Community Festivals: involvement and inclusion

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Abstract

This paper presents a part of a more detailed study into the organisation of a community festival in the East Midlands of the UK. The focus is on how the central steering group imposed a restricted sense of culture onto the festival and how the local communities were distanced from the processes. The literature on festivals is critically reviewed before the issues of involvement and inclusion are examined. The in depth research challenges some of the claims which are made for the benefits of festivals in the literature, particularly those related to cultural identity.

Community Festivals: involvement and inclusion

Introduction – situating the study

This paper addresses the questions of involvement and inclusion within a community festival. It is part of a larger analysis of the creation, programming and staging of the festival. The Jubilee Festival , as it became known, took place in 2002 from 22nd June - 1st August. The predominant motivation for the celebration is centred on HM Queen Elizabeth II's golden jubilee. The festival itself was unique to the United Kingdom, as it tried to encapsulate three major celebrations under the name of 'The Jubilee Festival'. The three major celebrations were concerned with the City celebrating twenty-five years since the Queen granted city status in 1977, fifty years of HM Queen Elizabeth II on the throne since her initial accession in 1952, and seventy-five years since the Church of England created the new Diocese and the church assumed 'Cathedral Status'. In retrospect there were another six notable celebrations, which were also significant within the city; Twenty-fifth anniversary of the opening of the Assembly Rooms (1977), The twenty-fifth CAMRA (Campaign for Real Ale) Beer Festival, Two hundred years since the death of Erasmus Darwin (1731 - 1802) grandfather of Charles Darwin, The twenty-first anniversary of 'Royal Crown' pottery, The tenth anniversaries of both the Queen's Leisure centre (Opened by the HM Queen Elizabeth II), and the Heritage Centre. Although notable these were to play little or no part in the formulation of the Festival as the stakeholders focused on the 'big three' celebrations highlighted previously (City status, 25 years, HM the Queen's Golden Jubilee, 50, and the Cathedral's 75 year anniversary).The original concept of the Jubilee Festival came from the Dean of the Cathedral who had the idea when he met representatives from twenty music and choral groups, who perform on a regular basis at the Cathedral. The idea was generated by the lack of an original festival in the city; the last example of an official festival had taken place in 1996, and was predominantly concerned with the arts and classical music performances of famous compositions by Beethoven, Chopin, Gershwin, Haydn, and Mozart.

According to the official aims of the organisers, the Jubilee festival was supposed to enliven the local cultural scene and promote the culture of the city both within the city and further a field. The aims of the festival, taken from the post festival report, were to;

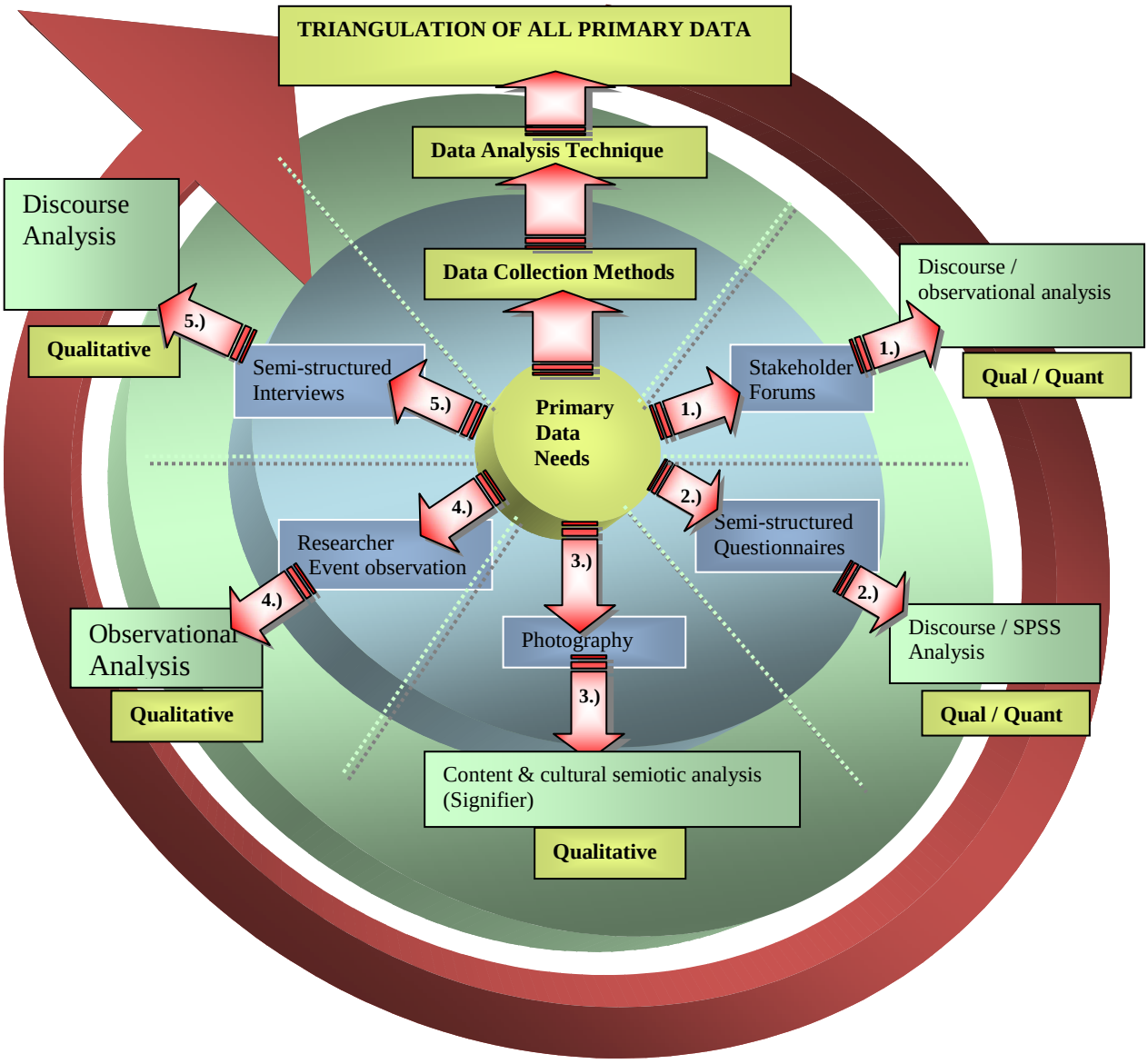
- Embrace all sections of the city's Diverse multi-cultural community
- Provide an opportunity for people living and working in the city to celebrate and enjoy a wide range of events,
- Highlight the existing quality of the city's events calendar
- Stimulate new events and activities specific to the jubilee festival
- Focus attention on the main festival period
- Raise the city's profile regionally, and nationally
- Celebrate the multiculturalism and diversity of the city
- Integrate the principles of the city's marketing campaign
- Celebrate partnerships between local organizations

The festival was designed to bring together a range of existing events from within the community and add to them a few headline events that would attract further interest. The existing events and the existing cultural organisers were brought together under the stewardship of the representatives of the Cathedral, the city council and the University. The original intention clearly speaks to a rationale of inclusion and openness. We are dealing with a single festival, although the Jubilee is a composite construction our focus is on the construction of the single entity. However this steering group effectively took control of the development processes with the result that the community was largely missing from the festival. We will present a critical review of the festival by drawing on the literature on festivals before presenting some of the findings from the observational study of the steering group itself. These suggest that not all festivals can claim the range of benefits argued for in the literature.

The examination of a community festival – methodology

Undertaking the study we recognized the need for utilising multiple research paradigms and data collection methods with an open ontology and constructivist epistemology to cover and critique this multimodal cultural event, as evidenced in Goodson and Phillimore (2004).

Five point multi-methods, and Analysis Framework



In this aspect of the research we were focussed on researching the role of the festival organisers, posing a specific question concerning the compatibility of the organisers' espoused view of culture with the views embedded in definitions and practices of community festivals. For the work reported here, we were fortunate to gain access to the decision making process, with attendance at the stakeholder meetings and easy access to the steering group. We were able to follow the creation and the staging of the festival from the very early stages through to the events themselves. The analysis is based primarily upon these observations and interviews with the stakeholders. Alongside this, questionnaires, secondary sources and photographic analysis techniques were all part of the research and contributed to the data. An open ontology, combined with multiple primary data collection methods, proved to be vital within the context of this research especially as it proved difficult for impartial observations at events and within

planning forums to be freed from the bias of their environmental conditions and the literature review (Remenyi et al, 1998). The adoption of different data collection methods and then the use of triangulation within data analysis ensured that the overall level of personal bias within the research context was considerably reduced. Triangulation of observations, interview responses and secondary data contribute to the analysis in this paper and reinforce the sense of control of a small group of organisers. For this paper we have chosen to focus on one aspect of the staging process, but it can be clearly seen that there are interconnections to other aspects of understanding the festival. We do not present any material here about the audiences or about festival marketing. We have limited the account to the questions of community involvement and cultural inclusion within a festival. This draws heavily from the observation of the planning forum meetings and interviews with the three key opinion formers, as well as with other stakeholders involved and crucially not involved with the planning processes.

Traditional approaches to research have been judged against conventional criteria of reliability and validity. Validity has been seen as the assumption of causality without researcher bias and reliability as the ability of the research measures to capture the data specified by the research, repeatedly, consistently and with the likelihood of generating similar results in similar conditions (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Decrop (2004) advances the criteria of trustworthiness, originally developed by Lincoln and Guba (1985) to replace the older canons of positivist research. There are four dimensions to these criteria, which were listed above:

- Credibility - which equates to the issues of internal validity;
- Transferability - matched with external validity and more relevant to qualitative research than generalisability;
- Dependability - related to reliability. This recognises that knowledges generated are bound by time, context, culture and value (Decrop, 2004). This then focuses attention on the correspondence between the data recorded by the researcher and what actually occurred in the setting;
- Confirmability - associated with objectivity. Guba and Lincoln (1994) recognise that research cannot be totally objective but the system of analysis is made objective or neutral to construct a meaningful account of the phenomena and the ways in which those meanings emerged.

They conclude that credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability all derive from:

- Careful use, interpretation, examination and assessment of appropriate literature;
- Careful justification of the qualitative research methodologies employed in a study;
- Careful structuring of data analysis to ensure full descriptive evaluation, and assessment to data of key significance.

We believe that the iterative analysis and triangulation of multiple sources demonstrates the validity of the research processes undertaken and of the account constructed here.
It can be further concluded that the study of a complex multilayered phenomena such as a community cultural festival requires a complex multilayered methodology to explore both the internal production and construction processes and its external relationship which is developed as a result of the cultural festivals delivery and then through consumption by its visitors. The ability to follow the festival through was also important. Data was captured throughout and created the basis for a series of analyses which unpacked the issues appearing from the material.

Cultural Festivals and Community Festivals

Cultural festivals have developed into a prominent area of tourism research because of the great depth and diversity they possess. They range from the International to the local and to the invited to the community. Here we were addressing issues in a festival which clearly saw itself as a community festival, based in the community and celebrating the community. There are several perspectives under the 'cultural umbrella' to be reviewed, including making distinctions to clarify tangible and intangible culture; high / exclusive or popular / inclusive culture; local, urban or community culture, stakeholder culture and festival culture.

We are aware that the term culture is a complex one and we use it in different constructions as we move through the paper. Our concerns come from tracking a sense of cultural identity by questioning the roles of different cultural conceptions through the festival organising processes. We adhere to an open definition of culture, following Williams (1988). However we recognise that organisational cultures are central to the development of festivals and would argue for retaining the discussion between exclusive and popular constructions of culture as a way of entering the debate about how cultural forms and cultural practices are valued – or not - and are included as significant – or not.

The majority of academics have focussed on consumption (MacCannell 1973, 1976; Urry, 1990, 1995; Prentice & Anderson, 2003), or motivation of visitors attending festivals (Backman, Backman, Uysal & Sunshine, 1995; Boyd, 2002; Crompton & McKay, 1997; Formica & Uysal, 1996, 1998; Jeong & Park, 1997; Kerstetter & Mowrer, 1998; Kim, Uysal & Chen, 2002; LeBlanc, 2004; Lee, Lee & Wicks, 2004; Mohr, Backman, Gahan & Backman, 1993; Ralston & Crompton, 1988; Scott, 1996; Schneider & Backman, 1996; Uysal, Gahan, & Martin, 1993). Other academics, such as Edensor (2001) and Shepherd (2002) have explored festivals as cultural commodifcation. The festival literature base does not reveal much about how festivals are constructed or produced, nor does it establish how festivals can best re/present the local communities.

The term local community has problematic characteristics within a study such as this as it could refer to specific people or population with a homogeneous culture. It is important to note that here 'local communities' is the preferred form referring to established multicultural communities within city boundaries which support and contribute to its cultural diversity

Contextualising Community Festivals

Many urban areas have looked for ways to reinvent themselves after deindustrialization. With the rise of a service economy many turned to the cultural industries, with the belief that culture in most of its forms offers a sustainable way forward and can be used in conjunction with other forms of development. The change was most evident from the 1990s onwards for example Glasgow's miles better campaign underpinned the '*cultural capital*' bid. Public sector bodies emphasized festivals as they were seen, and in many cases still are seen, as a way to initiate economic regeneration, renew quality of life, enhance the image and prestige of a destination, and to attract and retain new visitors in an area.

The literature suggests that festival tourism minimizes the negative impacts of tourism, contributes to sustainable development, fosters better relationships between hosts and guests, and helps to preserve sensitive natural, cultural, or social environments. Studying festivals confronts their complex nature and diversity (Getz, 1991). Festivals range from the international such as the Edinburgh Festival, or Palm Springs international film festival right through to the local or regional, for example the 'Dubai shopping festival' (Gabr, 2004), the 'Beef week festival' or 'Nimbin Mardi Gra', Australia, (Derrett, 2003). Falassi (1987: 52) describes festivals as a social phenomenon occurring in almost all human cultures but expressed in different ways.: "A sacred or profane time of celebration marked by special observances, the

annual celebration of notable person, event or harvest of an important product, a cultural event consisting of a series of performances of works in the fine arts often devoted to a single person, a fair, generic gaiety, conviviality, cheerfulness."

If stripped to their bare bones, festivals and moreover community festivals are a public themed celebration which can act as a catalyst for demonstrating community values and culture. This is what the local community festival under examination here aimed to encapsulate; a demonstration of local cultural events at both permanent and semi-permanent venues representing the locality, a festival for the community, by the community.

Roles of Festivals

Having explored numerous community festivals Getz (1997, p.76) comments that the; "Majority of neighbourhood / community festivals or events are celebrations of the special character of urban life" and that festivals are linked to and intended to strengthen community pride and sense of place; others are linked to ethnicity and special interests. This implies that all forms of cultural tradition are celebrated. This can also encourage positive networking across both sectors, and form unique relationships between organisations that have not collaborated together previously which would be greatly beneficial to developing future cultural events in cities. The sharing of resources both financial and services can help to focus organisations and institutions toward common goals for their constituencies.

Festivals do become tourist attractions in their own right (Allen et al, 2002; Getz, 1991, 1997, 2002). This presents a contradiction as it could be argued that where a festival becomes accepted as a tourist attraction then it could lose its sense of community, and sense of culture and values as it begins to appeal more to non-residents than residents as economic value is placed over events and the festival is seen as a commodity or vehicle for attracting more tourists into the region. The results of commercialisation and commodification which have been documented by Robinson (2004) have seen the idea of festival removed from this local nexus and become 'placeless festivals'. As Reynolds (1987, p.56) observed "Many arts festivals have been commercialised which has left local exhibitions and artists in the shadows." Local artists and performers may only have limited local appeal and may be discarded in favour of more popular mass performers with a known reputation.

Dunstan (1994) observed that festivals provide a forum for a shared purpose, cultural values or traditions to be manifest. Dugas and Schweitzer (1997) maintain that to develop a sense of community is long term, hard work, especially building connectedness, belonging and support. Previous festival research suggests that festivals provide a unique opportunity for community cultural development (Getz (1997) acting as building blocks for communities, promoting ethnic understanding and in doing so preserving and celebrating local traditions, history and culture (Dunstan, 1994; Frisby et al, 1989; Getz, 1991, 1997; Chacko and Schaffer, 1993). Farber (1983) investigated festivals and public celebrations concluding that much could be learned about a community's symbolic, economic, political and social life. Falassi (1987) developed this commenting that both the social and symbolic meanings of the festival were closely linked to a series of overt values that the local community see as essential to its ideology, worldview, social identity, history, and its physical survival. It is these very elements that constitute local culture and promise each festival its uniqueness, all of which the festival celebrates and which it is suggested ultimately is what tourists or visitors desire.

Falassi (1987) also noted that 'well being' is important in a symbolic and social sense. Festivals therefore had the opportunity to periodically renew the life stream of a community, sanctioning its institutions and in some cases demonstrating their value to the local population. Adams and Goldbard (2001) argue that people turn to their culture to define and mobilize themselves, asserting their local values to present them to visitors in a positive sharing of values. However a positive sharing of cultural values can only be achieved as a result of sensitive festival

organisation, communication and management. Derrett (2003) argues that if directed in the right way festivals can perform a very useful community service by enhancing both group and place identity. She concludes that this sense of place should be celebrated through the festival as this is seen by visitors as an outward manifestation of community identity and a strong identifier of the community and its people. De Bres and Davis (2001) comment that festivals can play a major role in challenging the perceptions of local identity, or as Hall (1992) proposes can assist in the development or maintenance of community or regional identity; this is thought to be of great significance to a smaller community as it could enhance their cultural values and help to share them with other communities.

Festivals can also be viewed as demonstrations of community power (Marston, 1989; Rinaldo, 2002), for example political hegemony could be exercised over less powerful ethnic groups by supplying the vast majority with nationalised celebrations to deflect attention away from these minority groups and their real issues. Jarvis (1994) comments that historically festivals were produced for political purposes or used as a mechanism of social control (Burke, 1978; Ekman, 1991; Jarvis, 1994; Rydell, 1984). It could help to provide a platform for those in marginalised or minority groups to speak out on issues and challenge the views of the established order. Festivals could also create demonstrative resistance to social control (Cohen, 1982; Jackson, 1988, 1992; Smith, 1995; Western, 1992), resistance can take many forms but protests are its most likely form.

Festivals can provide a useful link to understanding one's local cultures, in the sense that visitors can either support or refute notions of ideology and identity which tend to be imposed by political forces in the community (Clarke,2000). The local or regional identity will be defined by the dominant social groups constructed within the dominant definition of culture, which explains why there is an abundance of festivals as minority social groups tend not to be strong enough within society to project their identities. We refer to these festivals as mono-ethnic. Cultural awareness and cultural sharing can reduce the amount of tensions within cities; it is when cultures become isolated that problems occur. Many cultural festivals claim to be community orientated, although scepticism is held over this notion of 'community' as discussed previously a large amount of festivals take place which are mono-ethnic (Saleh & Ryan, 1993) and do not actively include minority groups in the programmes or programming.

In selecting venues, artists, themes, and direction the festival producers and directors can be seen as the 'gate keepers' (Derrett, 2003) as they develop absolute control over which community traditions or values are displayed to visitors through the manipulation of marketing processes and festival strategy. This analysis revealed numerous examples of the organisers taking cultural control of a community festival in order to maintain exclusive influence over its production. This effectively allowed those who did not possess specific knowledge in community festival planning to become the 'directors' or 'gatekeepers' (Greenfeld, 1988; Dale, 1995; Arnold, 2001; Edensor, 2001; Maurin, 2001; Derrett, 2003; Jeong and Santos, 2004; Lade and Jackson, 2004) of its cultural and creative direction. Even the appointment of an independent festival professional who had considerably more festival expertise did not challenge the organisers' dominant position. The 'expert' was given the title of 'festival coordinator' which meant the person with most experience became merely a coordinator of the established organisers' ideas. This highlights a practical need for organisers to clearly define their roles and responsibilities in the planning process. Not doing so can lead to unbalanced power relationships between employer(s) and employee(s), limited democracy, and curtailing the culturally diverse input into event production. This subsequently reduces the cultural diversity of the festival delivery, and creates confusion over the roles and responsibilities of the organisers leading to failures such as not achieving their established goals.

Inclusive planning mechanisms

Derrett (2003) argues rules of inclusion for local residents can help to ensure community well being is achieved. Community well being is defined as; '*livability, sustainability, viability, and vitality*' (Derrett 2003, p.53). Community involvement, inclusion, and support are seen as essential (Getz, 1991, 1997; Theodori and Luloff, 1998; Derrett, 2003; Jeong and Santos, 2004; Lade and Jackson, 2004). These features which make up community well being are primary markers of participatory citizenship, social justice, and social capital because they help residents to create attachments to people and place.

A more simplified summary suggests that community festivals, if they are to become a success must place the community at the centre of its culture and all cultural production processes. Without their creative, cultural input and involvement it will not be known whether 'they' and 'their' culture are accurately portrayed, interpreted, and enjoyed on the festival stage. Therefore a community festival should be a festival for the people by the people, which entails local inclusion, involvement, and support (Derrett 2003; Dunstan, 1994; Getz; 1991; Jeong and Santos 2004; Lade and Jackson 2004).

Peterson (1979) and Featherstone (1992) suggest that the types of culture will not mirror society but that of the producers themselves, or in this case the organisers. The producers of culture tend to concentrate on one of two aspects either the process of developing the cultural products, or the products and their end results to their targeted audience. To investigate the production of culture it must be analysed within the context of the organisations and the individuals who produce the cultural products, because it is thought that the people, organisations and industries that produce culture also contribute to shape and mould it in some way, and often more than the society or community which they produce it for (Clarke, 2000). Jeong and Santos (2004) identify the dominant social groups that will, for better or worse, define the predominant cultural identity of a locality; providing similar consensual mindsets and cultural beliefs. However alongside this smaller pockets of subcultures can form, contained within but sometimes challenging the dominant cultural identity.

Inclusive Involvement and exclusive cultural contexts – an analysis of the construction of the Jubilee festival

From the literature review, we identified a number of key dimensions that were integral to the construction of a community festival:

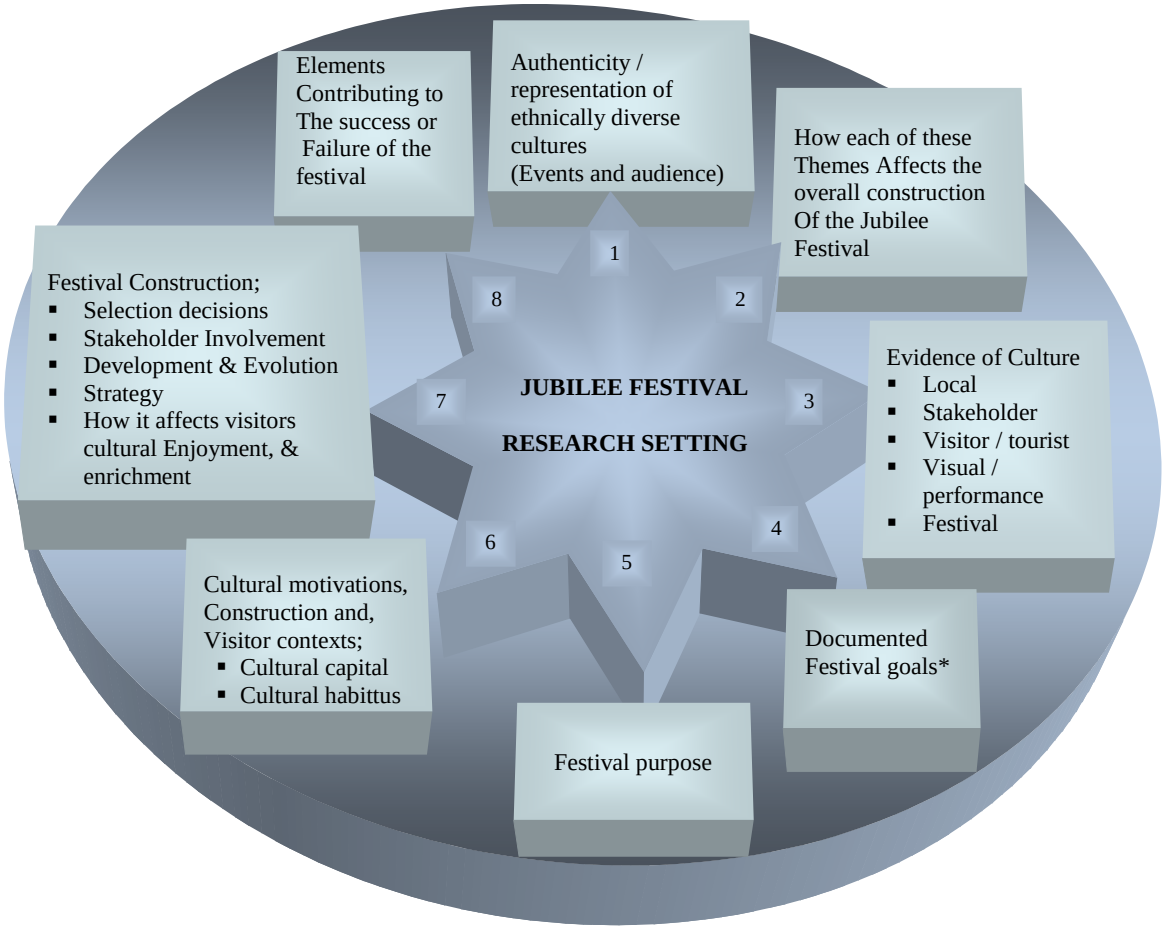
- The idea of celebration of all the cultures of a local area
- Festivals as bearers of local identity of both place and group
- The social and the symbolical dimensions of the festival
- The centrality of community power in building community festivals.

The analysis presented here is connected to the stakeholder forums observed by the researchers, which took place at City council chambers. The stakeholder forums were frequent until a few weeks before the festival and ran once or twice a month dependent of the amount of cooperation, and organisation required. At least one of us was present during all of these forums and were invited to observe while discussions took place with regard to planning, finance, idea generation, and the organisation and construction of the festival programme amongst other items on the agenda.

Observations were originally recorded as short notes during these meetings, which related to general observations, atmosphere, and professionalism, the researcher then approached the major organisers of the festival for informal interviews which would then be followed at a later date by formal semi – structured interviews; again brief notes were taken by the researcher. It was planned at this stage to be allowed to record interviews, but permission was denied by the

City Council for legal reasons. In terms of analysis this is to be done in two ways, firstly the informal interview notes are to be interpreted and investigated through discourse analysis and then triangulated with the observations made during the forums, data derived through these two methods is largely qualitative in nature, with the exception of financial data supplied by the City Council with regard to private and public sector organisations either sponsoring festival events, or pledging money in kind to help fund the festival.

Research field diagram illustrating emergent themes acting upon And surrounding the research setting



We now want to present some of the findings from the field research, analysing how these aspects were and importantly were not a part of the construction of the Jubilee festival. During the analysis of the observational and interview data, it became apparent that the organisers had no consideration of a `local` context and knowingly or unknowingly adopted the `exclusive` cultural definition making the Festival's construction as an open community festival highly problematical. The meetings demonstrated that where the organisers of these cultural events could not agree on the cultural context of the festival then they would adopt a cultural position which suited them but which was unsuitable to the context of a `local` community festival. The concerns of the organisers became exclusive, taking annual cultural events away from their cultural contexts and foundations which weakened and confused their delivery and presentation. They believed that the Festival should be represented by high quality, educative and intellectually stimulating events. They also viewed popular or inclusive culture as cheapening or demeaning their focus on high or exclusive culture. By holding this view of culture the organisers see experiencing cultural events as a process of intellectual development, rather than

as cultural debates have identified exploring cultures as a way of life (Williams, 1983; Clarke 1990; Richards, 1996 Storey, 1994; and Strinati, 2000). This greatly restricted and narrowed the depth and range of cultural diversity within their festival programme.

Characteristics of Inclusive and Exclusive Cultural Definitions

Inclusive	Exclusive
Popular	High
Participative	Spectatorial
Local	Imported
Undervalued or devalued	Valued
Created	Received
Organic	Mechanical

We witnessed how the discourse was controlled explicitly and implicitly by the narrow definition of culture adopted by the organisers. Much to the surprise of the organisers the first event of the Jubilee Festival was a Jazz concert, sponsored in part by the local Jazz group but featuring the Jazz Jamaica All Stars. The Dean of the Cathedral gave a brief speech before the event to launch the Festival, but began by saying he did not know what he was doing at an event such as this. Explicitly we would point to the direct exclusion of the city's pub rock festival, which happened within the same time frame but was rejected because of the nature of the venues and the nature of the music. The Festival did feature an open air stage where acts sponsored (and importantly managed) by one of the local independent radio stations but this was sanctioned as it was almost entirely separate from the core of the festival. Implicitly we witnessed the failure of groups to raise their contributions because of the feeling that there would be little point as no one else would support them. This is a true demonstration of the hegemonic power relations where even the power to voice an alternative is denied because the participants dare not speak.

`Local` communities are the foundation for cultural diversity within the community festival context. We identified that a `local` community festival in its truest sense serves the needs of the local community by allowing them to create a platform for socialisation and celebration through an atmosphere of spontaneity, unity and festive spirit. None of this can be achieved without the successful and inclusive involvement of those `local` communities.

The analysis evidenced a strong cultural bias toward exclusive events. The organisers saw culturally inclusive events as weakening the festival, rather than considering that it was the culturally exclusive events which weakened the festival and its appeal as a result of the narrow section of the community they captured to attend. Rather than diversifying exclusive festival offerings to enable them to become inclusive of local communities, the organisers allowed their cultural motivations and commitments to particular cultural spheres to govern event selection and delivery (Clarke, 2003). Unless organisers are more open to inclusive cultural definitions they will miss opportunities to soften traditional cultural boundaries and open cultural products to a wider culturally diverse local audience. This study of the Jubilee festival revealed how a preference for exclusive cultural events could be reinforced and go largely unchallenged. An (unintentional) hegemonic position was achieved by the organisers through six key contributions:

1. limited use of research
2. no debate of the strategic direction,
3. limited use of communication channels,
4. limited consultation of and non inclusion of local community in the planning process,
5. strong institutionalised group culture,
6. no agreed event selection criteria and resistance to events that did not fit with their implicit definition.
7.

We would conclude that organisers need to be aware of their own cultural positions and preferences in relation to the events they are producing and to endeavour to remain open to the value of other cultural expressions.
Additionally it should be noted that organisers with strong institutional or organisational cultures were susceptible to contest or claim ownership of the cultural events. Where this sense of ownership is claimed it denies the `local` communities their ownership and leaves the production of events determined by the organisers' cultural definitions. There is a need for open and clear identification of how the cultures of the local communities are understood by those organising events, the stakeholders, and the local communities themselves, and to further explore how this understanding is reached. If the formation of a planning hegemony occurs either accidentally or purposefully it could result in a small number of organisers determining the content with reference to their intrinsic cultural motivations rather than any identification or consensus on the communities' cultures. The result is likely to be an unequal balance of exclusive events within the programme.

Exclusive culture can create societal and cultural divisions within diverse communities which are reinforced through employment status, age, event pricing, education and venue selection. This study showed how this social and cultural divide occurred by targeting visitors who were; employed, more mature, well educated, and through cultural habitus (Bourdieu, 1984) already had the level of cultural capital required to recognise and appreciate a full cultural experience rather than to try and ensure a wider audience could also benefit through local community inclusion. In this local festival context the importance of attracting tourists could be argued as secondary to meeting the needs of the local community.

‘Involvement – participation in meetings from attendance to decision making, involvement in the festival from recognition, attendance, offering, performing and ultimately controlling’

‘Inclusion – of groups, of art forms, of festival organisers, of event organisers, sponsors (levels of activity and types of recognition’

This study demonstrated that democratic and unbiased communication channels were needed to monitor and promote more inclusive involvement within the planning process, especially if cultural events are for consumption by local communities. This research demonstrates that there is a need for constant renewals of communication between organisers of events and their prospective audiences. If communication across cultures and communities is maintained on a regular basis the adoption of an inclusive management philosophy would become much more feasible. Furthermore purposeful local community involvement and support can only be achieved through local inclusion and subsequent empowerment within the planning process. Festivals’ goals developed by organisers such as ‘embracing all sections of the community’ or ‘celebrating multiculturalism and diversity’ become unrealistic and largely unachievable without an inclusive planning process which allows local community representation and voice.
There is a need for organisers of community events to ensure that communication with the local community inviting their cultural influence, involvement and support for events is extended to all communities in the local area to achieve inclusivity. However these invitations have to be adapted to take account of a locally diverse and multicultural audience.

Non inclusion of the local community within the planning process meant that communities’ opinions and voices would not and could not be acknowledged. Therefore organisers had effectively curtailed the possibility of the festival becoming a demonstration of community power (Marston, 1989; Rinaldo, 2002), further allowing the establishment of closed or narrow hegemonic planning process. Our work highlighted that not integrating the local communities within the consultation and event planning process reinforced the development of the organisers’ hegemony over the other stakeholders. Firstly it allowed the planning process to become unequal in favour of the organisers, and; secondly it demonstrated the formation of strong organisational group culture. Secondly, as a result, stakeholders found it difficult to challenge cultural event production because of this established hierarchical order. This led to cultural bias and facilitated the creation of largely mono ethnic festivals representing only one ethnic culture.

Hegemonic relationships can easily be developed unintentionally as a result of organisers limited knowledge of planning specific community cultural events as well as through documented exclusion strategies (Jeong and Santos, 2004) or nationalised celebrations (Marston, 1989; Rinaldo, 2002) and still produce similar detrimental effects (Burke, 1978; Ekman, 1991; Jarvis, 1994; Rydell, 1984) through organisers exercising hegemony over less powerful subcultures and ethnic minority groups through their non inclusion and limited consultation. This research shows that local community cultural identity cannot and should not be defined by a small group of organisers orchestrating the planning process and therefore that local culture should not always be defined by dominant social groups (Saleh and Ryan, 1993). Additionally it demonstrates that democracy is difficult to achieve where a small number of organisers are consistently in charge of making festival planning and construction decisions. The festival organisers had therefore albeit unknowingly provided a clear link between cultural capital, exclusive cultural products and a single ethnic cultural event offering.

Conclusions

This work has produced an alternative perspective to the largely positive literature which surrounds festivals and advocates the benefits which festivals can provide. We observed that this festival was poorly placed to achieve the benefits identified within the literature such as improving the economic or social life, achieving a sense of community through a shared vision, being able to create, demonstrate, or celebrate a sense of place, strengthen place or group identity. We do not see this festival assisting in the development of community or regional identity, promoting cultural and ethnic understanding within society unless events are produced on the basis of an inclusive sense of cultures. A festival cannot provide the heart to a community unless its organisers ensure it has culturally inclusive blood flowing through it. This paper therefore concludes that inclusive streams of cultures will have the social ability to establish the `local` context required to produce cultural events that are fully inclusive of culturally diverse local communities, recognising and celebrating their cultures. This research also demonstrated that creativity and cultural diversity within events was only possible as a result of greater involvement with and inclusion of the local communities. It is difficult for a meaningful sense of cultural diversity to be produced or packaged without inclusive involvement. Similarly Falassi's (1987) view that festivals achieve a sense of community and well being by renewing the life stream of a community is only possible if the life stream is inclusive of local communities' cultures, fed by the tributaries from within those communities and which are recognisable to those communities when they are re-presented in the festival.

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