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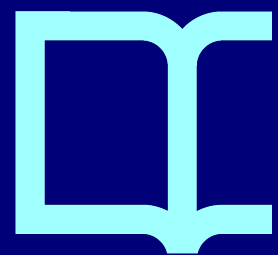
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THE ROLE OF IDENTITY IN EVENTS SCHEDULING

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The goal of this paper is to analyze the importance given by organizers of events of the Costa Brava (Spain) to the Catalan cultural identity, and to observe how they negotiate authenticity depending on the orientation to tourism that has been given to the event. A questionnaire addressed to event organizers allows us to characterize events and to analyze the perception about authenticity of event organizers. Multivariate analysis techniques (ANOVA and factorial analysis) have been applied to explore differences between tourism and not tourism-orientated events. On one hand, we identified three different ways that events express the Catalan identity. On the other hand, the results highlight significant differences in the way event organizers negotiate Catalan identity.

In our study, we compare the authenticity perceived by event organizers according to three forms of identity construction: the legitimization of the past, the reactive resistance, and the personal and collective transformation project (Castells, 1997). The events can articulate their view of authenticity against the backdrop of any of these contexts of identity construction. The legitimizing identity is introduced or supported (for example, through cultural policies or the establishment of subsidies with public funds) by dominant social institutions and actors to extend their influence on society as a whole. Some specific events such as festivals or religious related events fit well with Hobsbawm's "invented tradition" concept. An invented tradition can be understood as a ritualized and symbolic practice that gives cohesion to social groups or communities whose

main purpose is socialization, inculcation of beliefs, values and behaviors (Hobbs & Ranger, 2010). From similar approaches other authors have also shown how sporting events help to create community ties and values that strengthen social cohesion and interaction (Chalip, 2006; Sparvero & Chalip, 2007). The types of events that best match this identity are linked to objective authenticity, and the core values entail maintaining and disseminating the traditional elements of identity (language, territory, common culture, history, etc.). The discourse maintains distance from tourism and justifies authenticity by the consumption of genuine items, addressed especially to local residents (Littrell, Anderson, & Brown, 1993; Taylor, 2001; Waitt, 2000).

Reactive or resistance identity is created by social actors that are in positions of inferiority, devalued or stigmatized by the logic of social domination. Trenches of resistance are constructed from criteria that oppose the dominant institutions. This element can also create views of objective authenticity as a strategy for strengthening an oppressed culture. With regard to tourist events, resistance expresses itself more as an opposition to the closed view of history, as a static cultural fact and is characterized by the introduction of aspects of tourism in event scheduling or by adapting them to visitors' preferences. Sometimes the struggle between different stakeholders can lead to changes in the design and structure of the event, as happened with the National Arts Festival in South Africa (Grundy, 1994), or it can be used as a lever for social minorities protests (White, 2008).

Nevertheless, rather than a resistance against foreign aggression, it is a locally-based global adaptation to exploit the tourism potential of events for commercial purposes. Therefore, the approach to authenticity created by this view of identity has more to do with negotiated authenticity than with objective authenticity. It involves an approach to authenticity that is not based on objectivity or formulated on a single criterion, but on a social construction (Chhabra, 2005, 2008; Revilla & Todd, 2003; Chhabra, Healy, & Sills, 2003).

Finally, the project identity enables the social actors to construct a new identity that defines their position in society based on the cultural material available to them, while they try to transform the entire social structure from their vital positioning. While the first two identities construct, respectively, a civil society and communities, the project identity constructs individual life projects from complete experiences, which can transform society when they are collectively extended. While leisure is not likely to become the main reference of personal projects for individuals and groups, it is increasingly present as a cross identifier of identity. For example, some events such as the gays and lesbian parades, or some film festivals specialized in sustainability and ecology, are used as platforms for claiming an alternative way of life. Therefore, the perception of authenticity of events that respond to this type of identity construction has more to do with subjective or existential authenticity than with the other types (Steiner & Reisinger, 2006; Wang, 1999). From this point of view, tourism would become a mere intermediary between the participants and the experience that would originate the expression of some existential state that lies dormant inside everyone (Berridge, 2007; Morgan, Lugosi, & Richtie, 2010) or is influenced by real physical places with shared collectively meanings (Belhassen, Caton, & Stewart, 2008). Life projects through leisure, despite being expressed only temporarily, would be the main point of view of authenticity of events that construct identity in relation to the life project of each individual.

In order to conduct the study, a questionnaire addressed to event organizers was designed. The universe of the study is the cultural events celebrated in towns on the Costa Brava that have tourist potential. According to Getz, a cultural event is designed to provide cultural experiences to its participants (Getz, 2008). In this categories are included a wide range of cases (from music festivals to fairs, street theater, medieval markets, festivals, visual arts, etc). Most Catalan cultural events

are strongly dependent on the local authority to obtain resources. They are characterized by a very scarce professional management structure and the presence of volunteers or associations involved in their organization (González & Miralbell, 2009, 2011). The criterion for including events in this category was whether they were found in main web pages, calendars and search engines specializing in festivals and tourist events in Catalonia. The questionnaire contains six sections. The first includes information about the general nature of the event. The second consists of evaluations of local and Catalan identity transmitted by the event. The third part deals with areas of event management and organization. The fourth focuses on aspects of marketing and distribution. The fifth part is about the impact of the event and its tourist attraction. The sixth section is about the characteristics of the social agents involved. For the research, opinion questions were selected concerning 37 specific elements drawn from the academic literature on authenticity. The answers are given based on a Likert scale (1-5) where 1 is considered unimportant; 3, neutral and 5, very important. Questions were also asked about the objectives and orientation given to the event and about the volume of tourists and attendees (numerical values; for tourist growth, a Likert scale of 1-5). The questionnaire was answered by organizers, managers or technicians responsible for the management of events, who have decision-making power or direct knowledge and a global perspective of the event. Firstly, a model test was carried out among research team members and sector professionals, and then a sample of 10 real cases was used to perfect the questionnaire. The survey was conducted during February and March 2010, and a total of 240 people in charge of events on the Costa Brava responded. As the selected sample was of 911 events, the response ratio was 27%, a moderate but satisfactory amount considering the substantial length of the questionnaire.

A conducted factor analysis was created to detect the most representative elements of authenticity in the perception of event organizers of the Costa Brava. Finally, the ANOVA technique of analysis of variance is used to compare the average value of the authenticity of identity of events with and without a tourism function (volume of tourism attendance) (see Tables 1 and 2).

Firstly, we were able to confirm the existence of different approaches among Costa Brava event's organizers to Catalan identity. The three current concepts of authenticity (Chhabra, 2010) serve as a basis for defining different proposals. There is an objective view of authenticity of a historic or Catalanist nature that legitimizes the traditional identity in order for it to continue being expressed and represented intact. A good example of this kind of events, interested in keeping Catalan traditions and national identity, can be the traditional dance exhibitions (*sardanes*) or the living themed nativity (*pessebres vivents*). There is also a negotiated view of authenticity that aims to surpass the local nature of the event and give it a more global or international perception, that is, adapting Catalan culture to a global audience through tourism. This is, for example, the case of the *Oktoberfest*, an event addressed to German tourists staying in the Costa Brava, the Festival of Peralada with the participation of global artists, or the Black Music Festival in Salt where organizers try to attract followers of musical groups as a specific segment of demand. In all these cases the events use different strategies to adapt to the tastes and needs of tourists: incorporating contemporary and global cultural icons, communicating in English or other foreign languages, including artists or foreign groups in the program, etc.

Finally, there is a subjective view of authenticity that responds to an identity project that has a social, participatory and fun nature to the experience lived at the event. Carnivals or some gastronomic events can be considered as part of this group. In these events the achievement of social integration through participation becomes the central part of the celebration. Some of them, (for example some

Table 1. Results of Factor Analysis and Criteria Associated with Each Factor

Criteria	Factor	Eigen-value	% Of Variance	Cumulative variance
	F1. Identity based on Catalan objective authenticity	6.95	38.6	38.6
Represents history	0.543			
Cultural tradition	0.573			
Identity value	0.769			
Interprets past	0.533			
Learning about history	0.851			
Interprets Catalan culture	0.814			
	F2. Identity based on social and participative existential authenticity	1.38	9.20	47.8
Personal enrichment	0.736			
Interaction among participants	0.706			
Self-esteem	0.879			
Collaboration	0.871			
	F3. Identity based on historical objective authenticity	1.52	8.40	56.2
Accurate representation of the time	0.578			
Cultural expression unchanged over time	0.774			
	F4. Identity based on negotiated authenticity	1.18	6.59	62.9
Adaptation to the preferences of tourists	0.734			
Gives relevance to contemporary cultural values	0.626			
Adapts to global cultural changes	0.454			
Scheduling gives preference to tourist content	0.794			
	F5. Identity based on recreational existential authenticity	1.06	5.9	68.7
Fun	0.900			
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Represents history	0.543			
Cultural tradition	0.573			
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	F4. Identity based on negotiated authenticity	1.18	6.59	62.9
Adaptation to the preferences of visitors	0.734			
Gives relevance to contemporary cultural values	0.626			
Adapts to global cultural changes	0.454			
Scheduling gives preference to tourist content	0.794			
	F5. Identity based on recreational existential authenticity	1.06	5.9	68.7
Contemplation	0.526			
Fun	0.900			

summer music festivals) are especially organized because of the seasonal presence of second homes owners in the town.

Events with less participation from local residents tend to perceive their identity from the standpoint of objective authenticity, although also from elements of negotiation motivated by tourism. However, when there is greater international tourism, more importance is placed on subjective and negotiated authenticity. We also see that supporters of a traditional Catalan identity expressed in the objective view of authenticity of the events do not completely oppose tourism since it is considered that this activity reinforces the Catalan culture as an external projection, as a sign of pride and identity and as a source of income. It is worth noting that negotiated authenticity intervenes in all types of events, which is related to the fact that tourism is a structural factor and a social phenomenon on the Costa Brava.

The tourist content of events (the weight that tourism has in the event measured in terms of what is the main purpose of the event and which is the percentage of international tourists among all the participants) is a key factor in the starting point that the organizers give to identity. Three different models of event's authenticity can be distinguished. The presence or absence of tourism has different impacts on the discourse on identity held by the organizers:

- (1) Traditional or ritual events (objective authenticity). This type of event doesn't take tourism into account, but it is considered an effective lever to raise awareness of Catalan identity in a globalized world.
- (2) Show events (negotiated authenticity). Events constantly adapt and negotiate identity based on the presence of tourists in the event. Depending strongly on being planned directly in tourism terms or including a lot of elements of global culture in their programs.
- (3) Experience events (subjective authenticity). Personal experience is the most important element here, and it is obtained through participation, social interaction and integration in the atmosphere of celebration, regardless of the tourism or non-tourism nature of the event. Tourism could be considered therefore an element in the formation of contemporary Catalan identity.

We believe that local and Catalan identity are very present in event scheduling, although they end up being negotiated and reformulated when there is a tourist function.

Although above all, it is about giving meaning to the tourist experience on the base of Catalan cultural tradition and local participation. Organizers consider it an added value to achieve a tourist experience that enables tourists to be a part of the local reality. Understanding tourist events from the perspective of subjective authenticity involves recognizing the integration of tourism (and tourists) in the Catalan identity. From the point of view of the perception of authenticity, and despite some rhetoric from social agents, there does not seem to be a strong opposition between tourism and culture in the events of the Costa Brava. This lack of opposition creates a scenario in which the integration of tourism in the identity of places and tourist destinations can become an additional asset for implementing policies and new tourism strategies based on experience. In this regard, we concur with Brown and Chappel, who claim that current festivals provide opportunities for a new model of transcendent cultural exchange where tourists play the role of catalysts for the emergence of new innovative hybrid cultural forms and for recovering a sense of pride for local communities (Brown & Chappel, 2009).

Table 2. ANOVA of the Differences of Opinion Among Different Types of Events

Criterion	Includes tourism as objective	Excludes tourism as objective	Main objective is tourism	Main objective is not tourism	More than 70% of attendees are locals	Less than 70% of attendees are locals	More than 50% are Catalan tourists	Less than 50% are Catalan tourists	More than 20% are foreign tourists	Less than 20% are foreign tourists	Large growth of foreign tourists	No large growth of foreign tourists
Objective authenticity												
Promotes the dissemination of Catalan culture	4.00	3.18									4.08	3.34
Representation of identity values of Catalonia	4.21	3.65									4.13	3.85
Promotes the learning of history and local culture	4.04**	3.60**										
Promotes local pride	4.27	3.59			3.41	4.20					4.07	4.04
Promotes citizen participation			2.38	3.62							3.63	4.13
Part of the Catalan cultural tradition					4.15***	4.08***			4.33***	4.09***		
Negotiated authenticity												
Adapts to the preferences of tourists	3.69	3.07			3.15*	3.42*						
Adapts to global cultural changes	3.86	3.31			3.30	3.71					3.69*	3.47*
Represents contemporary lifestyles	3.54	3.28			3.18	3.43			3.37*	3.25*		
Scheduling includes tourism offerings	3.47	2.34			2.70	3.24						
Values local heritage through tourism	3.95	3.03	3.61*	3.21*	2.74	3.80					3.88	3.51
Existential authenticity												
Promotes social interaction	4.19	3.57			3.56	4.07					4.19	3.71
Promotes self-esteem of participants	3.89	3.01			2.79	3.78					3.96	3.15
Allows collaboration	4.00	3.10			2.90	3.91			4.00	3.61	4.04	3.31
Promotes personal enrichment	4.14	3.21			3.05	3.91					3.93	3.50

Blank means it is non-significant.

* p < 0.001; ** p < 0.005; *** p < 0.008;

Any attempts to reassess the Costa Brava tourism product based on events in terms of sustainability must take this fact into account. Event tourism requires the traditional base of culture and local and Catalan heritage that give it meaning, while the tourist experience that can be provided to the visitor will be vital for success and satisfying demand. The mutual participation of tourists and residents and integration into a single experience will be essential to negotiating the needs of residents and visitors in a satisfactory manner.

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