?
- How and in what form should the festival be repeated?

To What Extent was the Festival a Popular Success?

Although De Bres reported the festival was a popular success, the criteria used in arriving at this conclusion remain unclear (De Bres 1997). Accounts of low attendance in the report as well as from other sources further confuse the issue (Buchanan 2000; De Bres 1997; Wolf 1999b). De Bres does refer to various forms of media, such as the television documentary *Sunflower Journeys*, as a means by which the festival was expected to receive a great deal of public exposure throughout the region (De Bres 1997; KTWU 1998). Assuming this coverage provided the public a means to experience the festival in some manner, even if not actually attending events, the conclusion is made with at least some basis of support (Falassi 1987).

To What Extent did it Serve to Educate the Public about the Importance of the River?

No data source provided a specific answer to this question. Festival producers concluded that due to low attendance, particularly at some of the educational displays, the

educational aspects of the festival were “neglected” (Donelin 1998). De Bres’ evaluation also identifies the festival’s educational elements as a weakness (De Bres 1997).

To What Extent did the Festival Create a Sense of Place and Sense of Interconnectedness?

According to De Bres, data collected during interviews indicated that the festival did successfully create a sense of place and a sense of interconnectedness. She stated that experiencing a sense of place and connectedness occurred more so among residents of small towns (that hosted festival events) as well as among people who helped produced the festival (De Bres 1997; 1998). De Bres wrote that festival producers and attendees agreed that a “. . . sense of community pride and interest in the local community had been promoted” and that communities along the river became more aware of commonalities they all shared (De Bres 1997, 6). Unfortunately, De Bres provided few examples on which she and others based these conclusions. Relating to the creation of a sense of place, she did mention festival attendees’ “. . . surprise at the existence of a pleasant river side park” as an example of how the festival promoted an expanded vision of the river valley and increased awareness and interest in what is possible to do in and along the river (De Bres 1997, 5). In regard to communion experiences or a sense of interconnectedness, Wolf agreed with De Bres that the festival volunteers developed emotional bonds and feelings of belonging to a group (Wolf 1989b). The fact that both De Bres and Wolf served as volunteers lends some support to the validity of this conclusion.

Once again, determining with any level of confidence the extent to which festival participants experienced communion and a shared sense of place resulting from their participation in the case study festivals presents too great a challenge to this analysis. Not surprisingly, extending this type of assessment past a small group of participants presented a challenge too great for festival planners in these case studies to undertake. However, the obstacles to a thorough assessment of such intangible benefits do not devalue whatever assessment is possible. In regard to the potential benefits of communion and a shared sense of place, De Bres did complete an assessment of the experience of a small set of participants, mostly people who assisted in event production (De Bres 1997; 1998). As a participant observer herself, her methods of interviews and observations combined with reflecting upon her own experience parallels the approach taken by this researcher in assessing these same impacts for crew members of the Haw River Festival.

In light of the difficulties in assessing experiences of communion and a shared sense of place among all festival participants, a question arises: does the available data provide *any* evidence that festival attendees in general experienced a sense of communion or a shared sense of place as a result of attending the festival? To answer this question, this analysis must draw upon the kind of qualitative data gathered through techniques such as Mass Observation as described by Seaton (1997) on page 11 of this text. Even when drawing upon this type of data, the accuracy of the conclusions comes into question unless the data is cross-checked through quantitative surveys (Seaton 1997). Despite the absence of data from surveys, such techniques used by this researcher at the Haw River Festival and events associated with Riverfest do provide some insights, although limited,

into the experiences of festival participants related to communion and a shared sense of place. These insights reflect the degree to which participants became aware of symbolic meanings in the festival activities as well as the degree to which they identified with or internalized the social values the rituals promoted. Unfortunately, only very little data of this nature on the one-time production of the Rollin' Down the River Festival is available.

How and in What Form should the Festival be Repeated?

Although the conclusions from this portion of the evaluation do not directly reflect the festival impacts and accomplishments, a few do provide some insights in this regard. Representing the opinions of several festival producers associated with the KVHA, De Bres recommended seven changes should the festival occur again. They are:

- Emphasize a common theme during each event.
- Consider problems of associating pre-existing events, not directly related to efforts of the KVHA, with the core festival events (such as conflicts of interests between the community festivals' supporting organizations and the KVHA).
- Produce festival once every three years rather than annually to avoid volunteer burn-out
- Publicize festival further in advance.
- Continue sequencing events in time and space with the first event stage near the river's headwaters and the final event at the river's confluence.
- Smaller-scale, small-town events should occur during weekdays while the larger more urban events should occur on weekends.
- Establish more well defined goals and directions for the festival (De Bres 1997).

De Bres' first and last recommendations provide a few insights into how the event producers perceived the impacts and accomplishments of the Rollin' Down the River Festival. The opinion that festival events lacked the emphasis of a common theme suggests one possible explanation of why the experiences of sensing place and interconnectedness (or communion) may have occurred primarily among small-town

residents and festival staff as opposed to a larger set of festival participants. The suggestion for more well defined goals and directions indicates some degree of uncertainty about the purpose of the festival. Such uncertainty complicates efforts to judge the festival's impacts.

Decisions among the festival's financial supporters to continue or discontinue the provision of funding grants may reflect those sponsors' opinions regarding the festival's accomplishments. According to Joyce Wolf, the major funding organization for the Rollin' Down the River Festival, the Region 7 Division of the EPA, chose not to renew the grant necessary for a second production of the festival, originally scheduled for the year 2000. In her view, this decision reflects an opinion held by the EPA that the 1997 festival did not adequately support the EPA's own objectives (Wolf 2000). According to the festival program brochure, this objective involves efforts to "... solve environmental problems in ways that integrate environmental, economic and social goals" (KVHA 1997).

Riverfest on the Colorado

Informal evaluations, in the form of oral comments, provide much of the evidence relating to the impacts and accomplishments of Riverfest on the Colorado. During an interview, Robert Cullick, an LCRA employee involved in planning Riverfest-related events, described how communities responded in different ways to the program. In his opinion, community efforts to stage festivals within the context of the basin-wide Riverfest program in some cases resulted in increased cooperation between communities and in other cases, an increased sense of competition (Cullick 1999a). For example, as an

LCRA initiative to coordinate Riverfest related events, representatives from various chambers of commerce in towns upstream from Austin joined a “headwaters group” to coordinate their festivals so as to minimize competition for festival attendees. As of 1999, this group continued to meet despite the withdrawal of the LCRA from coordinating Riverfest planning efforts. In contrast, representatives from various communities downstream of Austin appeared to compete with one another for attendees. Expressions of conflict, according to Cullick, involved events scheduled to overlap with events from rival communities as well as community representatives choosing not to attend planning meetings hosted by the LCRA. Cullick did not believe the Riverfest program caused the competition. Rather, it may have accentuated it by providing one more vehicle for the expression of a pre-existing competitive relationship (Cullick 1999a).

Regarding the overall success of Riverfest, Cullick concluded the program successfully raised interest in the Colorado River. He stated, “people involved in the events will feel different about the Colorado River forever” (Cullick 1999a). Yet he also stated that despite the success, the program did not provide an efficient means for “. . . reaching people” (Cullick 1999a). Cullick’s statements suggest that although the Riverfest program may have raised interest in the heritage associated with the Colorado River among the set of people who actually participated in river oriented activities, the program’s costs outweighed this benefit.

Data collected as a festival participant and observer also provides a basis for some conclusions regarding the program impact. Of the three festivals attended, the two pre-existing community festivals promoted as part of Riverfest received a large attendance. An estimate by this researcher of attendance at the Smithville Jamboree aligns with the

estimate of festival producers that eight to ten thousand people attended on one Saturday night (Bell 1999). Similarly, approximately 600 people were observed in attendance on a Saturday afternoon at the 1999 Columbus Springtime Festival (Rau 1999). In contrast, the Bay City Riverfest Pilot Club Duck Race, an event that originated as part of the Riverfest program, was attended by only 15 adults. Apparently, the LCRA's promotion of the events improved the attendance at these Riverfest events very little if at all in 1999.

Additionally, with no indications appearing of festival producers' efforts to incorporate a river theme into the Columbus or Smithville festivals, adopting a theme of river heritage had little influence on attracting festival attendees in that year. As a sponsor of the festivals, the LCRA's logo appeared in program brochures and on banners.

The LCRA estimated that during each year of Riverfest, through publicity efforts and festival attendance, approximately 25,000 people in the Colorado River watershed received the river authority's message encouraging people to value the heritage of the Colorado River (Cullick 1999a). To the extent that festival attendance and participation in river-related festival activities represents public acceptance of that value, attendance patterns observed in 1999 suggest low interest in the Riverfest message.

Observations of several behaviors and statements as well as recorded statements made during interviews indicate that the desire among festival attendees to experience communion served as the primary motive for attending the events in Smithville, Columbus and Bay City. However, the festivals' rituals symbolic of group identity incorporated very little of the river theme. In Columbus, no representation of the river appeared. In Smithville, only an LCRA parade float symbolizing the river authority's state-mandated power as a manager of the environment involved any connection to the

river. In this way, festival producers linked community identity with the functions of the river authority, including environmental management and providing jobs (Bell 1999).

In Bay City, the ritual behaviors occurring as part of a fishing contest (a rite of competition) and the rubber duck race (a rite of reversal) suggested attempts to promote community identities that value recreation and leisure activities associated with the river. However, only 15 people attended the festival and of these, only two people participated in the fishing contest. Festival staff felt that they made significant publicity efforts for the event and therefore attributed the festival's low attendance to competition with other events in the area (Pearson 1999). Whatever the reason, the low attendance suggests the festival impacted community identity for the area in a very minor way if at all.

Similarly, observations of ritual behavior attempting to incorporate the river into place identity through symbolic representations of place appeared limited to the Bay City event. Through the same rituals described in terms of their meaning to community identity, the Bay City festival represented the area as a place for river recreation. The low attendance does not support the idea that the community shared or adopted this value.

The Haw River Festival

Data sources providing insights into the impact of the Haw River Festival include participant observations, interviews, and written accounts of the experience of volunteer crew members. No formal evaluations of the festivals accomplishments appeared during the data collection for this research.

Assessing the Festival's Educational Value

Despite the educational emphasis of the festival, no records exist in the data of efforts to assess short-term or long-term effects of educational efforts directed toward school children. Certainly examples exist in the academic literature of efforts to measure the changes in children's knowledge and behaviors that result from attendance of an education-oriented festival. Seacrest and Herpel determined that participation in the Children's Groundwater Festival did lead to behavior change with respect to conserving ground water. Such assessments serve as an important demonstration to festival funders concerned with learning outcomes as justification for continued support (Seacrest and Herpel 1997).

The apparent lack of concern for such a learning assessment may stem from the fact that the Haw River Festival does not receive corporate or government funding. Rather, all funds necessary for the festival production come from festival activities--such as raffles, donations and fundraisers--and admission fees paid by schools that send classes to the event (Chiosso 1999). Perhaps the simple knowledge of the nature of the learning celebration activities that characterize the festival provides the necessary justification to schoolteachers and administrators for acquiring the money necessary for their students to attend.

Assessing the festival's educational value in this manner demonstrates a concern for educational objectives that focus on learning as a process rather than objectives that focus on measurable changes in knowledge, skills or values (Kalinowski and Weiler, 1992). Educators could argue on a theoretical basis for the educational value of the experiential learning that occurs during the festival, as previously described in this text.

As a supplement to formal classroom methods, the festival activities help serve a wider range of learning styles in acquiring knowledge and skills as well as encourage the development of an aesthetic and emotional appreciation for natural environments, only possible through direct contact with those environments. Furthermore, anyone observing the behavior of students participating in the activities that make-up the Haw River Festival can confidently report that children have fun at the festival, a great deal of fun. In the context of educational objectives, attending the festival is certainly beneficial due to the enrichment nature of the experience alone (Kalinowski and Weiler 1992).

As a long-term community involvement project geared toward protecting the heritage associated with the river, several adults and children return to the festival each year. The older children in particular contribute significantly to decisions regarding the educational programming of the learning celebration. Several years of assisting with educational activities for school children provided some children access to the necessary knowledge and skills for determining, as part of a team, the content and methods of each learning activity.

Involving young people in this way empowers them to make significant contributions to stewardship efforts (Hart 1997). In the case of the Haw River Festival, children crew members are gradually developing expertise in educating the community about river stewardship. Additionally, unmediated access to areas in and around the festival sites provides them with an opportunity to develop an ecological understanding and deep appreciation of natural and wild spaces (Hart 1997), particularly riparian environments. Observations of interactions between young crew members and school

children attending the festival indicate a knowledge base and set of values they possess that support this claim.

Assessing the Festival's other Social Benefits

The Experience of Festival Attendees; the Public Impact

No evidence appeared in the research that the Haw River Festival attendees other than crew members experienced an increase in knowledge and/or skills or a behavior change associated with river heritage conservation. Similarly, the data content and collection methods do not permit a conclusive assessment for determining whether or not these same attendees experienced communion and a shared sense of place as a result of attendance. The data also will not allow an assessment of the extent to which attendees became aware of and/or adopted values promoted through the symbolic elements of the festival. If judging the success of the festival depends on whether or not and to what extent these experiences occurred among the public, then this analysis would not provide the means for a final evaluation. However, judgments regarding the festival's success do not require this type of proof.

The experiences of non-crew festival attendees alone do not account for all the social benefits. As this discussion will further explore, the experiences of crew members involve substantial social benefits. Returning the focus again to non-crew member attendees, one social benefit experienced by the public involves more than the influence of communion/sense of place experiences or exposure to values to reflect upon. The festival provides entertainment. Observations of public responses to festival activities include frequent smiling, sustained applause (typically ten to twenty seconds), cheering,

dancing, clapping at music, laughing and singing. The Haw River Festival, as festivals in general attempt to do, provided opportunities for novel experiences within a predictable structure (Smith 1975).

Levels of attendance and attention in festival activities indicate significant interest in and motivation to participate in the festival. While watching a puppet show, dancing to a musical performance or watching a sculpture carving demonstration, every performance included an audience of at least 40 to 200 people at any given time. During the Saturday community festival, each crew member or community organization representative who staffed learning activity stations or informational booths remained engaged in conversation and activities with festival participants approximately 70 percent of the day.

Regarding the number of attendees, approximately 80 school children attended each of the four weekdays the festival took place, for an approximate total of 320. The peak attendance of the six-hour Saturday celebration was about 430 people. Since people arrived and departed from the event throughout the day, the Saturday attendance totaled a greater figure; how much higher is unknown. A headcount of 750 then represents the estimated weekly attendance total. If the same approximate attendance rate applies for the week in which participant observations occurred as for the other two weeks of the festival, the season total for the 1999 season is at least 2250 attendees. This total does not account for crew members or representatives from various community organizations who staffed information booths. The total estimate also does not take into account the number of repeat visitors (or festival staff) who attended more than one day and possibly at more than one event site. Just as knowledge of the arrival/departure rate would increase the

estimate for total attendance, knowledge of the repeat rate would lower the total estimate. What the 1999 attendance estimate signifies is that each year, approximately 2250 people take time away from their daily routines to participate in an expression of community values and exchange of ideas regarding concern and affection for the river.

When considering how enthusiastically and attentively the public engaged in festival activities, the number of attendees and the longevity of the event (thirteen years), the existence of socially beneficial aspects of the festival becomes apparent. These benefits extend past the entertainment value of the activities. In attending the event, participants chose not only a fun event but one also containing numerous symbolic elements. Planners designed these elements to offer great aesthetic appeal that evokes emotional and spiritual responses. Selected from extensive options in leisure activities, the attending public chose to participate in the festival's ritual expressions of values: values supporting stewardship and an identity of place and community. The evidence presented here indicates festival goers participate in and respond to the rituals as intended by festival planners. Thus, through participation in the river celebration, the public expresses a self-awareness of, an acceptance of, and a desire to maintain the values underscoring community and place identity.

Impacts on Festival Crew

As one of her main motives in designing the Haw River Festival, Louise Kessel intended to establish a tradition that provided people serving as crew members a means to bond emotionally with one another and the river (Kessel 1999). To establish the bonds, Kessel-proposed project included many ritual expressions of shared values, camping

together, entertaining one another and the long, hard work of putting on a festival (Kessel 1989). Statements made during interviews in which respondents described their experiences as volunteers and their motives to serve as crew members attest to the success of Kessel's plan. Considering that only two of the seventeen people interviewed were first-time volunteers, the motives listed in table 4 also reflect volunteer experiences from past festivals (assuming their motives involved repeating past experiences). Of these seventeen interviewed, fourteen (or 82 percent) included communion related benefits in their descriptions of motives and/or past festival experiences (Arnsberger 1999; Burgur 1999; Carver 1999; Conley 1999; Dreyfors 1999; Ford 1999; John 1999; Kent 1999; King 1999; Mark 1999; Monas 1999; Raxter 1999; Winters 1999; Zimmerman 1999).

Obviously, communion experiences played a main role in the festival's benefits and success. However, the analysis of the data does not clearly reveal the degree to which the festival crew experienced a shared sense of place associated with the river as a result of their volunteer experience. Eleven crew members expressed a desire to protect environmental and natural resources (65 percent) as a motive for, and benefit of, serving as a crew member, but typically without indicating why they have this desire (Burgur 1999; Carver 1999; Conley 1999; Dreyfors 1999; Kent 1999; King 1999; Mark 1999; Monas 1999; Raxter 1999; Winters 1999; Zimmerman 1999). Three volunteers (18 percent) described an emotional connection to the river when leading activities for school children (Kubick 1999; Winters 1999a; Raxter 1999a). Another three expressed a desire to protect the river that flowed near their home (Burgur 1999; Ford 1999; King 1999). In none of these cases, however, did the informants indicate these emotions and desires

resulted from their participation in the festival. Despite a lack of data indicating crew members attachment to place resulting from their festival experience, their involvement in staging and participating in the rituals designed to elicit an emotional connection to the river suggests a likelihood of them experiencing a shared sense of place. However, this analysis must qualify the conclusion that festival impacts include a shared sense of place connected to the river as only a likelihood.

The festival also provided entertainment value to the crew members. In addition to reports of the festival activities providing fun experiences, respondents indicated that the crew member activities occurring in the evenings, after the public departed the festival site, provided a great deal of fun and enjoyment. Seven crew members (41 percent) indicated motives relating to entertainment in their decisions to serve as volunteers (Arnsberger 1999; Carver 1999; Dreyfors 1999; John 1999; Kent 1999; Monas 1999; Zimmerman 1999).

Based on reports from festival planners and newspaper articles, people with volunteer experience for the Haw River Festival probably numbers in the thousands, perhaps 1500 to 3500. This estimate gives some clue of how festival benefits to crew members alone account for a substantial portion of the total benefits, benefits that may extend to the larger community within the watershed.

Economic Assessments of the Three Case Studies

Profit motives did not appear to influence festival planners' efforts in staging the events associated with each case study. However, in order to achieve any benefit, festivals usually require some degree of economic success (Getz 1991). Although no

evidence appeared of planners' desires to maximize festival revenues, planners and financial supporters likely weighed the festival production costs with the perceived festival benefits. Comments from festival producers suggest that in the case of both Riverfest on the Colorado and the Rollin' Down the River Festival, the festivals' costs in dollars and human effort did not ultimately justify the perceived benefits (Cullick 1999a; Wolf 2000). In the case of the Haw River Festival, whether or not the festival activities generate enough funds for future productions serves as the only criterion by which planners assess the economic feasibility of event production (Chiosso 1999a; Kessel 1989). The longevity of the Haw River Festival, with producers currently planning the thirteenth annual celebration, attests to the event's financial success (Chiosso 2001).

Consideration for the events' economic feasibility does help answer the first research question, *how do river festivals attempt to affect people's concern and involvement with rivers?* In each case study, producers expressed desires to establish their events as cultural traditions occurring with some level of frequency, whether annually or triennially. Producers envisioned any funding support for the continuation of their events to come from the same initial sources (Cullick 1999a; Kendall 2000a; Wolf 2000). As a prerequisite for support, each festival's purposes had to align with the mission of its funding organization (Kendall 2000a; Kessel 1999 Wolf 2000).

For Riverfest on the Colorado, the LCRA provided funding generated primarily through the sale of utilities. For the Rollin' Down the River Festival, a variety of government organizations provided grants, money originating largely from tax revenues. In both cases, decisions to continue funding likely involved at least some level of consideration for whether such spending would meet public approval. Funders faced a

question with significant political ramifications: did the festival accomplishments justify tapping into funds provided by utility customers/ tax payers? Without demonstrating obvious educational, social or economic benefits, the case study festivals in Kansas and Texas were not economically sustainable.

For the Haw River Festival, in contrast, the Haw River Assembly provided the initial grant for the first year of production and then served as the nonprofit organization through which to channel funds for the self-funding annual event (Kessel 1989; 1999). The grassroots nature of the festival production, as opposed to the top-down approach that characterized the other case studies, appears to explain how the Haw River Festival avoided funding obstacles associated with governmental or quasi-governmental organizations. Thus, through necessity and as part of their larger strategy to involve people with rivers through festivals, planners from the case studies conceived of long-term funding scenarios necessary for reproducing their events.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

This study attempted to provide insight into the role of the festival in interactions between humans and the environment. To do so, this work focused on a particular style of festival that celebrates a natural resource. More specifically, this effort examined the process by which festivals attempt to incorporate rivers into community and place identities and promote stewardship of the natural and cultural heritage associated with rivers. Through a qualitative analysis of festival producers' behaviors, motives and strategies, this study built upon research by social scientists and learning theorists to explain the meaning and function of river festivals. After examining how river festivals attempt to function, the analysis considered indicators of how successfully they function. To do so, two questions guided this research;

How do river festivals attempt to affect people's concern and involvement with rivers?

and

What evidence indicates whether or not such attempts do affect people's concern and involvement with rivers?

Analysis of Festival Morphology

In his analysis of festival social function and meaning, Falassi demonstrates that all festivals share a basic morphological framework: a set of symbolic ritual behaviors, unique to the festival, by which communities establish and maintain the ideologies necessary for their survival (Falassi 1987). Interpreting the meaning of each case study festival's morphological elements then revealed a set of values associated with community and place identity, values festival planners attempt to promote. An interpretive analysis based on Falassi's morphological framework served as the first approach to answering the first research question.

This analysis also provided the initial indications of festival producers' awareness of how festivals function to establish and maintain community and place identity. Evidence also appeared that planners used festival activities as a strategy to encourage emotional attachments to both community (through communion experiences) and place (by promoting a shared sense of place). The analysis also suggested this effort served as part of a larger strategy to encourage stewardship of the river by connecting the river and river basin to community identity. Further analysis of the data supported two hypotheses related to planners' strategies. They are:

1. *Communion and sense of place hypothesis:* People who stage the three river festivals in these case studies perceive river festivals as a means for people to experience communion with others as well as to experience affection and attachment toward the river and the river basin.
2. *Concern and involvement hypothesis:* People who stage the three river festivals in these case studies believe that experiences of communion with others and affection and attachment toward the river and the river basin will result in increased concern and involvement with the river.

The data analysis did not support the third hypothesis:

3. *Consensus hypothesis*: People who stage the three river festivals in these case studies believe that experiences of communion with others and affection and attachment toward the river and the river basin will result in an increased likelihood of agreement between people on issues affecting the river, the river basin and people who live in the basin.

In order to approach the second research question, two separate interpretations of the question guided the analysis. The first interpretation attempted to identify types of evidence that can provide indications of changes in people's concern and involvement with rivers as a result of participation in river festivals. The second interpretation sought to determine whether or not people's concern and involvement changes as a result of participation in river festivals. Based on the interpretation of the festival's symbolic elements, answering the second research question required identifying the sources of data that can indicate if, as a result of their observation and participation in the rituals, festival participants accepted or adopted the values festival planners promoted with festival rituals. The question also assigned an exceedingly more complex task beyond the scope of this research: assessing the degree to which festival participants embraced the values the festivals promoted and incorporated them into their behaviors. In other words, to address the second interpretation of the second research question, a complete answer requires an analysis of the data to determine if, as the result of observation and participation in the rituals, festival participants accepted and adopted the values festival planners promoted with festival rituals. The second research question may also require determining if, as a result of participation in the rituals, festival participants who accepted and adopted values promoted in festival rituals also adopted or changed behaviors in regard to involvement with rivers.

Analysis of the Festivals' Educational Aspects

Another approach to answering the research questions involved changing the focus of analysis from interpreting the meaning of festival symbology to the effect of the festival's attempts to educate participants. As is the case with potential benefits of festivals in general, including entertainment value and economic aspects, the educational benefits overlap with the benefits of establishing and maintaining community values and identity. Therefore, a meaningful analysis of the educational impact of the case studies required consideration of the interrelatedness of different categories of benefits. For example, assessing participant awareness of a concept promoted as a community value related to the analyses of both the festivals' morphological and educational aspects. However, rather than communicating via symbolic expression, as in the case with the promotion of values and community identity, the educational aspects primarily involved efforts to expand knowledge, skills and behaviors through literal communication.

In terms of each festival's educational approach, events on the Haw and Kaw rivers frequently involved efforts to teach specific concepts or skills, whereas Riverfest events typically relied only on the symbolic presentation of more generalized subject matter. While the Haw River festival established educational programming ideal for children with a wide range of learning needs, the Rollin' Down the River Festival utilized a format resembling the Chautauqua tradition. This model of combining education, recreation and spiritual uplift provided some, if not most, of the initial inspiration for the events in each case study, particularly for the events on the Colorado River. Similar elements from the Chautauqua tradition and case studies include a desire among planners to provide a tool for social reform, exploring conflicting social values, promoting

communion experiences, the use of ritual, and a concern for water. The festivals on the Kaw and Colorado presented a higher proportion of programs that resembled or recreated Chautauquas. These programs typically targeted adult audiences including, on the Kaw, numerous lectures and speeches (KVHA 1997).

An analysis of educational efforts that went beyond attempts to raise awareness and promote a general value provided the second context for answering the two research questions. To answer the first research question, *how do river festivals attempt to affect people's concern and involvement with rivers?* the analysis compared educational subject matter, activities and methods presented during each festival. A theoretical argument of the festivals' educational value provided an initial effort at approaching the second question, *what evidence indicates whether or not such attempts do affect people's concern and involvement with rivers?* Based on previous research in education, learning theory and community participation, support for this theoretical argument stems from observations of participants' behaviors as well as the types of activities in which they engaged. By identifying theoretical educational benefits, this argument provides a starting point for future research that attempts to determine if the educational aspects of river festivals do affect people's concern and involvement with rivers.

Due to the type of evidence required to answer this second interpretation of the second research question, this analysis can identify only a few indicators of an interrelationship between public participation in river festivals and public concern and involvement with rivers. As is the case with attempts to determine if the symbolic elements of the festival affect the public's concern and involvement with rivers,

approaching the question from the context of education requires a focus of greater depth, beyond what this study attempts to accomplish.

Festival Impacts on Volunteers

Available data concerning a subset of festival participants, the volunteer crew members, do provide the means for a more in-depth analysis of social benefits relating to education, community identity and stewardship efforts. Although the data did not assess the significance of communion experiences among public participants, interviews clearly indicated a desire to experience communion as a motive for volunteering as well as a perceived benefit from past volunteer experiences.

Due to the level of involvement in staging the learning celebration and the community festival, in which crew members helped train one another over several days, presented educational activities and camped in outdoor settings with abundant natural diversity for days or weeks at a time, they experienced educational benefits in a very different way than public participants who attended for a single day. Data collection efforts for assessing the educational benefits to volunteers focused on the experience of the children crew members.

Responses to the Research Questions

How do river festivals attempt to affect people's concern and involvement with rivers?

River festivals involve participants emotionally and intellectually in rituals that encourage communion, a shared sense of place and a set of values associated with

stewardship of the natural and cultural heritage associated with rivers. These rituals represent this set of values as a basis for community and place identity.

In addition to their symbolic elements, river festivals employ literal presentations of information through educational efforts that attempt to increase people's knowledge and values regarding the stewardship of natural and cultural heritage associated with the river and river basin. The educational efforts serve as strategies to increase behaviors that protect river heritage and encourage involvement in stewardship efforts of the community and environment.

Festival planners drew upon designs of past river festivals and Chautauquas as models on which to base their own designs. In this way, the planners used formats that past efforts had proven successful, in terms of popularity, as a means to combine entertainment, education and spiritual uplift. Through replicating the Chautauqua format, planners also promoted the historical and cultural heritage associated with the rivers and watersheds while establishing the kind of nostalgic re-creation of ritual associated with festival activities (Brown 1997).

What evidence indicates whether or not such attempts do affect people's concern and involvement with rivers?

Regarding evidence indicating that participation in festival rituals affects people's concern and involvement with rivers, no available evidence supports the conclusion that members of the public who are not volunteers and attended the festival experienced communion or a shared sense of place as a result of attending the festival. However, crew members of the Haw River Festival did report experiencing communion as a result

of past festivals and as a motive for attending during the year (1999) in which observations and interviews occurred. Similarly, reports from festival planners suggest that crew members from all three case studies experienced communion with other crew members as a result of participating in the festival.

Considering that assisting in the production of a river festival represents a form of river stewardship, re-enlistment rates among Haw River Festival volunteers gains significance. The fact that their motives to re-enlist in most cases included experiencing communion provides evidence that, at least for a subset of festival participants, river festivals do sometimes affect people's concern and involvement with rivers.

Various types of evidence indicate the popularity of the Haw River Festival among people living in the Haw River Valley. The public appeared to enjoy attending the festival in 1999 as responses to performances, behaviors and gestures indicating positive emotional experiences suggest. The longevity of the event as well as the high attendance also suggest a public desire to participate in this expression of community and place identity. Despite these indicators of people's motivation to attend and recreate the event, the available data supports only the position that public participation in the event *might* have affected people's concern and involvement with the river.

Regarding the influence of the festivals' educational aspects on participants' levels of concern and involvement with rivers, no attempts were made formally to assess the learning that occurred as a result of the events. Judging from the nature of the festival rituals alone, each event enabled participants to gain an increased awareness of a variety of elements representing river heritage. Similarly, each festival provided opportunities

for experiential learning regardless of whether planners' efforts incorporated this educational approach.

The theoretical arguments that support the use of nonformal, multi-sensory, experiential learning opportunities that integrate subject matter suggest the Haw River Festival provided an ideal learning scenario, particularly as an enrichment experience for school children. The feasibility of incorporating these types of learning opportunities into festival design supports the idea that festivals provide an effective medium for educational efforts. Hart's (1997) principles for effective social and environmental stewardship through involving children in community stewardship efforts align with the practices of the Haw River Festival in involving children in the community learning celebration. Observations of children crew members at the Haw River Festival indicate that the older children acquired a level of expertise, knowledge and skill--on par with some veteran adult crew members--associated with educating school children about the river's heritage.

Research Limitations

Any effort to use the available data as a source for judgment of whether or not participation in river festivals actually affects public participants' concern and involvement with rivers would require numerous inferences about changes in participants' knowledge, values and behaviors as well as their emotional response to festival activities. Therefore, the evidence does not permit such a determination. Participation as a crew member does appear to affect future involvement with the river

since many crew members re-enlist. However, how the volunteer experience affects involvement with rivers outside the context of a river festival remains unknown.

Considerations for Future Research

Through inferences about people's reaction to the festivals, this research suggests that people's concern and involvement with rivers is likely affected by such festivals, at least in some cases. People making decisions about whether or not to fund and produce festivals would greatly benefit from research that provides a more conclusive answer to the second research question presented in this study. Such research might investigate whether or not the festival experience actually affects participants' concern and involvement with rivers, how their concern and involvement is affected, and what circumstances affect their concern and involvement.

Due to the festival's longevity and popularity, a study of people who participated in the production of the Haw River Festival would contribute to this effort. Investigating the work of producers of other river festivals, such as the Hudson Clearwater Revival, could also provide important insights into assessing social benefits over a period of several years.

One aspect of the Haw River Festival that appeared to benefit stewardship efforts significantly certainly deserves further investigation: the influence of the festival on the lives of people who served as crew members during their childhood. Research supports the claim that under some circumstances providing children with access to places of natural diversity increases their interest, motivation and involvement in protecting the natural environment (Hart 1997; Nabhan and Trimble 1994). Along with this type of

access to natural diversity, children who return as crew members each year have opportunities to gain substantial environmental knowledge and skills through teaching other children about river stewardship. Research on how these opportunities affected their interest, motivation and involvement in community and environmental stewardship efforts would provide important insights.

In many ways, the Haw River Festival resembled the Children's Groundwater Festival held each year in Lincoln, Nebraska. Seacrest and Herpel (1997) developed a model for assessing changes in children's knowledge and behaviors as a result of festival participation. This type of assessment conducted among child participants of the Haw River Festival, attending on school field trips or as part of the festival crew, would demonstrate some of the event's educational benefits. The shorter timeframe required to conduct this type of investigation makes it a more feasible assessment than a longitudinal study.

Significance of Study

The review of academic literature as part of this study revealed few examples of efforts to understand the meaning and function of festivals oriented toward natural resources. Yet the frequency at which these types of celebrations occur in North America at the beginning of the 21st century suggests a growing desire among communities to associate their identity with natural resources. This study provides new insights into the function of festivals as part of a process by which communities incorporate natural resources into their identity.

More specifically, the festivals attempted to promote awareness of, and emotional attachment to, rivers. They also attempted to demonstrate literally and symbolically the significance of the river to the community's well-being and the significance of the river basin as the physical basis of community identity. This research displayed attempts to use festival symbols as a means to promote the value of communion within a social network linked together by the river. Staging events at sites throughout the basin extended this link to include the river basin as the territorial basis for a single community, thus encouraging people to think of their relationships with other people, the land and the river in terms of a system integral to the watershed.

Demonstrating how festival planners encourage the stewardship of the natural and cultural features associated with rivers, this study contributes directly or indirectly to practices in environmental management, environmental education, regional planning, community development projects and public outreach. Additionally, this research identified the kinds of evidence necessary to assess many of the river festivals' intended social benefits. Therefore, festival producers, sponsoring organizations or academic researchers will benefit from how this document informs efforts to design festival evaluations. For those involved with the planning of the three festival case studies, this research contributes to future efforts to improve or justify event design and production.

Rapid social and environmental changes in recent decades that threaten the existence of many communities worldwide require efforts to gain new insight into the process by which society re-evaluates its relationship to the environment and adapts to new conditions. Festivals represent one component of this re-evaluation process. As Falassi (1987) points out, festivals allow communities to establish and maintain values

and identities necessary for their survival. Hopefully, this study provided insight into the ongoing process of re-evaluating the human-environment relationship.

APPENDIX A. Comparison of Subject Matter Presented During Festivals' Presentations, Speeches, Panel Discussions, Group Discussions, Displays and Exhibits

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Agriculture			
Experimental farming techniques			•
Family farm preservation			•
Role of the family farm			•
Some agricultural practices exemplifying conflicting values with those promoting river stewardship		•	
Architecture			•
Biota			
In stream channel	•	•	•
Collecting and identifying species		•	
As indicators of water quality	•	•	
Legislation to protect fish species		•	
Near banks for channel		•	•
Throughout river basin			•
Changes in species over past decades			•
Crafts, traditional (ceramics, rope making, quilting)	•	•	•
Cultural features present at event site	•	•	•
Dams (history, construction, operation, displays)	•		•
Dams (undesirable consequences of)		•	•
Development and urban sprawl, effect on river		•	•
Drinking water supply issues		•	
Ecology of river valley		•	•
Games			
Nontraditional and modern	•	•	
Traditional (representing a way of life in past centuries among specific cultures)	•	•	
Geology of river basin		•	
Geology of river channel		•	•
Government regulations pertaining to river use		•	
Hazards associated with the river			
Drowning		•	
Exposure to toxins in water		•	
Flooding			•
Venomous snakes		•	

APPENDIX A--Continued.

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
History and cultural significance of river	•	•	•
General history presentations			
River history		•	•
Specific sites along river channel	•		•
Floods			•
Mills		•	•
Pre European		•	•
Sources of information, maps & photos			•
Native American impact on land/river			•
Native American culture		•	•
Native American history in basin			•
Native American songs and dance			•
Native American games		•	
River as means of transportation and commerce		•	•
River as water supply		•	•
Resources in or near river		•	•
Steamboats	•		•
Rate of change since first European settlement		•	•
River as means of transportation and commerce		•	•
Communication within and organization of society			•
Proximity to river vs. railroad, affect on towns			•
History of region (river basin)			
Archeology			•
Exploration and settlement		•	•
Famous people			•
Farming practices			•
Geologic history		•	•
Medicine			•
Military conflicts, battles	•		•
Human impact on river		•	•
Human-river relationship	•	•	•
Importance of long-term perspective when making decisions that affect the river and other natural features of the environment			•
Hunting, fishing and trapping	•		•
Land stewardship	•	•	•

APPENDIX A--*Continued.*

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Map interpretation			
Determining distances between locations			•
Identifying locations in relation to river channel			
Locations of cities, towns and counties		•	
Locations of phenomena threatening or damaging water quality in river		•	
Locations of recreational interests		•	
Location of tributaries to river		•	
Route and direction of water flow		•	
Scale		•	•
Native American issues, past, present and future			•
Natural resources river provides	•		•
Natural features present at event site	•	•	•
Planning-urban and regional, importance of wise planning			•
Population growth		•	•
Public awareness, knowledge & feelings about river's significance			
Lack of knowledge and awareness among public about river's significance			•
Lack of concern about river			•
Importance of raising awareness and knowledge--as prerequisite for stewardship and affection			•
Promoting affection toward river			
Developing personal relationship with and commitment to protect river	•		
Rediscovering & returning to the river-- "Return(ing) to the river" (Buchanan 1997; Cullick 1999a; Kendall 2000a; McCann 1999)	•		•
Quality of life concerns			•
Recreational opportunities on river			•
Rowing team (exhibit)			•
River as a living entity metaphor			•
River features, processes			
Channel changes		•	•
Erosion		•	•
Sediment transport		•	•

APPENDIX A--Continued.

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
River restoration efforts		•	
River stewardship	•	•	•
River as system—ancient			•
River as system--with interconnected parts (river ecology)		•	•
River as component in larger hydrological system			
Water cycle: evapotranspiration, precipitation, channeling into river, flowing into ocean		•	
Water quality in river affects water quality in lakes and oceans		•	•
Rivers of state and North America			•
Significance of river			
Central to most people's lives		•	•
Importance of water in lives for individuals and society			•
Water conservation for agriculture other than dams (terracing, retention ponds)			•
Water quality issues and concerns			
Agriculture			
Crop production concerns			•
Livestock production concerns		•	
Consequences of actions--unintended, unpredicted			•
Clean water--importance of			
For people		•	
For wildlife		•	
Decreasing water quality		•	
Environmental impact of dams and other water conservation efforts		•	
Herbicides and insecticides			•
Historical records			•
Improvements in water quality as compared to previous years	•		•
Indicators of water quality		•	
Nuclear dump site		•	
Nonpoint source pollution	•	•	•
Pollution from agriculture		•	
pH levels	•	•	
Potential threats to water quality due to chemical pollutants		•	

APPENDIX A--*Continued.*

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Water quality issues and concerns-- <i>Continued.</i>			
Potential threats to water quality due to clear cutting		•	
Potential threats to water quality due to development (buildings, roads, pipelines)		•	
Recycling (benefit to water quality)		•	
River as source of drinking water as well as channel for waste water		•	•
Sediment		•	
Sewer lines		•	
Water quality monitoring	•	•	
Water table levels			•
Wastewater treatment, aquatic composting		•	
Wastewater treatment plant operation		•	•
Wild nature for human appreciation and needs and for wildlife habitat		•	•

APPENDIX B. Comparison of Public Activities Occurring as part of Festival Events

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Art activities for public to observe			
Sculpturing by professional artist	•	•	
Art activities for public participation			
Clay sculpting		•	
Painting		•	
Pastel illustrations		•	
Art Auction		•	
Art displays	•	•	•
Art sales	•	•	•
Art show--river oriented art, multimedia			•
Canoeing	•	•	•
Car show	•		
Carnival rides	•		
Ceremonies			
Blessing ceremonies		•	•
Collecting water in vase from headwaters for transport, by canoe, downstream to river's end		•	
Closing ceremonies		•	•
Dedication ceremonies			•
Flag raising			•
Opening ceremonies		•	•
Pageant			
Beauty pageant	•		
River Queen pageant	•		
Recognition ceremonies			•
Tree planting			•
Comedy skits or clown performance		•	
Community meals (for public)			
"Breakfast in the park" (KVHA 1997)			•
Chili cookoff	•		
Chuck wagon dinner			•
Fish fry, barbecue or picnic	•		•
Food sampling			•
Ice cream social			•
Pot luck dinner			•
Dance			
Ballroom dancing			•
Folk dancing		•	•
Native American dance performance		•	
Street/informal dancing		•	•

APPENDIX B--*Continued.*

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Demonstrations			
Canoeing	•		
Kayak demonstration		•	
Native plant landscaping			•
Stream flow and water level monitoring			•
Stream table (modeling flow of water in a river basin)			•
Rope making			•
Water quality monitoring	•	•	
Educational displays			
Exhibits			•
Facilities for use by public			
Composting toilets (waterless)		•	
Low water use portable sinks		•	
Historical (including prehistorical) artifacts		•	•
Historic text and photographs	•	•	•
Historic watercraft	•		•
Recycling information		•	
Solar powered electricity generation		•	
Wildlife artifacts	•	•	•
Educational presentation (group discussions)		•	•
Experiment, chemical test for pH level in water		•	
Face painting		•	
Fire works			•
Games and competitions			
Bingo			•
Boat races			
“Anything that floats” race	•		
Canoe races	•		
Casino games	•		
Celebrity tube race	•		
Easter egg hunt	•		
Fishing contest	•		
Foot race	•	•	•
“Fun walk” for one mile			•
Horseshoe pitching contest	•		
Racing rubber duck toys in river	•		
Sandcastle building contest			•
Traditional game of specific ethnic group		•	
Volleyball team competition	•		

APPENDIX B--*Continued.*

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
Information booths			
Area community organizations and businesses	•	•	•
Supporting organizations and sponsors	•	•	•
Jugglers		•	
Livestock show	•		
Living history presentations and historical reenactments	•		•
Music			
Informal group sing along or playing musical instruments (“jam sessions” [LCRA 1995a])	•	•	
Marching band	•		•
Performances by Native American Balladeer			•
Performances by professional musicians	•	•	•
Nature walk		•	•
Paddle boat ride	•		
Panel discussion		•	•
Parade	•		
Poetry reading			•
Promotion of smaller community festivals as part of larger river festival	•		•
Puppet show		•	
Raffle		•	
Religious service			•
Reunion (School or former community residents)	•		•
Speech by political figurehead or local celebrity			•
Storytelling			
Storytelling by professional story tellers		•	•
Storytelling and sharing memories and oral histories of river and adjacent communities during informal, scheduled gatherings		•	•
Tours			
Wildlife preserve			•
Dam	•		
Driving			•
Gaging station			•
Guided	•		•
Historic Tour	•		•
Museum	•		•
Self-guided			•
Spillway			•

APPENDIX B--*Continued.*

	Colorado	Haw	Kaw
<i>Tours--Continued.</i>			
Walking	•		•
Water treatment plant			•
Transportation between activity locations or to and from parking area			
Bus or van	•		
Hayrack rides			•
Horse-drawn carriages			•
Tram			•
Viewing and discussing river basin map	•	•	•
Wildlife viewing		•	•
"Writing on the River" (KVHA 1997) workshop			•

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