

Tourism, Festivals and Cultural Events in Times of Crisis

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Preface

The articles presented in this book are based on presentations at the conference: “Journeys of Expressions VIII: Celebrate through Times of Crisis”. The conference was jointly arranged by Phil Long from Leeds Metropolitan University and Lise Lyck, Centre for Tourism and Culture management at Copenhagen Business School (September 2010). The conference was arranged in close collaboration with the International Festival and Event Association (IFEA Europe) annual conference that also took place in Copenhagen September 2010.

All articles have been peer reviewed by Phil Long and Allan Xenius Grige and some of them have been abbreviated after consultation with the authors.

Anders Munkesø Kjærbøll took care of the communication in connection with the conference and has taken care of the communication between authors and reviewers.

Finally, the editorial work has been taken care of by Lise Lyck and Anders Munkesø Kjærbøll.

Copenhagen March 30, 2012

Lise Lyck

Introduction

Humanity (always) lives in times of crisis of various kinds. Crisis may take many, often inter-connected forms, including economic, environmental, social, political and existential dimensions. They may have complex and even contradictory consequences at various levels, including for individuals and families, small businesses and entire industries, cities, rural areas, regions as well as nation states.

Governments, businesses, and individuals worldwide responded differently to the economic crisis that following the Lehmann Brothers's collapse in 2008. In many countries, government response had consequences for the cultural sector. Some governments, such as the Canadian and French, almost immediately opted for increased support to the cultural sector as a means to re-invigorate economies both locally and regionally. Other governments, e.g those of the Netherlands and United Kingdom, made severe cuts to cultural budgets, arguing that public funds could no longer sustain previous support levels. While these approaches must be seen as being relative to each government's pre-crisis traditions for cultural support, they clearly reflect that little consensus exists amongst governments as to the role, economic importance, and potential impact of the cultural industries.

Still, many cities throughout the world recognize that culture is of particular importance in times of crisis. For politicians and policy makers to serve and please their citizens with a variety of local cultural activities, and in particular festivals and events, is a way to “keep spirits up” and maintains and develops a sense of pride and shared belief in a positive outcome of community efforts. “If only we work together, imagine what we can achieve.” However, there is of course an obvious risk for the political establishment associated with the promotion of ‘bread and circuses’ to placate the masses. Festivals and events may develop in opposition to the status quo and as platforms for counter-narratives on the causes and consequences, winners and losers of the global economic crisis. As the Occupy movement put it during its ‘festive’ campaign against the finance capital sector in many North American and European cities, “we are the 99%”

Moreover, in times of crisis, the citizens themselves appear to openly and naturally embrace cultural manifestations and welcome opportunities of a social nature. To humans throughout the world, festivals and events become liminoid zones, a time-and-place-out-of-time-and-place, that allow them to forget, at least temporarily, their every-day concerns. Once again though, the cultural expressions manifest during times of crisis may not sit comfortably with the discourses of policy makers and festival and event ‘industry’ managers.

In times of crisis, however, festivals and events can also be seen as tools to

develop economies. In 2009, tourism in some countries fell victim to the economic crisis; international arrivals fell by 4%, overnights by 7%, and tourism spending by 9%, causing losses to airlines, hotels, tour operators, travel agencies, small business operators in tourism destinations, and in some cases entire local economies. In an effort to bring tourists back, some cities turn to cultural events to create or support new city brands and are putting extra effort into a trend, already existing prior to the crisis that calls for cities to differentiate themselves on the basis of their cultural offerings. Since the late 1990's, this strives for differentiation has in many cases resulted in the revival of almost-forgotten folklore and investment in the preservation of local, built heritage. In other cases, public investment has led to major infrastructural projects with the aim of hosting large events, i.e. in the field of sports. These though are of course not without controversies concerning the allocation of scarce public resources, the lack of accountability of bodies such as the International Olympic Committee and Federation of International Football Associations and. Doubts about the long-term legacies of such events beyond debt and under-utilised stadia.

Whatever the reason for the development of cultural events, new demands are being laid on managers working in the cultural and tourism industries. Professional handling, strategic thinking, development of and adherence to policies, networking abilities, social impacts, artistic creativity, flair for marketing, and understanding of economic tools to measure the return-on-investment of their efforts, are all but a few of the traits to be possessed by these individuals.

In this framework, plenty of opportunities exist for researchers to map out the efforts of a sector that will, without doubt, continue to grow and become even more important to local and national economies in the years ahead.

The research papers presented in this book discuss a cross-section of the efforts that cities, individuals, and passionate community groups are undertaking to revitalize their cities through cultural events.

In the first section of the book, *Lise Lyck* discusses the general nature of economic crisis and offers a general framework for understanding and reaching different types of consumers in times of recession, while *Antonio Rojas Rabaneda* and *Joseph Lema* (with *Douglas Turco*, *Jerome Agrusa*, and *John Tanner*) discuss concrete examples of how cities in Catalonia, Spain, and the Hawaiian islands have strategically used locally engaging, historical re-enactment festivals, and a participatory marathon sports event, respectively, to attract tourists in an effort to counteract the recession and positively infuse the local economy.

In the second section of the book, *Ines Milohinic* and *Harald Pechlaner* analyze,

respectively, the nature of the motivation of visitors to attend events, and provide samples of the relationship between the destination image and the visitors' prior perception of an event and a destination relative to the perceived event quality and the experience of satisfaction. Their suggestion that better knowledge of consumer behavior is important to marketers is supplemented by *Pirita Ihämäki* in a paper describing a new, technology-driven way of attracting (event) tourists in the future.

The importance of artistic expression and the preservation of cultural heritage are the main themes of the 3rd section of the book. While *Petra Zist* discusses street theatre in a historical perspective, *Sanda Kočevar* and *Francisco Alavez Segura*, with *Rosa Maria Vaca Espino*, document how conflicts may arise between political forces and local residents when vastly different strategies are being pursued (or none are in place), when communication is lacking, and when the concept of “authenticity” has different meaning to different stakeholders.

Staying with events that are based on preserving cultural heritage, *Rebeka Mesarić Žabčić* describes the benefits to the Croatian diaspora in Australia of hosting a film festival, while *Thomas A. Michael* closes the section with a positive example of how cultural heritage events provide income to participating vendors.

In the final section of the book, *Dora Smolčić Jurdana* and *Katja Pasanen/Eva-Maria Hakola*, look at efforts in Rijeka, Croatia, and Finland, respectively, to strategically position events to brand cities and generate tourism. The book closes with *Stephany Tzanoudaki's* discussion of the transformation of the world's largest event, the Olympics, from being a “festival of humanity” to taking the form of a mega-event aimed at offering the host city a temporary spotlight on the world arena.

Collectively, the research presented in this publication carries evidence that festivals and events, if carefully planned and executed, provide exciting avenues for communities, regions and countries to counteract the economic crisis. By investing in events, securing appropriate communication, provide frameworks for local engagement, and establishing collaboration with the tourism industry, festivals and events can make communities prosper and give individual residents a reason to believe in the future.

The papers in this book were first presented at the academic conference “Journeys of Expression VIII: Celebrating through times of crisis” held at Copenhagen Business School in September 2010. The conference was hosted jointly by Leeds Metropolitan University, Centre for Tourism and Cultural Change; Copenhagen Business School, Center for Tourism and Culture Management, and IFEA (International Festival and Events Association) Europe.

For the sake of this publication, some contributions have been shortened or otherwise edited. Some references have been left out accordingly.

The editors wish to thank Anders Munkesø Kjærboell for lay-out and practical assistance prior to print.

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OVERCOMING CRISIS: STRATEGIES AND NEW OPPORTUNITIES

1. Festival Management in times of recession

Lise Lyck

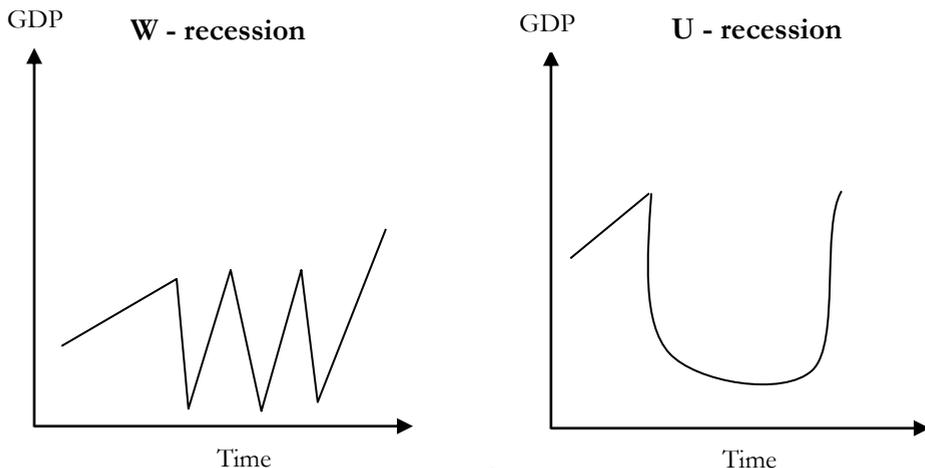
Introduction

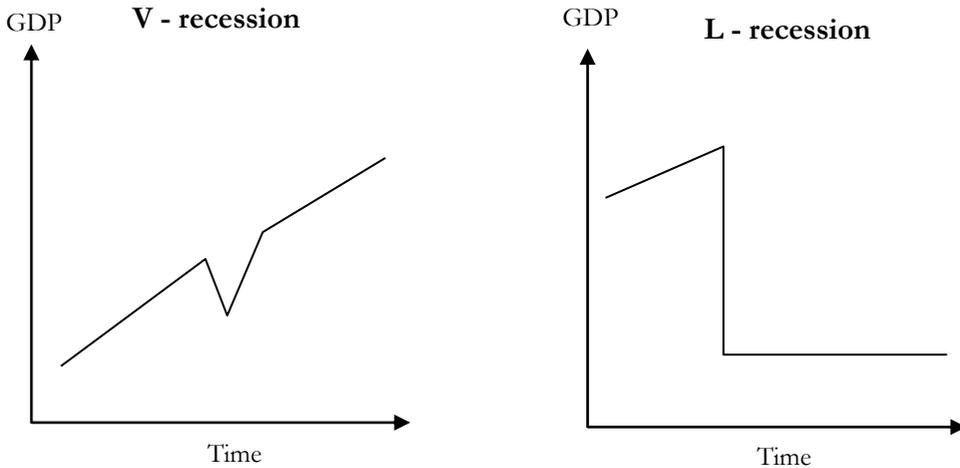
While festivals as a phenomenon have a long history, actual festival research began only some 30 years ago. In this short period, comprehensive literature has been developed (see for instance Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism, volume 9, numbers 2/3, 2009 and the included references and the book "Evenemang - från organiserig till utvärdering" by Tommy Andersson et al. (2009). The literature is both descriptive and theoretical and includes relations to many human sciences as well as to social sciences. A new area of research, however, is how festival organisations react in times of crisis. This article focuses on generic and specific perspectives of festivals and on management consequences to festivals in times of recession.

1. Recession

Recession is in economics defined as at least two consecutive quarters with a decrease in Gross Domestic Product (GDP). A recession can be more or less deep and of different duration. The patterns are often illustrated with letters, i.e. the letters V, W, U, L, see figure 1.1. The letters indicate the development of GDP over time. W is often called a double dip crisis.

Figure 1.1 Different patterns of recession





When the almost world-wide recession started in 2008, many experts and especially experts from the banks believed it to be a V recession, i.e. a downturn in the economy after which the economy would quickly return back to normal. It is today evident that the recession does not follow this pattern, but has a much longer duration and is of much more serious character. It is also rather clear that the recession is not an L-shaped recession with a constant downturn of the GDP. The question today is if it is a W-shaped recession, or maybe even a series of U-shaped recessions, that shape the present crisis. A U-shaped and a W-shaped development indicate a rather long period with economic ups and downs and with high uncertainty connected to the economic development.

Problems began to occur in the financial sector already in 2006, but at that time there was an almost universal unanimity on governance of the economies. The economists used the expression “The Washington Consensus”, referring to a set of standards for governance of economic policy including focus on inflation, a fiscal policy to eliminate budget deficits, and a structure policy to liberalize the economy. It came so far that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as late as in December 2007 desperately searched for new tasks and missions and proclaimed that the staff would be reduced by 15%.

In economics, we talk about “a perfect storm” to describe the concept of “three storms uniting to create a total disaster”. The three storms include 1) economic policy, 2) a microeconomic part with destabilizing incentives, and 3) the development of complex financial instruments that hinder transparency and make it impossible to evaluate the solidity of the financial assets. Changed loans in fixed property have developed into still more complex financial instruments (known as

the “originate to distribute” version of bank activities).

The run on Northern Rock in 2007 was one of the first indicators of the problems in the sector, and with the bankruptcy of the Lehmann Brothers in September 2008, it became evident that an economic and financial crisis in Western economies was inevitable. It has given rise to big decreases in GDP in many countries, high increases in unemployment, high numbers of bankruptcies, expansive fiscal policy in order to prevent the downturn of the economic development, resulting in enormous increases in state debt in most countries and changed consumer behaviors due to increased mistrust and fear of economic disaster. Consumers have stabilized or diminished the level of their consumption.

The recession has developed to become the biggest economic and financial problem since The Great Depression in 1929. The consequences of this development for festivals is an open question, but in the following it will be discussed and analysed in relation to generic as well as specific festivals with examples from Denmark.

2. Festivals in a Generic Perspective

“Festival” is a rather new word in the Danish language. The word is unknown in the “Danish Dictionary up to 1950”, but was imported from the UK in the 1960's – according to “Den Danske Ordbog”. While definitions of the word differ, a study of Danish and English dictionaries of the different definitions leads to the definition constructed below, which I find inclusive of the most important elements. Thus, a festival is defined as:

“An organized set of special events on a specific cultural man-made theme taking place on a specific day or period normally on a specific place gathering people in mutual and direct contact to the festival theme.”

The generic definition implies that management must always be included to have the festival organized as the definition includes the words ‘man-made’ and ‘cultural’. The fact that a festival normally takes place within the confinements of a specific geographical area implies that festivals normally include local stakeholders and that the stakeholders can come from both the private and the public sector as image, branding, and economic interests will be at stake for the local society. The short concentrated duration of a festival points to festivals as often being re-occurring events taking place annually, and often at the same time of the year.

The short, concentrated duration of a festival makes it possible for volun-

teers to play an important role in the festival setup. Furthermore, it makes it possible for festival guest, vendors, and other stakeholders to devote time for participation.

A festival in its start-up phase is often loosely organised, allowing for flexible approaches, frequent changes and new ideas to be tried. It can be argued that it is a way to implement a creative idea and to investigate if there is an interest in form of demand for this creative idea. In this sense it is a kind of an innovation. The creation of a festival can occur when people are present, but need a common, visible interesting platform of exchange and social interaction.

An example is the Easter Event in Svaneke, a small town on the Danish island Bornholm. Many people spend their Easter holiday in Svaneke, but besides church gatherings, no common arrangements for larger groups of people existed until 2009, when a cheap and creative idea was born: Why not have people making drawings on the asphalted areas in the harbor territory? It was decided to have a chalk drawing festival. It became a success, it was repeated in consecutive years, and a new festival was born, "The Easter Chalk Drawing Festival in Svaneke."

However, in most cases, festivals are started as a concept without a prior, physical presence of people in the location that may eventually host the festival. Thus, when a new creative idea undergoes transformation into a festival, it includes logistical skills and constitutes a major marketing task for the management to sell the theme in a way that makes it attractive for people to travel to and participate in the festival. The management task involves selling the innovation and service aspects connected to the festival, provision of capital, and many more managerial and entrepreneurial skills in order for the festival to become a success.

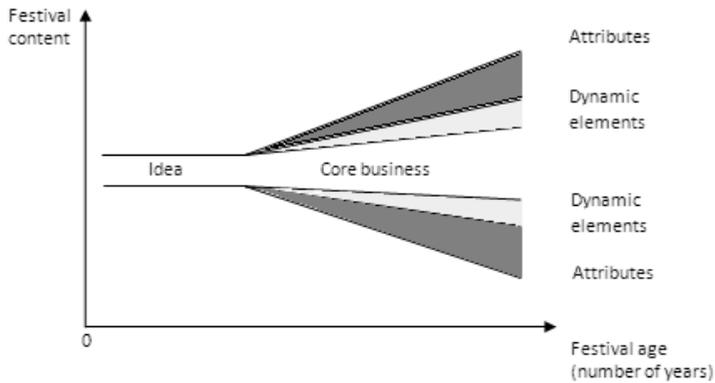
When a festival has overcome the cradle stage, festival organisers typically seek to develop it into a tradition and ritual, making it a fixed preference for people to participate; they desire for their festival to develop into a recurrent event in peoples' lives.

The managerial tasks soon focuses on ways to manage the content and the overall theme of the festival so that it includes both tradition (the core elements) and elements that appeal to people's curiosity. In other words, the management task will be to secure core business and constantly add new, dynamic programming elements. New attributes may be new services, a new utilization of staff, develop of new revenue streams such as merchandising, or other.

Figure 1.2 illustrates festival development from a generic perspective. In the early stages, tasks are coherent and entrepreneurial. Over time, the task of management task involve sustainable financial management, stakeholder management

as well as management skills relating to balancing core business with dynamic trends amongst audiences and in society at large. Eventually, while the core business and underlying ideas are maintained, festival management evolves into being a number of complex and diverse, interrelated undertakings serving different needs and stakeholder interests. Organising and maintaining the organizational structures becomes a task just as complex as organising the festival itself.

Figure 1.2 Festival complex over time



Source: Lise Lyck.

As the festival evolves, it often catches the attention of, respectively, politicians, commercial businesses, and tourism operators. The realization that the festival contributes economically to the city occurs, making it easier for the organisers to get public funding who will argue that the return on the investment in the activity is obvious. Moreover, it has a high degree of reversibility, meaning that festival funding may, if so desired, be cut by politicians in later years and shall not bind public budgets in the same way as investment in, say, physical structures.

To local businesses, festivals can be considered as a *market for services*. Services account for 70-80% of GDP in western economies, and festivals – with their opportunities for commercial stalls, booths, merchant tents, and activity areas, including the provision of music and artistic expression – provide an excellent setting for the introduction of new kinds of services to customers. As a consequence, festivals include a variety of offers. However, the variety of offers tends to draw consumers with many different lifestyles and shifting preferences, which can, among other things, lead to problems of safety for festival participants.

3. Festivals in a Specific Perspective

Festivals in a specific perspective take its departure in a *thematic* categorization of festivals. The largest specific theme is *music*, with numerous subcategories such as pop, rock, classic, folk, church music, electronic, jazz, country, metal, punk, and blues. Another category is *film* festivals with subcategories of documentary, children and youth, gay and lesbian, ethnicity, short film, focus on young talent, and ordinary film festivals. *Art and design* festivals include festivals for different kinds of sculptures (both long-lived and short-lived such as sand- or ice sculpture festivals). Several other categories exist, e.g. *paintings* festivals, *dancing* festivals, *literature* festivals, *wine* festivals, *food* festivals, *beer* festivals, *children* festivals, *sport* festivals, *theatre* festivals, *antique* festivals, *car* festivals, *glass* festivals, *opera* festivals, *musical* festivals, *air show* festivals, *computer* festivals, *sewing*, *knitting*, *weaving and needlework* festivals, *motorbike* festivals, *bicycle* festivals, *fashion* festivals, festival for *disabled people*, *coffee* festivals, *liquor* festivals, *technology* festivals, *historic* festivals, *literature* festivals, *culture* festivals etc.

Festivals based on specific themes are often characterized as follows: 1) They often have their departure in hobbies, 2) they engage (a large) voluntary workforce at low or no labor cost, 3) they can develop from being local to becoming regional, national, international and global, 4) they include both non-profit and profit business, 5) many festivals are open air events. Often being conceived by individuals with a passion for the specific art form presented, it is not until they grow to a certain size that they begin to make use of professional management skills, and consider a systematically data collection. Thus, information on the economic impact of many small or mid-size festivals does not exist.

The implication of the overview of festivals seen in a specific perspective is that general festival management in relation to festivals with a specific perspective only exists to a limited extent and only if or when the festivals become institutions in the society. Furthermore, many festivals have both private and public stakeholders, but festival managers initially tend to lack specific skills in combining private and public interests. As a consequence, the public support and subsidies to such festivals are often the result of *ad hoc political interests* in the festival activities.

4. Marketing of Festivals in an Economic Downturn

Marketing of festivals takes its departure in service marketing. Taking its departure in the original 4 P's model (the first for P's) introduced by McCarthy (1960), the 7 marketing principles of service marketing are 1) product, 2) price, 3) place, 4) promotion, 5) people, 6) processes, and 7) physical evidence. (Booms and Bitner,

1981)

Product, whether a commodity or a service, must provide value to a customer but does not have to be tangible at the same time. Basically, it involves introducing new products or improving existing products.

Price must be competitive and must entail profit. The pricing strategy can comprise discounts, offers and the like.

Place refers to the place where the customers can buy the product and how the product reaches out to that place. This is done through different channels, like Internet, wholesalers and retailers and of course on physical markets as for instance festivals.

Promotion includes the ways in which the product offering is being communicated to potential customers. It is about communicating the benefits of using a particular product or service rather than just talking about its features.

People refer to the customers, employees, management and everybody else involved in it. It is essential for everyone to realize that the reputation of the brand that you are involved with is in the people's hands.

Process refers to the methods and process of providing a service. Hence, it is essential to have a thorough knowledge of when and how the service is helpful to the customers, its timeliness, and the means through which the product offering reaches the customers.

Physical (evidence) - refers to the documentation. When a service goes out to the customer, it is essential that the presentation of the product and the documentation of the benefits of using the product are considered, i.e. through quality brochures, pamphlets or similar means.

Recent literature relating to tourism marketing offers an additional three P's that may indeed be applied to the marketing of festivals, namely Partnership, Packaging, Programming, Planning, and Positioning. Dealing with an intangible product and with the aim of securing loyalty for a short-lived activity that appeal to the "hobby/leisure/non-career" side of human nature, organic marketing - the

word-of-mouth (WOM) marketing phenomenon - plays a central role in securing festival audiences.

To further comprehend the nature of festival marketing, it is helpful to look into the structure of preferences and of consumer behavior among festival participants.

5. Preferences

Festival preferences as well as preference structure have a deep influence on the demand for festivals and thereby for the festival economy.

The preferences are embodied in the core elements, the dynamics and attributes that constitute the festival complex (see figure 1.2). The core element is a specific theme for the festival, while the dynamic dimensions are the innovative and dynamic elements in relation to the core theme. The attributes include other people participating in the festival, the “meeting others” elements, the atmosphere, and other goods such as spending nights in tents, drinking beer, possibilities for change of daily behavior, buying products offered at the festival, etc.

Based on the specific festival preference structure, festivals can also be characterized as either:

- *Essentials* – what the consumer (feels he/she) “cannot live without”
- *Compensating goods to comfort the consumer* - goods for which there are a strong preference but no opportunity to demand the most expensive of the two goods. For example, if you cannot afford to have both a holiday and to participate in a festival, you choose the cheapest option, which will be to participate in a festival. It includes goods for which the size of the course price elasticity and the income elasticity create such a structure in preferences, i.e. when a car cannot be afforded and a flat screen TV and other consumer electronics are demanded instead. The phenomena is also well-known in regards to the demand for movies which typically increases as a compensation for a demand for more expensive leisure goods that cannot be acquired.
- *postponeables*, i.e. goods that are demanded and desired, but whose purchase can be put off with good reason. It includes goods with a high price and income elasticity and with a latent position in the preference structure, and
- *luxury goods*, i.e. goods with a very high price and income elasticity, indicating that they are the first goods to be given up when eco-

conomic conditions are worsened.

6. Consumer Behavior

Consumer behavior involves the decision making process prior to the purchase of consumer goods. It is based on economic variables such as prices, income and wealth, attitudes to risk, and preferences and preference structure. According to Quelch and Jocz (2009), consumer behavior can be characterized by personal traits such as *Live-for-today*, i.e. consumers will not change their consumption if they can avoid it, so if they do not have the income or wealth required, they will be willing to borrow money and have a negative saving. These consumers use all the money they can get in hold on. *Comfortable well-off consumers* are those who feel secure about their economy. This group of consumers consists mainly of people in the upper 5-10% of the income bracket. *Pained-but-patient* is consumers who are resilient and optimistic about the long term but have less confidence in recovery in the near future. They normally constitute the largest group of the consumers. Finally, the *slam-on-the-brakes* are the consumer whose response to financial shortcomings is a reduction of all types of spending by eliminating, postponing, decreasing, or substituting purchases. This behavior is found among lower income consumers as well as higher income consumers with a high degree of risk aversion.

7. Marketing under Recession

Having a severe financial and economic crisis in form of a W-shaped or U-shaped recession (cf. figure 1.1) will normally change the consumer behavior and thereby create a need for a new management and marketing strategy. In figure 1.3, a model combining the preferences and the expected consumer behavior in relation to festival demand is presented.

The figure 1.3 combines the preference structure and the consumer behavior and can function as a guideline for marketing of the festival. At the same time it illustrates the management task by pointing out needed festival activities that has to be dealt with in the overall management of a festival. The figure presents a demand driven approach to festival management. Under recession a demand driven strategy is preferable in order to avoid economic losses. Had there been an economic upturn instead, there would have been room for a supply driven management guideline for festivals, as consumer behavior under such circumstances prioritize new experiences and demonstrates a higher willingness to pay for experiences. This fact is clearly illustrated in the present problems for experience economy and

premium pricing.

Figure 1.3 – Festival Demand Marketing under Recession

		<u>Preference Structure</u>		
		Essentials	Compensating goods to comfort the consumer	Postponeables
<u>Consumer Behavior</u>	Live-for-today	<i>Continue, stress the group and atmosphere elements</i>	<i>Continue</i>	<i>Offer credit</i>
	Comfortably well-off	<i>Continue</i>	<i>Continue</i>	<i>Add attractive elements</i>
	Pained-but-patient	<i>Make package products, give price subsidies</i>	<i>Continue, stress “you deserve it” elements</i>	<i>Stress importance of continuity to achieve full product value</i>
	Slam-on-the-brakes	<i>Add attributes that enhance WOM, give price incentives</i>	<i>Continue, add an all-you-dream-about element</i>	<i>Credit arrangement for purchase of multiyear tickets</i>

Source: QUELCH, John A. ; Jocz, Katherine E. "How to Market in a Downturn." Harvard Business Review, no. April (2009): 52-62.

8. Danish Festivals

There are many festivals in Denmark but no full overview of all existing festivals exists. This has given rise to a beginning data collection on all festivals in Denmark in order to achieve data that can illustrate the economic impact of festivals in Denmark related to the business cycle development. It implies that only examples can be presented here.

The vulnerability of the market is expected to show as a result of the economic crisis following the Lehman Brothers' bankruptcy in September 2008.

From 2008-2009 there was a decrease in the Danish GDP on more than 5%, and a change in prices in order to stabilize the demand would therefore be expected. At the same time, it could be assumed that some festivals may experience an increase in numbers of participants due to increased demand for compensating goods to comfort consumers.

The most well-known festival in Denmark is the Roskilde Festival. It started in 1971 and takes place annually in the first week of July. At the Roskilde Festival, up to 100,000 people – a fifth of whom are volunteers - establish a tent town for a week to experience mainly rock music with Danish and international headliners on a number of stages.. The Roskilde Festival had to reduce the ticket prices in 2009 for especially participants from Sweden. Due to this the number of tickets sold increased from about 70,000 to 79,000.

Changes were seen on the other side of the country as well. In Esbjerg, the Esbjerg Rock Festival experienced a decrease from 8,000 participants in 2008 to 6,500 participants in 2009, while the figure for 2010 rose to 7,000 participants. Similarly, the figures for Grøn Koncert - at touring one-day music festival concept - decreased from 189,000 to 162,000 between 2008 and 2009, but increased again in 2010 to 187,000. It seems to be the picture for participation in festivals that the slowdown from 2008-2009 stopped from 2009-2010.

In relation to consumer behavior and preference structure (figure 1.3), festivals seem to be considered as essentials and as compensating goods to comfort the consumer and as such represent services with only a small and short decrease in the demand caused by the initial shock effect to the market, especially to the “pained-but-patient” costumer groups.

9. Conclusion

In this article the economic concept recession has been presented and four types of recession have been shown in graphs illustrated by the letters V, W, U, and L. It is concluded that the size of the financial and economic crisis can be best illustrated by a W- or a U-recession and that the crisis can be compared to The Great Depression crisis. Crisis of such size changes consumer preferences and consumption patterns. It is has been the reason for looking at management of festivals under recession.

The festival concept has been studied in both a generic and specific perspective. Seen from a generic perspective the first problem was to find a definition of festivals. It was found based on different dictionaries although none of the definitions of a festival included all aspects. A new definition was presented. The

definition is the following: *“An organized set of special events on a specific cultural manmade theme taking place on a specific day or period normally on a specific place gathering people in mutual and direct contact to the festival theme.”* From a generic point of view a festival develops into a festival complex over time. It normally begins with a rather simple and creative idea that gradually develops into the core business of a festival. Added to this as the festival comes of age will be dynamic elements that can keep the interest for core business vivid and attract participants wanting to enjoy both core business and new dynamic elements. The most successful festivals further add a series of attributes to the festival business over time including WOM, atmosphere, etc. that are loyalty creating, as well as tangible merchandise and other products, e.g. beer.

Festivals are strong generic examples of a flexible organizational setup that can function as a market for services and being appropriate to implement innovative ideas to events. The form of organization is flexible in relation to finance and in relation to involving volunteers both on small and large scale, i.e. festivals can be local, regional or national arrangements.

Festivals in a specific perspective include all the different themes and categories and subcategories. The largest specific theme is music with many subcategories. At first festival organization is extremely flexible and normally not so capital demanding. Seen in the specific perspective the themes have some characteristics: 1) They often have their departure in hobbies, 2) they engage a lot of voluntary work with low or no labour cost, 3) they develop from local to regional to national to international to global, 4) they include both non-profit and profit business, 5) many festivals are open air events, 6) mostly only larger festivals make use of professional management skills, 7) there is at first no systematically data collection taking place implying that total information on the economic impact of festivals at state level does not exist.

The fact that many festivals have both private and public stakeholders can cause a different management task. This is a further consequence of public support and subsidies to festivals often being of ad hoc character.

Festivals are services and marketing of festivals takes its departure in the model of the 7Ps. In order to have a deeper understanding of festival marketing and a structure of preferences and types of consumer behaviour among festival participants have been presented. The preferences are embodied in the core elements, the dynamics and attributes that constitute the festival complex. Based on this and on the specific festival preference structure, festivals are characterized as either essentials, compensating goods to comforting the consumer, postponeables,

or luxury goods.

The consumer behaviour is outlined and characterized in main groups of consumer behaviour: Live-for-today, comfortable well-off consumers, pained-but-patient, and slam-on-the-brakes.

Based on the preference structure and the consumer behaviour, a guideline for festival marketing under recession has been presented. It illustrates a demand driven approach to festival management. Under recession a demand driven strategy is preferable in order to avoid economic losses. If it had been an economic upturn, there would have been room for a supply driven management guideline for festivals, as consumers under such circumstances prioritize new experiences and demonstrates a higher willingness to pay for experiences. This fact is clearly illustrated in the present problems for experience economy and premium pricing.

This article ends with examples of Danish festivals. At present no official overview of number and types festivals in Denmark exists. However, the development from 2008-2010 points in the direction of relatively strong preferences for festival participation. In other words, the income and price elasticity seems to show relative stability, implying relatively fixed consumer preferences for festival participation. Festivals seem to a high degree to be essentials or compensating services to comfort the customers with low income elasticity. However, for the moment being, it is still too early to draw a final conclusion on how the festival economy has developed during the economic crisis.

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2. Cultural events and cultural heritage in times of crisis: A case in Catalonia

Antonio Rojas Rabaneda

1. Introduction and methodology

The organisation of theme-based fairs and markets in Catalonia is a deeply-rooted phenomenon as part of tourist promotion of towns and cities. Thus, apart from 72 history re-enactment events, currently there are 139 small events whose main theme is local cuisine, and 90 where traditional trades are promoted and re-created.

History re-enactment events held in Catalonia are partly based on living history or re-enactment. These events can be found under several names: street markets, fairs, weeks, history dissemination festival or festivity (referred to hereafter as “fairs”).

In the case of Catalonia, the origins of these events can be found at the beginning of the 1980's. Since the mid-1990s, the creation of history re-enactment fairs has undergone continuous growth. Hence, between 1990 and 1999, a total of 29 fairs were inaugurated. Creating this type of event has continued at the same rate at the beginning of the twenty-first century. So, between 2000 and 2008, a total of 39 were inaugurated. The creation of history re-enactment fairs has not decreased during the years of crisis. On the contrary, during 2008 the number of fairs increased significantly and it was the year with most inaugurations in two decades. We analyse what has led to the increase in these cultural activities in a time of severe financial crisis.

This study gathered data to determine how many history re-enactment fairs, markets and festivals are currently held in Catalonia. Once research into these events was completed, we began an identification process of the institutions and entities that organise them. Once identified, the next step was to send surveys to 72 institutions acting as main organisers of fairs throughout Catalonia.

The historical re-enactment events currently celebrated in Catalonia were analysed using the following methods:

1. Consultation of official fair web pages.
2. Consultation of historical re-enactment sites on social networks, for

example, Facebook and Twitter.

3. Study of the programmes of all the fairs.
4. Direct consultation with the main fair organisers.

In addition, we carried out field work by assisting some of the fairs with the gathering of information and documentation such as photographic materials and other information related to the organisation and management of fairs. Hence, our field work gave us the opportunity to directly observe these events. In addition, we were able to collect information about the typology and quality of the historical awareness activities that take place in the framework of these fairs. From these data we selected information related the activity during the first moments of the crisis.

2. Historical re-enactment events in Catalonia

The historical re-enactment festivals are outdoor events organised in the historic districts of towns and cities and last between two to three days. They use several buildings that create the atmosphere and set the scene where the activities take place. History and cultural heritage are the central themes and the main attractions. A historical period is recreated and a historical setting is staged. The most common historical period represented in these fairs is the medieval period (51%). Far from this, we have recorded a 14% set in the ancient Roman period, 15% in the Modern era, and 15% in the contemporary period. Only 1 fair is dedicated to Pre-history.

During these events, a series of activities are organised, such as guided tours, exhibitions, conferences, shows, theatre, and workshops. One of the aims of educational and leisure activities is to spread the history and cultural heritage of towns and cities. Therefore, there is a willingness to reach a varied audience, spreading knowledge through educational, fun and festive activities.

A key element is the set of re-enactment activities that provide visitors with the opportunity to relive history. These representations are interpreted by theatre groups and historical re-enactment groups. The former stage theatrical representations while the latter are more educational and base their representations on historical and archaeological research.

The costumes and objects used by re-enactment groups are reproductions of original and archaeological artefacts. Internationally, there are a large number of historical re-enactment groups and there are about 25 groups active in Catalonia. In our research, we have documented meetings and gatherings of these

groups. The Tarraco Viva Festival, an international gathering of re-enactment groups, is held on an annual basis in Catalonia. Social networks, websites and other different internet resources have facilitated the promotion of these groups and led to a better level of contact between international groups.

3. The role of the financial crisis in the increase in cultural events of history re-enactment

In periods of financial crisis, there is usually a reduction in town council budgets, especially those destined to cultural activities, culture dissemination activities, etc. In the case of Catalonia, several cultural events have undergone budget cutbacks.

National and Local governments find that they have to redesign economic activity policies by supporting and revitalising economic sectors affected by the crisis. In Catalonia, conferences have been held to intensify the debate about new interventions in tourism in general, and in cultural tourism, in particular. An interesting seminar was held in 2010, entitled “Cultural Tourism in Museums and Monuments. “Tourism management strategies and the definition of indicators” another type of seminar held in response to the economic crisis was the Conference on European Funding for Cultural Projects held in Barcelona on 28 January, 2010.

At times of financial crisis, the public budget destined to cultural events is analysed in greater detail with the aim of possibly reducing expenses. For example, in Catalonia a study has recently been carried out that indicates the costs of visitors incurring to museums. In this respect, we can find specific studies on the expense in energy and water generated by museum visitors.

Town councils are, therefore, currently faced with the need to generate new proposals (see Richards (2006)) that revitalise tourism and promote their towns. In this context, cultural heritage and history dissemination activities are usually present in the creation of new tourist activities. History re-enactment fairs appear to have become an anti-crisis cultural event.

Another usual action is to reorient marketing strategies. The Catalan Tourism Agency developed a wide set of indicators to reorient a place’s own promotional acts. Based on this, standards are established and decisions taken.

Moreover, faced with the need to tackle the financial crisis, efforts and actions directed at generating new ideas, new ways of management and new activities, increase. In this context, action plans usually contemplate, among their aims, the diversification of the tourist offer to enable a new public to be captured, and to curb the drop in hotel bookings, sales in shops, etc.

4. Consequences of the crisis in these events

To some fairs, the economic crisis has had such an impact that they are no longer held. This is the case with i.e. The Carriers Festival at Mont Blanc and the Three Somersaults Festival at Monistrol de Montserrat. Funding has been cut to others by 30% or 50% from one year to the next.

What stands out is the high number of history re-enactment events created in 2008 in the midst of the financial crisis in Spain, where unemployment began to rise sharply. Most town councils in Catalonia began to cut back on the budget dedicated to culture and, therefore, on cultural activities. In this context, the creation of history re-enactment fairs has not decreased. On the contrary, during 2008 the number of fairs increased significantly, and it was the year that most inaugurations were detected in two decades.

Despite the economic crisis, the Mont Blanc Medieval Festival has had a 5% increase of visitors from 60,000 to more than 63,000 people. This massive influx of visitors is an important financial injection for the town and its surroundings in a multitude of sectors. The first beneficiary of this event is the hotel industry and restaurants. The vast majority of visitors stay for lunch or dinner in town, whether in bars or restaurants. An important part of the tourists also find accommodation at Mont Blanc or in surrounding villages.

It is noteworthy that all this activity in the restaurant and hotel industry generates a lot of movement for distributors and wholesalers. This indirectly benefits many other sectors, from transport to supermarkets. Despite the huge profits generated by trade and local industry, the Association of the medieval legend of St. George, who organizes the festival, has some difficulty to keep up. According to the president of the association, the organization receives a tiny portion of all profits generated by the celebrations.

In the Tarraco Viva 2010 edition there was a reduction in budget, but the number of activities was maintained. Tarraco Viva 2010 had a budget of € 410.000. The City council provided €300.000 (€50.000 less than the previous year). A total of €110.000 was provided by external contributions. In this period there were 42.857 visits to the Tarraco Viva webpage during the year and 40.528 tickets sold. Moreover 400 Tarragona residents participated directly, organising acts, in 2010. 143 activities were designed for 2010. This is 36.19% more than the previous year. 26 areas of the city were used as settings for the Festival acts.

5. Reasons for the increase in history re-enactment events.

Several reasons can be given for the increase in these fairs, including tourism-related factors, availability of new types of promotion, and the inherent desire to preserve cultural heritage. We will be focusing on the financial aspect as the cause of the increase, as it relates to the financial crisis. Thus, we can highlight the useful factors of these events in times of crisis.

Activating and revitalizing the economy

Local governments have opted for an important safe asset, and for cloning models that have led to good results in other towns. They find that they have to redesign economic activity policies by supporting and revitalizing traditional economic sectors affected by the crisis, such as local commerce, the catering trade, etc. Holding events is one such means of revitalization, as they attract visitors who go shopping in the shops, eat in restaurants and, in many cases, stay overnight in hotels, both in high and low season. Moreover, history re-enactment fairs usually take place in historical town centres, a factor in favours of local commerce. Consequently, these events are suitable for attracting new tourists in low season.

Additionally, visitors can often find and buy different hand-made products. In some fairs, local commerce is directly involved in the activity programme. For example, restaurants may offer a menu based on ancient local cuisine. This tendency can increase in times of financial crisis, when it becomes necessary to give support to local economic sectors in a framework of scarcity of public resources.

Investment in these fairs usually has three main aims: to promote traditional financial sectors, to provide support for shops and restaurants, and to promote towns. With these aims in mind, the destined budget is perceived as a fully justified expenditure. What also has an influence is that these events are perceived by the community as a way for residents to mix socially and as a tool for the recovery, preservation and dissemination of local heritage and history. It is for this reason that local authorities do not have to resort to external resources, but instead expenses are met by local government budgets. These expenses are, therefore, justified within the criteria of the town's social and economic development.

As far as direct economic profits to the city are concerned, income generated by these markets is insignificant. In most fairs, the activity structure is not designed to result in direct profits. Thus, the budget has to come from money des-

tined to cultural and leisure activities by town councils. Several factors are involved in the fact that few direct economic profits are obtained by the organisers:

- These are mainly open activities without an entrance fee. Only 3 fairs have been found that charge an entrance fee. Only some extra activities charge a fee in a total of 30 fairs.
- In some cases only a small quota is charged for the traders' stalls.
- It is extremely unusual to find merchandising strategies created by the organisers that generate an important income.
- In Catalonia, sponsorship is not deep-rooted in this kind of event.

These activities are not designed with the aim of obtaining direct income. In other words, only in rare cases do the activities generate important revenue for the organising institution, and so fairs are not self-financing. As a result, they do not generate funds that can be re-invested in the later fairs, in creating employment, or in ways to enhance the quality of the entertainments.

Even though these fairs do not create income for the institutions that organise them, they do bring profits to other sectors. While the event is being held, it entails profits for shops, hotels and restaurants, etc., thereby fulfilling one of the organiser's aims. Increasingly, we can find municipal economic promotion departments involved in the organisation of these fairs.

These fairs are one of the few places where certain craftspeople can sell their products. In history re-enactment fairs, we have witnessed craftspeople who give demonstrations of their traditional trades; trades that are often in danger of dying out. Secondly, they can sell their hand-made products in a highly difficult context due to the presence of more economical products, despite being of inferior quality. Within the group of hand-made products, local cuisine has an important presence. These craftspeople follow a route of theme-based fairs all year round, which enables them to earn a living from their craft.

It should also be mentioned that we can find industrially-produced products mixed in with these more hand-made products. In many cases, these fairs represent a showcase of local products that make up the identity of the community. At the same time, it is usual to find products from any part of the Catalan region, and even products from outside Catalonia.

With regard to product sales, in 51 out of the 71 fairs products related to the fair's theme are sold. However, in 45 out of the 71 fairs, products are sold that are not related in any way to the fair's theme.

Finally, this group of fairs has led to the creation of small specialised com-

panies. Around 15 companies currently exist that either offer to organise the fair completely, or to organise activities, such as workshops, guided tours, theatre performances, etc. Summing up, the fairs generate economic profits for several sectors, such as:

- Traditional local commerce.
- External traders, mainly craftspeople.
- Specialised companies not usually related to the town where the fair is held.

These events fulfil certain conditions that make them suitable as cultural activities in times of financial crisis. The assessment of economic impacts of these events is important to achieve resources (see Uysal and Gitelson (2004)).

The Industry Research Group, of the URV (Department of Economics and Planning) made a research of one of these events. The economic impact study of the Renaissance Festival in Tortosa was drafted in 2008 on the basis of a survey encompassing a thousand guests. The organizers wanted to see what the impact on the economy was. One of the main objectives was to obtain the sponsorship of major brands.

The study concluded that the Renaissance Festival of Tortosa, with a budget of 400,000 for four annual holidays, generates an economic impact that can be located in a strip between 4 and 8 million.

The Rovira I Virgili University (URV) stressed the importance of the Renaissance Festival in its dual role as a tourist event and as an event with an economic function. The study proposed to consolidate the participation of the municipality's own resources, create tourism packages, work to enlarge the catchment area of the party guests, and make performances throughout the year related to the Renaissance, to leverage its impact.

This study shows how this event is a showcase of cultural tourism of Tortosa, and highlights the fact that most of the tourists polled declare a desire to revisit the city. The study also concluded some limitations such as lack of parking at discounted hotels.

The typical visitor profile was a person aged 18 to 45 years, with medium-high level of education, coming from nearby areas (50% of Tortosa, 70% of Terres de l'Ebre and 90% Catalonia), who had already experienced previous versions of the event (50%). The survey also found that tourists staying at Tortosa spent about 85 euros a day, while visitors who were not staying overnight in the city would spend about 42.6 euros. The city of Tortosa had an expenditure of 59.8 euros per day. In addition, regarding the total economic impact of the Renaissance

Festival, the study provided two scenarios. With only 50,000 attendees, the impact would be more than 4 million, an amount that would be doubled and if the event was to reach 100,000 visitors. If event turnover generated by local residents is excluded, the impact of tourism with 100,000 visitors is about 3.2 million euro. Overall, this impact corresponds to a 4% contribution to gross domestic product (GDP) of Tortosa tourism.

Tourism-related factor

What first explains the increase in the amount of theme fairs is their great capacity to draw crowds. From the most humble street markets to those with a more complex organisation, visitor numbers often exceed the organiser's expectations. Several people attend the fairs in search of new leisure activities; promotion of fairs become part of the general strategy to attract visitors, and the events provides ample opportunity to promote local history and traditions.

Thus, the cultural events we analysed are becoming increasingly present in the tourism planning strategies of Catalan municipalities, Rojas (2009). To give a recent example, the association responsible for coordinating the weeklong medieval festival in Mont Blanc, la Llegenda de Sant Jordi, had a stand at the Barcelona tourism fair. In this case, the local administration, Municipal Tourist Offices and Tourist Boards support the promotion of this historical re-enactment event as a tourist activity.

The city of Tortosa has been the winner in the national tourism awards organized by Tourism Focus Channel Digital Plus. Tortosa received the award for 'Best Cultural Entertainment initiative. Tortosa represented Catalonia and has been selected by their cultural actions initiatives exploiting his artistic and cultural heritage, especially in reference to the Renaissance Festival.

Available resources and feasibility

Another factor related to the increase in fairs is linked to the low organisational costs for local governments. A common factor in the design and organisation of fairs is that important resources or infrastructures do not have to be specially created. One thing they can take advantage of is tangible heritage, archaeological remains, architectural monuments, as well as infrastructures like museums, interpretation centres, etc. The efforts and economic means used are relatively small in comparison to the impact they have. Fairs are therefore ideal activities for towns that do not have many activities to offer as well as for towns that have few economic resources.

The social cohesion factor

Within the list of reasons for these fairs we can detect a social benefit component. These fairs provide a good opportunity for part of the population to acquire knowledge they would otherwise not gain. During fairs many people attend cultural activities, such as conferences, museum visits, and guided tours and thereby obtain information about the local history and heritage of the town they are visiting. In this way, the public comes into contact with the stories, materials and customs of the past. Visitors arrive at these fairs attracted by the possibility of attending re-enactments of the historical past.

In many cases, activities directed at children have been designed and are often much appreciated by families, as their children can learn through play. In many fairs, parents and children can take part together in activities designed for all the family. So among dissemination activities, there are options for all ages. Moreover, an added bonus from the educational viewpoint is to be able to experience on site how craftspeople make their products and demonstrate traditional trades. Fairs are a setting where the tourist comes into contact with the different components that make up a town: customs, traditions, history, cultural heritage, local cuisine, handmade products, etc. Culture is a source that generates new experiences, as in the case of history re-enactment fairs.

A positive aspect for the visitor is that visiting these fairs does not require a great deal of time and is, therefore, an offer that can be incorporated perfectly into leisure time available at weekends. You can dedicate a morning or afternoon to enjoying the activities of these fairs.

Another social benefit component is the fact that, in some cases, the local community takes an active part in the organisation of these fairs. Among the fairs analysed, there are several where the social weave of associations plays a predominant role in the organisation and carrying out of the fair. These events, therefore, favour the social cohesion of the community. Hence, pride in belonging to the community is given fresh impetus, as well as direct participation in cultural, recreational and festive events by the local people. Several studies have analysed how some cultural festivals play an important role in urban regeneration, especially from the community viewpoint.

Preservation of cultural heritage

The consolidation of history re-enactment fairs in certain towns has made them important public relations brands. Hence, town councils, tourist boards and regional governments use these events as a way to attract and promote tourism.

When these fairs, markets and festivals mean a way of attracting tourism and increasing economic activity, local governments tend to give them firmer backing, deploying greater resources. This favours the preservation and maintenance of the architectural cultural heritage so that it is attractive to thousands of visitors and accommodating to be a part of a programme of educational and leisure activities (Rojas (2010)). Thus, when these fairs become important strategic acts for the town where they are held, a greater number of interventions directed at their preservation and maintenance are carried out.

These events, therefore, favour the popularisation and promotion of remaining physical evidence of the past, traditional ways of life, traditional trades and other elements. Within this cultural heritage, we include architectural heritage, archaeological remains, cuisine culture, former trades, oral traditions, intangible heritage, etc. In part, therefore, fairs become a way of raising awareness about the need to preserve cultural heritage.

Architectural heritage from different historical periods takes on greater importance to residents as well as visitor when planning acts and events around them generate tourist activities, activities to revitalise the economy, and inspire educational activities (Rojas (2010b)).

6. Actions aimed at tackling the crisis

There are some general steps detected in these events in order to tackle the crisis, redefining strategies and searching for new complementary activities, organising economic activities with a great capacity to draw crowds and using history and cultural heritage to meet new challenges.

- Development framework: historical and architectural heritage. These are already existing areas that are turned into settings for these events. This means that new infrastructures or settings do not have to be created. Some architectural elements are used especially in the activities, while others are places to visit and others are part of the setting for history re-enactment activities.
- The use of history and cultural heritage as an excuse for meeting other objectives.
- Managing a reduced budget in order to maintain the number of activities in a festival and their level.

The Tarraco Viva Festival, the largest of the events analysed, underwent a 34% cutback in its budget between 2008 and 2009. However, this did not affect the

festival. In times of crisis, this festival has decided to maintain and increase the quality and number of activities. Contrary to what may be thought, in 2009, there were 40% more activities. The key has been to increase efforts to find collaborators and complementary activities. This festival's aim is to grow slowly and solidly, and not to grow just for the sake of growing.

In relation to the crisis, this festival has taken advantage of this framework to create new activities. In 2009, therefore, in the middle of the financial crisis, it was decided that the theme for that year would be the crisis in Roman times. So, a comparison was made between the crisis in Roman times and the present day to establish a parallel with the current situation.

7. Conclusions

What can cultural events offer in times of crisis? They can be a tool of economic, social and cultural development of a region. Promoting and giving fresh impetus to cultural heritage can have a positive effect in all aspects in the daily life of a region. A project must be able to generate benefits on an educational, cultural, social and economic level.

A means to study, preserve, raise awareness of and disseminate a region's cultural expressions, events celebrating cultural heritage must be proactive stakeholders that participate and collaborate to benefit the region.

Events must help to make the region known beyond its geographical surroundings. Cultural projects favour cultural mobility and enable ideas to be created that go beyond one's own environment.

Furthermore, cultural heritage enables cultural identities to be created and promoted. The projects can be a meeting place and they must be able to promote knowledge and identification of people with their region.

They also promote cultural tourism: Revitalisation of cultural heritage must enable tourist visits and cultural products need to be created that have a positive impact on the number of people visiting an area.

The investment in cultural events in times of crisis can be an alternative to revitalise local economies providing tools to the local sectors.

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3. Recession proof? An annual participatory sport tourism event

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1. Introduction

The sport tourism industry is one of the most rapidly emerging segments in the tourism industry today. Sports Travel Magazine reported that the sports-related travel market is worth over US\$118 (87.69 Euro) billion, contributing as much as 25 % of all tourism receipts in a number of countries throughout the world (Travel Wire News, 2004). In the midst of an economic recession and increasing competition among tourism destinations around the world, the Hawaiian Islands are not exempt from a volatile economy and uncertain marketplace.

One of its bright spots has been the sport tourism industry, highlighted by leisure golf, surfing, and events including the Ironman Triathlon and Honolulu Marathon. A large-scale sporting event can provide substantial positive impacts to a tourism destination in both the short and long terms. Comparatively, large sporting events are increasing in popularity to become one of the most rapidly developing segments of the tourism industry (Burgan & Mules, 2001; Chalip & McGuirty, 2004; Getz, 1998; Kim, Chon, & Chung, 2003; Shifflet & Bhatia, 1999; van den Berg, Braun, & Otgaar, 2000; Yoo & Weber, 2005).

Sport events have the potential for economic contributions but not all that glitters is gold. Several scholars insist that sport events are not the economic catalysts that boosters promote, and actually drain host economies. Coates (2006), Baade and Mattheson (2004) and Gatopoulus (2010) contend that mega-events including the FIFA World Cup, Major League Baseball World Series, and 2004 Athens Olympic Games that cost over US\$11 (8.17 Euro) billion to stage at current exchange rates, have been associated with reductions in taxable sales in host regions. Sport contests that attract foreign investments, sponsors, and large numbers of visitors spending above what would typically take place had the event not occurred, are considered “golden.”

While various definitions of sport tourism exist, it is often more broadly de-

defined as travel to participate in sport for competition or leisure, travel to witness sport at various elite or grassroots levels, and/or commemorate or celebrate sport in some form i.e. halls of fame, museums, ceremonies, etc. (Gibson, Attle, & Yiannakis, 1997; Turco, Riley, & Swart, 2002). In any case, the sport attraction is away from one's primary residence. Major sporting events are becoming attractions for tourism within themselves (Ford-Warner, 2004). By 2011, travel and tourism is expected to be more than 10 % of the global gross domestic product yet with the current economic climate, pockets of growth will occur in niche markets such as sport tourism (Goeldner & Ritchie, 2009). Some tourism destinations have become more reliant on the sport tourist for participatory and spectator events (Ford-Warner, 2004), including Moab, Utah (mountain biking), Aspen (alpine skiing), Heyward, Wisconsin (lumber jacking, snowmobile, and Nordic skiing).

Hawaii has focused on sport tourism as an economic development strategy. With Hawaii's sun, sea, and sand tourism experiencing continued decline, sport tourism provides a tourism niche with positive prospects of future growth. Hawaii's 2007 Clearly Hawaii campaign is dependent on the tourism industry with over US\$11.5 (8.55 Euro) billion in expenditures per year and 7.36 million visitors traveling to the Hawaiian Islands in 2007 (Blair, 2008).

This lucrative, yet fragile tourist industry is highly dependent on the long haul visitor that must travel by air to reach the remote islands in the Pacific. As a result, the strength of the economy in Hawaii depends on the tourism industry and visitor spending (Arakawa, 2006). Enticing a tourist to travel with higher associated costs to a destination for their first time may be an indication of the sport tourist's fervour to an event that may result in repeat visitations over the long term. The strength of the relationship between a tourist and an event (event-affinity) is a strategic niche that can offer great potential for short and long term benefits.

Over the years, a growing awareness of external factors including competition has prompted tourism officials in Hawaii to appreciate the susceptibility of its tourism industry with mounting losses through increased travel costs including fuel, terrorism, corporate budgetary restraints, along with other health, political, economic factors. After the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks and the grounding of all flights throughout the United States, Hawaii learned the reality of having a paradise that is nearly entirely dependent on long distance air travel. Now, faced with a state and federal deficit crisis, coupled with recessionary conditions, the notion of an endless stream of tourists has now reached near lows in hotel occupancy, lower hotel rates, decreasing lengths of stays, and lower spending by tour-

ists resulting in lower tax revenues as well as an overall decrease in the number of visitors to the island. These grave conditions have served as a reminder of the fragile nature of the tourism industry for an exotic destination such as Hawaii.

On the positive side however, dedicated and high-spending, passionate sport tourists enjoy new challenges with sporting experiences that often stimulate other potential lucrative tourism development opportunities. Direct income spending is one of the most obvious benefits to a destination. With a high event-affinity among sport tourists, coupled with relatively large incomes, the potential exists for repeat visitations that are often resistant to economic and political instabilities that can deter other international visitors (Balic & Rahman, 2005). Implementing participative strategies that increase affinity for the event and island culture may help to increase the length of stay and the number of repeat visits to Hawaii.

Event bundling with themed promotions can help target specific groups of customers based on their spending behaviours and preferences to encourage additional business opportunities and revenues (Chalip & Leyns, 2002). Bundling, Guiltinan (1987) suggests, is the practice of bringing two or more products or services together into a single package for a preferential price that is of value to the guest (Adams & Yellin, 1976). Furthermore inclusive bundling of packages may also have a great appeal for the accompanying members of the participants themselves. Family and friends often spend up to three times more than other sport tourists (Scott & Turco, 2007; Turco, Cox, & Ally, 2008).

Additional activities and attractions can also entice visitors with longer stays (Swarbrooke, 2002). One of the challenges Kinberg & Sudit (1979) argue is to bundle the optimal combination of components to maximize guest satisfaction and revenue. Understanding the unique preferences of participants and their accompanying guest(s) can therefore yield valuable information in regards to planning strategic marketing initiatives.

For decades, large cities have been staging major marathons as strategic tourism events. Marathons in New York, Berlin, Boston, London, and Chicago typically attract over 30,000 participants. Running races mean big money – at least for cities hosting major marathons. A study of the Fourth Annual P.F. Chang's Rock n' Roll Arizona Marathon & ½ Marathon by Northern Arizona University (NAU) reported that the 34,000 runners registered for the 2007 race generated US\$44 (32.70 Euro) million to the state's economy and more than US\$2 (1.49 Euro) million in tax revenues. Over half the runners were from out-of-state, placing demands on area hotels, eating and drinking establishments, and retail shops in Tempe, Phoenix and Scottsdale, the race co-hosts (NAU, 2007).

Despite the deep recession in 2008, North American-based companies spent an estimated US\$84 (62.42 Euro) million to sponsor marathons, triathlons, 10Ks and other running events, up 8.4 % from US\$77.5 (57.59 Euro) million in 2007, according to the International Events Group (IEG, 2010).

2. Event Description

The Honolulu Marathon is the largest organized participatory event in Hawaii; the race itself attracts 25,000-30,000 entrants. In 1995, the Honolulu Marathon enjoyed the distinction of being the world's largest marathon when it drew 34,434 entrants and had 27,022 finishers. In 2006, there were 28,635 registered participants in the Honolulu Marathon, 27,827 in 2007, 23,231 in 2008, and 23,469 in 2009. The Marathon Expo is an associated event (and sponsorship platform) that spans a four-day period and attracts nearly 70,000 guests through its turnstile (Honolulu Marathon, 2010).

As a strategic event, the Honolulu Marathon helps to sustain tourism particularly during the low and shoulder periods, and is a vehicle to reach international sport tourists and their guests. This study examined the 2009 Honolulu Marathon participants' behaviours and provides analysis on the implications for Hawaii and its sport tourism sector.

3. Hawaii Tourism and the Great Recession

Nearly a third of Hawaii's economy is driven by tourism, and a recent state report indicated that from January to June 2009, spending from visitors who arrived by air dropped 15% to US\$4.97 (3.69 Euro) billion from 2008 (Woo, 2009). Since 2007, the wage and salary jobs have declined from 631,400 to 592,200 in 2009 with nearly 40,000 jobs being eliminated as a result of the recession. The jobless rate stands at a 31 year high at 7.1% along with state tax revenues also declining by 10 % (Department of Labor and Industrial Relations, 2010). Nationally, the "Great Recession" began in December 2007 and officially ended in July 2009, according to the National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER, 2010).

In 2008, two major domestic airlines (Aloha and ATA) ceased operations to the islands, as did two Hawai'i home-ported cruise ships (DBEDT, 2008). After four years of growth from 2004 (+8%) to 2007 (+2.6%), combined expenditures by visitors who came to Hawai'i by air or by cruise ships fell 11 % in 2008, to \$11.4 (8.47 Euro) billion, according to a report by the state's Department of Business, Economic Development and Tourism. Air and cruise visitors combined spent an average \$179 (133 Euro) per person daily, down from \$183 (135.99 Euro)

per person in 2007 (DBEDT, 2009).

A total of 6,822,911 visitors arrived by air or by cruise ships, down from 7,627,819 visitors in 2007, the first year since 2004 that annual total arrivals were less than 7 million visitors. Air arrivals to Hawaii from April 2006-2010 dropped 11.4%. The number of visitors to Hawaii in November 2009 fell 17% from 2007, and total spending by air visitors for the first 11 months of 2009 decreased \$1.3 (.97 Euro) billion from the same period in 2008 (DBEDT, 2009/2010).

Figure 3.1 Hawaii Air Arrivals April 2006-2010

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
<i>Air arrivals</i>	604,639	597,478	538,420	541,714	536,194

Participatory events may represent the ultimate opportunity to engender high visitor-event affinity. Active participation, close ties with other contestants and volunteers, the opportunities for individual recognition, and affiliation with a group of like-minded enthusiasts all tend to increase the event-affinity of sports tourists who participate in the events compared to those who are merely spectators. Moreover, since participatory events often make use of existing infrastructure and volunteer labor, they can be relatively inexpensive to host, thereby yielding high benefit-to-cost ratios (Allen, 1993). Therefore, this study seeks to examine 2009 Honolulu Marathon participant consumer behaviours and provide analysis on the implications for Hawaii and the sport tourism segment.

4. Methodology

The population for this study consisted of the participants in the 2009 Honolulu Marathon. The questionnaire was developed from a modified version of the survey instrument used by the authors in the 2000 Buy.Com Louisiana Open study (Agrusa & Tanner, 2002), which was based on the Nordic Model of Tourism (Paajanen, 1999). The Nordic Model is a research method that determines the economic impact of tourism. The Nordic Model depicts the impact of tourism on a local economy. A pilot test of 25 tourists was conducted on the instrument to ensure all questions could be understood and did not contain ambiguous questions or interpretive problems. The surveys were distributed and collected using field researchers. The data were collected through a self-administered questionnaire to a convenience sample of race participants. The vast majority of marathoners were

from Japan, United States, followed by Canada, Germany, England, Italy, Holland, Mexico, New Zealand, and others, respectively.

All marathon participants must pick up their own registration packets--this rule was strictly enforced, either three days, two days, or one day before the race at the Honolulu Marathon Headquarters, situated this year at the Hawaii Convention Center. A table was placed in a conspicuous location in the convention center with a large laminated color sign announcing the survey. As all runners had to enter the convention center to pick up their own registration packet, the researchers were able to collect the 402 surveys.

The instrument consisted of eighteen questions regarding general demographics, accommodations, length of stay, as well as the amount of money that was spent by marathon participants on their lodging, food, souvenirs and other miscellaneous items while attending the marathon activities in Honolulu, as well as three question dealing with respondents' future plans, and whether or not they ever considered cancelling this trip to the Marathon because of the current economic situation. Also included were three Likert-type questions related to the respondents' service-related experiences while visiting Hawaii for the marathon. The examination and analysis of the results from this survey will be very helpful in determining the economic significance of runners and their traveling companions in the Honolulu Marathon on the state of Hawaii.

6. Results

Subjects' responses to the questions related to demographics and accommodations, length of stay, as well as the amount of money that was spent by marathon participants on their lodging, food, souvenirs and other miscellaneous items. Approximately 51 % of the marathoners were males, and 67 % were between the ages of 20 and 50. Nearly 56 % of the respondents had visited Hawaii prior to this Marathon, but for nearly 74 %, this was their first Honolulu Marathon. For those who stated that this was not their first Honolulu Marathon, the number of times they had run it previously ranged from 1 other to 27, and with an average of approximately five previous runs.

When asked where they stayed while in Honolulu for the Marathon, more than 78 % stayed in a hotel or condominium hotel. More than 57 % were staying in Hawaii at least nine nights. For those staying 12 nights or more, almost 55 % said they were staying no more than 21 nights. More than 23 % were traveling alone, and more than 56 % were traveling with one to three other persons who were not participating in the Marathon. Additionally, 26 % of these runners be-

gan planning their trip to this Marathon one year in advance, with nearly another 21 % starting their plans from 9 to 11 months in advance. The average length of stay for participants in the Honolulu Marathon has increased from 9.1 days in 2006 to 10.8 nights in 2008. This may be due to participants' perceived high opportunity costs for travel to Hawaii; they want to take time to experience the state's other attractions before and after the race.

When asked about their expenses on this trip to the Marathon, approximately 54 % of the respondents stated that they spent less than US\$150 (111.47 Euro) per night for lodging, 60 % said they spent less than US\$50 (37.16 Euro) per person per day, on food and beverages. Most respondents (56 %) planned to spend US\$400 (297.24 Euro) or less on gifts for themselves, friends, and family. For those few who spent more than US\$550 (408.71 Euro) on shopping, 67 % said that they planned to spend at least US\$2,000 (1486.20 Euro). Nearly 98 % said that they would definitely consider returning to Hawaii for a visit in the future, for some reason other than to run the Marathon. Lastly, approximately 15 % said that they had considered cancelling this trip to the Marathon, because of the current economic situation.

Responses to the three Likert-type questions reported the respondents' level of satisfaction with tourism-related services they received on this trip. While 95% indicated having positive experience in Hawaii, more than 60 % said that they were either likely or very likely to return to Hawaii for next year's Marathon, and 97 % said that they were either likely or very likely to recommend Hawaii as a travel destination to others.

7. Discussion

In 2008, 14,406 of the total 23,231 entries were from Japan, which made up nearly 62 % of the field. There are several reasons for Japan's support of and interest in the Honolulu Marathon. The proximity of the race to Japan, general tourism appeal of Hawaii, race history and size are contributing factors. Japan Airlines is the major sponsor, returning for the 25th year, and several other Japanese companies are presenting sponsors. Further, the yen has strengthened versus the dollar; in 2009 the yen traded at 88 yen to the dollar, compared to 93 in 2008 and 111 in 2007; costs for food, lodging, and shopping for Japanese visitors to Hawaii in 2009 were considerable less than two years ago, when adjusted for inflation.

One reason why the Honolulu Marathon may have weathered the economic recession is that its participants consider running as serious leisure. Serious leisure is the "systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer core activity that

people find so substantial, interesting, and fulfilling that, in the typical case, they launch themselves on a leisure career centered on acquiring and expressing a combination of its special skills, knowledge, and experience” (Stebbins, 2006). Many who are serious about leisure are competitors in nonprofessional sports, as Shipway and Jones (2007) found among distance runners. They operationalize serious sport tourism as travel to pursue one’s serious leisure-sport interests. Green and Jones (2005) suggest that sport tourism can provide serious leisure participants with (1) a way to construct and/or confirm one’s leisure identity, (2) a time and place to interact with others sharing the ethos of the activity, (3) a time and place to parade and celebrate a valued social identity, (4) a way to further one’s leisure ‘career’, and (5) a way to signal one’s career stage.

Serious sport tourists take sport participation to another level. Considerable time, effort, and financial investments are made on one’s chosen leisure pursuit, and without financial compensation. For the marathon, most people do not wake up one morning and decide to run 26.2 miles; it takes months and sometimes years of dedication and serious training to complete the race. Serious sport tourists are focused and highly committed to experiencing their sport participation to the fullest, wherever that may be. They demonstrate such a strong commitment to sport participation that to the less committed, it borders on obsession. Serious sport tourists are often accompanied to competitive events by their spouses, partners, relatives or friends (Scott & Turco, 2007). They spend more money on sport-related goods and services, travel more frequently, and stay longer and spend more per night than other tourists (Getz, 2008; Scott & Turco, 2007).

Most serious sport tourists are not elite athletes; the vast majorities are amateurs. The 50-States Marathon Club is comprised of amateur runners who have completed a marathon in each state in the U.S. Besides the serious time, financial and physical demands to run a marathon, the added travel and accommodations costs to run in every state demonstrates the high level of commitment these athletes have toward their chosen endeavor.

8. Conclusion

Exposing Hawaii’s sport tourists to authentic cultural activities that embrace the “Aloha spirit” and that move beyond sun, sand, sea activities for the more sophisticated repeat tourist, may help to reinvigorate Hawaii’s stagnate economy. By way of illustration, from 1996 to 2002, interest in cultural activities has steadily increased beyond 14% relative to a 5.6% overall growth in travel in the tourism industry (Goeldner & Ritchie, 2009). Hawaii is no exception with an increasing de-

mand for more cultural offerings that are authentic to Hawaii (Travel Industry Association, 2003). Also, the Honolulu Marathon administrators may want to include trips to other Hawaiian islands such as Maui or Kauai; almost 50% (49.3%) of the respondents stated they are or would be visiting another Hawaiian island either before the marathon; this type of experience would dovetail with Hawaiian culture. Therefore, as suggested in the previous literature, bundling may be an effective strategy to increase guest spending and length of stay.

Travel marketers are becoming more aware that the increasing demand for cultural tourism is a lucrative economic and social benefit to a region. Increasing recognition in terms of providing a richer tourism experience that builds on cultural opportunities, community involvement, and environmental quality is becoming more apparent to tourism planners along with local and regional development authorities (Madrigal, 1995).

Most runners in the 2009 Honolulu Marathon were accompanied by one or more guests who were not participating in the event. Integrating Hawaii's natural and cultural assets to the Marathon can provide guests (and runners before and after the race) the opportunity to engage in an array of activities (and spend more money). Strategic bundling may also allow Hawaii to differentiate itself from competing destinations that may be able to offer similar commodities at a less expensive price. Therefore bundling should include products and service that embrace an authentic Hawaii that can only be found in the Hawaiian Islands.

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ENGAGING NEW AUDIENCES AND RE-
ENGAGING OLD ONES

4. Tourist visitors to cultural events: motivation and attitudes

Ines Milohnić

1. Introduction

Worldwide, cultural manifestations and special events form one of the sectors that record the fastest growth and development within the tourism industry. Many tourism organizations have made the organization of festivals and special events a part of their destination marketing and development strategies, recognizing that many events have the potential to attract visitors to the destination, generate media attention, build a trademark of a destination, and enhance the economy. Steps that precede these success factors are, amongst other, to explore the needs, motives, and benefits of potential visitors with the purpose of designing events that meet the needs of visitors, as well as the requirements of the organizers and sponsors. This paper provides an overview of the basic categories of needs, specific motives arising from each of the needs that can be generated by festivals and similar cultural manifestations, and the corresponding benefits provided by them.

Also, the aim has been to explore the motivations and attitudes of cultural event visitors in order to better recognize the needs and demands of *the modern guest*. The assumption is that a quality offer of cultural events is best found in destinations that are best suited to accommodate guests. The paper used a conceptual and technical approach based on the following definition of cultural tourism: *People travelling outside the place of permanent residence in order to collect new information and experiences that meet their cultural needs*; (Richards (2006)). With this definition in mind, it is important to further distinguish between those for whom the main motivation for travelling is culture, and those who visit cultural tourist attractions merely coincidentally, as passer-by's. According to some estimates, within the total tourist population only 5-10% travel solely with the aim of satisfying their cultural needs; (Bywater, 1993: 37; Richards, 2006).

According to the results of the TOMAS summer of 2007 research, about 10% of summer tourists come to Croatia to discover cultural and historical heritage; (Institute of Tourism (2008)). Share of the culture-motivated visitors in Europe at large is around 40%; (Richards (2006)). The conceptual approach focuses on the motivation of tourists, while the technical definition of the reason is “to

visit cultural and historical sights” (castles, villas, country houses, archaeological sites, museums and galleries, musical events and stage productions (operas and operettas, musicals, classical music concerts, ballet and contemporary dance, jazz and ethno concerts), festivals (traditional, cultural, culinary), as well as churches and monasteries; (Tomljenović et.al. (2003)). New products are added-thematic routes and pathways as well as creative workshops (Culinary Art, archaeology, folklore, art, etc.).

Cultural events are extremely important, and event tourism as a form of travel is on the rise and undergoing changes. The paper sets provides a theoretical framework for understanding the behaviour of visitors to such cultural manifestations. A need for continuous research of 'cultural tourists' demands arises, as such research would help shape the changes and help destinations maintain their competitive advantage. In this sense, the initial problem of a non-existent standardized model of monitoring the behaviour of cultural events' visitors is defined. Through a concept of the decision making process, the authors will attempt to answer the questions 'Why do people attend cultural manifestations?', 'Will a potential visitor attend the event and which factors affect that decision?' Data of the TOMAS cultural tourism survey (Institute of Tourism (2009a)) was used for the research of the motivation and attitudes of tourist visitors to cultural events.

2. Theoretical studies of consumers' behavior

Consumers' behaviour – visitors of manifestations

Consumer behaviour describes the process of obtaining and consuming products, services and ideas, and involves post-sale processes such as assessment and post-sale behaviour. According to Kesic (2006), consumer behaviour is motivated, it is a process which includes a number of activities, varies in time and complexity, includes a number of roles, is influenced by multiple factors and varies among people. Factors of consumers' behaviour are personal factors, social factors and psychological processes. The personal factors include motives and motivation, perception, attitudes, personality characteristics, beliefs and lifestyle, style and knowledge. The social factors include cultures and subcultures, social class, reference groups and families, while the psychological processes include information processing, learning, changing attitudes and behaviour, and personal influences (www.sve-mo.ba/ef/down/mark_fil/2007). Some authors emphasize individual behaviour as the foundation of all human behaviour, which is always defined by three main groups of variables: a) physiological variables, b) psychological varia-

bles and c) environmental variables; (Buble, 2000; Cerović, 2010; Gibson & Donnelly & Ivancevich, 1982). The most important psychological variable is motivation. Influence of perception, attitudes, personality and learning are as well important.

Every human activity is always based on the needs, and the results stemming from satisfaction thereof. The needs of the initial activity in the process determine behaviour, although they sometimes occur as a result of certain behaviours. In order to influence the decision of potential visitors to the event, it is necessary to understand the needs, motives and expectations of potential visitors. The research results of Mayfield and Crompton in 1995 point out that many event organizers do not conduct a thorough visitor-oriented research, as they either believe in their own ability to predict the desires of potential visitors, or lack funding for the research itself; (Getz (2005: 330)).

There are three reasons for investing effort in understanding the motives of event visitors. First, it is key to design visitor-targeted offers that corresponds to the marketing dictum that says that people do not buy products or services, but buy the benefits that meet their needs. Since the elements of the event programme must be designed to satisfy different needs, it is important to identify the needs of different (types of) visitors. Identification of their needs is a prerequisite for effective development of the programming elements, services, and marketing. If these needs are not understood, various elements of the manifestation are likely to be presented in a non-optimal way.

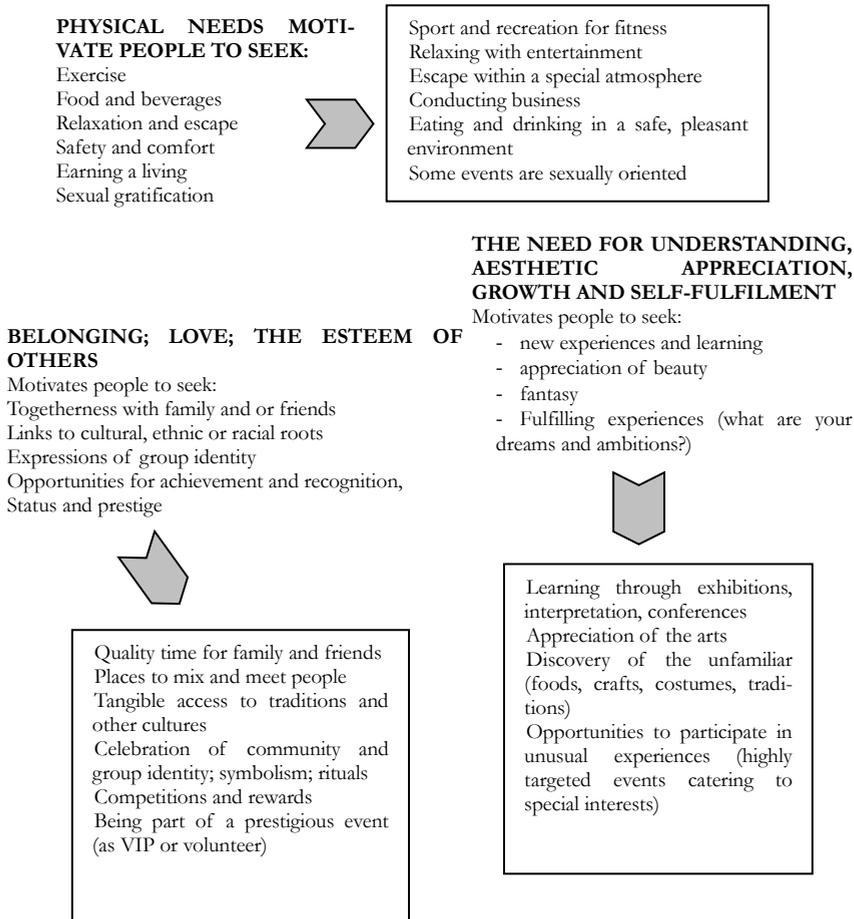
Another reason for desiring a better understanding of visitors motives lies in the close relationship between motives and ultimate satisfaction rating, while a third reason is to facilitate efficient marketing activities (Crompton and McKay (1997: 426)).

Figure 4.1 shows three basic categories of needs, specific motives arising from each of the needs that can generate visits to manifestations, and the corresponding benefits provided by the cultural manifestations. Combinations of these basic benefits will attract visitors to any kind of event in any environment. Visitors to a festival or event wish to meet one or more needs related to their visits to/participation in the event.

Therefore, motivational research related to the event must include the reasons why people participate in the event and the basic benefits that the visitor will acquire at the event. Consumer behaviour in this context refers to more than just a surface activity at events; it refers to the meanings attached to the event. A deci-

sion to attend the event is motivated by a desire for escape and the desire for the quest of new experiences related to interpersonal needs, and personal needs of the individual.

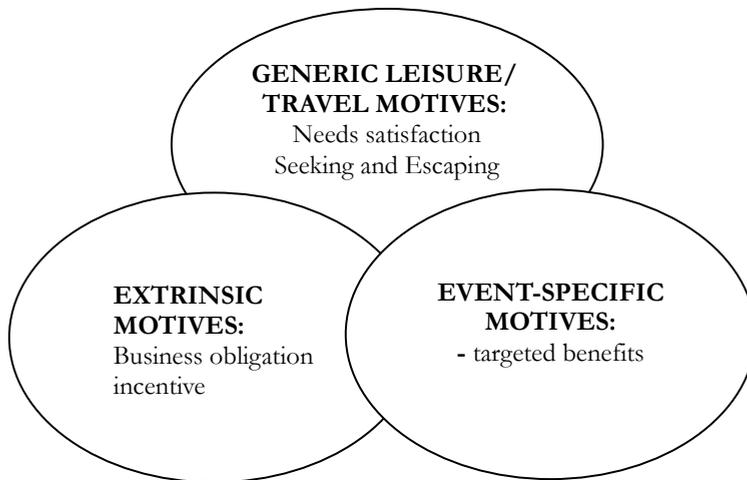
Figure 4.1 Needs, motives and benefits offered by events



Source: Getz (2005:331)

Motives can be grouped into two categories, namely: internal motivations arising from personal needs, including search and escape, and external motives that arise from the influence of others. These two categories together provide explanations why many people attend events without an expressed interest in the subject or programme of the manifestation or the event. The third category consists of motifs highly related to the event, which is converted into the concept of target-benefit marketing.

Figure 4.2 Framework for evaluating event motivations and behaviour.

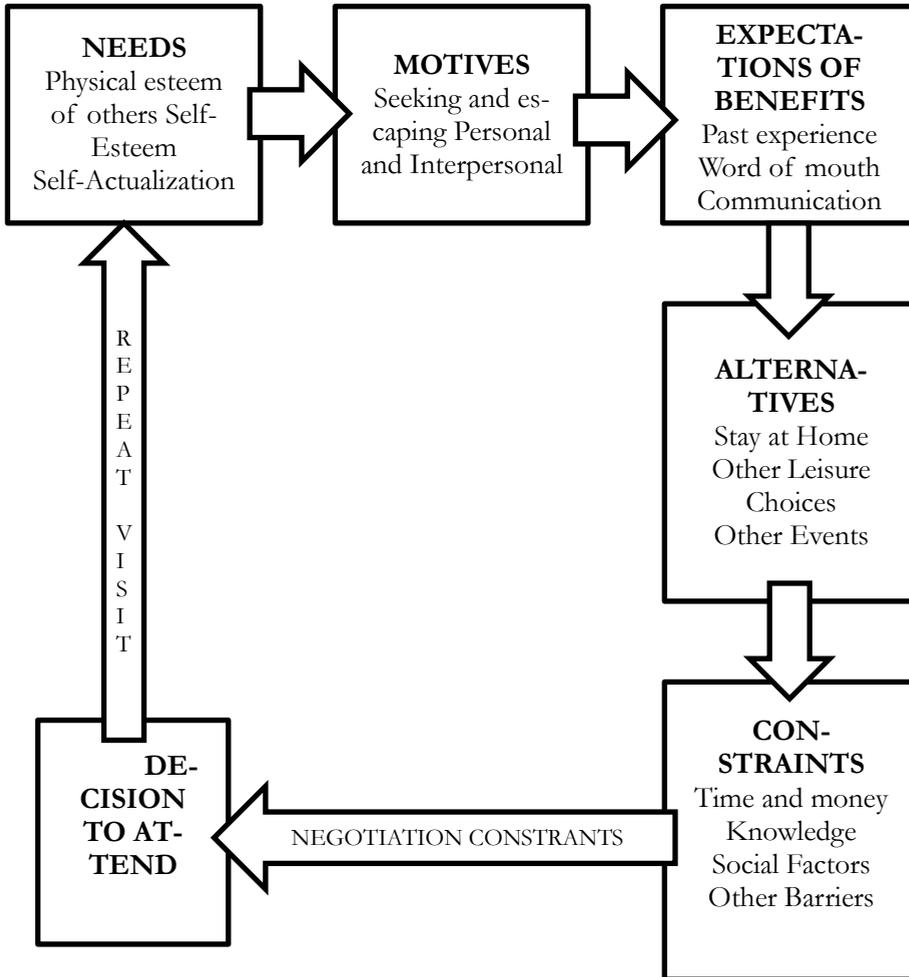


Source: Getz (2005: 332)

2.2. Decision-making process of event visitors

Fundamental wanderlust, practicing leisure activities, or attending an event are basic human needs that shape the behaviour of visitors to events. People expect a certain activity or experience to produce the desired benefits that will meet their needs and aspirations, but of course there are many choices. Events have to compete with other forms of leisure activities and other events. The concept of the decision making process when having to decide whether to attend a manifestation or not, is explained in Figure 4.3; according to Getz (2005: 332).

Figure 4.3: Decision making process (whether to attend a manifestation or not)



Source: Getz (2005:332)

There are many obstacles to participation; some personal (time, money, social influence), others related to the event itself (location, access, price). Even if a consumer (visitor) chooses to attend an event, there may be valid reasons why that experience never takes place.

Understanding the consumer decision-making process for events and festivals is aided by the following PIECE acronym:

Table 4.1 Decision making process (manifestation visitors) – PIECE

PROBLEM RECOGNATION	Difference between someone's existing state and their desired state relative to leisure Consumption
INFORMATION SEARCH	Internal or external search; limited or extensive search processes of leisure (including event) solutions
EVALUATION AND SELECTION	Evaluation and selection of leisure alternatives
CHOOSING	Choosing whether to attend an event and which optional purchases to make at the event of festival
EVALUATE EXPERIENCE	Evaluation of the post-event experience

Source: Bowdin et al. (2006:193)

Identifying the problem for potential consumers of events, there is a difference between what one would like to experience, and what to do in order to meet that need (Bowdin et al. (2006: 193)). First step is to recognize that the decision is based upon needs that can be met when attending the event. Whether or not a potential consumer decides to attend the event or not depends on the degree of interest he or she has in the buying process once it starts.

In searching for information, the majority of consumers try to define important criteria on which to base their decisions. Such criteria include the nature of the event itself, the venue, other attractions in the area, ticket price, etc., and to what extent the events will address their needs. Both internal and external pull factor are considered.

According to Bowdin et al. (2006:194), the *external* social factors include:

- *Influence of family and home* - the need for family togetherness and family connections is, for many people, a strong motivator of decisions concerning free time;
- *Reference groups* - groups that have an impact on the behaviour of individuals. Groups that are in contact with individuals (peers, family, colleagues and neighbours) are called the primary reference group. Those who rarely come into contact are called a secondary reference group.
- *The authors of an opinion or leaders in giving opinion* – are those people within any group, whose views regarding the experience of events or leisure activities are sought and widely accepted. These leaders in providing opinions are often the media, theatre or sports celebrities.
- *Culture* - includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, laws, customs and other capabilities and habits that one member of the society receives.
- *External demand* - which includes a reference group or other sources may cause a prolonged decision making process.

A whole range of *internal* influences also affects consumers' decisions about attending the events. These effects include perceptions (how to select and process information), learning and memory, motives, personality traits and attitudes of consumers.

One empirical research on the motives for attending events emerged in the 1990's. Based on the research, three theories of motives for attending events, summarized by authors Awelsen and Arcodia, Bowdin et al. (2006: 195) are:

- Hierarchy of satisfying the needs - a theory based on the original Maslow hierarchy; motives change as every level of needs - from physiological to self-realization – is fulfilled.
- 'push' and 'pull' motives - 'push' factors push forward (attract) to an event, while 'pull' factors pull away from an event.
- Internal motives for leisure activities - the theory associated with 'push' and 'pull' motives when seeking change in everyday life, internal personal and mutual rewards from visits/travels to other regions.

Any number of values can be applied in creating different choices of events by consumers - by evaluating alternatives and selecting events; Bowdin et al. (2006:

196). Functional values, such as perceptions of the price–quality ratio of a certain event, and ease of access, can dominate. On the other hand, the emotional values can be influential (probable effects of the festival experience on the mood). Other conditioned values that suit the taste of potential 'consumers' of an event may be: suitable transportation, the quality of the (i.e. music) presented, or accommodation in proximity.

After attending an event, visitors begin to compare what they expected from events to what they experienced. This is their post-attending evaluation of the experience (Bowdin et al. (2006: 197)). Consumer expectations arise from a combination of *marketing communications* (which is planned by organizers of the event), *telling* friends and family, *comparing* prior experience with this or some similar event, and the *image* of the event trademark. Knowledge of the ratio between the satisfaction of event visitors, their perceptions of service quality and their intention to attend an event that is perceived to be comparable to a previous event is very important for marketing professionals who wish to build a market of loyal visitors.

3. Research methodology

The TOMAS cultural tourism research on motivation and attitudes of visitors to cultural events in the tourism industry was used (Institute of Tourism (2009)), resulting in the first comprehensive survey of attitudes and spending of visitors to cultural events (attractions and manifestations) in Croatia. The main purpose of the research was to collect relevant data on the characteristics of tourism demand and on spending related to the particular types of cultural events. The proposed goal of this study was multiple, although this paper puts emphasis on motivation and attitudes of visitors to cultural events. The research was conducted through an interview, using structured questionnaires on 37 cultural events during the period July-October 2008 and on a sample of 2450 respondents (visitors of cultural events outside of their area of permanent residence).

The study used a previously developed methodology serving the needs of national development strategies for cultural tourism, including visits to historical and cultural monuments (castles, villas, country houses, archaeological sites) museums and galleries, musical events and stage productions (operas and operettas, musicals, classical music concerts, ballet and modern dance, jazz and ethno concerts), festivals (traditional, cultural, culinary), and churches and monasteries; (Tomljenović et al. (2003)), with the addition of new products - thematic routes and paths, and creative and interactive workshops (on culinary art, archaeology, folklore, art, etc.).

The research content is partly based on market research methodology of cultural attractions and events conducted by the ATLAS Cultural Tourism Research, (Association for Tourism and Leisure Education, 2004; Richards, 2001; Richards, 2007) which allows a comparison with European and global indicators.

Collected data were thoroughly analysed and presented in the “Report, Institute of Tourism” (2009), while this paper presents the results of the research focusing on a chosen set of features, as a basis for the below analysis of motivation and attitudes of visitors to cultural events in Croatia.

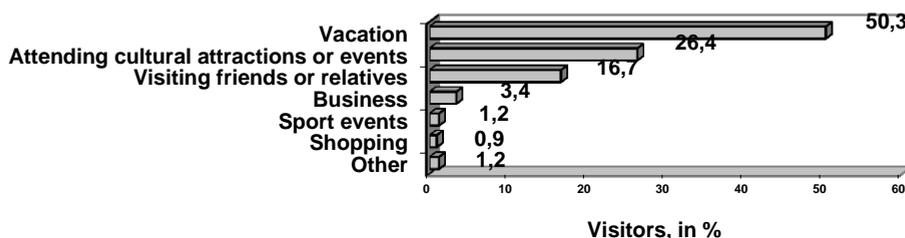
4. Research results

4.1. Motivation of 'cultural tourists'

Key question is: "To what degree does cultural-tourism attractions and manifestation attract 'cultural tourists', and to what extent are they visited in passing by? A bit over a quarter of visitors (26%) take a trip for the specific purpose of visiting cultural events only, while others consider cultural activity as a core element of their vacation/holidays. Combining the number of visitors who travel primarily with the purpose of visiting cultural events with those whose vacation includes exploring culture, then the share of the culture-motivated visitors becomes significant: 36%.

The largest proportion of the culture-motivated visitors is recorded at cultural events (46%), followed by cultural-historic sites (34%) and museums (30%). Attending the event was the main purpose of the trip for the majority of visitors (41%), while among the visitors to cultural-historical sites, the majority represented culture-motivated vacation (26%).

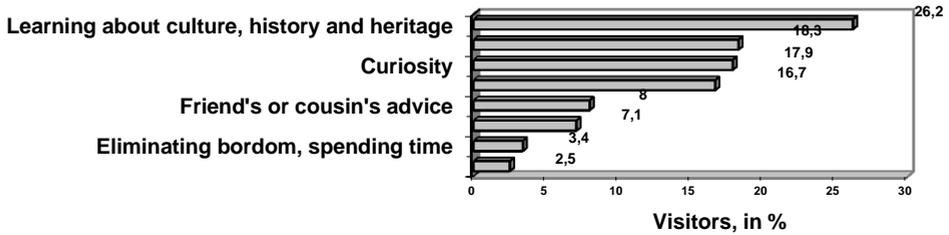
Graph 4.1: The main purpose of the trip



Source: *Institute of tourism (2009:156)*

The dominant motive for visitors of cultural events is the desire to learn about the culture, history and heritage of a tourism destination (26%). Beside the desire to acquire new knowledge, an important part in the decision making process is the image of attractions (18%), curiosity (18%), and the desire to spend quality time with family and/or friends (17%).

Graph 4.2: The main motives for visiting cultural attractions or events

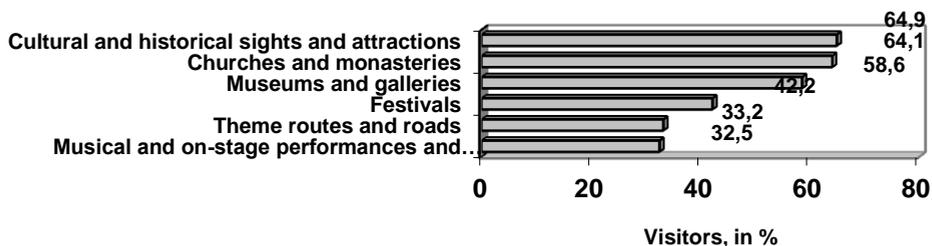


Source: Institute of tourism (2009: 152)

4.2. Attitudes of 'cultural tourists'

When it comes to foreign tourists, most of them consider Croatia a country with a rich cultural and historical heritage, hospitable hosts, relaxed lifestyle, traditional gastronomy and as a convenient destination for cultural-motivated travel (Roknić (2010:17)). Besides heritage tourism, there is a global trend of increasing interest in the so-called “creative tourism” and tourist experiences that occur through visitors' participation in the creative and production processes of workshops and courses. Almost 60% of the guests surveyed wanted to take part in a creative cultural workshop. Tourists are most interested in participating in culinary courses (24%), harvests (23%) and archaeological excavations (21%). Approximately 16% of visitors express interest in taking part in the workshops of traditional crafts, folk dances and songs.

Graph 3: Attendance of cultural attractions and events and/or those that the visitor intends to visit during the stay (multiple choice)



Source: Institute of tourism (2009: 155)

It was found that the museum and gallery visitors are motivated by learning about the culture, history and heritage more than average, while most event-visitors are motivated by a desire for additional visits. Almost half of them said their satisfaction exceeded their expectations. More than half of visitors remarked that their interest in visiting the same or similar attractions increased after visiting the diversity-rich cultural heritage of Croatia. Most of them want to re-visit the secular, religious monuments and the museums and galleries, while a third expressed a desire to visit musical and stage performances. They are particularly pleased with the quality of the programs, the ability to learn something new, professionalism of staff, while they criticize poor signalling, transport equipment, and lack of availability of travel information before starting a trip.

5. Conclusion

The theoretical conclusions arising from the review of the literature are associated with the need for further development of scientific thought of cultural-events visitors' behaviour from the perspective of various stakeholders. Additionally, the importance of monitoring the implementation of standardized models could be determined. Applicative conclusion arising from the literature review is a need of convergence of these and similar studies at all levels of destination management in order to reduce the gap in the event industry research between academia and industry and stress the importance of the cultural-events visitors' behaviour in tourist, social, cultural and other respects. Fundamental wanderlust, implementation of activities of leisure, or attending an event, are basic human needs which shape the behaviour of visitors to events. Potential visitors compare different experiences of leisure time, consumers uphold both internal and external demand for infor-

mation, i.e. both external and internal factors are included in decision-making process. People attend events and manifestations because they expect a certain activity or experience to produce the desired benefits that will meet their needs and aspirations.

Basic methodological recommendations of ATLAS associations have been used in previous studies of monitoring visitors to cultural events. Ideally, they should be standardized to form a single methodology of research and made publicly available. It is necessary to develop a concept that would allow a comparison of indicators at European and world level, as well as communication among researchers on the already conducted investigations and still existing uncertainties in the field of cultural-events visitors' behaviour. In this way, a meaningful framework would be provided for the detailed analysis of visitors in terms of different stakeholders and different types of events. It would also allow the generalization of research knowledge based on the experiences of researchers and participants in the tourist market.

The results show that the culture is important to motivated visitors (36%), although most of the journeys to culture are part of a holiday (50%). The dominant motive for visitors of cultural events is the desire to learn about the culture, history and heritage of tourist destinations. Hence, most tourists consider Croatia a country with a rich cultural and historical heritage, hospitable hosts, relaxed lifestyle and traditional gastronomy, making it a convenient destination for cultural-motivated travel. Participation of visitors in creative and production processes in the workshops and courses is gaining popularity, and new trends point to additional requirements on the management of tourist destinations in terms of the ability to manage changes of conditions, ensure economic openness and build competitiveness of tourism destinations.

6. Limitations

This is the first study of the characteristics of cultural-events demand in Croatia, which does not allow comparison with previously conducted European and global researches which would serve as grounds for better decision making on product development and their promotion.

Lack of developed and tested methodology mostly applies to cultural institutions responsible for management of cultural monuments, museums, galleries, theatres and all other entities in the tourist destination. As the paper presents particular parts of the research only, limitations can be found in the absence of a wider perspective that would take the full results of the study into account.

Cultural events in the tourist destination contribute significantly to expansion of tourism offer and enhance the quality and competitiveness of destinations. Therefore, further future research of the behaviour of visitors is suggested through continuous testing of customer attitudes on the one hand, and opportunities for management of destinations to fulfil the same, on the other hand.

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5. Geocaching Event – on the move: The Iron Wheels of the Helsinki City Transport

Pirita Ihamäki

1. Introduction and methodology

As described by numerous researchers, special events have become one of the fastest growing types of tourism attractions in recent years. Research has focused on the economic impact of events as well as reasons and motivations for people to attend special events.

In addition, sociology literature suggests that the main purpose of collective events is to build social cohesion in a community and thereby reinforce ties between community members (Durkheim, 1912; Rao, 2001; Turner, 1982.) Thus, special events providing special activities play an important role in the lives of communities (Getz, 1993), including that of the “geocaching community”. The success of a special event in the geocaching community does not rely upon provision of expensive physical features or built attractions, but is more depending upon the creativity of geocaching enthusiasts in the city in which the event is held. This research describes, among other things, the dynamics of locally organized geocaching community events.

The technological capabilities of destinations have only recently been introduced as a means to determine destination competitiveness. In addition to internet access, GPS (Global Positioning Systems) has become a way to assist travellers. Destinations need to determine the extent to which technology increases their competitiveness, as opposed to reducing their appeal (Richie, & Crouch, 2003; Ihamäki, 2008, p. 56). Clearly, the impact and use of technology will lead to a generation of new services and events for tourists, including geocachers who use GPS in the game field.

Adventure sports that let participants interact with the natural or built environment are popular (Standeven, De Knop, 1998, p. 94). Geocaching is a type of adventure sport, offering a low-impact way of increasing players’ fitness. It gives players reasons to be outside, enjoy the fresh air, and do some walking or hiking. Geocaches – or rather, the “routes” to get there - are rated as to how difficult the terrain is, and how far one needs to walk to get to a cache. Thus, players can select outings that are based on their current level of fitness. Geocaching games count

among the adventure-type walking holidays that have become popular due to easy access by fast and convenient forms of transportation (Ihamäki, 2008, p.57).

The relationship between sport and tourism has global significance. More and more people are becoming aware of the health and recreational benefits that sport and tourism provide (Richie, & Crouch, 2003). Moreover, people have always been interested in adventures and “treasure hunt games”, and geocaching is one such game that brings especially young people “back to nature” for adventures. When geocachers meet, their multi-player gaming activity becomes a social experience that will create good memories.

Geocaching can take players to locations which are not generally known to the public. After players have found the cache, they see the place through their own eyes, experiencing it with their whole body and all senses. In humanistic geography, places are not only studied as “the facts they are, implied by coordinates”, but rather with emphasis on the interaction at the location. Urban town caches could be seen as locations of experience that are not static. Traffic, noise, and the presence of others make places dynamic and shape the experience. The perception of geocaching places change according to “dynamics” present at the moment, and each individual's personal interpretation thereof.

For the intensive case study that forms the background for this paper, 14 out of approx. 120 geocachers participating in the “Iron Wheels of Helsinki City Transport” responded to a qualitative survey that was carried out as a web-based enquiry. The explorative data was analysed with a thematic analysis approach, objectively and systematically identifying common themes and meanings from the data and further categorizing them at a higher abstraction level (Rourke et al. 2000).

2. Related research

While several research topics offer a framework for this study, the topic of subcultures seems particularly relevant. Subcultures can be defined as segments of society embracing certain distinctive cultural elements of their own (see Donnelly, 1981). Subcultural elements typically include a shared set of identifiable beliefs, values and particularly salient setting for the formation of subculture and the resulting expression of subcultural values. (Green 2001)

Sport subcultures are accessible through both direct and indirect participation. Direct participation in a subculture can include actual physical participation in the activity or competition. Indirect participation can include viewing (e.g. live or televised sport), reading (e.g. about the sport, sportspersons, equipment,

events), discussing with others, and purchasing products. The distinction between direct and indirect participation is useful because it conforms approximately to the distinction between doing the activity and following the activity as a fan. Regardless of the ways in which people choose to participate in a subculture, the unique values and beliefs of that subculture are transmitted socially as participants or fans interact with others (Green 2001). Indeed, there is substantial work suggesting that these social processes not only maintain values and beliefs, they commonly become one of the pivotal attractions of participation (e.g. Anderson & Stone, 1981; Green & Chalip, 1998; Kemp, 1999; Melnick, 1993). This provides an effective lever for event marketing.

3. What is geocaching?

Geocaching is a world-wide hobby, fuelled by the Web site geocaching.com. Here, hobbyists post coordinates of caches they have hidden for others to find with their GPS devices. Geocaching was first coined by Matt Stum on the “GPS Stash Hunt” mailing list on May 30, 2000.

According to an official Web site, www.geocaching.com, geocaching has grown from 75 caches in 2000 to more than 830.000 caches worldwide (2010), and there are more than two million active participants all over the globe.

Participants who place the caches can get pretty creative, offering various types of caches. The ***standard cache*** is a small waterproof container with a log-book, mission statement and trinkets for the searcher to discover, maybe filled with goodies neatly organized in ZipLock plastic bags. Other cache types are a ***micro cache*** (i.e. a film roll container small enough to be hidden just about anywhere, and a ***multi-cache*** that provide coordinates or directions to find another cache site, which then again may be the final cache or provide further leads.

Webcam caches use existing web cameras (i.e. for monitoring of parks or road conditions); here the aim is for the player to get in front of the camera to “log“ his or her visit. Other types are ***virtual caches*** (usually some form of a unique object existing in the landscape, i.e. a monument of some kind, where no physical container is found at all), and ***mystery*** or ***puzzle geocache*** that contain clues on the cache information page that you must solve before you can find the final cache.

Last but not least are ***benchmarks*** used in the United States, often in the form of brass markers placed by surveyors on top of mountains or in historical landscapes.

More types of caches with new variations are being created all the time (The

Editors and Staff of Geocaching.com and Peters, 2004, p. 13-14).

When geocaching is turned into an event, an **event cache** is set up much like a regular cache, except participants follow coordinates to the party. Organizers log on to Geocaching.com to post the cache, select the Event Cache option, choose a date and time, and then saves the coordinates of the location. Upcoming event dates are searchable on the site, as events are placed in the Event Cache calendar on Geocaching.com.

A special geocaching event is the Trash out Day (CITO) which rallies geocachers to clean up trash when they go geocaching. The project was launched in 2000 when Ground speak Inc., owners of Geocaching.com, began to advocate that geocachers take along a trash bag and clean up whatever trash they see along their way. On April 26, 2003, the First International Cache in Trash Out day was held, with clubs all over the world participating in a successful drive to remove trash from parks and other areas (Cameron, 2004, p. 77).

4. Geocaching events

Richards and Wilson (2005) claim that more and more tourist zones employ “the same formulaic mechanism”, and therefore that “their ability to create uniqueness arguably diminishes, often assumed to lead towards the serial reproduction of culture, placelessness, non-places, or McDonaldisation” (Richard and Wilson, 2005, 2).

Geocacher tourists have the possibility to determine their own travel narrative, and when geocaching tourism is turned into events, it differs in its appeal from the attractions normally promoted by the geocachers as the event format is short lived and does not have a continuous or seasonal phenomenon as other types of tourism. Moreover, creating a cache event is a great way to pull like-minded individuals together, learn about each other’s strategies, and make plans for creating new caches. Events can serve as a terrific mean of starting a local geocaches club (Dyer, 2004, p. 54). Recognition of the community development potential of sport tourism has resulted in heightened interest in demonstrating the economic impact of sport events, which involves measuring the net effect of non-resident spending above and beyond what would be expected in the region if the event was not held (Daniels, Norman, Henry, 2004).

Geocachers say that their motivation consists of a desire for adventure, the appeal of outdoor activity, and an eagerness to find new places. *“My motivation comes from outdoor activity, travelling and exploring new places. Not to forget important brain exercises, which you need to find geocaches and that will be good for the good old brain. And of*

course, every man has a little boy inside” (Geocacher, Villosparta, 2007).

Typically all kind of players participate in geocaching events, however it appears that active and social geocachers are the biggest participant group in geocaching events. *“Social, like-minded geocachers participate in geocaching events, such players who are ready to travel because of event itself or geocaches. Geocaching community has also special groups who want to see each other in events.”* (Geocacher, Tuutiikki, 2007). *“Mostly social geocachers participate in geocaching events, but also more quiet ones, who enjoy being with the same kind of people.”* (Geocacher, Kuukkelit, 2007).

“Geocaching is a great way to explore any city, either the one you live in or one you are visiting”, says geocacher HeadHardHat on geosnippits.com. It’s a way to connect with adventurers around the world (Mirabella, 2009). Geocachers are motivated to exercise both in nature and urban locations: *“My motivation comes from getting on the move, working out. During winter it’s difficult to bicycle, but in spring and summer I ride my bike. Outdoor geocaching exercises opens many doors because it takes you to places you did not know existed.”* (Geocacher, 2JMT, 2007).

Geocaching is a new kind of travel activity, parallel to going to museums or shopping that appeals to technologically minded people. The geocaching hobby uses GPS technology and therefore successfully brings “nerds” outdoor and away from their computers. Over the past nine years the game has grown by leaps, sparking worldwide interest and participation. Geocaching has become an everyday activity to many. To geocachers, the time spent exploring, puzzle solving, planning, making caches, and running to find them creates the excitement and turns the whole world into a playing field or playground. Currently 220 different countries have geocache positions, which mean that players sometimes have to travel even long distances (Ihamäki, Tuomi 2009).

5. Organisation of the “Iron Wheels of Helsinki City Transport” event

Participants were notified about the “Iron Wheels of the Helsinki City Transport” geocaching event via the Geocaching.com webpage calendar. They would receive

Illustration 5.1



Geocaching event on the move. Photo by Piri-ta Ihamäki (6.12.2006)

the coordinates for the event (N 61° 11.014 E 024° 55.452) and an introduction text reading “This event will start near the Töölö tram hall on the Finnish Independence Day 6th December 2006 at 14:00 local time (Sol Mercurii, 4th Rishabha at 21:38:10 CMT). Be there early, or you may miss this event”.

The “location” of the event was a rented tram moving around in the city of Helsinki. A small fee of 2 euro was charged to cover the tram rental, and the number of participants was limited to match the number of seats available on the tram. Participant moved around the city to find new geocaches published in the early morning of the event day. The route followed tramlines that were no longer used for everyday tram traffic. Traffic interference was minimal, as the event was held on the Finnish independence day; a public holiday. The happening was broadcast real-time via internet on the web pages Findu.com and Aprs.ham.fi.

Players could pre-order - with payment upon arrival - a special geocaching coin which was also released to the general public, but the event was not intended to earn a profit. The geocaching event itself lasted for two hours, and to kick off the day, the participants each got a special ticket with the nickname of another player, and had to go search for that individual to start up a conversation.

Illustration 5.2



The Iron Wheels of Helsinki City Transport. Photo by Pirita Ihmäki (6.12.2006)

6. The Iron Wheels of Helsinki City Transport as a special event

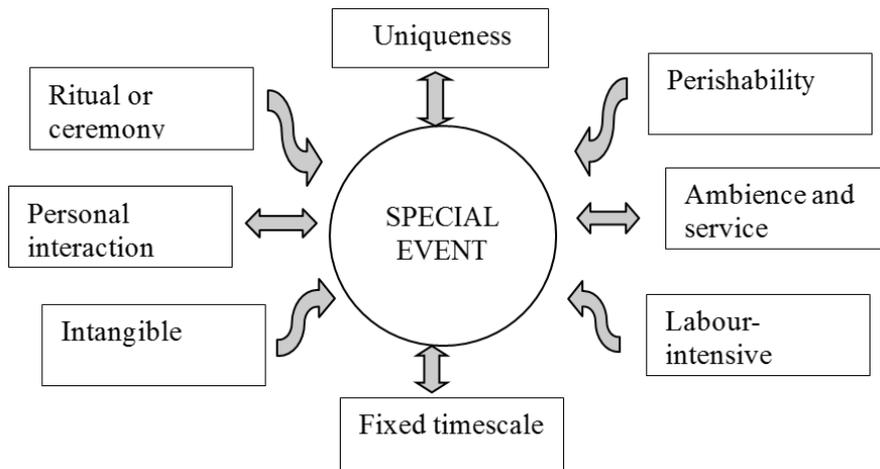
The case The Iron Wheels of the Helsinki City Transport was a special event, following the definitions by Shone and Parry (2004) (Figure 5.1).

Unique

The event was unique in that it offered new, different and surprising elements while the geocachers were moving for two hours from one cache place to another. “*This happening was a once in a lifetime case*”, said geocacher Sikajack (2007). “*It is rare to have your “own tram”, and so when the opportunity occurred, of course I wanted in!*”. Geocacher Kuukkelit (2007) said: “*The event was once in a life time experience, not many people can say that they spent few hours in a tram going around Helsinki on Independence Day with more than hundred like-minded people. This is a nice experience to remember*”.

Geocacher Pike4 (2007) said: *“When you live in the countryside in a location with no trams, it is nice to come to Helsinki for a tram ride. I lived at Turku as a child, and trams were a part of my childhood, I can relive my memories, even though trams were very different back then.”*

Figure 5.1 Characteristics of special event as a service.



Perishability

‘Unique’ events are, by nature, perishable; they cannot be repeated exactly the same way. The event was out of the ordinary, you cannot really compare it with anything. The event was absolutely the biggest event of its kind in Finland, and there was an excellent show of team spirit.” (Geocacher, Vilosparta, 2007.)

Ambience and service

Of all the characteristics of an event, ambience is one of the most important to the outcome (Shone and Parry 2004, p. 16.). The ambience was present due to the use of a tram. *“This special event was built around a fun theme. The limited space of the tram made it difficult to move about or to get to know more people while driving, but of course you got to know the players sitting nearby.”* (Geocacher, Kuukkeli, 2007.)

Labour-intensity

This parameter may not apply in this case, because the event was organized by geocachers, not by professionals.

Movable

In this case study, the event was situated in a tram following a certain route and stopping at specific tram stops which were near geocache places. The event also

had limited places for people to join (there was only room for 120 passengers). The geocaching event was also special and unique because it was moving for two hours from cache places to other cache places. *“When you live in the countryside and there are no trams there, it is nice to come to Helsinki for a tram ride. As a child, I lived in Turku and trams were a part of my childhood, I can relive my memories, even though trams were very different back then.”* (Geocacher, Pike4, 2007.)

Fixed timescale

As with other special events, the Iron Wheels of Helsinki City Transport ran on a fixed timescale. This geocaching event took two hours, and the tram stopped several times on the route. When the tram stopped, players had to go and look for geocaches in the middle of Helsinki City.

Intangible

A programme, a guest list, small wrapped and named chocolates, and even slightly more ambitious give-aways such as badged glasses or colour brochures help in the process of making the intangible more tangible (Shone and Parry, 2004, p. 15). The Iron Wheels of Helsinki City Transport event offered the coin and tickets as tangible, lasting evidence of the event.

Ritual and ceremony

The “ceremony” of the Iron Wheels of Helsinki City Transport event related to the use of technology to broadcast the event real-time on web channels findu.com and aprs.ham.fi. To geocachers, the excitement of events happening elsewhere takes upon a ritual to the global “tribe of geocachers” as one is eager to log on and get live updates in order to achieve a sense of participation.

“Locating and following a moving event in real time would seem a natural experiment.” according to geocacher Sikajack (2007.) (It was a) *“..... Different event conveniently placed on a day when nothing else was planned; it offered a possibility to follow unknown tram routes in Helsinki”*. (Geocacher, Jouko, 2007.) *“I find all technology interesting and especially utilizing it (applications)”* (Geocacher, 2JMT, 2007). Geocacher Villosparta says that only imagination can set limits for future implementation in geocaching game; there are lot of technology applications to use.

Personal contact and interaction

Interaction between guests, hosts and possibly entertainers creates the atmosphere and contributes to how enjoyable the event is (Shone and Parry, 2004, p.16). Geocacher Sikajack (2007) phrased the interaction as an opportunity to *“...meet new people in the geocaching community (...), to see real persons behind geocacher nicknames”* and also stated that *“besides an experience, which one usually can't get without a lot of money”* (=

the use of own private tram), “...moving the whole group from place to place in limited space, forced people to meet each other...” (Geocacher, Sikajack, 2007). Geocacher Huuhkaja mentioned that “this was ecological movement, an urban heartbeat, and a team spirit in close atmosphere”. (Geocacher, Huuhkaja, 2007.)

7. Discussion and conclusion

The term “experience” is often used as a synonym for “pleasure” or “emotion”. Experiences are highly personal, subjectively perceived, intangible and continuously on-going. An experience could be planned in one place, developed in another, and staged for consumption in a third location. The spaces where experiences are staged and consumed can be likened to stylized landscapes that are strategically planned, laid out and designed. O’Dell and Billing talk about landscapes of experience as *experience-scapes*, which mean that they are not only organized by producers, but are also actively sought by consumers. They are spaces of pleasure, enjoyment and entertainment as well as the meeting grounds in which diverse groups (with potentially competing as well as overlapping interests and ideologies) move about and come in contact with one another (O’Dell, Billing, 2005, p. 15-16).

Arjun Appadurai has used the metaphorical invocation of landscapes in which “processes of globalization can unite different groups of people around the world at the same time as they further aggravate the divisions existing between other groups of people”. Appadurai outlines the conceptual framework with purpose to understand the processes and flows through transnational communities of people. As a consequence of the global linkages that these metaphoric landscapes represent, people around the world are able to imagine which alternative lifestyles/lives could be presented to them in their immediate local settings.

Ultimately, while the end result of these imaginations may be the production of “imagined worlds”, the social practices that they generate have very real consequences (O’Dell, Billing, 2005, p. 16-17).

The special nature of the geocaching event can stem in part from participants introducing new technology to others. Moving in urban and natural environments is an important part of geocaching game, as is hiding and finding caches, but in an event, other aspects become important, such what novelty the technology represents. This article introduced many opportunities to develop “on the move events” around a given theme. Local tourist offices could promote local sights and places of interest by making it a geocaching event. This might give additional income to tourist offices given the tourists would be able to rent the GPS and create the treasure route at the tourist office. The immersion into the history

of the place and destination would become a most interesting challenge for the visitors. The treasure hunt with treasures provided by local producers could open new unexpected avenues for local food movement and heritage tourism and to help understanding the history of the treasured landscapes.

This work suggests that special events play an important role in creating communication platforms and social interaction within a niche community. The tournament demonstrates that rivalry combined with social opportunities form the core of the experience that participants obtain from an event. Competitive geocaching events will become more widespread and popular (McNamara, 2004, p. 185) as well as more adventurous and sophisticated in their organization. Clearly, local tourist offices around the world would benefit from promoting local sights and places of interest by hosting geocaching events, thereby appealing to a new type of tourists to whom the multi-faceted nature of the sport is appealing and has positive effects such as physical activity and health aspects.

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PRESERVING HERITAGE, AUTHENTICITY, AND THE RIGHT TO ARTISTIC EXPRESSION

6. Freedom of Street Theatre Captured in Festivals

Petra Žišt

1. Commedia dell'arte and carnival culture

Although playing on streets and markets has been known from ancient times, in order to understand street theatre we must take a brief look at *commedia dell'arte* of 16th and 17th century and the carnival culture of Middle Ages. Those were cultural expressions to which drama reformists and avant-gardists of 19th and 20th centuries as well as later street artists from sixties and seventies of the 20th century refer as their precedents.

Especially in Southern Europe, and particularly in France and Spain, street theatre developed under the historical influence of the carnival, which represents the inversion of society and anti-authoritarianism. Mason (1992: 24) makes an interesting point when saying that “many French and Spanish street theatre groups have this anarchist/socialist radicalism *in themselves*”. All forms of ritual-performing, governed by the principle of carnival laughter, differed from official cultural expressions and showed a different, informal, secular and non-state face of the world, of people, and of human relations. They built *another world* and *another life*, in which almost all medieval people participated. Indeed this was an expression of life itself; a special, playful image between the arts and everyday living (Bahtin, 2008: 11, 13).

As featured by Burke (1978), the popular culture in early modern Europe - particularly in the lighter and warmer south - took place on public streets and markets or *piazas*. Those outdoor spaces allowed higher and lower classes, nobles and ordinary people to meet, consume and enjoy plays, puppet shows, bullfights, races, tournaments, ballads-singers, charlatans, clowns, comedians, fencers, fools, jugglers, minstrels, rope-dancers and other entertainers (Burke, 1978: 94). These events were held on market days or during fairs which had, besides an economic function, an important cultural and social function, including that of being an intermediary between high and low culture.

Commedia dell'arte was simply the most famous and the best designed of the many versions of European farce of 16th- and 17th-century Italy, France, Spain and England. This improvised form of theatre without the dramatic text was based on standardized and typified characters performing comic contributions, mime and music; sang, and mastered juggling and acrobatic skills. It was

performed by professional members of the specialized theatre troupe. Although under their guidance, satire and comicality turned street theatre expressions against the authorities of that time and uncovered their falseness. The art form was highly popular among people of all social classes and groups, who were doing all possible things during the performance: they ate, drank, beat, talked, played, and loved ... (Burke, 1978: 134, 135, 140-145).

2. Transformation of performing art in search for freedom

Contemporary street theatre was shaped by the poets, philosophers, and visual artists in late nineteenth century European cities. Historical avant-garde, with its experimental attitudes at the turn of the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, directly opposed the classical bourgeois dramatic theatre. Avant-garde movements sought to bring the theatre back to people and radically change societies through artistic means. Artists at the beginning of 20th century transformed spectators into actors at the meetings of futurists, dadaists, and surrealists, by being provocative and shocking.

Most of these performances were unique and unrepeatable, breaking conventions of theatre traditions. Their attitude was anti-authoritarian, anti-art, against capitalism, militarism and nationalism, realism and rationalism; they rejected codifications, regulations and commercialisation of arts. In the 1930's and 1940's, this surrealism migrated to America, where new generations began to experiment with performance at unique events, so-called "happenings". In the 1960's, the transformed ideas returned to Europe and contributed significantly to the early beginnings of contemporary street theatre (Mason, 1992: 18-20).

Street theatre developed from these alternative, avant-garde theatre inclinations, which avoided elitism and actively searched for responses of a "non-consecrated" audience. Because of its radicalism, this critical and provocative theatre was not allowed to appear in theatre buildings. Actors were forced to perform in the streets, in cellars, in old churches, or wherever they found some space – exploiting the fact that nobody had done anything similar before (Mason, 1992: 20). Frequently street performers were arrested, accused of begging or obstruction of law and order - even in the seventies. (Mason, 1992: 9).

Theatre artists in the sixties, who decided to resist theatrical conventions by moving out of the closed theatre halls to the streets, as well as avant-gardists from the beginning of the 20th century, shared the resistance to theatrical conventions, the political commitment, and the desire for direct contact with the audience. In France, halls of spectacles closed down while theatre - together with its people -

moved into the streets. Activist and militant theatre joined the manifestations and the strikes (Gaber, 2009: 13). Back then, street artists perceived their actions as an opportunity to directly influence the concomitant social and political situation, which is also the reason why they did not seek any financial benefits from it. The performances in the sixties and seventies were partly a reaction against the commercialisation of the art market and were designed in such a way that they could neither be bought nor sold.

3. Festivalisation of street theatre

Gradually, the first European festivals of street theatre started to appear. We need to see this phenomenon as connected to the arts festivals that emerged in the sixties and seventies as a challenge to dominant arts paradigms and the accepted definitions of 'high' and 'low' art. These festivals gradually broke down the distinctions between the two in their programs through clever use of venues and through engaging audiences. (Quinn, 2005: 930). New, free festivals were actually in direct opposition to "the forerunners of contemporary urban arts festivals" back in late 19th century that had been concerned with "high arts" and were affordable only to social elites that used festivals and arts for demarcation of social boundaries between them and the population at large (Quinn, 2005: 929). Of course this was part of a much broader movement seeking social change and alternative forms of cultural production, which influenced the development of street theatre as well as festivals.

An early example of the re-thinking of the arts festival concept was the festival in Avignon in southern France, founded in 1947 by Jean Vilar. This festival took place not only in conventional venues but also in the open-air, on streets and in squares, at all times of day, and was intended for people to interact with each other. It privileged the communal, participative dimension, central to the original concept of 'festival' (Quinn, 2005: 930).

In 1968, Nancy, France - nowadays with more than 200 festivals of that kind - got its first festival that transformed the city, showing plays on public, universally accessible open spaces (Gaber, 2009: 16). It was followed by the festival in Aix in year 1973, and later other organised events, which gave artists the opportunity of a "full time job".

Moreover, festivals influenced the appearance of the permanent groups of street theatre. In 1986, Michel Crespin founded the first European street art festival in Aurillac. Nowadays this festival is one of the biggest international street arts festivals, which in August makes Aurillac a popular tourist destination. Numerous

visitors who come to enjoy the festival atmosphere are placed in a camp outside the city.

A similar example is the festival in Chalon. Performances offered during these festivals are no longer intended merely for the “surprised spectator in his daily life”, who was addressed by the pioneers of the genre (Gaber, 2009: 86).

Thus, street theatre which appeared out of resistance to encoded rules of institutionalised art, became an institution in itself with its own structure, rules and restrictions. Street arts also have their own “rules of consumption” on large markets (bigger venues) such as the festival in Aurillac. As expressed by Julian Beck (after Gaber, 2009: 22), founder of Living Theatre, one of the first street theatre groups, a festival is “capitalist, bourgeois, profit-seeking, touristic, alienating, repressive, controlled - in short, the very opposite of the only theatre that counts: the free theatre, the “towards-the-revolution” oriented theatre on the street”.

Festivals contribute to the recognition, financing, and presentation of street theatre and its performers. Networks of street festivals and organisations that support street artists and take care of their promotion have spread throughout Europe. In France, where street theatre has the longest tradition in Europe, financing of street artists has been well developed. On one hand this is positive as it brings autonomy of street art and organisation, which justifies its existence. On the other hand, street theatre lost its spontaneity and social engagement, which were its *raison d'être* in the beginning.

The first Slovenian alternative festivals with street performances dates back to the early 1980's, when the art form was presented in the Spring Festival, followed in the late 1980's within the festival “Cutting Summer, and later just sporadically presented within some smaller events (Cajnko, 2008: 6-7).

The beginning of “the real and the only” Slovenian street theatre festival Ana Desetnica dates back to 1996. The original idea did not meet support in the capital Ljubljana due to lack of funding opportunities, but the organisers of Festival Lent in the Slovenia's largest city, Maribor, were interested. The first festival of street theatre was thus born out of this festival. Ana Desetnica is nowadays a unique festival as it migrates between several Slovenian towns, including the capital Ljubljana, where it first took place as an independent international street theatre festival in 1998. In Maribor, it is still a festival within a festival.

Performers who experience performing in towns throughout Slovenia report about the different responses of the public in these towns. For example, *“people in Ljubljana are an educated festival public, they seek information before they come, they come*

specifically to watch our show, they sit down and stay until the end, they are very much interested and eager to participate and respond”, while the public in Maribor is “*reserved and not very much used to street theatre, right?*”, as one of the performers felt. Another found the public in Maribor to be “*very warm, relaxed and good-natured; they have a sense of humour; I really enjoyed it very much there*”. The festival is therefore a ruthless indicator of the mood that people are currently in; their relaxation, tolerance, openness, and desire for life.

Despite being on a smaller scale, Ana Desetnica is today a recognised and reputable festival, desired by foreign artists to take part in. At the same time, Ana Desetnica contributes to the visibility and recognition of local street theatre artists. It is spread throughout several Slovenian cities, and has also during the last several years tried to “spread through time” as it is being executed in different seasons that are thematically designed - i.e. in autumn, the touring festival highlights “fire”, in winter “coldness”, in summer “dance”. Nonetheless, the main event still takes place in the summer.

Slovenian theatre and festival researcher observes that festival Ana Desetnica “once a year embellishes the capital Ljubljana (and in the last few years also other Slovenian towns), which consequently is experienced as a true city, a real European city that is alive and loved by its inhabitants for one week at the end of June and beginning of July. The peculiar thing is that this identity of the city is not derived from an event or festival taking place in prestigious indoor venues, but from a festival that takes place in the streets – while the “street” is often a synonym for something bad and dirty, especially in the political vocabulary” (Lukan, 2006: 13).

4. Disorder and ordered disorder in festivals

Evans (after Jamieson, 2004: 67) distinguishes between authentic, spontaneous festivals – the characteristics of which are described below - and more commercial festivals, tied to tourism and economic development. This is somehow analogous to Lefebvre’s distinction between “a spectacle” and “a spontaneous festival” (1991). Lefebvre’s analysis reflected a school of thought rooted in the work of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who advocated the simple rural festival as a way of criticising the artificiality of the theatre. Lefebvre saw the spectacle as an expression of state power to present superficial representations that hid the darker side of social reality. By contrast, the festival was considered a truly spontaneous and participative expression of popular culture (Bonnemaison after Gold, 2005: 15).

However, two tendencies still remain in the examination of contemporary

festivals. Some acknowledge transgressive potentials; the liberating power of festivals and their capacity to subvert and redefine society. Others see the latter as naive since most of today's festivals are licensed, regulated and guided by the bureaucratic structures "that are believed to disempower the *disordering* and *reordering* potential of the carnivalesque spirit" (Jamieson, 2004: 68).

Although we can say that contemporary street theatre festivals are both a temporary disorder and "an ordered disorder" (Featherstone after Jamieson, 2004: 68), spontaneity and play remain integral features of street festivals and "point to the possibility of a life lived differently" (Highmore after Jamieson, 2004: 69). Paradoxically, street theatre being institutionalised, organised in festivals, promoted as a policy of urban renewal and regeneration, seeks to remain faithful to its art of subverting the ordinary (Pavis, 1997: 738).

By definition street theatre takes place in public places where people are in motion and socialize daily, where it is also accessible (for free!) to those who would have never gone into a theatre building. It is open to all, regardless of their cultural background, class, sex, age or any other affiliation, enabling the whole diverse community to meet. Thus it becomes throughout popular. It is hard to find any other performing event which is attended by people of all ages. Street theatre, alone or as part of a festival, appeals to city residents and visitors alike. The crowd of people on the street is made up of people that are physically close to each other. But still they may be complete strangers. Yet, the experience of the same place and same moment at a festival binds people together and connects them in a common reality. Street shows give them a feeling of belonging or *communitas* as defined by Turner (1991). The street as a powerful stage can be a liminal area (Hastrup, 1998: 31-33); a liminoid zone for creation of new identities and transformative power; it converts the usual into strange and the known into unknown (Turner, 1989: 40). In times and places of liminality, the normative base of the social order and its social structure is challenged and temporarily reversed, as in the case of a festival. Inverse and anti-structural liminality allows reconstruction of social structures.

Experienced *communitas* is expressed through their transgressive practices associated with "carnavalesque" (Hetherington, 1998: 113). According to Bahtin (2008: 13, 17, 49) the carnival is governed by the laws of carnival freedom, in which participants are liberated from the prevailing truth and existing order, and they realize their relativity. Privileges, norms, bans and all hierarchical relations are temporarily removed. In carnivals, as in street theatre festivals, all present are the same, which provides a special type of communication that otherwise would not

have been possible. Spectators organised in a concentric circle or otherwise in a street performance are all equal and in the same position – the one that has a better view is a person that came earlier or obtained the position by effort, let it be a tramp or a city mayor. People are freed from the accustomed, are generally accepted, and gain new eyes through which they can realize a possibility of a different world order. People do not only watch a carnival, they live in it as long as it exists and are not aware of any other life. In it, there is no stage barrier, no distinction between performers and spectators. This bears comparison with the traditional role of town squares and streets in the ancient, medieval Mediterranean towns where, during similar occasions, those public areas turned into large open-air stages allowing viewers to also become active participants. It is through participation rather than through the expressed message – the words – that one understands “the story” in the event (Hansen, 2002: 21).

Bahtin's examination of carnival explains well the importance of today's street theatre festivals because forms of social space and related identities are also transformed by carnival features of such performances (Hetherington, 1998: 147). “It is these “transformative potentials” produced by the temporary suspension of everyday life and order of power that provide instances for redefining meanings and social order.” (Jamieson, 2004: 68). This leads us to think that festivals carry a political significance and in their transformability a potential danger and threat for the existing (see Handelman 1998: 31). Street action is first of all a carnival event par excellence, then a social manifestation, and nonetheless a political action (Lukan, 2008: 68-69).

5. Bodily creation and creation of space

Street theatre uses the physical, social, and symbolic public space. By acting on the street - which is a physical public space - the players use and also create a social public space, while with the performance they create a symbolic public space that is articulated in the collective memory. In the case of street theatre, it is not so much about the public space that would be created by the free expression of public opinion, but public space takes a form of engagement which is more about that the fact that we exist, as such, in a momentary collective that is “integrated and acknowledged in society” (Ostrowetsky, 2001: 153).

The liberated social space manifests itself in (or is established by) “liberated” streets and markets (Dragičević-Šešič, 2000: 74), free of conventions and laws. Street theatre shows its desire to reshape the ownership of the city. Any occurrence of street artists in the public place on the streets, including street theatre

festivals, is itself a warning that the public space is everybody's property, and at the same time belongs to nobody (Ostrowetsky, 2000: 3). When evolving into a scenery of street action, spectators feel that they are the ones who possess the space, have control over it, and shape it (Mason 1996: 308). This is remarkably important today, when we attest the privatisation of the public space, its commercialisation, and the increasing political control over it (Low and Smith, 2006: vii) although we are at the same time losing the democratic spaces of diverse people and activities. "Mediated through the festival gaze, the city's social differences are framed as non-threatening and playful." (Jamieson, 2004: 70)

According to Lefebvre, who sees the social and the spatial as inseparable, the resistances to dominant social relations are effective when abstract space is made visible by them – with sensory phenomena and products of imagination, such as project and projections, symbols and utopias. In this way the social relations are also made visible through places of social praxis.

Lefebvre (1991: 33) defines »representational spaces« as a through images and symbols directly experienced space. »Representational space« is a place of its 'inhabitants' and 'users', as well as some artists and other creators. This is a passively experienced space that imagination wants to adapt and change. It overlaps with the physical space with the symbolic use of its facilities (1991: 39).

Representational spaces incorporate symbolic meanings, of which bearers or markers are behavioural, amongst them festivals and street performances, as stated by Nas (2006: 8). With symbolic meanings and with symbols enriched, "hyper-cities" are the most democratic cities because they allow everyone to be a producer besides being a consumer. Already with their presence the audiences co-create in the performance, and sometimes active participation and inclusion allows them to enter into the performance.

Here, the author refers to participatory, bodily, experiential creativity (Muršič, 2006: 48) in terms of »embodiment« (51, 53). The artists are usually the ones who play the major role in productions of a "hyper-city" as a mediator between reality and illusion (Nas 2006: 12); they are actors or »double agents« (Hastrup 1998: 38) in symbolic and agency play. The audience is somewhere in between (read: between the spectators and the participants).

»Embodiment« is a fundamental attribute of the processes of spatialization, identifying, and differentiating (Muršič, 2006: 53). »Embodied space« (Low, 2003: 5) is an existential and phenomenological reality of space: its smell, feel, colour, and other sensory dimensions. Phenomenologically, it is a place produced by individuals or social structures. With appropriation and transformation of space, they

create a new place (Pred, after Low 2003: 5). Embodied space is a place where an individual's experience and awareness are manifested in material and spatial form (Piškur, 2006: 34). A moving body shapes a space even before it fills it (Peterson Royce 2004: 70) and the street art is inscribed in the »urban scene« (Dragičević-Šešić, 2000: 87).

What was said in last few paragraphs can be most vividly illustrated through the experience of Canadian puppeteers of two-man band *Les sages fous*. In their puppet street show *Bizarrarium* they take the spectator to the underwater world right in the middle of the street: »Once we performed in front of a very high church. And in the performance, when we were diving and then looked back up to the top of the church from where we came, we followed it with our eyes all the way to the top, and noticed that the entire public did the same. And they saw their own church completely anew. Saw it in a way they had never done before. And it suddenly became an underwater city. And people became algae or plancton or seaweed. They were also fish, fishermen, and sea grass in some way.«

6. Festival gaze

The city becomes the scene – a décor, which is placed on display. Due to their active participation in performances, spectators have an opportunity to see parts of their city in a completely new light. A renewed public place offering a new look at everyday life is one way of discovering new sites, for the artists as well as for citizens, who in this case are spectators (Chaumier, 2007: 169). The perception of a city, which was thought to be well known, is changed. Places become alive again, get new functions and meaning (Dragičević-Šešić, 2000: 96, 97, 164). “The festival gaze” (Jamieson, 2004: 71) is oriented toward visibility of unexpected social as well as unexpected geographical manifestations. This gaze choreographs different forms of identification and interaction with the city.

When we speak about the new visibility that festivals of street theatre provide, it is interesting to mention that some areas of the towns where performances of the festival Ana Desetnica were held were restored or decorated in the following years by municipal authorities. Thereby the festival “opened” new parts of town (Osojnik, 2008: 5). The festival, therefore, is also an indicator for potentially good locations that call for development, and enriches such spaces through using them. (Pivka 2008: 65).

The festival with its diverse activities attracts focus to the places it is using, highlighting them with their fun and vivacity, changes the use of them for the duration of the festival, and - more importantly - even after the festival, the places remain noticed. “Ana Desetnica gives the street legitimacy, but the surplus value

means a shift from simply *walking* on it to seeing the organization of its life as a (cultural) event, a fair, a circus, a theatre. Ana Desetnica is also one of the most profiled and most democratic festivals we have.” (Lukan, 2006: 13)

Street theatre festivals, as all other art festivals, have a potential to animate communities, celebrate diversity, and improve quality of life. The charm of street theatre festivals for the city is undeniable: they are catalysts and provide spaces with novelties, surprises and non-conformism; they increase the sense of community (public space for encounters and burning new ideas), raise the volume of artistic and cultural activities, provide a picture of an ideal city, support local economy, attract business, new residents and tourists, and strengthen local identity (Layac, 2000: 23).

7. Positive images

Authorities, the ministry of culture, as well as municipal governments are well aware of the potential of street festivals to contribute to the atmosphere of a city and enhance its image. As expressed by Zukin (2008: xii) “growth is considered the only game in town, and the only strategy for growth is to keep on reinventing urban space”. “The festival, with its connotations of sociability, playfulness, joviality and community, provides a ready-made set of positive images on which to base a reconstruction of a less than perfect city image. Add the 'arts' dimension to the festival, and another series of positive images are available for manipulating according to the positioning requirements of the city. It is not surprising, therefore, that many cities have seen in festivals a sort of 'quick fix' solution to their image problems.» (Quinn, 2005: 932) Still, authorities tend to disregard the social value of festivals and construe them simply as vehicles of economic generation or as 'quick fix' solutions to city image problems (Quinn, 2005: 927), as investment for restructuring, regeneration and city marketing. The concept of city marketing can be interpreted holistically when including social, cultural and economic aspirations (van den Berg et. al. 1980 in Quinn 2005: 932). But within the prevailing conceptualisation of arts festivals as the core of city marketing strategies, festivals are permitted little scope of unlocking the potentials of the festival, such as challenging social order and authority, and inverting social norms (Quinn, 2005: 934).

In the case of street theatre, authorities often do not support it as single events nor provide support to particular troupes, but tend to more often support festivals of street theatre, which are regulated and controlled. Therefore we could say that street theatre today is legitimised through festivals, which in turn grant legitimisation back to street theatre.

Nowadays it is important for street artists to be recognized as artists, to be known by festivals, and to have an extensive social network which opens up the way to new festivals for them. Since the number of groups that wish to perform on festivals is increasing, we get on one hand rubbish bins full of offers directed towards festivals organizers, and on the other hand huge amount of requests dispatched to them by the performers. Festivals are desired by street artists since they offer better prospects for their creativity and existence, and somehow give them autonomy. That means that the »spontaneous« street theatre outside the framework of festivals – the street theatre that refuses to be subordinate to economic law, which would have been created spontaneously to offer criticism of what is existing, and socially engaged as it was at the beginning, is rarely to be found.

Festivals have a major role in supporting and promoting street theatre performers and in the overall recognition of street theatre. Festivals also contribute to the visibility of the city; they picture a perfect city, attract tourists and strengthen local identity (Dragičević-Šešić, 2000: 96). Street theatre artists are persistently invited into the modern shopping malls because management is aware of the fact that theatre can improve the mall atmosphere. Shopping centres tend to resemble the city centre, they are meeting places. Thus, they are becoming »microcosmic simulacrum« (Dragičević-Šešić, 2000: 31). Numerous international cultural events include elements of street theatre. In other words, street theatre caught in the mechanisms of »cultural industries« contributes to drive entertainment while manipulating consumers (Horkheimer and Adorno, 2002: 149), and it is sometimes very appropriately used as a spectacle that blinds – on the basis of its illusions - a »society of spectacle« (Debord, 1999). And thereby ceasing to be art.

However, in spite of the fact that street performance captured in a framework of a festival may in some ways become institutionalised, mapped into a set schedule, programme, system, it is also part of some broader system and maintains its original pulse, in which we still find something revolutionary, a deviation from the norms and daily routines. This is the transformative power of street theatre; it shall not just continue to transform spectators, but shall also always transform itself.

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7. Manor fair in Dubovac, Karlovac: Pitfalls and possibilities for a medieval fair in need of re-structuring and regaining its image

Sanda Kočevar

1. Introduction

This paper deals with one of the medieval festivals/fairs in Croatia, its role in cultural tourism, and the problems faced by the organising city of Karlovac.

Cultural tourism in Croatia is a relatively new branch of tourism with a take-off in the beginning of the 21st century. The basic document - the Development Strategy of Cultural Tourism of Croatia - was made in 2003 by the Institute for Tourism. It pointed out several reasons for a new orientation of Croatian tourism towards cultural tourism such as enrichment of tourist product, extension of season, increase of tourist expenditure, attraction of tourist market of greater financial solvency, geographic broadening of tourist demand on the continental parts of Croatia and, eventually, world trends.

The World Tourist Organization (WTO) predicts growth of 15% of cultural tourism annually up to 2020 and the Development Strategy showed that Croatia, besides UNESCO sites, has urban and rural historic sites, lots of cultural institutions of high quality in towns, abundance of immaterial cultural heritage (dances, songs, legends, myths, rituals) presented at numerous festivals and pageants that could easily be exploited to serve cultural tourism purposes. ⁽¹⁾

Cultural tourism is closely connected with the cultural heritage. The cultural heritage is the aggregate of entities, objects or ideas that have been preserved from the past to be the bearers of the identities of different social groups – of nations, regions, cities and families - in any present moment at all. It is divided into the tangible/material and the intangible heritage. The tangible/material heritage in turn consists of the moveable and the immovable heritage.

Cultural heritage has multiple values: cultural, communicational, ecological, spiritual, historic, symbolic and economic. Managing the cultural property ⁽²⁾ is nowadays of great importance. Owning or managing the cultural property is quite expensive, especially its maintenance and conservation of historical cities, individual complexes or buildings. Conservation of the past that has no connection with the present does not achieve the main purpose of cultural property – education as

well as raising awareness of its importance.

The increasing fondness for visiting historical sites, the fragmentation of the tourist market - the development of selective forms of tourism and the promotion of cultural tourism have appeared as a promising manner of financing the preservation, protection and interpretation of the cultural property.

Therefore, a successful manager has to exploit the cultural property, but bearing in mind sustainability, its accurate interpretation and visitor's authentic experience through a detailed, well defined and organized plan/project.

Involvement of cultural property at the market not only helps its preservation, but has positive economic and social impact on the community, builds community's identity and moreover helps both culture and tourism at the same time.

Taking the Development Strategy of Cultural Tourism of Croatia into account local communities tried to introduce different streams of cultural tourism into their tourist offer, especially those at the continent that have not had a great number of tourists during the season. Besides itineraries that were leading tourists along wine roads or medieval castles offering authentic food and traditional products of different craftsmen, different cultural festivals were created. Among them chivalric tournaments/jousts and medieval festivals/fairs have become the most prominent, especially after the Homeland war of the Balkans (1991-95) which has intensified the process of identity formation with a complete annihilation of all the socialist past focusing on the articulation of local community's cultural heritage/phenomena that have been given high symbolic value and had to be protected for the future.

Nowadays there are dozens of these chivalric tournaments/jousts and medieval festivals/fairs taking place all over Croatia: from the islands of Rab and Krk, Dubrovnik, Šibenik up to Veliki Tabor and Sisak. All of them have different catchy names, but the main idea is the same: they are trying to sell a piece of their history and culture to the tourists, whether they are glorifying some battles against the invaders, based on Croatian historiography focusing on political history, or recent trends of dealing with social history – living and trading conditions of local people of a specified period. Fairs include revitalizations of public rituals or more often new creations with an alleged content, a performance of heritage where the emphasis is on heroism and similar symbolic inventory.

Although the fairs are perceived and praised as attractive tourist products and excellent promotion of rich Croatian cultural heritage by Croatian newspapers, they were facing more or less the same problems in their execution.

A wide range of problems and pitfalls could be specified not only as prob-

lems of only medieval fairs, but of all projects of cultural tourism in Croatia according to Jelinčić (2008) such as insufficient knowledge of project coordinators about cultural management and organization, superficial knowledge of local population of their own heritage, bad marketing, lack of monitoring and evaluation, bureaucracy, insufficient collaboration between cultural and tourist sectors.

This paper deals, according to the author's opinions, with the most crucial ones as those concerning organization/management, content of the fairs, planning of budget and evaluation.

2. Manor fair in Dubovac

Manor fair in Dubovac, Karlovac has been taken as an example because the author could get a closer look into all aspects, being a part of a cultural sector (a senior curator of the local museum that was managing the old castle of Dubovac) herself. The position of a by-stander close to all the managing participants gave the author possibility to gain an objective insight.

Why is a Manor fair poorly organised and managed? Is a problem of cooperation between culture and tourism universal, or just local/Croatian? Could the conflicts be avoided?

Who will provide a framework for the historical story, which level of interpretation to include, will it be authentic, how can new inventions with an alleged content, a performance of heritage be avoided? Is it possible to have a progressing budget, who could be the main investors? Why is evaluation important? What are the evaluation goals? Has the Manor fair got a future? What are its prospects?

Taking into account all the relevant facts collected by the interviews with all the participants, as well as organizers/managers and surveys of visitors. The paper offers possible solutions to the above mentioned problems.

2.1 Organization / management

The Manor fair is taking place near, around, and in the old castle of Dubovac, an artificial hill above nowadays town of Karlovac, in a height of 173 m above sea level. Archaeological findings claim that there was some kind of a fortress before this castle was built, but it is still unknown whether it was prehistoric or Roman. The castle itself changed owners over the centuries, but was not a seat or centre of a county or some big feudal estate and the first preserved written documents are from the 14th century.

Manor fair in Dubovac, Karlovac was organised and advertised as a cultural-tourist and educational event at the end of May and beginning of June 2005 for the first time. The organisers were the Municipal Museum of Karlovac, the Town of Karlovac, the Croatian Youth Hotel Association with its operative partner „Ferial Ltd.“, and Karlovac Tourist Board. The main goal was keeping the old castle of Dubovac "alive" until defining its final function.

Before the establishment of the Manor Fair, the castle was managed by the Municipal Museum of Karlovac that set a permanent exhibition „Around the Kupa and Korana rivers in the Middle Ages“ in a



Illustration 7.1: The old castle of Dubovac

defence tower and rented a part of the castle for a restaurant. Rental fee

was according to the existing laws invested into the castle's maintenance.

Due to political changes in the Town Council, the Town of Karlovac – at the same time the founder of the Municipal Museum - took over the management of the castle. Having a non-functioning cultural property, with no content nor purpose could easily lead to deterioration, and that actually happened to the castle of Dubovac. The restaurant was closed and was not leased to a new partner, the exhibition was closed, there were plumbing problems during winter and the roof leaked. Consequently, the politicians were facing public criticism over the fact that the castle was left to deterioration.

The new museum management together with its founders (the town, i.e. the politicians) created the fair to go against this public criticism. Although the idea came from the Museum, it was not a product of museum professionals or a team work, but of management and its associates.

The foundations soon proved to be too weak. There was no consent among the professional staff in the museum (historians, archaeologists, ethnologists); they were actually neglected in the process of making and giving content to a project. They soon saw themselves diminished to the role of performers of somebody else's ideas. They were strongly opposing the assumed role.

Moreover, other discrepancies came to light. It became obvious that culture

and tourism do not necessarily come together naturally due to different postulates and potentials, education, orientation, economic attitude towards cultural property, and attitude towards its use. The cultural sector is social, usually non-profit, with employees of mainly social sciences or artistic education expressing public interest, thinking that cultural property has to be protected and preserved because it represents value for the community. Tourist sector on contrary is usually private with expressed profit orientation and commercial goals, and its employees are of mainly economic or marketing education, thinking that cultural property has to be used due to its attractiveness because it represents value for the tourists.

Differences between these two sectors only rarely result in full cooperation. One can say that peaceful co-existence is dominant, with the sectors remaining more or less intolerant towards each other. Occasionally, this leads to outright conflict.

The situation with the Manor fair was even more complex. The cultural and the tourist sector had a third partner to consider, namely the political sector, the Town. This inevitably led to a conflict, as the organizers were relying too much on politicians who do tend to neglect the professional knowledge of their partners, who in turn have to adjust their endeavours to political circumstances. Local authorities had to show results of their policy to the public immediately, appeared little interested into long-term projects. Due to their four year term of office and desperate need of instant success, their policy, especially that considering the cultural property^(III) was not a creative, visionary, developmental one, but rather cheap and mundane.

Differences in concepts, expectations, leadership of the project, and the role in the project and the credits one could gain from it led to the withdrawal of the museum, and consequently most of the work was done by the Croatian Youth Hotel Association, its operative partner „Ferial Ltd.“, and their volunteers, the local patriots and enthusiasts. After the first fair had taken place, these volunteers founded the civil association „Fraternity of Saint Michael“ (named after the nowadays non-existing church of St. Michael nearby the castle) and became the organiser of the Manor fair for the next two years together with the local Tourist Board. (Since 2008, the Fraternity has been the only organiser of the fair).

Although local patriots and enthusiasts are welcome in any project, there are several reasons why in this case they should not be the main organizers and managers of the fair. Volunteer enthusiasts are not professionals and therefore lack interdisciplinary knowledge and skills; their cooperation is of random character, they are not available all the time or when needed because of daily work some-

where else; their driving motivational factors may be wrong - i.e. they may be self-promoters and/or see the fair as a source of extra personal income. Indeed some were found to perceive themselves as the makers of historical and cultural developments with the exclusive right to negotiate the cultural policy with local and even state officials.

The goals were changing alongside the organisers. The Fair had been started by political decision as an answer to public criticism of the deterioration of the castle, but now the Tourist Board and the Fraternity proclaimed that, besides the castle's revival, the goals were enrichment of the area's tourist offer, education of school children, protection of old crafts and medieval cuisine, stimulation of local self-government in regards to starting and supporting similar activities, and inclusion of local community.

Since 2008, the main goal has officially been to raise awareness in the local community of the need to preserve and use cultural heritage throughout the year. Although the first part of Fraternity's goal is non-disputable, one must notice that the second part is a somewhat empty phrase, since the Fair is a short-lived event (from 3 days to 3 weeks) in spring/beginning of summer, and no activities connected with the Fair appear during the rest of the year.

2.2 Planning

Good planning should be foundation for fairs that are looking for longevity. Unfortunately, there is a little or no planning taking place in connection with the Manor Fair. The delivery of the Fair usually depends on financial means gathered mainly through contributions from local, regional or governmental authorities, but since planning of activities only start after receiving a positive answer from these funding sources, the result is a very short period of preparation by an ad hoc organisation, which influence the quality of the event.

Having started as the joint venture of the culture and tourism, the fair had good prospects of development. Moreover, the framework was well defined. The museum initially provided "a story" based on the historical fact that the location of the Castle of Dubovac had been a lucrative market place since the 14th century (due to its position on the crossroads between continental and coastal Croatia), where trade of grain for salt took place). Using this fact as a backdrop for the original fair was in line with a global trend of focusing on organic agriculture. The concept was a framework, a starting point to build upon. Using the old Castle of Dubovac as a backdrop gave the organizers an opportunity to create a good story with interpretation for the fair visitors, though the development of "good story-

telling" is financially demanding.

Withdrawal of the museum professionals from the fair organisation resulted in lack of professional supervision, leaving the enthusiasts of the Fraternity to cope with their insufficient interdisciplinary knowledge of the local history and the wider context. Consequently, Fraternity members were creating the content themselves, with financial limitations as the only guiding principle.

The shortcomings became evident in a number of ways. For instance, the year 1550 was chosen as the "setting" of a fair that was supposed to display medieval content, although the 16th century was far away from the dark Middle Ages even in those far away corners of the Habsburg Monarchy.

Moreover, no contemporary historiographical researches take place considering i.e. the social history of the period in Karlovac's history that is chosen as content or even context of the fair. Therefore the story of the fair is mostly freely invented. It is a product of people's knowledge of the Middle Ages and Renaissance based on assumptions and movies, and therefore does not offer a unique experience, but rather a generalized, universal one. Thus, the Fair does not satisfy a postmodern tourist looking for a unique, authentic experience, though of course one may argue that many tourists settle for less; read: universal, generalized facts.

The case points to the discrepancies in the interpretation of authenticity. What is authentic, what is not, and who decides whether some phenomenon is authentic or not? Is that the community or the tourists? Can tourists identify authenticity; if so, how – and is it important for them at all?

For the organizers of the Manor Fair, authenticity lies in avoiding sponsor banners and the sale of contemporary goods, and ensures that balloons, merry-go-rounds, plastic stuff etc. does not become part of the fair. But no thought is given to the authenticity of the historical content and its interpretation. These results, i.e. in programming of a wide range of non-period performers such ranging from the Fraternity of St. Ladislaus and The Order of the Silver Dragon, to visiting knights from Poland and Czech Republic, performance of a *moreška* (a sword dance) from the island of Korčula, Croatia, and presentation of cross-bowers from the island of Rab, Croatia.

Thus, the Manor fair interpretation focus so much on visitor numbers that it has turned into a show for visitors while the actual heritage message sent to the tourists has been lost. Rather than fawning upon the tourists - delivering *what the tourists want to see* - it would benefit from considering how it wants to be perceived; *what it wants to present about itself*. In that way the old Castle of Dubovac would become an active participant in the fair, not a mere set.

2.3 What is interpretation and why is it so important?

Interpretation is a creation of a story that transfers the message that the actual cultural heritage of a location is able to convey. On the path to good interpretation, *musealisation* is the first step. Musealisation is a process in which objects and/or ideas from the primary context are transferred to a museological context. The museological context is that in which the objects and/or ideas do not live in the way they would function in real life, but in such a way as to serve as media or vehicles for ideas from time to time, from society to society, place to place. Different types of the cultural heritage have different levels and extents of musealisation. The process of musealisation advances the integration of the cultural heritage with the real life of the present day.

The main purpose of interpretation via musealisation is to educate, amuse and elicit respect for cultural property, or - in a broader sense - to help visitors experience cultural property. At the same time that experience has to be unique. According to Schouten (2002) "unique" is actually an acronym for uncommon, novel, inspiring, quality, understanding, emotional – which in turn are all characteristics of a good tourist experience.

2.4 Financing

Poor management, lack of a detailed plan, ad hoc organisation, and a short period of preparation – all these problems emphasized by financial limits create a vicious circle without a way out for the present management.

Created by a political decision on a local level, the fair's initial investors were authorities and institutions closely connected with political power. As illustrated in figure 7.1, the main investors were the local government (the county, the town) and institutions dealing with culture and tourism such as the museum and the tourist board. However, the fair lost its contributions from the museum after the museum withdrew its engagement after the first Fair. The Tourist Board, even though it was not an organiser since 2008, remained a sponsor, but contributions were cut and mainly consisted of marketing support.

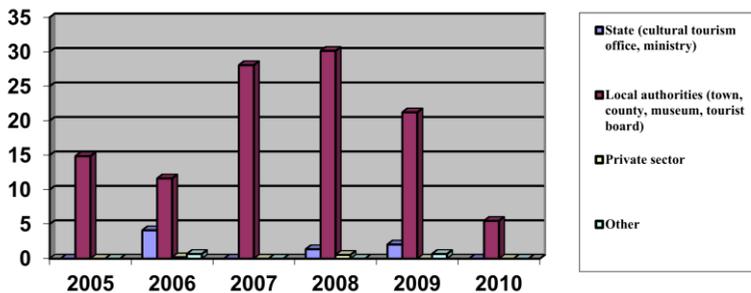
Being too dependent on public financing and unwilling to enter a new operation array is a typical behaviour of the cultural sector^(IV), a behaviour that results in lack of long-term investments.

While the role and interest the state institutions such as ministries^(V) and cultural tourism offices was evident in 2006, their engagement declined during the following years and completely failed in 2010. Economic recession was not the

only reason, because similar fairs in other Croatian regions were financially supported by the state. The cause was the stagnation of the Fair itself. Enthusiasm for the fair wore off, when no quality improvement was seen for a couple of years without, and the fair had not yet established itself as a local tradition.

While the role and interest the state institutions such as ministries^(V) and cultural tourism offices was evident in 2006, their engagement declined during the following years and completely failed in 2010. Economic recession was not the only rea-

Figure 7.1: Sources of financing in 1,000 €



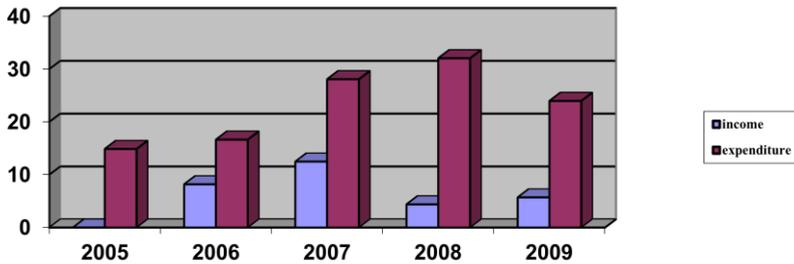
son, because similar fairs in other Croatian regions were financially supported by the state. The cause was the stagnation of the Fair itself. Enthusiasm for the fair wore off, when no quality improvement was seen for a couple of years without, and the fair had not yet established itself as a local tradition.

The most interesting thing seen from the Figure 7.1 is that the private sector (sponsors) have not recognized a potential investment, nor have local craftsmen, caterers, bar-keepers, souvenir makers, merchants, etc., who could potentially become engaged, donate their work and products, and make the fair more lively. When the local community does not recognise a potential and does not get involved in the activities, the fair cannot become a successful long term project with potential to economically boost the area. Without a detailed financial plan and professionals handling of fair finances, the organizers and the city neglect opportunities for sustainable development. If handled differently, the fair clearly has a significant economic and social potential, offering enormous opportunities for economic development and creation of jobs in tourism.

Thus, as shown in Figure 7.2, the fair follows the pattern of the product life cycle – introduction, growth, maturity and decline. The other interesting fact obvious from an income – expenditure ratio is that the fair is not making any profit at all. Why is that so? Management has been more concerned with expenditure control than with finding new, creative sources of income and soliciting for sponsors.

Income has not been used to improve the project as such, but rather handed out as rewards for workshop managers. Moreover, maximizing income from guest became the most important for, i.e. the great number of visitor (approximately 15,000) in the first year of the Fair instantly led to introduction of tickets next year (1.36 €).

Figure 7.2: A ratio of income and expenditure



3. Evaluation

In the fourth year (2008) of the fair, an evaluation survey was done for the first time by the Institute for Tourism, ordered by the Tourist Board. The Institute made a closed type questionnaire and conducted personal interviews for 4 days that included 250 visitors. Specific goals of the survey were to establish a visitor profile and identify socio-demographic characteristics such as place of residence, age, sex, education and monthly income, effectiveness of marketing, ways of informing, frequency of coming, activities, satisfaction with different elements of the events, and various other socio-cultural and tourism-related effects of the fair.

Evaluation showed difference between the organisers' expectations and the actual visitors' profiles. Three quarters of visitors were local inhabitants, 63% of whom were returning from previous years. The targeted public for the organisers were schoolchildren, but the survey showed that the actual public was mainly middle aged (74% were between 25 -54 years old), 58% women, 51% with a secondary school degree and 40% having a monthly income in the range of 500-1,000 €^(VI)

However, the most interesting part of the evaluation survey were activities and satisfaction with different elements of the events. 91.3% of the visitors were satisfied (28.6% above expectations) with programme quality and diversity, authenticity, interpretation of the Middle Age, the atmosphere and experience. The most popular programmes were knight fights and dances (28%) and cross-bowers tournament (20%).

Moreover, 99.6% visitor's think that the fair contributes to cultural and social life of the town and its tourist image and 61% increased their interest for similar activities in the area.

Although 56% of the visitors were informed about the fair through printed materials, most of the visitors complained about poor marketing, especially printed materials, before and during the fair, poor traffic accessibility and parking facilities, poor quality of food and drinks, and lack of information about local restaurants with a traditional cuisine and other tourist attractions in the area.



Illustration 7.2: Renaissance dancing at the Manor

Looking at the evaluation survey, especially visitor's satisfaction and effects of the fair, the organisers could be at ease. They interpreted it literally, and the evaluation appeared to be done just for the sake of doing an evaluation. The results were not used to improve and change any questionable aspects of the Fair that were particularly identified in the survey.

4. Fair prospects / future

The Manor Fair in Dubovac, Karlovac reached its peak of crisis in 2010 when it was uncertain for some time whether there could take place or not. That year, the fair gained the lowest amount of financial support, and was held only for a weekend.

Taking into account positive things from evaluation, the author believes - contrary to the organisers - that the Manor fair in Dubovac, Karlovac has a future and could easily become a recognisable cultural-tourist product of the town of Karlovac and the whole region, but it needs a catharsis of all aspects and layers, starting with the content that has to be historically more appropriate.

The history of the old castle of Dubovac cannot be separated from the town of Karlovac.^(VII) In that way the castle would be in focus, and the cultural property would send a message in alignment with what the community *actually* wants to convey to visitors about ourselves.

The project should be revised and the concept re-written, worked out in details with financial ratios relating to the dynamics of implementation, with all lev-

els interconnected. In that way it would become easier to find partners and financial support. If the idea was elaborated well, implemented considering spatio-temporal timing, it would bring results that could be recorded and monitored, while project evaluation would provide guidelines for continuation and improvement.

The Manor fair could be a driving force of community development through economic valorisation of cultural property, which would give extra income to the local cultural sector, new visitors, result in more professional management and marketing of cultural properties, better control over exploitation of cultural potentials, and better image of culture among the local population. At the same time, the revised plan would avoid commodification of culture, invention of tradition and loss of authenticity.

Evidence given by Hall and McArthur (1993) prove that with the development of sustainable cultural tourism, imbued with the understanding of the need to respect the local population and history, the existing animosity between tourism and culture should be broken down. Their co-operation is a prerequisite for a high quality tourist product. In this case, professional management of the Manor fair should lead to better motivation, better planning/predetermination of the activities, and clear outline of expectations from each partner. Only in that way the Town of Karlovac would have a tourist product of high quality.

Notes:

- I. Croatia has 14 properties at the UNESCO's World Heritage List (6 cultural, 1 natural, 7 masterpieces of intangible cultural heritage) considered as having outstanding universal value.
- II. Used duality property / heritage refers to the difference in their definitions. While the property refers to the tangible objects (immovables and movables) regardless of their origin or ownership, heritage covers both the legacy of physical artefacts and intangible attributes of a group or society that are inherited from past generations, maintained in the present and bestowed for the benefit of future generations. As this article is dealing with the management which is common to the physical objects, the author would use the term cultural property.
- III. Cultural property is perceived by the politicians usually as an expense
- IV. Nowadays, even cultural institutions as museums seek redefining from non-profit to profitable institutions.
- V. Croatia does not have a ministry dealing simultaneously with tourism and culture; each sector rather has a ministry of its own. There were attempts to unite the two ministries in 2003, but it was strongly opposed by both arguing that the two sectors were both of too great importance, and uniting them would be loss for both.
- VI. The average salary in Croatia is 744 €.
- VII. Turkish raids and plundering over the territory and constant threat towards the centre of

the Habsburg Monarchy forced the Habsburgs to found a new defensive fortress. They chose a place under the castle of Dubovac at the confluence of rivers Kupa and Korana due to its good strategic position. Since 1579 the castle and the town of Karlovac – their history and destiny have been intertwined.

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8. Cumbre Tajin A controversial indigenous cultural event

Francisco Alavez Segura

Rosa Ma. Vaca Espino

1. Introduction

The annual Mexican indigenous cultural festival “Cumbre Tajin” takes place at El Tajin, an indigenous Totonac community located in northwest Mexico in the petrol producing state of Veracruz in the Gulf of Mexico. The “World Heritage archaeological site El Tajin” is two kilometres away from this community, but El Tajin is not yet a consolidated tourist destination.

Other indigenous cultural festivals and events do exist in Mexico, but not with the characteristics and elements of the “Cumbre Tajin” Festival. The festival program is based on intangible and tangible indigenous local culture and other non-indigenous activities such as workshops, dances, gastronomy, and a sound and light show at the archaeological site. It mixes tradition and modernism.

The festival takes place over three days in March during the spring equinox - so the date changes from year to year. The community lends its name to the festival, but it gets very little in return. The State Government of Veracruz created this festival in order to encourage tourism in this poor rural indigenous area. So the festival, also called the “identity festival,” is a government profit scheme. Its first version took place in 2000 thanks to a budget from the public treasury. The need for social development in the five local indigenous communities settled within the protected area is well known and is a cause for concern for some people. The festival relies on voluntary work and is attended mostly by the regional population. The very first time, all the festival activities – including accommodation (in the camping area) and catering – took place within the World Heritage site.

However the work carried out in order to offer all the required services (setting up a stage for concerts, illumination, equipment) and large group visits to see the monuments caused some damage to the archaeological monuments. There was an immediate reaction in the form of a social mobilisation before and during the event in order to express disagreement. Subsequent versions since 2001 up to 2010, took place at the wrongly called “theme park” specially built within the protected area to host the festival. Later on, the disagreement was to do with the damage done to intangible heritage. Resident inhabitants were excluded from every aspect of the first elitist version of the festival. Subsequent versions took place

in a specially built arena in a protected cultural area.

During the festival, ancestral Totonac culture is converted into a consumerist product. Traditions which can be seen in current Totonac life outside of the theme park are presented out of context. Very few Totonacs are included as artists or artisans, most of them receiving a temporary employment in non relevant activities. The physical space dedicated to their activities is reduced (for example the workshop for Totonac dances is smaller to those dedicated to other non indigenous dances; the area for performing some indigenous dances is under the sun instead of a comfortable area as for other dances.) The ritual dance of “Voladores” (Flyer men) is performed out of context in several stages during the festival as a tourist show.

The Federal and State government recognise sustainable development as a part of their policy. Sustainable development places man in the centre of its concern in order to offer him the best conditions for his social and economic development. One of the social aspects of sustainability includes the fundamental need of the safeguard of the cultural diversity of humanity as is the case for its biodiversity. Equal distribution of benefits is rarely a reality. This inequality can usually be noticed with minority groups, those living since their origin in conquered and colonised countries.

The festival does not have a positive impact on the local population's quality of life. It is not sustainable. It indirectly damages intangible culture. It represents an economic success for the government and the private sector. There are very few indirect benefits and they are not equally distributed.

The political discourse used was to convince the population that such an investment was for the promotion of Totonac culture. Nevertheless, the event's program included few of the Totonac's many cultural expressions. In addition, it has been gradually infiltrated by other people's cultural influences which have exceeded the amount of Totonac indigenous expressions. Even now, ten years later, the number of Totonac natives cleaning the bathrooms and collecting rubbish at the theme park is higher than those participating as exhibitors of cultural expressions.

The social mobilisation pushed the government to review (in some measure) the festival's principles.

Having observed this festival since its creation in 2000 up to 2010 through newspaper reports and participant observation for the last three years, we understand that the controversy is based on this festival's incapacity to create economic, social and cultural sustainability.

2. Mexican indigenous cultural events and festivals

We can observe that the events organised throughout Mexico generally have common characteristics. They are mixed in nature through the combining of various activities, be they artistic, cultural, historical, festive... They celebrate a heritage, an identity, a sense of belonging where the starting point can be in the past. They celebrate traditions but can also be based on modernity. They are multi-sensorial. The activities can take place on the street, in the city, in buildings, in a fixed space or can be in motion. The dates can be fixed or changeable. The periods privileged for these events are weekends and holiday periods. They might last a few hours or days. The initiator can be a community, an enterprise or an association that expects some tangible and intangible benefits for the locality. The local community can be included or not. (Gwiazdzinski, 2009)

Most cultural festivals in Mexico are not lucrative cultural events taking place in public spaces such as auditoriums, municipal spaces, and public squares. They are usually associated with different aspects of the popular and indigenous cultures of the state where traditional music, dances, other arts, handicraft, food, beverages, and spirituality are always present. Festivals are usually organized by the state and municipal governments, the municipal Houses of Culture and possibly by civil associations. They are supported most of the time by “The National Council for Culture and Arts” (CONACULTA) and “The National Commission for the Development of the Indigenous Towns”.

“CONACULTA” identifies several festivals, some recent others older. The State of Chiapas celebrates two of them. “The Popular and Indigenous Cultures’ Festival of Villa Flores” started in 2004. It diffuses the popular and traditional music of Chiapas. It is attended by singers, singer-composers, wind-instrument groups, drummers, rock groups and folk dance troupes, all as part of the traditional gathering of drum- and pipe-players and wind music bands. The other festival is the itinerant “Festival Maya-Zoque Chiapaneca” created in 1990 to promote Maya-Zoque cultural expressions and encourage communication among the indigenous artists of Chiapas. The activities include lectures, video exhibitions, theatre, gastronomy, painting, poetry recitations, a craft exhibition, audio productions, a display of medicinal plants and other events.

“The Sun Festival”, during the spring’s equinox is a cultural ethnic encounter displaying the traditions and cultural diversity of the resident indigenous groups in the state of Chihuahua. It is celebrated in “Ciudad Juárez” which is a border city with the United States of America.

“The Festival of the Fifth Sun”, which takes place in different municipalities in the State of Mexico, is held since 1987 by the ethnic groups of the State: Nahuas, Matlatzincas, Otomis and Tlahuicas.

“The Festival of Indigenous Cinema and Video”, created in 2005, takes place in the State of Michoacán in different indigenous and non indigenous communities. It is dedicated to the promotion of audio-visuals whose central thematic is indigenous community lifestyle.

At Tlayacapan in the State of Morelos, “The National Clay Fair” takes place. In addition to a varied repertoire of dance, theatre, videos and a clay handicraft exhibition and fair, since the year 2000 this festival has had a wide program of popular, traditional and ancient music, which is organized around clay in homage to artisans from the area and from around the country. At the same time “The National Band Encounter” takes place.

In the State of Oaxaca, one of the Mexican states with greatest number of indigenous groups in the country, two events are celebrated. The most known it is the “Guelaguetza” born in 1953. Its main feature has been the performance of traditional dances from the different regions of the state, complemented by exhibitions of traditional costumes, regional food and drink, firework displays and different types of processions.

The other cultural manifestation is “The River’s Festival” in Juchitán. It is a cultural and ecological event which began in 1992. Through artistic, cultural and ecological activities, it promotes the rescue and preservation of the river “Río de los Perros”, as well as Zapotec traditions and customs in general. The festival is an initiative of a local ecological Civil Association. It is celebrated on one side of the river with music, poetry, dance and visual arts. The stage is made of recyclable wood and native plants are replanted. The retaining walls were turned into a rustic arena with a capacity for five thousand people.

Another state with a high variety and population of indigenous groups is Puebla. The Ethnic Festival of “La Matanza” has been celebrated in Tehuacan since 1996. It brings together most of the native communities of the Mixtec region, who give a display of their rituals, such as weddings, sacred dances, carnivals, etc. The event is held in El Riego and culminates with a feast of turkey in “mole sauce” for more than 1,000 people. In Atlixco, they organize “The Huey Atlixcoyotl Festival” that has been held since pre-Hispanic times in honour of “Quetzalcóatl” and has been a festival since 1965. The motivation of the state’s 11 ethnic groups is to give thanks for the harvest. “The Festival of the Arts and Indigenous Cultures” is celebrated in 50 municipalities in the state.

3. The origins and evolution of the Cumbre Tajin Festival

The “Cumbre Tajin” Festival has experienced two different important periods in its history. The first stage goes from its creation in 2000 until 2004, the period when Governor Miguel Alemán was in charge. Its second stage goes from 2005 to 2010, Governor Fidel Herrera Beltrán's period. The archaeological site “El Tajin”, a World Heritage since 1992 and also one of Mexico’s 13 wonders since 2008, lends its name to the festival, which is also characterized by its presentation of the regional ritual dance of the “Voladores” (flying men), listed as “Intangible World Heritage” since 2009.

In its first incarnation in 2000, all the activities of the festival – artistic displays, sound and light shows, workshops, accommodation and refreshments – took place in the designated World Heritage archaeological zone. Because of the danger that this festival could cause within the archaeological site and to the local culture, various groups mobilised before and during this event to express their opposition. Even “The National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH)”, the institution in charge of the archaeological site, opposed the festival.

Its second version in 2001, took place outside the archaeological site, at the theme park “Takilhsukut” (*The Origin*) which the government had built – contrary to the laws – within the protected archaeological zone. Initially the 17 hectares of infrastructure built with a capacity for 40 000 people, were only used once a year, during the festival.

It seemed that the Cumbre Tajin Festival wanted to exclude locals. During its first run, some natives could not cross the archaeological site because it was closed to them, despite the fact that some of them needed to cross it to get to their homes. The entrance fee was 25€, when a salary in Mexico is around 2.50€ per 8 hours of work a day. The all-inclusive package for the 3 day event was 200€. Ironically, the local inhabitants, producers, protectors and heirs of the Totonac culture, could not attend the celebration that was supposedly made to honour them.

At the time of the government transition in 2005 there was uncertainty as to whether the Cumbre Tajin Festival would continue or not. Governor Fidel Herrera decided that it would.

The 2005 version was less elitist and more inclusive. For the sixth edition of the festival, approximately one thousand native artists and mixed race Hispanic-Natives participated which resulted in a greater representation of the region's cultural traditions. The workshops were taken care of by some of the Totonac na-

tives of the region. Six different regional ethnic groups were included in the program. Access to the park was free to all Totonac inhabitants during the festival, provided they were wearing their traditional costumes. They were also given free access to the site for the sound and light shows. Totonac Indians have a legal right to free transit in the monument zone throughout the year.

The high cost multimedia show, "Lights and voices of Tajin", created by the French artist Yves Pepin, was replaced by a less impressive one. The entrance price was reduced to 6€. Governor Fidel Herrera did not privatise or cede the rights to the festival. He created a trust for the administration of "The Takilhsukut Theme Park" which took on the responsibility of allocating the profits from the festival in social programs and scholarships in order to support the inhabitants of the region. The 2005 Cumbre Tajin Festival cost the government 9 million €, while the year 2000 version cost almost 50 million €. The festival is ranked number six of the 310 cultural events held in Mexico.

4. Description of activities at the theme park

The festival takes place over three days in March. The reason for the festival taking place during this period is a result of the cultural importance of the spring equinox to the Totonac people. The essential concept of the festival is based on two ideas: The Totonac's intangible cultural heritage, represented by a number of large scale activities, and the physical aspect, represented by the pre-Hispanic city of Tajín, celebrated with a sound and light show.

During the festival, one can participate in the following indigenous activities: pottery, pre-Hispanic weaving, production and engraving of handmade wooden masks, handicraft with paper, palm leaves, fibre and dried fruits, the creation of wooden toys, puppets, figurines made with vanilla flowers and batik (a method for dyeing material with organic dyes), traditional oral activities like songs, stories, myths and legends and community theatre and pre-Hispanic leisure activities. In addition, there is a restaurant which serves Totonac cuisine and an exhibition of a reproduction of an "Akantillan" (a traditional house owned by grandparents). A section of the theme park is dedicated to traditional medicine where one can consult Totonac and other native-born traditional doctors certified by the Ministry of Health. It is also possible to consult healers or shamans for spiritual health.

The program also includes national and international pop and traditional dance and music. All kind of handicraft products are on exhibition and sold.

Another feature of the Cumbre Tajin Festival program is a two hour night

visit to the archaeological zone. The tour includes several activities performed by Totonac Indians: a welcome ceremony at the entrance, a multimedia sound and light show to tell the history of the site, a drama of Totonac mythology and cosmology and traditional dance, song and poetry. These presentations, reproduced out of context, are contradictory to their integrity.

In the year 2000, 4 workshops in 12 spaces, 4 exhibitions and 100 artists from Mexico, Israel, Cuba, India, Brazil, the French West Indies, Australia, Senegal, Argentina, Holland, the United States, Russia, Switzerland and Colombia were open to the public during the festival. In 2005 there were 36 workshops in 20 spaces and 28 artists from Brazil, Ibiza, the United States, the United Kingdom and Mexico. In 2005 more than 100 thousand people visited the park during the festival. In 2006 attendance was 120,237. In 2008 more than 160 thousand people attended. There are a lot of young people visiting the park; one might consider if their main reason for visiting is the Totonac culture or the night time pop-artistic program that takes place during the festival.

5. Opposition to the Festival

There is still opposition to the festival, but the opposition shown in the last years has decreased compared to its beginnings.

Arguments in opposition to the festival since 2000 were the following. Firstly the area in which the first edition took place was the archaeological zone; an area where by law, lucrative events cannot take place. The theme park was built in a protected archaeological area, violating federal law. Secondly different forms of exclusion took place. When the theme park was being built, the government didn't employ local construction businesses. Local authorities and inhabitants were never formally invited to visit the park. Regional artists, musicians, artisans and restaurants' association members complained about not being considered in the program. There was repression (jail) for those opposing the festival. Thirdly ancestral Totonac culture commercialisation was an issue. There was no local consultation and no benefit for the indigenous population whose culture was being used for these profits.

The following groups showed resistance before the original Cumbre Tajin Festival: "The Frente Nacional de Defensa del Patrimonio Cultural Nacional" (Front for the defence of national cultural heritage, which includes INAH officials and archaeologists), "Central de Organizaciones Campesinas y Populares (COCyP)" (The Union of Popular and Farmers Organisations), "Alianza Cívica Papanteca" (Papantla Civic Alliance), "Red Unidos por los Derechos Humanos"

(United Network for Human Rights), “Sindicato de Trabajadores del INAH” (INAH Workers' Union), “Liga de Unidad Socialista” (United Socialist League), the indigenous community's from El Tajín, Nuevo Ojital, Zapotal, San Antonio Ojital, and San Lorenzo, anthropologists and historians from Mexico's “National University of Anthropology and History” (“Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia”), archaeological site guards, journalists, the general public (Nahmad, Martínez, 2003:52)

Even the INAH, the federal government institution responsible for the El Tajin monument zone was against using the archaeological site for this event by the Veracruz State Government. The Veracruz State Government responded to this by saying that events of this nature are developed in other archaeological sites such as pyramids of Egypt, the Coliseum and the Parthenon. At the Mexican archaeological zones of “Uxmal” and “Chichén Itzá” this has been the case for 30 years. As payment for the use of the site, the Veracruz State Government has provided the INAH with 100,000€ every year.

Veracruz's press has not shown any opposition to the festival, rather it presents the public with press releases issued by the government. Most of regional journalists are not critical. However serious national newspapers such as “Reforma” and “El Financiero” were bold enough to show their dissatisfaction with the government of the State of Veracruz.

The “Front for the defence of cultural heritage” through their regional “Front of Totonacapan for the defence of cultural heritage”, decided to organize the first “Festival de la Cultura Totonaca” (*Festival of Totonac Culture*) on March 20th 2003, running concurrently with the Cumbre Tajín festival to express its objections. The main purpose for this parallel festival was to show respect for the rights and cultural heritage of the indigenous population in the area, as well as the expectation that the indigenous people might appropriate this festival and produce and manage it themselves. The cultural activities took place in the community of El Tajín, one kilometre away from the theme park. The attendance was exclusively the inhabitants of the community, researchers of INAH, members of some civil organisations and some mass media. This alternative festival lasted only two years, perhaps the main reason being the lack of visitor interest. This phenomenon could make one think that maybe the main reason for visiting the theme park is not to discover and experience Totonac culture but to enjoy the non-indigenous activities such as pop concerts and international workshops that make up part of the festival's general program.

6. Local participation and agreement to the Festival Cumbre Tajin

In general, the inhabitants of the areas bordering El Tajín have seen very few of the direct and indirect benefits of the festival that the government had promised.

The number of Totonacs included as artists or artisans is very small, most of them receiving a temporary employment during the festival in non-relevant activities such as cleaning, cooking, security, gardening, etc. In addition, they have to share their heritage but also adapt it to visitors' needs and world's perceptions. Festivals like Cumbre Tajin allow the spectator to have an experience without having a responsibility or involvement with the culture it is based on, introducing images that are re-appropriated by the individuals often without contextualising them, nor wondering if they are part of real life or a reproduction.

Juan Simbrón Méndez, the moral and spiritual leader who presides over the Supreme Totonac Council and recognised by the majority of Totonacs has always been present during the inauguration the last ten years of the festival, accompanying non indigenous authorities, implying his approval. On each occasion, he sends a message in Spanish on behalf of the Totonac people he represents. It is understood that his people will not complain as far they are employed during the celebration.

7. “Danza de los Voladores” (Dance of Flyer men)

An important and emblematic cultural activity of this festival is the “Danza de los Voladores” (Dance of the Flyer men), a ritual dance that obtained recognition as Intangible World Heritage in 2009. This dance is performed in several stages in the park and at the entrance of the archaeological zone. Before every performance, the dancers walk into the public to ask them for some coins before they risk their lives when they jump during the dance. There is no medical assistance on standby. However, after their addition to the World Heritage list, the Governor offered them the access to the State's medical services. Like many other cultural events around the world, this religious dance risks becoming a tourist spectacle if it continues to be performed out of context.

8. Activities held at the theme park during the festival and during the year

During the festival indigenous video makers assemble. Indian students of the “Universidad Veracruzana Intercultural” (UVI) present their documentary films.

These film productions are made in the indigenous language with subtitles in Spanish. The short films explore many different topics, from ecological destruction to the frustrated dream of a girl who wanted to be part of “Danza del Volador”.

During the year, the theme park hosts the “Training Centre for the Development of Indigenous Arts of Veracruz” which promotes art, education, community development and encourages skill development for new generations. The Training Centre hosts workshops for traditional textile processes, sawing techniques, traditional pottery and so on. Part of this Training Centre is “The School for Voladores Children”.

9. Conclusions

The festival Cumbre Tajin is one of the actions taken as part of the policy of the State Government of Veracruz which seeks to encourage tourist development, considering the limited economic options for the inhabitants of the World Heritage site. The government brought in a model of traditional tourism where local communities are not considered. This model is not compatible with the philosophy principles of sustainable tourism that considers establishing a narrow bond with the local economies to contribute to the regional development and a better geographic and social distribution of the tourist profits. One of the strategies of the government, the cultural indigenous festival Cumbre Tajin, does not accomplish the local expectations of this ethnic group and the promises made by the State Government of Veracruz. In its ten years of life the festival as a commercial event was a success thanks to the large amount of national and foreign public in its first versions, but contrary to the principles of sustainable development, the local community is not seeing an improvement in its quality of life.

Besides economic and social sustainability, the cultural sustainability is not taking place. Intangible culture risks being damaged. Tangible heritage represented by the monument zone is not as yet a matter of discussion since the area supports the pressure of the great number of simultaneous visits during the festival. Sustainability is not accomplished by temporary and selective job creation since most of the personnel engaged for the event are not local. From the first festival in the year 2000 and until most recent in 2010, the presence of the local culture has been progressively eclipsed by other cultural and esoteric manifestations. In addition, the festival's program within the thematic park grants better conditions for the development of the non indigenous manifestations than those of the Totanacs.

The “Tajin Summit” festival from the year 2000 has tried to attract tourists

towards the World Heritage site but it has not obtained a maintained flow. This flow has even been regressive over the last couple of years.

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9. Maintaining the homeland ties: The Croatian diaspora film festival in Melbourne, Australia

Rebeka Mesarić Žabčić

1. Introduction

Numerous events are staged around the world by local communities in need of celebrating some unique aspect of that community. Many events have religious origins, some celebrate the change of seasons, and others have some particular cultural significance, including remembrance of significant dates in the history of the community. Many festivals celebrate national cultures in diaspora.

In Australia, young people of Croatian origin were eager to celebrate their origin and identity, yet did not find interest in going to events in clubs and organizations established by older members of the community. Establishing a film festival for Croatian film allowed them not only to introduce Australian Croats to selected Croatian films and thereby revive the “old” community, but also to display bring contemporary Croatian culture to Australian audiences.

The Republic of Croatia produces many high quality films. For years, Croatian films have been winning awards at prestigious international festivals for outstanding acting and superior narrative quality, and since Australia, as was the case, was the only continent without a Croatian Film Festival, the local organizers decided to introduce the public to thirteen of the best films of the Republic of Croatia.

The main catchword of the first Croatian Film Festival was "...Croatian Cinema has landed..." "Dobrodošli". The inaugural 2009 Croatian Film Festival (CFF) was described and marketed as „Melbourne's first opportunity to taste the flavours of Croatian cinema, showcasing both eclectic art house and commercial films from a corner of the globe often sought out for its striking scenic beauty and rich culture. The Festival (.is..) born out of a desire to enrich the City of Melbourne with cinematographic reflections of a largely unfamiliar culture that is fast gaining cult status in many art house circles. This four-day feast of film is sure to appease the most discerning of foreign film lovers, while uniting Australian Croatians of all generations“.

Traditionally, a film festival is organised as an extended presentation of films in one or more movie theatres or screening venues, usually in a single locality. The films are mostly recent and, depending upon the focus of the festival, it can

include international releases as well as films produced by the organisers' domestic film industry. Sometimes there is a focus on a specific film-maker, genre, or subject matter. A number of film festivals specialise in short films, each with its defined maximum length. Film festivals are typically annual events. A festival of short and/or feature-length films may last from a few days to a couple of weeks.

2. Why Melbourne?

While many Croatian immigrants live in Sydney, Melbourne was chosen to host the first Croatian Film Festival not only because it was the home town of the main festival organizer, Slavica Habjanović, a second-generation Croatian immigrant, but also and not least because Melbourne's interest in the arts. The city is known for its large number of theatres, numerous museums and galleries, and a number of cultural festivals held throughout the year, presenting many different art forms.

Visitors to Melbourne City Square on any given day of the year may experience acrobats and mime, meet people of many nationalities in nearby inns and restaurants, and come across rock music concerts, dance and theatrical performances that take place in the open, free of charge. In March each year a popular festival is held in Melbourne; the Moomba (in native aboriginal language, meaning, "Come and have fun!"). Melbourne International Arts Festival and Melbourne Fashion Week both attract visitors of all ages.

Melbourne is also known for hosting film festivals such as Melbourne International Film Festival, the Queer Film Festival, an Italian Film Festival, a Greek Film Festival, and a French Film Festival, not to mention a Jewish, an Indonesian, and others.

Organising the first Croatian Film Festival in Melbourne brought the Croatian immigrant community in Australia to life. In four days, the Croatian films were presented to thousands of Croatian immigrants and other Australian citizens. The festival offered an opportunity to promote Croatian tourism in Melbourne

Illustration 9.1



and other major Australian markets, and to “*strengthen bilateral relations between the Republic of Croatia and Australia in the field of culture*”, as noted by Croatian Consul General in Melbourne, Mr Sc. Antun Babić.

The first Croatian Film Festival in Melbourne was held from November 5th – 9th, 2009, under the auspices of the "parachute", a perfect symbol of the link between Croatia and Australia: The story of the parachute dates back to the year 1595, when Croatian philosopher, bishop and innovator Faust Vrancic published a famous sketch known as Homo Volans (Flying Man) in a book called Machinae Novae. (He tested out his design twenty years later with a spectacular jump from a tower in Venice). The story, known and beloved amongst Croats, was an obvious symbol for a Croatian film festival „landing“ in Melbourne. (Gorgeous and wild, the dare-devil beauty in the parachute is as much a symbol of Croatia as the parachute itself)

3. Croatian ethnic identity in Australia

In anthropological literature, an ethnic group may be defined as a group that shares biological background, the same cultural values, the same space of communication and interaction, and is composed of members who identify themselves as different from other groups, and other groups perceived as different (Barth, 1969). Sociologists often refer to Weber's definition of ethnicity (Max Weber (1976: 416), recognizing ethnic groups as groups of people based on the similarity (either physical or customs), with a subjective belief in common descent.

Also Stupin gives primacy to largely subjective criteria to define ethnicity, and in more recent literature, Antony Smith (1986) states that an ethnic group consists of individuals in population that share common name, myth of common origin, elements of common history, and possess a common sense of group loyalty, identity and territory. This definition attempts to link subjective and objective definitions.

Ethnic identity is about the *sense of belonging* - and having the *awareness of belonging* - to a specific ethnic group. Thus, the basis of ethnic identity is that of being *different*, often expressed as the difference that other people point to establish boundaries. Ethnic identity is based on objective historical factors, but also the outcome of the interplay between the free choice of historical consciousness and all that individuals have acquired for their early socialization (Heršak, 1997: 80). The awareness of not belonging is created through juxtaposition of isolation.

Primary socialization happens when an individual acquires certain values, attitudes, and experiences. Jenkins (2001) points out that the entry of ethnic identifi-

cation happens already during childhood, when begin we find out who we are because we say so to each other.

Anthropological theories, however, emphasize the active role of individuals in the process of identification. Ethnic identity is seen as a result of dynamic social processes, in which the term identity is increasingly giving way to the term structure of identity to illustrate dynamic properties of identity and its constant transformation as a result of new experiences, new individual and social circumstances (Čapo-Žmegač, 2002: 20-22).

Canadian sociologist Isajiw (1988) distinguishes between three types of orientation - cognitive, moral and affective - that come into play in certain situations, and help create, and set the limits to, ethnic identity. *Cognition* is learning about oneself and the history and values of one's community, i.e. through the moral teachings of (and in) one's own ethnic language. This is how the existence of obligations within the community is brought to new generations, who in turn gain the sense of affective attachment, security, sympathy, and comfort for and within the community.

These theories and observations, derived from anthropological and sociological literature, all hold true to the Croatian migrant communities in Australia. However, to truly understand the significance of the film festival to the Croatian emigrant community in Melbourne (and in Australia at large in general), it is necessary to know the history, causes and reasons for Croatian emigration to the continent.

The Republic of Croatia has traditionally been an „emigrational country“. Croats who were „looking for bread“ began migrating to overseas countries already around the year 1800, and to Central and Western European countries in subsequent periods. On the basis of available data and databases it is safe to assume that today nearly every third Croat live outside the country.

Significant periods of emigration of Croats to Australia were from 1890 to 1918 year (the Australian Gold Rush followed by World War I in Europe), the period between 1918 and 1940 (the great economic crisis, political turmoil at home), and the years after World War II, when Croats in refugee camps in Italy and Austria were faced with the prospect of returning to the now communist Yugoslavia. Also, emigration took place from 1954 to 1960 (high unemployment, economic and social reform in Croatia, surplus workers in the industry), in a period prior to 1973 (Croatian Spring, high unemployment) and in the late 1980's/early 1990's (the crisis of the late communism)

The exodus of the Croatian population, mostly from Dalmatia, the Croatian

islands, the Dalmatian hinterland and from the mountain and lowland parts, are described by many researchers in various disciplines (see Lupis 1913; Bićanić 1936; Mesarić Žabčić 2002, Goldstein 2004; Čizmić 2005).

Croatian scientist's Čizmić, Sopta and Šakic (2005) estimate that around 250.000 Croats and people of Croatian descent currently live in Australia. Upon arriving in their new homeland, Croats began to form an immigrant community through which they maintained connections and relationships with other Croatian immigrants in Australia. Written sources testify to the first Croatian immigrants who came to Australia before 1890 being mostly young, single men, who got jobs in mines, on fishing boats, and elsewhere, and for security reasons and nostalgia chose to live near each other. They were hanging out after work, offering mutual support, developed friendships, and exerted collegiality to the scale where they became best men at each other's weddings, godfathers of each other's children, and mourners at each other's funerals.

In this framework, the first Croatian immigrants sometimes travelled long distances to maintain contacts, and it is precisely those first mutual contacts and family get-together that shaped the Croatian community and resulted in the formation of associations serving different types of interests. Of particular importance for the Croatian immigrants was the Catholic Church that offered the social framework as well as the physical space for gatherings. Thus, the church became the initiator of major institutions and events in the new country.

In recent times, the younger generation of Australian Croats increasingly find and confirm their identity in sports clubs, and in various festivals focusing on Croatian songs, food, and wine.

4. The framework of the Film Festival

Establishing the first Croatian Film Festivals was a natural progression of the social and cultural activities offered to and by Australian Croats. The desire of the organizers was to theme the film festival to satisfy both informal and organized social groups, families, and individuals.

Having found appropriate facilities for the festival, a number of partners shaped the organisation of the festival, including the Croatian Heritage Foundation (<http://www.matis.hr>) from Zagreb that served as organizer of the logistics project, and the Croatian National Tourist Board of Zagreb that provided both financial and logistical support. The Croatian State Archives / Film Archive provided valuable 35-millimeter films, and as a local partner, the Consulate General of Republic of Croatia in Melbourne assisted in solving many of the problems en-

countered along the way.

Sponsors of the festival were mostly local businessmen of Croatian descent, most importantly Sky Air Service Vietnam Airlines, owned by Hrvoje Mrksa.

It should be noted that without the support of the local community, especially in the first year, this major project would not have been possible. Furthermore, actors and directors whose films were shown during the first Croatian Film Festival in Melbourne were very excited, and now see future film festivals as an occasion to come to Australia to promote their films.

The festival presented thirteen Croatian films, mainly recently produced movies, but also classic titles such as the Croatian film "He Who Sings Means No Harm" by Kreše Golika. The opening film was "Armin" by Ognjen Sviličić, shown at the Australian Centre for the Moving Image and followed by an opening cocktail party. Numerous government officials, diplomats and prominent guests from the Australian cultural life were present at the opening, including the Croatian Ambassador to Australia, Vicencije Biuk, Croatian Consul General in Melbourne, Antun Babić, a representative of Prime Minister Judy Maddigan, and Leader of the Opposition and Liberal Party in Victoria, Ted Baillie, who all spoke at the event.

The festival programme that followed was a mixture of feature, documentary and animated films, most were contemporary, while other were evidence of the rich history of Croatian cinema. Apart from "He Who Sings Means No Harm" by Krešimir Golik - which was a real treat for lovers of lighter genres – the movies "No One's Son" by Antun A. Ostojić, and "I Love You" by Dalibor Matanić showed the narrative and creative depth of the Croatian film scene. Exceptionally strong interest was generated by the documentaries "The Happy Child" by Igor Mirković, "Children - Victims of the War" by Suzanne Hetrich, and "Keepers of the Dead Villages" by Miroslav Mikuljan).

A large number of Australians attended the screenings, and, according to their statements after each film, they were delighted and surprised by the quality of the program. Certainly a major role in the success of the festival and the large attendance was the media coverage of the event in the mainstream Australian media; in newspapers, on television and radio stations, and on the internet social networks like Facebook.

5. Listing of featured films:

- Armin (Armin) Ognjen Sviličić, 82 mins, Croatia/Germany/Bosnia Herzegovina, 2007, 35mm, Croatian/Bosnian/German/English (English subti-

- tes), MA15+
- No One's Son (Niciji sin), Arsen A. Ostojić, 100 mins, Croatia, 2008, 35mm, Croatian (English subtitles), 18+
 - What's a Man Without a Moustache? (Što je muškarac bez brkova?), Hrvoje Hribar, 109 mins, Croatia, 2005, 35mm, Croatian/German (English subtitles), 18+
 - The Ghost in the Swamp (Duh u močvari), Branko Ištvančić, 90 min, Croatia, 2006, 35mm, Croatian (English subtitles), MA 15+
 - The Happy Child (Sretno dijete) Igor Mirković, 97 mins, Croatia, 2003, SP Beta, Croatian (English subtitles), 18+
 - I Love You (Volim te) Dalibor Matanić, 83 mins, Croatia, 2005, 35mm, Croatian (English subtitles), 18+
 - Substitut (Surogat), an animated short by Dušan Vukotić and the first Croatian film ever to win an Oscar in 1963.
 - The Melon Route (Put lubenica) Branko Schmidt, 89 mins, Croatia, 2006, 35mm, Croatian/Mandarin (English subtitles), 18+
 - He Who Sings Means No Harm (Tko pjeva zlo ne misli), Krešimir Golik, 85 mins, Croatia, 1970, 35mm, Croatian (English subtitles), 18+
 - Children - Victims of the War (Djeca žrtve rata). Documentary by Suzana Hetrich, 42 mins, Croatia, 2005, SP Beta, Croatian (English subtitles), 18+
 - Keepers of the Dead Villages (Čuvari mrtvih sela), a poetic documentary
 - Feature film: What Iva Recorded on October 21, 2003 (Što je Iva snimila 21. listopada 2003.), Tomislav Radić, 92 mins, Croatia, 2005, 35mm, Croatian/German/English (English subtitles), 18+
 - The Market (Plac), animated short by Ana Hušman, 9.32 mins, Croatia, 2006, Croatian (English subtitles), 18+

7. Other major Croatian festivals hosted by Croatian diaspora

For the purposes of this study it is important to mention that there are other important Croatian festivals around the world in communities of Croatian diaspora. These festivals may be the basis for other studies:

AUSTRIA:

- Festival der *Wien* in Kroatshenmusik

AUSTRALIA

- CROfest in *Sydney*
- Festival of Croatian food and drink in *Adelaide*

CANADA

- Croatian - Canadian folk festival organized by the Croatian-Canadian Folklore Association. Every five years, the associations sets up two separate festivals, one in the east of the country and one in the west, usually at the same time, providing an opportunity to share artists such as visiting folklore groups etc. In *Brampton* and *Carassauga* in *Mississauga*.

GERMANY

- Organized by the Croatian dušobrižničkog offices in *Frankfurt*. The annual event gathers 20-25 folklore groups from various Croatian Catholic communities in Germany.

SWEDEN

- Croatian festival for children and adolescents.

SWITZERLAND

- Festival of Croatian Folklore and Cultural Creativity.
- USA
- The "Tambura" in *Columbus, Ohio*, is the most important folk festival organized by the Croatian Fraternal Union (CFU)
- *Sacramento, California* organizes the Annual Croatian Extravaganza, a smaller folk festival with acting, singing groups, and children's events.
- Children's and Youth Festival hosted by the parish of Astoria in *New York*
- Festival "Croatian Evening" in *New York*.
- Croatia Fest in *Seattle*.
- Croatian Cultural Festival in *Seattle*.

8. Key Messages

The first Croatian Film Festival was an important contribution to the preservation of Croatian identity and culture in Australia, especially among the younger generation of Croatian immigrants.

Target groups were the Croatian community in Melbourne and Australia, especially the younger generation of Australian Croats who would not usually have

a chance to watch older Croatian films, as well as others with a passion for or curiosity about Croatian culture, language, and customs.

The Croatian Film Festival was seen as a way to counter a possible "alienation" of the younger generation of Croatian immigrants, who may not be inclined to join traditional Croatian clubs and associations.

The festival served – and serves - as a link between the two countries, Australia and the Republic of Croatia. It has a strong emotional impact on all generations of Croatian immigrants in Australia, providing an opportunity for Australian Croats to hear their native Croatian language, watch Croatian actors, listen to Croatian music, and catch a glimpse of their homeland and maybe even their region or hometown.

Thus, the film festival is one in a series of initiatives supported by the Republic of Croatia and aimed at the Croatian diaspora to help them preserve their language, culture, and identity. Other initiatives focus on education, science, interstate cooperation, the cooperation of the media, exchange of journalists, etc.. The desire was to strengthen the position and role of the Croatian community in Australia, and to ensure conditions for their on-going involvement in social and cultural life in the Republic of Croatia.

In conclusion, it is the author's belief that the Croatian Film Festival in Melbourne is a significant contribution to the relationship between the two countries on a social and cultural level.

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10. Festival vendors: A mapping of commercial and social participatory variables

Thomas A. Michel

Introduction

While an enormous emphasis is placed on visitor motivations (see for example, Crompton and McKay, 1997; Houghton, 2008; Guzman et al., 2006; Lee et al., 2007), little attention is given to vendors, who may provide a large proportion the ambience that festival organizers seek to create. Perhaps it is assumed that as long as desired and desirable vendors show up to a given festival or fair, then the arranging organization is providing a sufficiently rewarding environment for the vendors to do business. Once the festival organization has provided market guidelines, assessed vendor fees, and selected the mix of food concessions, handicrafts and products, as well as services to include in the festival, the vendors themselves are responsible for the decision to attend the festival or not. Ultimately, if the festival or fair does not deliver enough spending customers, the decision of the vendors to participate in future festivals is relatively straight forward. But this marketplace of festivals, vendors, and public is rarely a perfect one. The managers of young or first-time festivals understand that nothing is guaranteed, neither from the vendors nor the public side. Additionally, vendors themselves may have different criteria motives beyond profit maximization to explain their continued participation in a festival's market.

Are festival vendors important to study?

For many festivals, festival vendors do not reach the status of “major stakeholder” to the same degree as the attending public, festival sponsors, or performing artists. Yet the market may constitute a major financial dimension for the festival, both in terms of its general economic impact and in terms of direct festival revenues (see Getz et al., 2010). Still, academic studies specifically targeting festival vendors are almost non-existent. Festival boards themselves from time to time survey their festival vendors in search for providing better service and to mitigate problems that arise with respect to market vendors, their placement, fees, and services. A quick review of major texts in festival and event managements shows that the issue surrounding festival vendors is given only cursory attention, usually only a

page or two out of several hundred.

The paucity of research specifically concerning festival vendors is hard to explain. The festival market in general may provide festivals an important activity or may even constitute its major *raison d'être*. For example, the Sausilito Arts Festival was originally established as an open-air fair for artists to sell directly to the public, but has developed into a large multi-arts festival. While for festival attendees, “shopping at festivals” is not regarded an attitudinal variable (Crompton and McKay, 1997), the activity does constitute a major behavior and consequently, expenditure for festival goers. In their study of Springfest, Crompton et al., (2001) report that retail shopping at the festival was the next largest spend for out-of-town visitors, second only to lodging. If spending on food and beverage purchased at the festival is added to retail shopping, then it easily becomes the largest spend for many visitors. A study conducted of the Medieval Week on Gotland (Gilbertsson, 2007) found that 94% of the visitors planned on visiting the market, where other popular activities (concerts, theatre, jousting tournament) received only approximately a third of that response.

Challenges faced by Market Generals

The market generals - a term reflecting their often needed skills of oversight, conflict resolution, and problem-solving, as well as the general resolve and authority in their command – is an important person within many festival organizations and an essential functionary of many festivals. Little is known of these individuals, how they got their position with festivals, or what their basic personal or monetary rewards are. In some cases, they may be amongst the founders of the festival or a festival arranger or leader themselves. For other festival, the position may be provisional employment or an onerous task delegated to the newest member of the organization. However, no matter the nature of their ties to the organization, they are typically responsible for communicating the festival guidelines, assessing the market fees, and placing the market stands or assigning the placement of market vendors.

Additionally, they can be in charge of decisions of which vendors to include or exclude, and may even make decisions about the appropriateness of crafts, merchandise or festival foods to be sold by the selected vendors.

Finally, they are on hand to execute the market arrangements during the festival itself and handle the many problems and issues that arise in the course of festival's set-up, performance, and tear down. (Michel, 2009)

Typical problems faced by market generals can include:

1. conflicts over vendor placement
2. disputes between vendors,
3. unreported and unanticipated sale of inappropriate items,
4. deportment of vendors during the festival and
5. enforcement of vendors following the rules and guidelines,
6. late arrivals and early departures of vendors.
7. damage to public or private property or venues due to market activity. (e.g. Horsens Medieval Market is establishing strict fire rules in compliance with EU directives).

Market Fees:

Well-established fairs and festivals with predictable streams of visitors have no difficulty in charging market-rate fees to their vendors, reflecting a “landlord-retail space” contract arrangement which may represent a major overhead cost for vendors, even though this overhead cost may lie under the market rate for commercial space in the surrounding area. The festival landlord may provide space, in certain instances, the market stall itself, certain utilities and facilities in exchange for the market fee. For the most established fairs and festivals, the fees may appear high to the casual observer, but reflect the potential sales for vendors, who are often seasoned professionals, and able to manage the risks and challenges of temporary open-air markets. The famed Christmas markets of Northern Germany are one such example of this kind of market. One market vendor reported to the author paying 7000 Euros in 2009 for a market stand with electricity for four weeks in the Hamburg Christmas Market, and suggested that this fee had been negotiated down from the normal higher rate. This considerably high fee and overhead costs is offset by the substantial sales potential, and in this particular case, represented only about 10% of the vendor’s eventual total sales revenues. Needless to say, with these kinds of fees involved, both parties must be highly professional in terms of expectations and assessments since the risks are high, as in any temporary or seasonal enterprise. Few small-scaled handcrafters could handle the financial risk or supply the demand of these fairs or festivals. (Michel, 2009)

Yet most festivals and fairs are dealing with greater ambiguities, both in terms of their ability to charge high market-based fees and their ability to attract a diverse, relevant, and interesting mix of market vendors. Young festivals will often waive vendor’s fees for the first several years in hopes of both attracting a sufficient number of relevant ambience-creating vendors, and to let the public stream find the festival or fair. The author came to realize this on arranging a flower fes-

tival in a medium-sized town in Sweden. Vendors needed to be enticed into participating with a “no market fee” policy and promises of a lively stream of visitors. Other festival organizations will go as far as providing living arrangements for their vendors or at least provide the ability to camp on or near the festival area. Still other festivals request only a deposit of their vendors, re-payable on successful execution of the contracted terms. These may be conditions seeking to enforce market standards, prevent early departure, or ensure restoration of market area.

The distinction of vendors made by festival organizations themselves are often broken down in terms of product authenticity, food vs. non-food products, profit vs. non-profit vendors, and other variables which may be involved in determining rates, fees, placement, and services provided. But vendors themselves may choose to participate in festivals for a variety of reasons, and earnings potential may only play a partial or even minor role in the decision-making.

Medeltidsveckan på Gotland (Medieval Week on Gotland)

Medeltidsveckan på Gotland is Sweden’s largest and most successful festival based on a heritage theme. At this writing, the festival organization is preparing for its 28th edition and attracts a broad spectrum of visitors to the island during the first week of August (always week 32). Recent estimates (Gilbertsson, 2007) suggest the number of visitors to the festival to be approximately 40,000 visitors. This number is difficult to ascertain with any great precision, since the island is a popular summer destination for Swedes, and many extend their normal vacation to include the Medieval Festival. Also, the market area of the festival is not gated, so any precision in counting visitors is fraught with problems.

Strategically placed in the week directly following the official end of the Swedish tourist season, the eight day event was not conceived solely as a festival, but a week of historically-based events, including lectures, seminars, classes and workshops, as well as the usual activities of historically-based festivals: market, theatre, concerts, parades, processions, re-enactments, and jousting tournaments. (Schwartz, 2010)

Visby as a Festival Venue

While the Festival is marketed as taking place throughout the Baltic island of Gotland, a majority of events take place within the ringed-walls of Visby, designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1995. In the UNESCO decision, Visby is called “the best preserved fortified commercial city in northern Europe.” (UNESCO,

1995) Three areas lend it especially well-suited to holding a medieval festival: a. Visby retains its medieval street plan, b. it has many buildings with substantial medieval elements, and c. the city is ringed by well-preserved city wall dating to the earliest times of the Hansa. (UNESCO, 1994). While a city with a rich trading tradition dating back to Viking times, and developed as a major trading post for trade between Russian territories and Northern Europe by the Hansa league, it was devastated in the 14th century, first by the Black Death plague, then by takeover by the Danish King, Valdemar Attertag, in 1361. The economic decline and stagnation between the late 14th century through the 18th century, ironically helped to preserve the town's medieval foundation. In the 18th century, tax incentives were given to build on top of the existing structures, then the town's cultural value was discovered in the early 19th century and preserved by the Swedish state. The town had more churches than any other Swedish town and these ruins, in various stages of decay or partial restoration, now serve as atmospheric venues for many festival events. By recent count, eight church ruins within the ringed walls and the fully-restored cathedral (Sankta Maria) all serve as festival venues. (Medetidsveckan program, 2009).

This favorable condition for festival venues is by no means unique to Visby. Medieval and other historic and well-preserved towns throughout Europe have also served as the site for revived or new festivals based on historic re-enactments. Brisighella, Italy is another medieval town that is closed off two weekends a year for a medieval festival.

Author's participation

The author has participated in the festival since 1999. While not formally conducting a study involving participants as observers, the author has noted changes over the course of the past ten years, including its growth and transformation. Since 2002, the author has also been involved in several theatre performances, and held workshops at the festival since 2003. In part, many of the research questions present in the study stem from his ten-year involvement as a vendor, as well as from the social relationships built up over the years,

Development of the Medieval Market Venue

Strandvägen, a major street framed by many medieval buildings, served as the original venue for the market place that started with the first Medieval Week in 1983. While the first market was modest, by today's standard, it did contain a wide range of crafts. (Schwartz) Originally, all of the vendors came from Gotland, but with

the growing popularity of the festival, vendors came to include a wide variety of craftsmen and handicrafts from mainland Sweden. The smoke-filled streets, the sound of the ironsmith's hammer, the smell of roasted candied almonds, the splashes of public bathing tubs all contributed to a feel of a re-created medieval town. Over the years, as more craftspeople and food vendors came to participate in the festival, and crowds grew, more side streets of Visby were used as a festival venue.

By 2003, the in-town festival market had increased in crowd density to point where local fire officials sought to move the market out of the city, arguing that if there was a fire in the town, the fire or emergency vehicles could not navigate through the crowded market streets, and the entire town could be destroyed within a very short period of time. On the other hand, many vendors worried that once the market moved outside the atmospheric medieval town, it would lose its historic feel and become like many other historic markets, "inauthentic" and detached from its carefully crafted sense of place.

The response came less than a year later, when it was announced that the market was to move outside the city walls to area surrounding the jousting tournament stands, and frankly, few liked the solution: neither the organization, the market vendors, nor the visitors. But it was the only viable solution at the time. Despite the fact that everyone showed up, as usual, it was easy for both market vendors and visitors to be nostalgic about the old market street. It was an unusually warm and dry summer in 2004, and the dust created when the grass was worn down made the site an unpleasant location to sell food and buy handicrafts. A more suitable market was arranged for the following year, when a large park within the ringed walls, yet shaded by both the walls and the trees, was chosen. The market has remained there to the present, to the general satisfaction of vendors, festival organizers and visitors.

7. The Study

A survey was constructed to discover more about the various vendors' background and motivations for participating in the Medeltidsveckan's market during the summer of 2009. The first question requested information concerning the hometown and country of the vendors. The distance to travel for the event is relevant because costs are assumed to be greater the farther one travels, thus eliminating vendors and handicrafts people that run more marginally profitable businesses. Distance has been shown to be a significant variable for other festival shareholders, for example, visitors and volunteers (see for example, Olsson, 2009).

Vendors additionally face a cost in having to arrange for their own accommodations, as Medeltidsveckan does not offer on-site camping and facilities.

The numbers of years of the vendor's participation was also an interesting question from the standpoint of understanding whether long time vendors and new vendors were equally drawn to the festival. A certain amount of attrition amongst vendors can be ascribed to any festival of Medeltidsveckan's longevity, but it is more interesting to study to what extent the festival continues to attract new vendors. Vendors are notorious for staking out their claim within a specific product area, and being hostile to new entrants that threaten to take market share within their product category.

In order to discern how the vendors themselves see their style of participation and describe their level of involvement with festival markets in general, they were given four choices in the questionnaire: A. It is a side business for me that complements a larger business. B. It is my major source of income. C. It is an extra income to supplement my current income. D. I do not own this business, but am employed to sell at the market(s). It can be hypothesized that the more vendors rely on their participation as their major source of income, the more sensitive they would be to both the competitive situation and to increasing costs of participation. At the other end of the scale, those considering their presence as an "extra income" were predicted to be less sensitive to the competitive situation, but still sensitive to increasing costs of participation (such as rising market fees and increased travel costs).

Vendors were also asked to rank the market at the festival, from being one of the best, average or in-line with other festivals, to not as good as other festivals. This should capture some of the satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their sales as they line up with expectations. Since the survey was distributed during the sixth day of the eight day festival, even first-time sellers could give a general assessment of sales. Dissatisfaction should signal those vendors whose sales did not meet expectations and would probably not return.

Finally, vendors were asked to identify that condition that would contribute most to their decisions not to participate in future markets at the Medeltidsveckan. A tougher competitive situation was the first choice (too many others selling similar products). Increasing costs of participation, such as rising market fees or increased travel costs, was the second choice. New festivals that markets closer to home, was the third choice. And personal reasons, such as interest, social, or health reasons, was offered as the fourth option. This final category would predictably capture those participants who had been with the festival for a long

time, and have seen their interest and energies wane. It is tiring to prepare ones products, set-up and take a part market stands, and tend to the selling for eight-hours at a stretch.

While more questions would have been of interest, it was thought prudent to restrict the study to these few in order to gain the greatest compliance. Festival vendors are notorious for avoiding direct questions concerning sales figures, and would probably dismiss the study if any question delved into financial issues in any detail.

The survey was distributed in both Swedish and English, since English tends to be the lingua Franca of the festival when either the visitors or the vendors cannot communicate in Swedish. The distribution was done late in the morning prior to the opening of the market (at noon), yet late enough to ensure that the majority of the vendors were present. Several hours after the initial distribution, the surveys were collected.

9. Results

Of the nearly 140 vendors, a little over half (76) filled in and returned their surveys. While this could be regarded as a good return, certain biases were observed: Some Eastern European and German vendors were noticeable non-responders. This may be because their spoken communication in English was better than their reading English. Other vendors, such as food vendors, were so busy in both their preparation and sales, that they may not have had much opportunity to respond to the questions

Responses from Gotland and Sweden accounted for 75% of the total vendors, while the rest correspond to countries' nearness to Sweden and account for 25% of the respondents as seen in table 10.1.

Table 10.1 Vendor by nationality

Nationality	Frequency	Percent
Gotland, Sweden	19	25,0
Great Britain	1	1,3
Estonia	1	1,3
Latvia	3	3,9
Lithuania	1	1,3
Sweden	38	50,0
Denmark	3	3,9
Germany	4	5,3
Norway	1	1,3
Hungary	3	3,9
Poland	1	1,3
Czech Republic	1	1,3
Total	76	100,0

When asked how long they had participated in the festival, a little over 20% were first-time participants and approximately 20% (19.7%) had participated for 15 or more years. This shows a healthy mix of established sellers, presumably from the island or other parts of Sweden, and new entrepreneurs.

When asked about business type, the greatest percentage (44.7%) reported that the festival business supplemented the vendors current income, the next biggest group at 25% were those vendors that reported their festival business as their major source of income, and in third place were at 19.7% were those that said their festival business was part of a larger business. In last place, at 9.2% were employees, and presumably could not respond with assurance about their employers business. See table 10.2.

Table 10.2 Business type

Type	Frequency	Percent
Part of a larger business	15	19,7
Major source of income	19	25,0
Supplements current income	34	44,7
Employees of business	7	9,2
Missing	1	1,3
Total	76	100,0

Table 10.3 shows that there was generally high satisfaction with Medeltidsveckan as a festival market venue: 54% rated the festival as “one of the best”, where 29% said the festival was average or in-line with other festivals, while only 9.2% rated the festival as not comparing favorably with other festivals.

Table 10.3 Assessment of Medeltidsveckan 2009

Assessment	Frequency	Percent
One of the best	41	53,9
Average	22	28,9
Not as good	7	9,2
Missing	6	7,9
Total	76	100,0

Finally, when the vendors were asked which reason would be the most important in their decision to not participate in the future, rising costs associated with participation (e.g. rising market fees, increased transportation costs) ranked as the most common response at 41% (see table 10.4). The second most frequent reason given was a tougher competitive environment, at 30%. Personal reasons (such as interest, social, or health reasons) received the 3rd most frequent response at 19.7% and newer festivals closer to home drew the least number of responses at 5.3%.

Table 10.4 Reasons for future non-participation in Medeltidsveckan

Reason	Frequency	Percent
Tougher competitive environment	23	30,3
Rising costs of participating	31	40,8
Newer festival closer to home	4	5,3
Personal reasons	15	19,7
Missing	3	3,9
Total	76	100,0

Analysis

It was immediately evident that this study did not receive a sufficient number of respondents to answer some of the original research questions or execute a higher level of statistical analyses of the numbers. But despite the disappointing return, the study did provide a fairly interesting look at the basic information. The picture of the handicrafts person sitting at home during the winter making their medieval crafts and selling them at the market in the summer may actually account for only a small percentage of the total group of vendors. Nearly 50% reported that their festival sales were either the major source of income or part of the sales of a larger firm. For instance, they may have multiple market stands that can sell simultaneously at different historic markets, or even different types of markets. Or they may have a retail store in their hometown and use the market business to supplement their brick and mortar stores. And the picture we are left with is several rather distinct camps of vendors: the traders, who travel from market to market selling their wares and handicrafts people who sell their own work. But even those designations turned out to be overly simplified.

The author visited four medieval festivals in Denmark and Sweden during the summer of 2010, in an effort to learn more about the vendors, and discovered that several more types of businesses need to be included in future studies. One type is the vendors that are simply raising money for the group or organization they are associated with. For example, at a medieval market in Copenhagen, role-playing groups were selling food and wares as part of their role-playing exercises. Other groups of sellers were totally non-serious and ran businesses that were only marginally profitable (and could not say that it even supplemented current income, and even perhaps involved modest costs), but participated mostly because it was

fun to be a part of the festival. One basket weaver, for instance, told me that she might sell one basket per day if she was fortunate, but enjoyed being a part of the festival and showing off her hand work. She had been with the festival since its inception and looked forward to future participation, though had no delusions about the profitability of her handicraft.

For vendors at Medeltidsveckan, the reasons for future non-participation - or more simply the reasons why one might quit participating, reflected the attitudes of any serious business person. Answers were mainly escalating overhead costs (41%) and increased competition (30%). As far as the “new festival closer to home” response is concerned, it was discovered that the calendar of festivals in Northern Europe reflects a new kind of Hanseatic League, where groups of vendors, unrelated to each other, travel from Gotland week 33 to the next festival in Finland, then back down to Horsens, Denmark the following week, thus optimizing their sales opportunities while reducing their travel costs. Future studies of vendors should include a Likert scale of reasons in order to gain a clearer picture of how much any one reason weighs on the minds of the different groups of vendors.

Conclusions

While this study failed to capture a comprehensive description over the landscape of festival vendors, it did provide enough material to suggest that vendors are a more varied group than they are often given credit for, coming with different expectations and requirements, and certainly with differing levels of business acumen. Vendors as a group are worth further study, because they provide a good proportion of festival atmosphere and have the ability to “make or break” the festivals, at least collectively speaking. One could imagine the consequences of market policies being too restrictive or too liberal, or of market fees set at a level that would only be acceptable to the most profitable and professional of traders.

Since the competitive environment is always an undercurrent with vendors, more attention needs to be given to studying how festival organizations can select vendors that provide for an optimal mix of products and services. From the festival visitor’s point of view, this would mean providing good choices and novelty of products and food services. From the vendor’s perspective, this would mean not too many other vendors selling similar products or services. One would like to believe that festivals are essentially forums for social participation, and that good festival organizers in understanding this dynamic would find ways to accommodate those businesses or handcrafters that are only marginally profitable yet con-

tribute considerably to the overall success of the festival.

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CITY BRANDS AND THE INTERNA-
TIONAL OUTREACH

11. The Finnish Cultural Events: Characteristics, touristic significance and international potential

Katja Pasanen & Eva-Maria Hakola

1. Introduction

Cultural events are an important part of the field of culture and cultural tourism as well as cultural export. Events are becoming more and more important because of their potential for attracting tourists and creating good sources of income. Hence events have received growing interest in recent years from multiple directions in Finland. However, the increasing interest has raised the need for common understanding of core concepts and essential basic knowledge of Finnish cultural events among researchers, developers and ministries. The main interest has been in touristic significance and international potential of events.

The objective of this research is to investigate the main features of Finnish cultural events as well as generate criteria by which the events can be positioned by their touristic significance and international potential. The aim is however, not to place these events in the order of superiority but to position them in the field of cultural events according to several indicators created during this process. It is acknowledged that no matter what size the event is, it can be important for its locality or even nationally from cultural standpoints. The aim is to find out both the strengths and the weaknesses of Finnish cultural events as well as offer a list of criteria to follow if growth in touristic significance or international potential is pursued. The results can be used both in redirecting the marketing of Finnish field of cultural events and as a self-diagnosis criteria by events themselves.

2. Event research in the context of tourism and internationalization

The field of event research has internationally grown so wide, that it is beyond anyone's capability of reading it all (Getz 2008). The hot topics of recent years have been the economic and sociocultural impacts of events (e.g. Deery et al., 2005; Delamere, 2001; Delamere et al., 2001; Fredline et al., 2002; Fredline et al., 2006; Fredline & Faulkner, 1998; Jago & Dwyer, 2006; Pasanen et al., 2009; Small et al., 2005), event networks, event policy and planning, and business and management (e.g. Getz et al., 2007; Getz, 2008; Hede, 2007; Larson, 2002; Larson &

Wikström, 2001; Rutherford Silvers et al., 2006). In addition, there has recently been interest in the analysis of event field and event management issues, especially in Sweden, Norway, Australia and UK. The analysis was based on an event data that was collected with the same questionnaire in each of these countries. The data has been analysed in various papers separately and together. (Andersson & Getz, 2009; Getz & Andersson, 2008; Jaeger & Mykletun, 2009.)

Events have also been widely studied in the tourism context because of their important role as a tourism motivators and tourism attractions. The interest in research has varied from customer profiles, customer mobility (e.g. Bohlin 2000), customer motivations (e.g. Lee et al., 2004) and impacts of events to image (e.g. Boo & Busser, 2006; Jago et al., 2003,) and destination development issues (e.g. Moscardo, 2008). However, the internationality or internationalization of events have not that often been examined in event research. A few studies that concentrate on international attendees of cultural attractions and intention of international visitors to attend cultural attractions have been conducted in Finland (Eronen & Ruoppila, 2008; Rajahaastattelututkimus, 2004; Rajahaastattelututkimus, 2007). In addition, Tikkanen (2008) has studied the internationalization process of a music festival.

In international event research, the internationality and internationalization of festivals and events has been poorly studied. Kay (2004) highlights the need for cross-cultural event research in several areas: international tourist attendance at cultural events, motives and decision making processes of international event attendees, international event non-attendees and market segmentation especially for marketing purposes. Kay also recognizes the necessity of identifying the cultural resources available and the accessibility of festivals and events for international tourists.

This research pursues to explain the current situation of Finnish cultural events from the point of view of tourism and internationalization by offering information about main characteristics of these events and positioning events according to their touristic significance, professionalism in management and internationalization process.

3. Roles of events

Events have been classified and positioned in many ways. Most often festivals and events have been classified in terms of their form, size or contents. Getz (1997; 2005) for example has classified festivals and events by their form and publicity, dividing them into eight groups: cultural celebrations; arts and entertainment; po-

litical and state events; business and trade events; educational and scientific events; sport competition; recreational events, and private events. By their form or contents festivals and events can also be divided into cultural events, sports events and festivals, and business events (Bowdin et al., 2006). These can be further divided into smaller and more specific groups, i.e. music festivals can be further categorized as jazz, classical music, folk music festivals, etc. (Bowdin et al., 2006; Getz, 2008.) When classifying events by their form, the events are seen as a social construct which shapes people's expectations of different events (Getz & Andersson, 2008).

There are also ways to categorize events within the tourism context. One approach is to focus on the function of events as factors in destination marketing or development (Getz, 2008). Events and festivals can also be viewed by their level of locality in a tourism context. In this typology, events are classified as local or regional events, major events, hallmark events and mega events (Allen et al., 2002; Getz & Andersson, 2008). Mega events are the most significant events from the tourism perspective. (Bowdin et al., 2001; Getz & Andersson, 2008.) Hallmark events are one scale smaller than mega events. However, they are so significant that they provide competitive advantage to the destinations hosting them. These events are very important to their localities and often the place and the event become interconnected in such a way that they are seen as synonyms. (Bowdin et al., 2001; Getz, 1997.)

Major events on the other hand generate significant regional attention and attract mainly attendees from regional areas, but can still have a positive effect on local economy. (Bowdin et al., 2001; Van der Wagen, 2001.) Local events are the least significant from the tourism perspective. They possess mainly local significance and attract local attendees. Some of them have tourism potential, but several are not particularly interested in tourism. In some cases it might be even wise not to exploit them but rather to preserve their cultural authenticity. (Allen et al., 2002; Getz & Andersson, 2008.)

In some but very few cases festivals and events have been categorized within tourism context by using several indicators simultaneously. A few examples are from Canada where one classification divides events in Nova Scotia into three groups (signature events, community experiences, hometown pride) using indicators such as the duration of the event, extent of the market area, number of employees, and attendance. (Praxis research and consulting Inc., 2004.)

Classifications and positioning of events are a way to discern the "festivalscape" of i.e. a region or a country. However, because of the diverse universe of

festivals and events, it has been recognized that all the classifications are bound to be insufficient; one festival or event can fall into different categories depending on the situation and point of view (Getz, 2005). Also the scale varies between different countries due to differences in the size of population.

Classifications can in addition be problematic since they are based on existing conditions of events. That could impair future development of festivals and the whole sector, especially if classifications are used for political or financial purposes (Getz, 2005). Nevertheless, Getz (2005) points out that classification can be useful as criteria for self-diagnosis and development. They can also be useful in marketing purposes.

4. Method and analysis

The target group of this study was the 76 members of the organisation "Finland Festivals", a collaboration forum for Finland's leading cultural events. This group was chosen since it represents the field of Finnish cultural events well, its' member events varying in size and content. The sample group was completed by adding six events – all in genres that was otherwise underrepresented in the group, e.g. rock and film festivals. Hence the total sample size was 84 cultural events.

As described in detail below, the study commenced with specialist working group discussions and creation of indicators, followed by data collection, and eventually analysis of the data. The data was collected through on-line questionnaires directed to event organizers, supplemented by an analysis of the web pages of the events.

The specialist group defining preliminary criteria for the questionnaire and the web page analysis consisted of academics, the executive director of Finland Festivals organization, and employees of the Ministry of Education (a funder of events in Finland) and the Finnish Tourist Board. The aim of the research was to reveal the touristic significance and international potential of these events. Therefore the specialist group defined attendee profiles and especially non-local visitors as the most important criteria. Other important criteria taken into consideration were the size of the event, visibility in the media, marketing targets, and present state of an internationalization process (e.g. accessibility of the event for international visitors), and the festivals strive towards internationalization.

A questionnaire for event organisers was created with the defined criteria in mind. The first part of the questionnaire constituted of questions concerning the background and basic information about the event, e.g. size, duration, event locations, reasons for organizing the event, content of the event, and visitor and per-

former profiles of the event. The second part concentrated on visitor numbers, financing structure and employees of the event. The third part was interested in marketing and market areas of the event, and the fourth part the visibility of the event. The last two sections concentrated on internationality and development of the event.

All in all 53 event organizers filled in the questionnaire. The response rate was 63. In the case of 23 events some clarifications were made by e-mail or phone calls relative to indicators of touristic importance or the international potential. In the most cases the additions concerned visitor or budget information.

In addition, a web page analysis was made to complete the data collected by questionnaire as well as to provide more information about the events and their accessibility via the Internet for the potential event visitors. The web page analysis focused mainly on standpoint of the customers but also the service networks of the events were under examination. In the analysis attention was paid to language selection of the pages, how easily the contact and location information can be found, and how easily a ticket can be bought to the event. Also the connections of the event to the regional tourism industry (e.g. does the event offer information about accommodation in the area) were examined. Secondly the functionality of the web pages was reviewed.

Ultimately, the final indicators for the touristic significance and international potential of cultural events were decided after the data collection. Indicators that clearly separated the events were chosen as final indicators since there was no sense in using indicators that would not have created any differences between the events. Indicators that were chosen to reflect the touristic significance of the events emphasized size and budget of the event, attendees of the event (attendee numbers, attendee profiles, number and share of non-local attendees, attendee numbers in relation to duration of the event), marketing (size of the marketing budget and share of marketing budget relative to the total budget, target areas and groups of marketing) and media visibility of the event in Finland, professionalism in organizing the event (number of employees, year-round employees, having a designated marketing manager etc.), and tourism and economic attitude and perspective of the event (objectives of the event, connection to tourism industry, easiness of buying the ticket). All in all five groups of indicators and 25 separate indicators depicted the touristic significance of the event.

Indicators of the international potential of the events were divided into four subgroups with a total of 17 separate indicators. The subgroups were attendees of the event (attendee profiles, number and share of international at-

tendees), marketing and media visibility outside Finland (international marketing, visibility in media outside Finland), tourism and economic attitude of the event (language versions of web pages, easiness of buying ticket for international attendees, information about tourism infrastructure in the event locality), and performers of the event (where the performers are from, share of international performers).

When positioning events, all the indicators were assigned points so that for every indicator, an event could get from one to four points. Indicators were prioritized so that the most important indicators were valued at maximum of three or four points, and the less significant indicators were worth of maximum one or two points. The points were summed up to position the events separately according to their touristic significance and international potential. Finally, a synthesis of the event's touristic significance and international potential was created by combining all indicator values.

5. Validity of the data

The 53 events that took part in this study represent well the Finnish field of cultural events. However, some notions need to be made about the data. First, not all events answered the questionnaire and when assessing the results it should be kept in mind that some of the largest Finnish events did not take part in this study. However, this does not largely affect the results.

Secondly, in this study there was a need to create a system to assess and compare the touristic significance and international potential of events simultaneously with multiple criteria. Therefore the criteria were given values or points. The main interest of the research was to find out the touristic significance and international potential of events. There was not an intention to put the events in any order of superiority.

Thirdly, not all chosen criteria were measurable by absolute numbers. Some criteria were represented to the event organizers in the form of statements which means that some of the criteria represent opinions or estimations of the organizers and not actual facts.

However, the statements and the situation was the same for all the events, and they did not know how the data would be analysed. For some events that did not answer all the questions, the researchers needed to give points for the empty questions according to the answers of other similar events. It was important that every event had points for all the indicators. In the last analysis some of the indicators were combined and after that given new values in order to make sure that

none of the criteria would be overemphasized.

This research was exploratory in nature and it aimed at understanding the Finnish field of cultural events and providing useful information for the national developers of cultural tourism. Even if all the events did not take part in the study now, they can be positioned later with the same criteria used in this research.

6. Main characteristics of Finnish cultural events

The study revealed that most of the Finnish cultural events are run by not-for-profit organizations or associations, have long traditions, have music as content, are held during summer months and are located in big or medium sized cities. Of all the 53 events that answered the questionnaire 36 (70 %) are run by not-for-profit organizations, for 10 (19 %) the organizer is municipality, four (7 %) are foundations and only two (4 %) are privately owned or run by enterprises. The share of not-for profit organization organizers is even larger than in the four-country sample provided by Andersson and Getz (2009) but in general it supports the assumption that cultural events are mostly arranged by not-for-profit organizations.

According to the study, most of the Finnish events have been arranged for more than ten years. Only five (9 %) of the events were younger than ten years old, 16 (30 %) of the events were 11 to 20 years old, and 32 (60 %) more than 20 years old. The oldest event was founded in 1954 and the youngest in 2006. On the average a Finnish cultural event had been arranged 26 times (median was also 26). The strongest motive for launch of a Finnish cultural event was the personal interest (in 28 % of the events) or the desire to promote a particular art form (25 % of the events). Or almost equal importance was an existing strong leisure activity at the locality (21 % of the events) or a need to create a new attraction to the locality (19 % of the events).

Music was the main content in 33 events (62 %). Other content was more marginal. In five events (9 %) the main content was dance, theatre or other performing art, in five events multiart or contemporary art, movie, visual art or tradition were each represented by two events (4 %) and literature by one event (2 %). Over two thirds of the events (41; 77 %) were arranged during the summer months (June-August).

The Finnish cultural events vary greatly in size. A great majority of the events are rather small having less than 5.000 attendees (19 events, 36 % of the events) and being organized for less than 100.000 Euros (11; 21 %). On the other hand, there are a couple of bigger events with more than 100.000 attendees (3; 6

%) and a budget more than 1.000.000 Euros (4; 8 %) (see table 11.1). Attendance of the events seems to relate in some degree to total budgets of the events.

Table 11.1 – Total budget of the events in relation to attendance

Count		Attendance 2008					Total
		5000 or less	5001-15000	15001-40000	40001-100000	Over 100000	
Total budget 2008	Less than 100 000 €	8	2	1	0	0	11
	100 000 - 299 999 €	9	6	3	1	0	19
	300 000 - 599 999 €	2	3	5	1	1	12
	600 000 - 999 999 €	0	0	5	1	0	6
	1 000 000 € or more	0	0	0	2	2	4
	Total	19	11	14	5	3	52

Only one of the events that answered the questionnaire survives without public grants. To most of the events, the share of public funding (in percentage of the total budget) varies from 10% to 60%. On the average the public grants and funding form 39 per cent of the total budget (median was 34 %) of the event. The need for public grants seems to be smaller in privately owned events than in other events (table 11.2), although the number of privately owned events in the data is too small to make any generalizations.

Table 11.2 – Public grants and funding from total budget of the events.

Count		Public grants and funding from total budget				Total
		Less than 10 %	10,00 - 34,99 %	35,00 - 59,99 %	60 % or more	
Event organization/ownership	Not-for-profit association/organization	2	16	14	3	35
	Enterprise/private owner	1	1	0	0	2
	Municipality/public owner	1	4	1	4	10
	Other	0	0	2	1	3
	Total	4	21	17	8	50

Most of the costs of the Finnish cultural events is derived from production of the event and, especially, payment of artists' fees (on average 44 % of total costs). On average only 9 per cent of the cost are salaries of personnel - which mean that the majority of the events are arranged with very small personnel. According to the data collected, 15 per cent of the events (8 events) have no year-round employees at all. A little over a quarter of the events (15 events; 28 %) have one year-round employee. However, over half of the events (30; 57 %) have two or more year-

round employees. It has to be kept in mind that a year-round employee is not necessarily equivalent to a full-time employee. Only six of the events (12 %) do not use volunteers. Almost half of the events (24 events; 47 %) have from one to 30 volunteers, 12 events (24 %) have from 31 to 100 volunteers and nine events (18 %) have over 100 volunteers.

The majority of the Finnish cultural events are mainly local or regional from the attendee profile and marketing point of view. In the case of nearly half (49 %) of the events, the attendees come from the event municipality or from the neighbouring area. For 17 per cent of the events, the most common attendee is non-local Finnish visitor.

Thirty-two per cent of the events have international visitors among Finnish attendees. However, the share of international visitors among attendees in these events is quite small, in 40 per cent of the events international guests represent less than one per cent of the attendees. A quarter of the events estimated that their share of international attendees was three to five per cent, while 17 per cent indicate that international guest make up more than five per cent of all attendees. The small share of international visitors is not surprising, considering the fact that only 19 per cent of the 53 events that answered the questionnaire are actively pursuing international visitors.

Most of the events aimed their marketing to a wider area than just home region, while 26 per cent of the events concentrate their marketing efforts to the event locality or neighbouring areas. Over half of the events (53 %) claimed to conduct international marketing; however, for many events, the international marketing consisted of web page information and participation in the common marketing of Finland Festivals organization. For domestic marketing purposes, the most commonly used marketing channels were the event's web pages, event brochures, and local and national newspapers in that order. The marketing budget of the events was quite small. On average, the events used 53.000 Euro to marketing; however, the median value was only 23.000 Euro. The share of marketing costs was with most events (42 % of events) less than 10 per cent from the total budget, with 40 per cent of events it was from 10 to 20 per cent and with 19 per cent more than 20 per cent of total budget.

Finnish cultural events are according to this study still arranged mostly from the artistic and cultural basis. Events chose from the list of nine objectives the three that were most descriptive of their event. The most common objectives for the events was to reach a high artistic level (41 events chose this option) and to emphasise art and culture (40 events). The next most common objective was to

boost the image of the locality (27 events). Other economic and tourism objectives like promoting a region's tourism or economic success were less common, with nine, respectively ten events choosing this option. Socio-cultural objectives were important objectives to less than five events. However, most of the events (85 %) claimed to co-operate with the tourism industry. Common marketing with the tourism industry was done by 80 per cent of the events, and 51 per cent had visitor "package services" offered in association with tourism enterprises.

7. Touristic significance of the Finnish cultural events

The Finnish cultural events were first positioned according to their touristic significance. As mentioned earlier there were 25 indicators in five subgroups in total describing the touristic significance of these events. Depending on the importance of the indicator. The event could get one to four points per indicator. Some of the indicators were summed up, and after that given new values, so that any group of indicators would not be overemphasized. Total points for all the indicators that described touristic significance were 39. The best value achieved was 34.

The cultural events that answered the questionnaire (53) were divided in four groups according to their national touristic significance. The first group was local/regional events (0-13 points). These events have small budget (under 200.000 €) and quite small attendee numbers (less than 6.000). The second group was called regional events; these would have some touristic significance and were given 14 to 20 points. They were a bit larger than the events in the first group, but still less than 20.000 attendees and budgets less than 250.000 Euro. Most of these events, as well as events in the first group, described their customer profiles as regional and had many development issues to tackle in regards to their customer outreach. The second group of events were typically characterized by having at least one year-round employee. Eight events were positioned in the first group and 13 in the second group.

The two other groups were events with touristic significance (21-26 points) and events with great touristic significance (more than 26 points). The events with touristic significance have wider than local or regional appeal. Attendee numbers and budgets of these events vary greatly from 5.000 to 80.000 attendees and from 65.000 Euro to 750.000 Euro. Many attendees are non-locals. These events employ at least two year-round employees. Marketing efforts and media visibility are national at minimum; services and web-pages are customer oriented. At total of 18 events belonged to this group of events.

Fourteen events were found to belong to the last group of events; those

with great touristic significance. They have from a minimum of 18.000 to over 100.000 attendees, and in all of these events. The proportion of the non-local visitors is higher than 50 per cent. Their budgets vary from 300.000 Euro upwards, most of them having budgets over 500.000 Euro. All of them have at least two year-round employees and they are known not only in Finland, but also internationally - at least within their own genre. Services and web-pages are customer oriented.

8. International potential of the Finnish cultural events

Having determined the touristic significance at large, the Finnish cultural events were positioned according to their international potential. Seventeen indicators in four subgroups described the international potential of an event. Depending on the importance of the indicator, each event could get one to three points per indicator. The main interest of the study was to identify the significance of international attendees and the customer oriented actions geared towards obtaining these attendees. The indicators were handled similarly as when positioning the events according to their touristic significance. Total points for all the indicators were 26. The best value achieved was 20.

The cultural events were divided in five groups according to their international potential. The first group was national or regional events that do not have international potential at the moment (0-5 points, 12 events). These events have small budgets and quite small attendee numbers and the attendees are locals or from the nearby areas. Furthermore, less than 15 per cent are international in these events. They do not invest in international marketing, nor do they take international customers into consideration in the information and language options their web pages.

The next group, events with little international potential (6-9 points, 13 events), are not much more developed in international matters than the first group. The events are still small in size and do not invest in international marketing or international media visibility. However, the proportion of international artists is bigger than in the first group (up to 50 %) and potential international customers are taken into consideration somewhat more.

The events with moderate international potential (10-13 points, 11 events) are small or middle-sized, but the number of international attendees is bigger than in the first two groups. The proportion of international artists is over 10 per cent and 30 per cent on average. Most of these events are aiming at internationality at some level, though not very actively, and have some efforts in international mar-

keting as well. Also the potential international attendees are taken into consideration; all the events in this category have web pages at least in English.

The events with great international potential (14-17 points, 12 events) on the other hand vary in size from small to large, since some small events can have great international potential within their own special interest group. The share and amount of international attendees is bigger in these events than in earlier groups, and the share of international artists is on average 40 per cent. Like the events in the previous group, also the events in this group are aiming towards international markets. A third of these events are actively pursuing international attendees. These events also achieve visibility in the international media at least in some years.

The last group consists of international events (over 17 points). Of the 53 events studied, only five events belong in this group. These events are from their activities, structure, and attendee point-of-view already international. The attendee numbers are tens of thousands in all of these events. Many attendees are international. Over half of the artists are international as well. These events have international marketing strategies and receive the attention of international media nearly every year. They are actively pursuing international visitors and also take them into consideration in their services.

9. The synthesis

After positioning the Finnish cultural events according to their touristic significance and international potential, a synthesis of the events' importance and rationality was created by summing up the points assigned during the two positioning discussed earlier. The total points of all the indicators used in the research were 65. None of the events reached this, the best result was 54 points. According to the points the events received, they were divided in four groups: local/regional events (0-20 points, 9 events), regional events that have national importance/small national events (21-30 points, 18 events), national events (31-40 points, 13 events) and national hallmark events with international appeal (over 40 points, 13 events). The principal significance in this positioning is in attendee profiles, marketing, customer-oriented approach and professionalism of organizers and actions. This positioning works with most of the events although some events that are not so well known reached a high score due to their importance within their special interest group.

Local/regional events are relatively small in size. The attendee numbers vary from 1.000 to 10.000, however, most have less than 2.000 attendees. They appeal mostly to local and regional residents, and most of their artists are also from the

neighbouring areas or elsewhere Finland. The budgets of these events vary from 20.000 to 200.000 Euro; most having budgets smaller than 100.000 Euro, with small marketing budgets (less than 20.000 Euros). These events employ at maximum one year-round employee, but some of them do not have any year-round employees. The local/regional events co-operate in some degree with tourism industry and plan their actions with written action plans. Yet, a customer-oriented approach is not fully reached in these events. The events have web pages only in Finnish, and electronic ticket purchasing is possible only in a few cases. Marketing is aimed at regional areas or at Finland, and these events do not pursue international markets or attendees. Less than a fifth of the events (17 %) are in this stage of development. There were several children's events, small music events and special genre events in this group.

The next group was made up of regional events with national importance, small national events are events with large numbers of local or regional attendees, and events with relatively small attendee numbers, but where most of the attendees are non-local. Attendee numbers in this group varies from 1.000 to 30.000; the number of non-local attendees is bigger than in local events, and there might be international attendees as well. In the majority of the cases, these events have wider than regional appeal, and some of these events have international marketing, although the focus in marketing is the Finnish market. These events have international artists as a minority in their programs. The budgets of regional events that have national importance/small national events vary from 20.000 to 500.000 Euro, and most of these events have at least one year-round employee. The marketing budgets are 40.000 Euro at the most.

The regional events that have national importance/small national events are to certain extent developed as far as structure and operations are concerned, but improvements could still be done. Most of them co-operate with the tourism industry, and over half of them present the tourism offers in the area at their web pages. Customer-oriented thinking is at moderate level: two thirds of the events have web pages in English and for most of these events; an attendee can buy a ticket electronically, albeit in Finnish. The English pages on their sites are not equally informative. These events are above all of regional interest and constitute the pride of local people, but they can attract attendees from a wider area as well. These events have importance to their home areas in both sociocultural and economic sense. Of the events taking part of this study, 34 per cent belonged to this group. Most of the events were children's events, classical music festivals, jazz festivals and events of special genre.

National events are attractions with a broader appeal than only to their home area; most often a nationwide appeal. The size of these events vary considerably, which means that even some small events can be nationally important even if the attendee numbers are modest. The attendee numbers of these events vary from 2.000 to 100.000 people, however, most of them have over 5.000 attendees. Over half of the attendees are travellers from outside immediate area. Most of these events have a couple of hundred international attendees. The budgets of national events vary from 100.000 Euro to several million Euro. The events have at least one year-round employee but most of them have two or more year-round employees.

National events are well developed in terms of structure and operations. These events plan their actions with written plans, co-operate with tourism industry, have selected their market areas and groups, and have invested in customer thinking. Most of them market their event nationally, but some also internationally. The market budgets vary from 10.000 to 70.000 Euro, most having marketing budgets over 20.000 Euro. The web pages of these events are quite advanced and information can be found besides Finnish at least in English. For almost every event, tickets can in some way be purchased electronically, with purchase information provided in both Finnish and in English; mostly through e-shops. Most English web pages also offer information about tourism supply.

National events are events that have touristic importance. They are important more widely than just in their home areas, but not yet internationally. On the other hand they are very important to their localities as well, because they generate tourism and enhance the images of their localities. Most of the localities hosting these events are known for their events. A fourth of the events were national events. Most of them are different kind of music festivals (classical music, rock music), but also one art festival belongs to this group.

National hallmark events with international appeal are middle sized or large. Their attendee numbers vary from 20.000 to almost 300.000. The proportion of non-local attendees is 50 per cent or more. In these events the amount of international attendees vary from a couple of hundred to several thousand. About half of these events actively pursue international attendees. The budgets of national hallmarks events are middle sized or large just like the events itself, varying from 300.000 Euro upwards. Most of the events have budgets larger than 500.000 Euro. The marketing budgets vary a lot in proportion of the total budget, from 30.000 Euro to several hundred thousand Euros.

The hallmark events have more employees than an average Finnish cultural

event; with all of them having more than two or more year-round employees. They are also more advanced in regards to their structures and operations than the average Finnish cultural event. All of them use written plans, and most of them have planned their operations at least two years ahead. These events have consciously selected their target markets, and almost every one of them has made efforts in international marketing alongside with domestic marketing. All of these events are also visible in international media, half of them every year. National hallmark events co-operate with the tourism industry and are the constructs of significant endeavours requiring the participation of the whole community, especially in smaller localities.

According to the analysis of web pages, national hallmark events have adopted a customer-oriented way of thinking. All of these events have web pages in Finnish and English; some in additional languages as well. Also, the tourism information can be received straight through the event web pages in both languages; ticket purchasing can be done electronically in every event case in Finnish, and in most cases in English as well.

National hallmark events have national as well as international appeal - or at least display a potential to have international appeal. They carry great meaning and importance for their localities from the tourism expenditure point of view. Like in the case of national events, also the localities hosting national hallmark events are usually known for their events. Peculiarly, in Finland there are national hallmark events also in very small municipalities, like Kaustinen Folk Music Festival (120.000 attendees), and in Kaustinen (4.300 residents). In these localities, special arrangements (special accommodation etc.) need to be done in order to deliver the event. Besides Kaustinen Folk Music Festival, other national hallmark events in this research were Helsinki Festival, Ilosaarirock (Joensuu), Kotka Maritime Festival, Kuhmo Chamber Music Festival, Kuopio Dance Festival, Naantali Music Festival, Sata-Häme Soi Festival (Ikaalinen), Midnight Sun Film Festival (Sodankylä), Art Centre Salmela (Mäntyharju), Tampere Film Festival, Tampere Theatre Festival and TUSKA Open Air Metal Festival.

10. Conclusion

According to this study, Finnish cultural events are founded and arranged on the basis of a strong cultural and artistic passion. The majority of the events are more than ten years old, and most are heavily depending on public grants. This is one explanation why the most common threats and challenges to events in this study relate to economic issues like growing expenses in general (and especially growing

charges of artists), and the (potential) withdrawal of a major sponsor. Also there seems to be the same universal challenges (Getz, 2002) in Finland as in other countries, such as incompetence of management, lack of corporate sponsorship, and over-reliance on one source of money.

In Finland, an inevitable challenge relates to the climate. Only a fourth of the events are arranged during autumn, winter or spring; the majority are arranged during the summer holiday season, where festivals hope for warm weather. Poor weather was identified as a common reason for failure, and the weather was also mentioned as a threat by 17 Finnish events. The situation may generate competition over market shares, i.e. people deselecting one event but attending a subsidy event at a later date, based on weather forecasts.

One issue related to the economy and running a year-round business is that of human resources. Even if many events mentioned that they have a year-round employee, it does not necessarily mean that they have a full-time employee. Also many of the event organizers of Finnish events, especially small publicly owned events, have second jobs, most commonly in the municipal administration. Hence the volunteers are an important asset for almost all events in this study. However, there should be a balance between number of employees and volunteers. The situation has an effect on long term planning and development.

The majority of the Finnish cultural events are mainly local or regional, as concluded by research of from attendee profiles and marketing outreach. As the event classification shows, most of the Finnish cultural events of this study have some degree of touristic significance inside Finland, but only few have great international potential or are international at the moment. One challenge for future development, and a possible topic of research, is how to reach international visitors, both those who are already in Finland, and those who are potential targets in their country of origin.

This study did not aim to put the events in any order of superiority, but to compare different kinds of events as well as to offer a check-list for events for future development. The criteria created for the study to categorize events can also be used for assessing other events in the future.

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12. Event Management during city image transformation processes: The case of Rijeka, Croatia

Dora Smolic Jurdana

1. Introduction

The tourism development policies of a city function in a network of co-operative relationships between local government, tourist agencies, tourism organizations (tourist associations), and organizations working for city revitalization, are shaped by partnerships, especially public-private partnerships, set up to develop the infrastructure and improve the tourism offer.

The meaning of *urban tourism* is based on the understanding of a concept of the city as a complex social and economic system, and as a tourism destination offering comfort and tourism attractions. The city as a tourist destination is multi-functional and attracts different market segments or groups of consumers, each with different needs and expectations.

This research paper is based on an analysis of policies in the city of Rijeka, Croatia. Rijeka is the centre of the Kvarner region, one of the most important tourism regions in Croatia. The city has long been known as an industrial centre, but in the last decade, the city has undergone substantial change in economic structure, and development of urban tourism now represent an important aspect of the overall development strategies of the city. By developing new events and attractions, Rijeka searches for a new position on the tourism market.

The elements of *quality* offered by the city of Rijeka as an urban tourism destination are analyzed in the paper, especially the importance of events as an element of Integrated Quality Management (IQM) in the urban setting. The events will be analyzed from two points of view; respectively as a factor that improves local culture and provides quality of leisure time to local inhabitants, and as a factor that attracts tourists. The hypothesis is that the development of tourism, and especially incorporation of professional event management, significantly contributes to the transformation of image of the city of Rijeka, not just as the tourist destination, but as an administrative centre, too.

Tourism is of great importance to the development of the city, and serves as an important “marker” of its image – not just the image of the city as a tourism destination, but also and not least the image of the city as a location that offering

conveniences to *both* tourists and local inhabitants.

2. City tourism development and IQM of the urban destinations

Cities are multi-purpose destinations. They attract many visitors coming to visit friends and relatives and draw visitors to their attractions and events that may or may not have been developed as part of a deliberate policy to serve residents as well as tourists. These years, museums, concert halls, theatres, arenas, stadiums are being built or improved, and potential tourism quarters are being redeveloped. Cities may also be easily accessible via airports and scheduled services, and hotels built to serve the business traveller may be less used in the weekends, offering regular tourists and opportunity for cheap weekend breaks. (Law, 1997)

Cities usually attract different market segments. The cultural heritage of the city attracts an educated population of tourists, while an elderly population is likely to appreciate both cultural heritage and experience active outdoor holidays. Young people, on the other hand, are more attracted to the excitement found in the city, the entertainment, and night life and sport events. As a destination for the business traveller, cities attract due to the facilities available for meetings and trade shows, the access to education, and different logistic services.

Thus, developing tourism provides a city with the opportunity to open its doors to the world, present its culture, customs, industrial and other achievements, and thereby build its distinct identity.

To understand the city as a tourist destination, it is necessary to understand the concept of a city as a complex social and economic system, as well as a destination offering many facilities and attractions. In the professional literature, tourism that evolves within cities is called city tourism, although it should be noted that some authors make a distinction between city tourism (tourism in small cities) and urban tourism (tourism in large cities). In this paper the term *city tourism* will be used to denote all the tourist activities taking place within a city as a tourist destination.

City tourism, therefore, refers to tourism-related sojourns in a given city, and the comprehensive, year-round, tourist activities in a highly complex and dynamic socio-economic urban system of which tourism is but one, usually minor, part.

Cities first became a destination for „modern tourists“ in the late 19th century, as they began to draw visitors to various cultural events (world exhibitions, concerts by eminent artists, and so on). They were also on the regular itineraries

of round-trips taken by tourists of that period, and they were the primary traveling motive for tourists from other continents. The aim of organizing mega events within a city at that time was to attract tourists and promote the city, and in the context of today's reasoning, this can be considered the beginning of the systematic development of city tourism

Continuous, turbulent changes have impacted considerably on the economic orientation of cities. In recent times, cities have begun to formulate development and revitalization plans, in which tourism is featured as a vital factor. This is the reason for opening congress centers, building sports facilities, landscaping parks, restoring cultural and historical heritage, revitalizing industrial heritage, designing and constructing numerous entertainment and amusement facilities. As a tourist destination, the city should be viewed as a multifunctional area that is used by a large portion of the local population (residents of the city and its gravitating regions), as well as by various segments of tourist with differing references, expectations and traveling motives.

Today tourism has become of the utmost importance in the development of a city. In planning tourism development in cities, a number of specific issues need to be addressed, such as the conflicting natures of various development options, traffic-related problems (which tourism only aggravates) especially in city centers, and the excessive pressure placed on certain attractions, which could result in their degradation. Considering the spatial distribution of buildings and roads within a city, where only minor interventions are possible in the majority of cases, in planning tourism development many elements of the offer (historical buildings, museums, theatres) represent variables that are not easily balanced. More often than not, sites are located within the heart of the city itself, which makes planning of the flow of tourists all the more difficult, especially in view of the fact that tourism, while intended to contribute to increasing prosperity in cities, should not do so in a way that disrupts (to any substantial degree) the living conditions of the residents.

At the same time, the development of city tourism can help maintain and support various facilities – in particular cultural facilities faced with funding problems. Exposure to tourism can provide such facilities with exposure to new markets and open up for additional sources of income. It is this fact that could be the key driving force behind the revitalization of cities or neighbourhoods, especially in the transitional processes that cities are undergoing when changing from industrial into service centers.

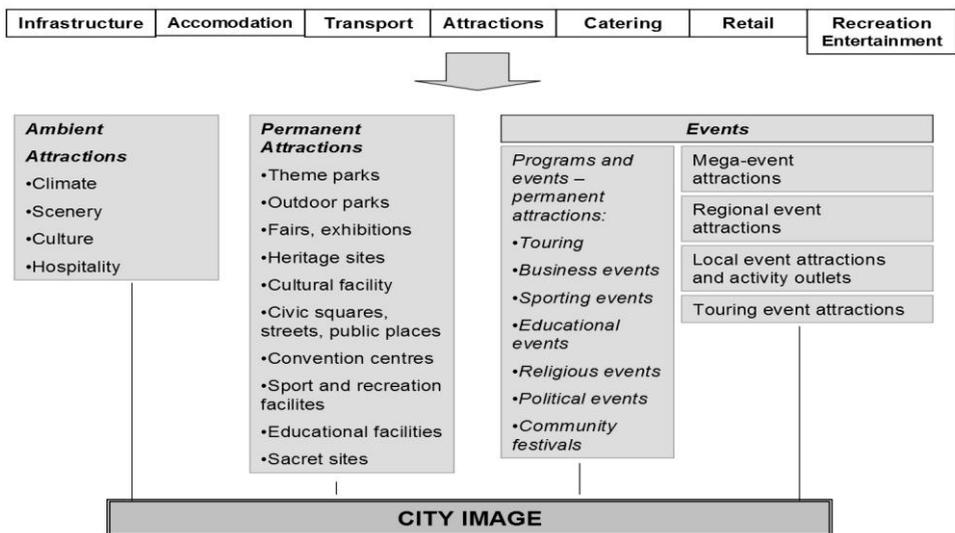
The strategy that post-industrial cities most frequently pursue in to spur

their economic growth towards a service-oriented economy is to provide service activities, including opportunities for leisure time and tourism, as well as financial, information and communication services. This strategy of providing growth through urban regeneration calls for investments to the infrastructure and super-structure of the service sector. Old, decrepit industrial sites, warehouses, and ports are being restored to serve a new purpose – tourism. The facilities provided in the restored areas include movie theatres, museums, amusement parks, creative workshops, marinas and others.

The transformation of industrial heritage into service sector facilities, that is, urban restoration in accordance to new objectives, sets forth calls for an investments in creating a new and more attractive image of a city using its competitive advantages over other destinations in order to foster economic vitality and sustainable tourism. Competitive abilities, attractiveness and the overall destination image can become key factors in enhancing the economic dimension of sustainable tourism development in cities.

If it is in any way possible, the development plan of urban tourism should be formulated as part of the overall economic and social development plan of the city, that is, focus should be placed on fully integrating tourism development with the overall development of the city while minimizing potentially conflicting situations.

Figure 12.1 Attractions of the urban tourism destination



Source: Gartner, 1996, p. 353.

Based on the analyses of the present and expected situations in cities of different attributes it is possible to summarize the following basic principles of urban tourism: (Inskeep, 1991; Law, 1996)

- Hotels and other accommodation facilities should be located in easily accessible areas, with attractive and safe surroundings, and near to at least some attraction features, shopping, and entertainment facilities.
- Good tourist signage all around the city, especially for walking distance attractions, and good quality public transport which will satisfy the needs and expectations of tourists. If possible, it is commendable to organize special public transport for tourists (open buses, boats etc. for sightseeing tour) and taxi service.
- Provision of a wide range of accommodation and other tourist facilities, offering different price- and service levels to different market segments.
- Pedestrialization, to the extent possible, of the tourism areas to allow for and encourage walking. Many tourists prefer walking in order to have a direct experience in the urban ambience, and well-developed sidewalk systems, walkways through parks, pedestrialization of shopping areas, and other possibilities for tourists to walk in the central area of the city, and from their hotels to the attractions features, should be particularly reviewed. Nevertheless, pedestrialization is not an automatic cure to downtown problems, and opportunities needs to be carefully investigated to determine optimum pedestrian systems before implementation.
- Creation of a select number of tourist routes for sightseeing (one hour tour, two hours tour, half-day tour).
- Improvement of the city appearance with landscaping, interesting architectural styles, park system and opening up views. In modern cities with much pressure for more intensive development, urban design studies and regulations are essential.
- Taking advantage of waterfront areas by identifying interesting locations for shopping facilities, and establishment of plazas and walkways along the waterfront, offering water views.
- Conservation of historic buildings with renovation of their interiors

for modern functions. Preservation of complete historic districts.
Development of small museums.

- Improvement of tourist attractions where needed, and control of visitor flow to prevent congestion and environmental degradation of attractions.
- Development of infrastructure, good transportation services, ensuring provision of adequate water supply, sewage and solid waste disposal, so that the infrastructure system are not overloaded and cause environmental problems.
- Good information services to tourists, with clear messages about what to do and see; availability of tourist amenities and multi-lingual capabilities in tourism enterprises where necessary, are prerequisites of success. Opening of visitor information center(s) in a strategic location(s), i.e. intensively used tourism areas and streets, tourist information booths on street corners, and recognizable information officers strolling along the streets, are useful techniques to assist tourists.
- Assuring a high level of security for tourists, control the crime in tourism areas (as well as elsewhere) with sufficient police presence, and information to tourists about how to avoid becoming crime victims by taking protective measures.
- Good, organized medical care and provision of adequate medical facilities that is welcoming to tourists, including information about these in accommodation facilities.
- Tourism development has to be planned so that it also directly benefits and can be used by residents, does not pre-empt residents' enjoyment of their urban environment, and reinforces residents' sense of well-being in their city.
- Public-private partnership is a must, as much as effective coordination of activities in order to improve the integral quality of the tourism offer of the city. It is necessary to assure the continuous monitoring of tourism activities.

Some of the most successful tourism cities are those that possess and maintain an overall attractive and sometimes dramatic urban character, combined with specific attractions, gateways, and staging area functions. Access to and intelligent use of the main natural sites of the city - such as a sea, a lake, the riverfront, hills and

mountain - help create an attractive and interesting setting.

The effects of tourism development in a city will not be felt unless tourists start arriving in large numbers, and both tourists and residents alike take advantage of the facilities offered. Promoting the new facilities, therefore, is beneficial to residents, and at the same time fosters tourism development. Tourists paying for the use of these facilities contribute to their value and maintenance over an extended period of time, to the benefit of residents. In general, city tourism – at least in warmer climates - does not display any notable seasonal oscillations, a fact that impacts favourably on employment and business performance year-round.

One of the attributes of a city as a receiving area is its distinctly heterogeneous target segments. Unlike rural or resort areas, cities attract tourists who are motivated for a wide range of reasons, i.e. business people, culture and history lovers, tourists looking for entertainment and fun, young people and many others. Large cities, therefore, often develop polycentric tourism, that is, different parts of the city develop different offers targeting different market segments, each with different preference and buying power. Thus, by developing a number of different types of urban tourism, tourist trade in cities can enjoy year-round operation.

Tourism development that strives to support the economic vitality and competitive ability of local companies and the local economy of the city as a tourist destination is encouraging local companies to continue to collaborate in promoting tourism with long-term objectives (Achana, 2003).

The theory of sustainable development can also be applied to tourism development in cities. Contrary to i.e. ecological concerns in rural tourist destinations, major issues of sustainable tourism development in urban environments is closely related to culture, protection of heritage and built environment, and social interaction.

The key elements of sustainable urban tourism development include the following: (Getz, 2003)

- The central issue of urban sustainability should rest on the fact that, although tourists and residents interact in public areas, the resources of the city must be preserved to maintain the quality of life of the local population, above all.
- The second singular platform of sustainable development in cities is the built environment.
- Although it is often assumed that cities are subject to continuous changes, the dynamic element of urban tourism is mainly unknown.

The tourism industry reacts to changes in society that affect the attitudes and behaviour of citizens. The impact of tourism in changing and dynamising social and economic processes is irrefutable.

- Strategies for sustainable tourism development and city management are very vulnerable to the impact of policies. While reflecting differing value systems, development policies can also be a source of conflict especially with regard to planning primary spatial functions.
- Sustainable tourism development in cities must also take into account the special role of green and open areas in cities. Rarely do cities possess truly natural eco-systems. This fact, however, does not lessen the importance of green areas and a sound attitude toward nature.
- Activities aimed at achieving and promoting sustainable tourism development in cities must take into consideration the existing economic conditions, the need to achieve and maintain the competitive ability of the city as a destination, and all other business activities taking place within the city.
- There are limits to which a city and its carrying capacity can develop, and in formulating and implementing plans these limits should be taken into account. It is essential to strike a balance between the interests of visitors, residents and the tourism sector.

Hence, urban tourism planning can be carried out successfully providing that it is in coordination with the development plans of other economic branches, that city residents are willing to accept tourism development, and that the city as a tourist destination is systematically managed.

As a part of integral tourism planning for sustainable urban destinations, the World Tourism Organization has developed a set of indicators in order to help specialists in monitoring the process, keeping in mind the principles mentioned above.

Issues that the WTO suggests to analyze are: improvements to the townscape and protection of the historic heritage, formation of sustainable tourism enterprises, environmental management, traffic/public transport system, integration of regional economy, presentation of cultural knowledge, crowding/spatial distribution, and resident attitudes toward tourism. Suggested indicators are shown in figure 12.2.

The final selection of indicators to be used in tourism planning of a particular city depends on the city's present situation, most significant problems, level of tourism development, and the strategic decisions of tourism management towards future tourism development.

Figure 12.2 – Indicators for urban tourism destinations

ISSUES	SUGGESTED INDICATORS
Improvements to the townscape and protection of the historic heritage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>Percentage of restored historic buildings</i> ● <i>Expenditures/ m³ of public and private finance spent in improvement of the physical urban environment</i> ● <i>Increase of the percentage of pedestrian streets in the total road network</i> ● <i>Existence and extend of public open areas</i> ● <i>Expenditures/ m³ yearly spent in restoration of historic buildings</i>
Sustainable tourism enterprises	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>% of business that have adopted environmental management procedures</i>
Environmental management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>Level of public and private finance spent in environmental-management systems</i> ● <i>Reduction of operational costs from environmental management</i> ● <i>Changes in return of investment (%)</i> ● <i>Change in use of material/resources (%)</i>
Traffic/public transport system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>% of tourists arriving by public transport</i> ● <i>Accessibility of tourist attractions by public transport</i> ● <i>Existence of a control system for bus parking and level of control (% tourist buses complying)</i> ● <i>Prices for taxi (per Km)</i>
Integration of regional economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>Value and % of goods purchased locally from the region(e.g. organically grown food from the region)</i> ● <i>% of tourists shops promoting regional products</i>
Presentation of cultural knowledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>Number and percentage of guided tours and/ or publications which give detailed information on the background of the cities history, cover actual issues of city development, show new and unconventional attractions</i>

Crowding/spatial distribution

Resident attitudes toward tourism

Source: WTO, 2004

- *Total number of tourists per square Km in key sites – variety of tours and visit sites, number of different sites receiving tours*
- *Local satisfaction level with tourism in the city*

An optimum mix of attractive events should supplement above mentioned policies. An optimum number of attractive events is reached when addition of future events are judged to have limited marginal impacts on tourism development and development of the destination image. However, reaching this optimum level of events first and foremost requires a comprehension of the destination's resource capacity. While larger mega-events in some cities may exceed existing resources, if only temporarily for actual event, and with some returns and activity subsequently being lost to the destination, those cities that are hosting a number of smaller events which do not maximize resource capacity may also lose out on the full potential that could be reached by having larger events (Bull, 2004; McCartney, 2005).

Nevertheless, most events have a significant impact not only of the economic situation of the city, but also on the social, cultural, political and physical environment (See figure 12.3).

3. A new image for the City of Rijeka – challenges for tourism professionals.

Development of tourism in the city of Rijeka has to be based on the global principles of tourism development the EU.

For the purpose of this paper, the following principles shall be mentioned: (Crauser, G, 1998)

- The tourism industry must meet the challenge of competitiveness. Quality has become a key element in Community actions aimed at the competitiveness of European tourism, serving a condition of growth, of job creation and thus of the sustainable and balanced development of the EU.
- Integrated quality management (IQM) has to be recognized as an essential element in a strategy for actions aiming at the competitiveness of European tourism. Europe has to back the diversity of its natural, cultural and human heritage, to modernize its infrastructures and its tourist equipment, and to innovate through new tourist products and alternative forms of tourism. SMEs can play a signifi-

cant role in this respect. The importance of life-long learning and of social dialogue is very high.

- Developing an integrated quality management strategy requires close co-operation between all the actors in the public and private sectors, as well as between all sectors of activities and at all levels of responsibility: i.e. within and between local, regional, national, European and international organizations.
- Strengthening of the coordination between the Community policies affecting tourism, namely those which aim at: the smooth operation of the internal market, the introduction of the Euro as an instrument of tourism promotion, employment, cohesion and regional development, research and technological development, training, the management of cultural, natural and energy resources, transport, the promotion of the consumer interests, relations with third countries and particularly with the candidates for accession to the Community (which includes Croatia).

Figure 12.3 – The impact of events

Impacts of events	Positive impacts	Negative impacts
Social and cultural	<i>Shared experience</i> <i>Revitalising of traditions</i> <i>Building of community pride</i> <i>Validation of community groups</i> <i>Increased of new and challenging ideas</i> <i>Expansion of culture</i>	<i>Community alienation</i> <i>Manipulation of community</i> <i>Negative community image</i> <i>Bad behaviour</i> <i>Substance abuse</i> <i>Social dislocation</i> <i>Loss of amenity</i>
Physical and environmental	<i>Showcasing of the environment</i> <i>Provision of models for best practice</i> <i>Increased environmental awareness</i> <i>Infrastructure legacy</i> <i>Improved transport and communication</i> <i>Urban transformation and renewal</i>	<i>Environmental damage</i> <i>Pollution</i> <i>Destruction of heritage</i> <i>Noise disturbance</i> <i>Traffic congestion</i>
Political	<i>International prestige</i> <i>Improved profile</i> <i>Promotion of investment</i> <i>Social cohesion</i> <i>Development of administrative skills</i>	<i>Risk of event failure</i> <i>Misallocation of funds</i> <i>Lack of accountability</i> <i>Propaganda</i> <i>Loss of community ownership and control</i>

		<i>Legitimation of ideology</i>
Tourism and economic	<i>Destination promotion and increased tourist visits</i> <i>Extended length of stay</i> <i>Higher yield</i> <i>Increased tax revenue</i> <i>Business opportunities</i> <i>Commercial activity</i> <i>Job creation</i>	<i>Community resistance to tourism</i> <i>Loss of authenticity</i> <i>Damage to reputation</i> <i>Exploitation</i> <i>Inflated prices</i> <i>Opportunity costs</i> <i>Financial mismanagement</i> <i>Financial loss</i>

Source: Allen, O'Toole, McDonnell & Harris, 2005; taken from McCartney, 2005.

Despite the huge efforts that the City of Rijeka has made in recent years in building its tourist image, it nevertheless continues to be a destination with a poorly defined position, and hence lacks a clear market image. Certain events (i.e. the Rijeka Carnival) and facilities (i.e. the car race track at Grobnik) have acquired an image of their own, but not to such an extent that they alone can be used to “mark” such a diverse and rich area. This situation needs to be considered within the framework of the continually evolving globalised world tourist market, with reference to undiscovered and new emerging destinations, as well as in terms of the substantial qualitative improvements Rijeka's rivals are making in their tourist supply. Even if we can contend that a number of attractive events targeting various tourist segments are organised by the City of Rijeka, an important issue that needs to be addressed is the insufficient quality of the events staged. Although interesting and of average quality, they do not possess, to any sufficient extent, those elements of quality characterising excellence that are needed to change the city's image.

Figure 12.4 – Review of today, and plans of tomorrow

T O D A Y	T O M O R R O W
<p><i>Poorly defined position</i></p> <p><i>Lacking a clear market image</i></p> <p><i>Marginal economic importance attributed to the tourist trade</i></p> <p><i>Poorly developed destination management IQM</i></p> <p><i>Transport issues, parking facilities</i></p> <p><i>Insufficient accommodation capacities of inadequate quality</i></p> <p><i>Poorly defined development goals</i></p> <p><i>Inadequately maintained beaches and inadequate purity of the sea</i></p> <p><i>Insufficiently valorised historical and cultural assets</i></p> <p><i>Conflicting economic branches</i></p> <p><i>Tourism is something that occasionally “happens” to the City of Rijeka.</i></p>	<p><i>Selection of vital attributes</i></p> <p><i>Distinctive destination</i></p> <p><i>Unique image</i></p> <p><i>Defined market segments</i></p> <p><i>Creative industry</i></p> <p><i>Maritime centre of the Adriatic</i></p> <p><i>Logistics centre of the Kvarner region</i></p> <p><i>Year-round operation</i></p> <p><i>Centre for events involving:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>culture</i> • <i>sports</i> • <i>entertainment</i> • <i>shopping</i> • <i>valorised historical assets</i> • <i>business meetings</i> • <i>science and education</i>

The de-industrialisation of cities – a process that is affecting Rijeka as well – is marked by the expansion of the service sector and the growth of entrepreneurship. Cities are embarking on a new development cycle, with attributes that differ essentially from those typical of the industrial age. In this transitional phase (lasting for a number of years still), an immediate turnaround towards tourism cannot be expected, because of the barriers presented by objective factors (such as lack of a tourism-oriented superstructure), as well as subjective factors (such as low local awareness of tourism being vital to economic and social development).

The City of Rijeka is spread over 44 square kilometres and is home to 144,043 inhabitants. Another 200,000 people living in the city’s outer ring gravitate to Rijeka. The city possesses natural, cultural and other resources, the value of which has not yet been fully recognised, as well as tourism resources and potential tourist attractions. To turn these resources into tourist attractions requires a development policy capable of creating the foundation and framework needed for shaping them into a tourism product. The city has a well-developed municipal infrastructure, (a

factor which, if lacking, often severely limits the development opportunities of towns and coastal villages). For the tourist supply to develop, however, requires a re-shaping of the management of the city in such a way that the tourist trade becomes equal to other economic sectors. This involves encouraging partnership relations between the public and private sector.

A major concern of the destination today is the problem of traffic congestion. Needless to say, this problem is not unique to Rijeka, but rather an issue that most of the larger cities of Europe need to address.

An issue that has considerable adverse impact on the opportunities for accelerating the development of the destination's tourist industry is the modest accommodation capacity of the city. The number of accommodation units available (2954 beds in year 2009) is insufficient, and due to this shortage of accommodation options, visitors to various events and many regular visitors to Rijeka choose to stay in neighbouring towns (for example, Opatija). In 2009, Rijeka recorded 204.779 tourist arrivals and 263.044 tourist nights.

Although the city's rich cultural and historical heritage has yet to be adequately presented and valorised through tourism, a sight-seeing route called „The Yellow Tourist Trail“ has been designed, offering tourists an opportunity to see Rijeka's most important cultural and historical sites and buildings.

The Yellow Tourist Trail involves: (1) Municipal Palace – Stendarac – the city flagpole – Church of St. Jerome, (2) University Library – permanent exhibition of the Glagolitic script – Museum of Modern Art Rijeka – Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art, (3) Governor's Palace – Maritime and Historical Museum of the Croat Littoral, (4) City Museum, (5) Natural History Museum, (6) Palace of Justice, (7) St. Vitus' Church – Calvary – Kozala, (8) St. Sebastian's Church, (9) Ruins of the late-antiquity castrum, (10) Old Gateway “The Roman Arch”, (11) Palazzo Comunale – oldest Town Hall in Rijeka, (12) Church of the Assumption and the Learning Tower, (13) The centre of Susak – Trsat, (14) Croatian National Theatre “Ivan pl. Zajc”, (15) Main Market, (16) “Modello” Palace, (17) Orthodox Church of St. Nicholas, (18) City Tower.

The City of Rijeka is surrounded by a number of highly attractive and singular tourist destinations with a long tradition. These destinations are important at tourism gradually becomes the key orientation of development in the entire Kvarner region. In meeting the needs of today's tourists, Rijeka has the opportunity to position itself as the logistics centre of the Kvarner region (health care, education, finance, trade, supply, and so on). Hence, auxiliary and tourism-related activities in Rijeka are expected to prosper. The City of Rijeka should be prepared

to seize the chance to position itself as the event centre of the region, offering opportunities for culture, sports, entertainment, shopping, business meetings, science and education.

The vision of Rijeka is to develop into a distinctive destination by 2015; a destination of unique experiences and events, a union of urban rhythm and traditional culture. (Master Plan of Tourism Development of the County of Primorje and Gorski Kotar, 2005)

In 2007, the survey about the satisfaction of tourists with different elements of the tourism offers in Rijeka was done (See figure 12.5). A stratified random sample was used in the study. Data on tourist traffic (number of tourist arrivals) in the city of Rijeka based on monthly reports of the Central Bureau of Statistics of Croatia were used as a framework in selecting the sample. Stratification was carried out according to destinations, types of accommodation facilities, and tourist-generating countries. The sample comprised four types of accommodation facilities (hotels, tourist complexes, motor-camps, and accommodation in private homes). The size of the sample was planned at 90 respondents (76 properly filled out questionnaires were collected). Respondents were asked to rate their degree of satisfaction with 37 elements of the tourism offer of Rijeka on a scale from 1 to 7 (1 – very dissatisfied, 7 – very satisfied).

Out of 37 different components of the tourism offer of the city of Rijeka, the best and the worst elements have been evaluated for the sake of this paper. The results are outlined in figure 12.5.

Figure 12.5. Tourist satisfaction with selected elements of the city of Rijeka tourism offer

<i>10 elements of the tourism offer resulting in the highest tourist satisfaction</i>			<i>10 elements of the tourism offer resulting in the lowest tourist satisfaction</i>		
1.	Beautiful landscapes	5.76	1.	Available parking space	2.63
2.	Local gastronomy Hospitable catering staff	5.57	2.	Congresses and meetings	2.95
3.	Friendly and hospitable residents	5.50	3.	Organisation of local traffic	3.59
4.	Opportunities for excursions to surrounding regions	5.04	4.	Crowded beaches	3.65
5.	Quality of the sea	5.00	5.	Quality of health tourism facilities	3.88

6.	Working hours of catering and other services	4.88	6.	Quality of sports facilities and events	3.89
7.	Transportation links Urban design	4.86	7.	Quality of cultural facilities and events	3.97
8.	Beach facilities and maintenance	4.82	8.	Events	3.99
9.	Good networking of tourist information centres	4.81	9.	Facilities and events for children	4.00
10.	Healthy climate in the destination Shopping	4.79	10.	Promenades	4.05

Since 2008, significant improvements have taken place in the management of events at city level, and the quality of events has improved. Some of the events are today well known internationally, such as the Rijeka Carnival.

4. Conclusion

City tourism has developed intensively during the last decades. The variety of the tourism offer, special attributes, and complex relationships and problems are immanent to urban destinations. Cities are multi-dimensional and complex, and tourism is (usually) just a part of much larger economic system.

The use of events is a part of the tourism promotion-and-rejuvenation strategy. Events not only attempt to prevent destination stagnation or decline, they also present the destination with additional attraction attributes. Events help to improve the image of the city, or even change the image completely, and are often directed specifically at the tourist market.

The City of Rijeka is undertaking important action in changing its image from an industrial city to a city where living is pleasant. Promoting tourism in the city and promoting the city as an urban tourist destination play heavily in this context.

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13. The Olympic City: A Design for a ‘Festival of Humanity’ or a ‘Mega-event’?

Stephany Tzanoudaki

1. Introduction

Bauman (2000c: 98) talks about the meaning of the *festival*, arguing that a city hosting a festival is ‘the same city transformed’, and that the festival is a time interlude during which “the city is transformed before falling into its routine quotidianity”. Local festivals and carnivals are samples of events causing the city atmosphere to change instantly, and return just as quickly to its existing profile and everyday routine when it is over. *Mega-events*, on the other hand, are ‘large scale cultural (including commercial and sporting) events with a dramatic character, mass popular appeal and international significance’, according to Roche (2000c: 1).

In this paper, the author discusses the ways in which Olympic host cities present themselves. By exploring the differences between the meanings of a ‘festival’ and a ‘mega-event’, the author aims to show the transition in the role of the Olympic Games from being an event merely seeking a temporary host and offering a time-interlude to the chosen city, to being a medium promoting the city’s fashionable image on a global scale.

The Olympic Games promise to leave a legacy behind and serve as an opportunity for host cities to refashion their image, but host cities are no longer hosts of the ‘festival of humanity’ that was envisioned by the founder of the Modern Olympic Movement, Baron Pierre de Coubertin, at the end of the nineteenth century. Nowadays, the cities’ legacies are the results of a well marketed mega-event strategy. The author argues that the transition is seen in the construction of the Olympic city’s identity, and is the result of an invented and well-marketed narrative, which, borrowing Harvey’s (1990c: 289) words, relies on ‘image assemblers, image builders, image crafters, and image creators’. Image makers create city marketing narratives, using the Olympic event’s global impact as a large media and mega event, often based on pre-scheduled formulas of success and market differentiation criteria.

2. The Olympic City and the Vision of hosting a Modern International Event

Baron Pierre de Coubertin was the founder of the modern Olympic Games. He was the first to formulate the idea of the relationship between the games and the place that would host the event. Coubertin (1929) stated: 'In restoring the institution in its ancient spirit, and in keeping with the feeling of my day, I wanted to give the Games the global form that meets the hopes and needs of today'. The Olympic city was a theoretical sketch based on Coubertin's sublime perception of space, inspired by ancient Olympia, where all his ideas about human health prosperity and wellbeing, and those of fair play, could be applied. Coubertin's romanticism had to do with the reconciliation of present and past which he created when bringing the old Greek games to life, ignoring the years of history that separated the two epochs. His respect and admiration for ancient Olympia led him to the development of an imaginary vision that would provoke similar emotions for the modern sites. He was never clearly associated with an aesthetic movement or theory of his present time, and he never used modern city planning ideas or modern architecture as examples to draw inspiration from.

In comparison to the other major international event of the time, the International Expositions, in the first Olympic cities there was no interest in displaying technological progress or plans of the city's modern development.

Another major difference in relation to the International Expositions, is that for Coubertin (1906) the Olympic Games were organised 'for the elite...the elite among spectators, men and women in society, diplomats, professors, generals and members of the institute'. The International Expositions, on the other hand, were festivals attracting the crowds. The 1900 International Exposition, an event that had merged with the programme of the 1900 Olympic Games in Paris, was the most popular of its time, visited by fifty- one million people. Jullian (1974c: 33), writes: 'From the heights of the Trocadero to the end of the Champ de Mars, a human tide, an ocean of curious heads remains transfixed, engulfed by the sheer mass of the various groups, awaiting the promised spectacle. These crowds! You couldn't separate them with a pin!'

Although Coubertin wished for the popularisation of the Games, he did not want the Olympic city to become an environment of mass attendance. This can be seen in his writings in 1909, in which he argued that: 'From the artistic perspective, not only is the shape and colour of the modern crowd ugly, but it is difficult to provide everything that the crowd needs to control it: bleachers, enclosures, barriers, tickets windows, etc.'. Coubertin (1909) refers to the crowds as a 'hideous,

hulking mass’, suggesting that they will not ‘ruin the aesthetic as long as they are well distributed within it’.

3: The Olympic City as a Utopian Vision: Athens 1896 and Berlin 1936

Late nineteenth and early twentieth century’s societies were very embrave of the efforts of visionaries towards the realisation of utopian dreams, leading to a perfected form of life and citizenship, and therefore provided hopes for the realisation of utopian ideas. According to Levitas (1990c: 89), the utopian thinker, Ernst Bloch, identifies that an essential distinction ‘between an abstract and a concrete utopia is one of function’, and that he observes a degree of radicalism and absolutism in utopian functions and their possible realisation. It becomes essential to take a position as to whether the Olympic city, stemming from its founder’s concept of Modern Olympia and vision to establish a festival of humanity, should be envisioned as a utopia and be designed on the basis of utopian ideas and forms. This position has to do with whether the Olympic city would be accepted as something realisable or not, and if it is envisioned as something that can possibly become part of reality. The position therefore plays an active role in changing reality. It can be argued that the Olympic city in its first modern-day editions was presenting itself as a festival aiming to change reality, which was close to Bloch’s definition of an ‘abstract utopia’, a utopia which ‘contains the intention towards a better life’, but with no real plans for action, open to interpretation of nations’ ideologies and plans for change.

According to Benedict Anderson (1991c: 6), communities are to be distinguished by ‘the style in which they are imagined’. Anderson’s statement agrees with the vision of the Olympic city of Athens 1896 and the visions of the Greece at the end of the nineteenth century; a country looking for an opportunity to be re-imagined and sought to display its new identity worldwide. The Olympic city of Athens 1896 tried to merge the values of a classical past with the present. The created identity was an opportunity to show that the country was in a process of modernisation and transformation of modern Greeks ‘into beings worthy of Pericles and Socrates’.

According to the words of Politis and Anninos (1897c: 25) at the Official Olympic Review of the 1896 Games: ‘We may predict that the champions of modern Hellas will prove themselves more and more worthy of their illustrious ancestors’.

The image of the new Athens was not only based on the restoration of the city's selected central parts, to which foreign visitors were directed. The restoration of the city's historic centre (adjacent to all the archaeological sites), the decoration of the public spaces and buildings, and the fragmentation of selected areas, led to an eclectic experience and to the representation of a reality that was, in part, a constructed experience of space. However, there was another, parallel portrait of the city of Athens; one that

lacked money and infrastructure and displayed the city's incapacity to develop as an international presence with modern status. The city of Athens is de-

Illustration 13.1



scribed by a Greek writer of the time, Roides, in his writings on the 1896 Olympic Games, as 'images of extreme and anarchic urban development'. In these contradictory images of reality, as seen in illustration 13.1, Roides (1896) describes how 'houses in a form of sheds start to be replaced by neoclassical mansions'.

Giannitsiotis (2004c: 243) talks about a 'constructed visibility' and 'the creation of attractive places of visit and everyday gathering, accommodation leisure'. This constructed visibility refers to a strong fragmentation of the landscape and, at the same time, an abolition of any other visual elements that describe an ugly or irrelevant picture of Athens' envisioned identity.

Giannitsiotis (2004c: 241) also argues that 'the local people consider the arrival of people from abroad as an opportunity to display the image of contemporary Greek society in reference to the country's steps of progress and contemporaneity.' This picture of contemporaneity was juxtaposed with a 'topos of architectural and sculptural ruins', as Leontis describes the landscape of Athens revealing the history of its classical past through its archaeological sites. A modern portrait of Athens was created adjacent to the city's historical centre and was highlighted during the Olympic Games in 1896. Street decorations and lighting were applied in chosen parts of the city to show the importance of the city's contemporary identi-

ty, usually linked with the historical character of the city and the suggested areas in guidebooks.

Another example that brought attention to the Games as a festival of humanity, with attention to the visual identity of the city, was the Berlin 1936 Olympic Games. Visual means were used to enchant not only the local people, but also the universal opinion, through the staging of an impressive event that reached, according to Mandell (1987c: xii) ‘an artistic and festive zenith’.

A characteristic of the Olympic city identity was the size and scale of what was visibly transmitted to the public. As the Official Olympic Report of the 1936 Games describes (1936), the intention was the creation of ‘the most outstanding festival of modern times’.

The creation of the Olympic city’s festive atmosphere was based on an organised spectacle. The festive atmosphere was grounded on the city’s vast public spaces and in the permanent character of a city with a monumental identity. The Olympic city was turned

Illustration 13.2



into a place for spectacle, characterised by vast spaces for public events and parades, using any opportunity for mass gatherings. An example was the arrival of the Olympic flame to the Lustgarten Park area, as seen illustration 13.2, which was celebrated by thousands of members of the Hitlerjugend; the National-Socialist Youth.

The Olympic city plans involved not only the cleaning and painting of dwellings and streets, but also the removal of any sign of racial mistreatment or violent behaviour. Moreover, the separation of the festival site from the city centre helped to create an identity of a space representing an ideal community. The difference between the experience of the Olympic city as a festival and as a mass spectacle mainly has to do with the fact that in the second case, there is a total control of what is going to be perceived by the crowd. MacAloon (1984c: 275) compares the genre of the spectacle with that of the festival, arguing that the difference is based on the fact that: ‘the reaction in a spectacle is more controlled than the reaction of people in a festival. The Berlin 1936 Olympic city was repre-

sented as a spectacular and monumental experience at the same time. The mixing of national and international sentiments and the use of grand scale decorations all around the public space were the techniques leading to sensationalism and to the spectacular.

4. The Olympic City as a Mega-event promoting a Fashionable Image of the City

According to Kevin Robins (1993c: 303): ‘if city cultures cannot be re-imagined then perhaps they can be re-imaged’. Based on this statement, a main argument in this section is that the Olympic city has changed from a place hosting a festival, often represented by a vision to change reality, to a fashionable image, branding its identity globally. Kevin Robins (1993c: 316) also argues that: ‘The utopian has collapsed into the banal. We do not plan the ideal city, but come to terms with the good enough cities. This author argues that in the case of the Olympic City, the idea of ‘good enough’ is related to good enough to persuade, to sell and to fulfil the city’s temporary function as a fashionable product. The role of the Olympic image is not only to create, temporarily, a good atmosphere - as in the case of a local festival - but to promote the city based on a narrative of world interest. The Olympics as a mega-event produces, with its host city, a new spatiality for global viewers, creating new identity associations *to* the host city. In today's world, Olympic cities establish and nurture a global identity, recognising that global identity is the new language of familiarity. In recent Olympics, global identity has been promoted through the creation of well-marketed corporate brands representing the Olympic Games as well as the city, and through the invitation of star architects (globally recognised as eponymous architects) to design the main venues and facilities.

5. The Olympic City as a Fashionable Image

Zukin (2008c: xii) states that ‘a city that does not curate its image and manage its story is out of date’. It seems that image revitalisation has become the new way of promoting change in our living places, with branding becoming a ‘necessary cultural strategy in our age of image inflation.’ In the Olympic city experience, urban branding is directed by opinion makers who treat cities as produced goods in an effort to promote the city, or an area within it, in a strategic way.

The post-Barcelona era set new criteria leading to a successful Olympic city strategy. The criteria for a winning bid strategy were listed in “The Future for Host Cities”, an article published in 2001 by the Sportbusiness Group. According to Hans Westerbeek and Aaron Smith (2001c: 24), for cities that follow the example of Barcelona ‘visitors will be attracted to the city and its Olympic facilities because of the image benefits delivered by the event’. The Olympic city of Barcelona 1992 became a successful example as an icon synonymous with the new-born identity of the city, changing the experience of the city for its inhabitants, businesses and visitors alike. Today, guides, posters, the internet, and the press are some of the main means thorough which the city’s image is delivered globally, often giving an altered impression of the Olympic city or the event. For example, during the Athens 2004 Games, Nitro Magazine published a special issue with the title ‘Elite by Nitro - Athens Metropolis of 2004’ in Greek, addressed mainly to the Greek readers. The magazine displayed 299 images that make ‘Athens the centre of the world’, showing Athens as a mixed scenery of people and areas, from elite sections to poorer neighbourhoods, with their own identity. Famous people, mainly actors and fashion models, were asked to be photographed, in order to promote the city’s redeveloping areas or areas where major constructions were taking place. (Illustration 13.3) Through the photographs, the city promoted its multi-sited identity with many different social and public identities: from glamour shops to local markets; from elite areas to popular clubs and areas attracting recently arrived refugees.

6. Olympic City Design based on the creation of a Corporate Identity

Many Olympic cities - especially those in North America - aimed for the creation of a more light and fugitive atmosphere for the city, emphasising the spectacular and commercial character of the event. In these cases, the experience of the event is based on the creation of a temporary, thematic look that comes to end when the event finishes. In Los Angeles (1984 Olympics), the meaning of the non-monumental became synonymous to transient facilities spread to different parts of the city. As it is stated in the Official Report of the 1984 Games (1984c: 252), is important for a host city to have ‘everything associated with a fresh, festive look to it that conveys the temporal quali-

Illustration 13.3



ties of the event'. There were only temporary changes to the used buildings; these changes were dismantled at the end of the event, leaving no evidence of their existence as Olympic spaces.

The creation of a corporate identity for the 1984 Olympics involved a theme-making technique aimed at creating an image that comprised elements from different locations and different cultures all in one. The choice of the colour palette used for the games was based on 'Greek Olympics and the festive celebratory colours of Asia and Latin America', according to the Official Report of the Games (1984c: 252). The identity of the Olympic city was therefore based on stylistic 'pastiche' of different countries codes and symbols, merging different architectural styles, design elements and forms in the same Olympic city space. (Illustration 13.4)

For the postmodern theorist, Fredric Jameson (1991c: 17), pastiche is 'like parody, the imitation of a peculiar or a unique, idiosyncratic style, the wearing of a linguistic mask, speech in a dead language'. Pastiche became a way for the Olympic city to merge the composition of different styles of forms, buildings, locations, architectural styles and cultural representations into one image. It also became a way to create a unanimous atmosphere, turning the space into a more familiar place with a new identifiable global character. In the creation of a corporate identity, the language of pastiche helped to build a space based on eclectic elements of time or culture.

Illustration 13.4



7. Olympic City Design based on Star Architecture

For Bauman (2007c: 105), 'becoming someone else is the present-day substitute for the now largely discarded and uncared-for salvation or redemption'. This is a characteristic of cities that try to prove themselves and compete within the global city hierarchy. Today's possibilities of promoting a city through the Olympic host role that offers an instant well-marketed and branded image, has often given a

pretentious role to the city's identity.

Another characteristic of Olympic cities aiming to promote a new image worldwide is their association with star architecture and buildings designed by eponymous architects. The buildings involved become globally recognised elements of the city that people around the world can easily identify and become familiar with as new global symbols. These buildings do not only sell as spaces, but serve as icons. In advertising, in magazines, star architecture composes the new fashionable image of a place. Additionally, the labelling of buildings like products, for example 'Bird's Nest' or 'Bubble Building' in the case of Beijing 2008, gives the city a distinctive global identity. People identify and familiarise with it, without necessarily having visited the place or being part of the event. In an article published by the international design magazine 'Blueprint', the Bird's Nest - the main Olympic venue for the 2008 Games - was characterised by Tim Abrahams (2008c: 32) as 'an iconic building, perhaps the most iconic stadium ever built.' The building did not only become a symbol of progress, but an icon of differentiation. The new and fashionable image of the city relied on the unusual form of a building that represented it.

8. Conclusion

Following the first decade of the 21st century that saw the September 11 terrorist attack and a global economic crisis, providing a city with a fashionable image, and branding it as a safe and enjoyable international place, is important and requires segregation. Segregation of the Olympic city as an distinct environment provides an opportunity to eclectically define the spaces that will be engaged in the city's promotion and therefore connect the city's image with those invented narratives that will best represent it as something distinctive, safe and spectacular. Yet Olympic sites have physical barriers and are not accessible to all, and therefore do not offer the openness that traditionally characterizes those public spaces that are used for festivals. Instead, Olympic sites are part of an operation plan that aims at controlling circulation and movement. The intense security control, the checking of the crowd, the circulation based on queues, lines and direction signs are elements of design based on operational planning. Everything is designed to prevent, what Oldenburg (2008c: 234) refers to as 'wasting time', and according to a security system that guarantees safety within the borders.

Thus, the Olympic city as a segregated space is based on controlled plans and marketing strategies through which, technically speaking, everything becomes possible based on image repertoires and mechanisms of differentiation. This

makes the city's role flexible and vague, adjustable to an icon shaped reality, where one forgets about global economic problems and terrorist threats. It has become an environment of escapism offering experiences away from the routine quotidianity, but also away from the local and global reality.

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