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Title: Power and hegemony within a community festival

Date: January 2011

Originally published by: International Journal of Festival and Event Management

Example citation: Clarke, A. and Jepson, A. (2011) Power and hegemony within a community festival. *International Journal of Festival and Event Management.* **2**(1), pp. 7-19.

Version of item: Accepted version

Power and Hegemony within a Community Festival.

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Abstract

Purpose: This paper will develop an illustrative case study of power and hegemony involved in the creation of a local community festival, through the representations of local communities' cultures from various ethnic groups within the City of Derby. Design/methodology/approach: Drawing on observational analysis of the steering group and the planning forum processes, this paper will deconstruct the discourses utilised, deployed and reinvented in the Derby Jubilee Festival. Power is revealed as a pervasive and constructive set of forces that are both enabling and disenfranchising. Findings: We demonstrate that the definitions of cultures used in the construction of the festival have significant outcomes for the communities involved or excluded from the community festival. Further we elaborate how positions are constructed on the basis of different discourses of power. Originality/value: Few studies have developed an analysis power and hegemony within festivals. The study shows how the values inscribed within exclusive definitions of 'culture' can exclude participation from community festivals.

Keywords: Cultural festivals, power, hegemony, local communities' cultures, cultural diversity

Community cultural festivals and power

This article is presented as an illustrative case study which explores the power relations in and around a community festival in Derby. Although the event took place a little time ago, we are exploring the processes which shaped it rather than evaluating the event itself. These processes are still current and underpin the management of contemporary events. We will introduce our theoretical approach to community festivals and power before elaborating the analysis of the Derby Jubilee Festival (DJF).

It has been recognised that community festivals should be more than a series of loosely connected events as can be seen in this definition provided by the Department of Culture, Art and Leisure in Northern Ireland: "*A community festival is a series of events with a common theme and delivered within a defined time period. It is developed from within a community and should celebrate and positively promote what the community represents. Community festivals are about participation, involvement, and the creation of a sense of identity and are important in contributing to the social well being of a community. They must be initiated and led by a community organisation or a community-led partnership. It is not enough to run a festival for a community - the community must play a strong part in the development and delivery of the festival and have ownership of it.*"
http://www.dcalni.gov.uk/index/arts_and_creativity/community_festivals_fund_revised_policy_document

From the literature, we believe that to be successful community festivals must ensure that the community is central to all cultural production processes and that the communities' cultures are evident throughout the festival. We will demonstrate here that the organisers used a narrow and exclusive definition of culture within the planning process and therefore failed to produce an inclusive community festival. We will present a critical review of the festival by drawing on the literature surrounding theories of power and analyse how power directly and indirectly influenced the construction of the festival.

Festivals have been viewed as demonstrations of power in and over communities (Marston, 1989; Rinaldo, 2002), for example hegemony could be exercised over less powerful ethnic groups by providing the 'majority' with nationalistic celebrations deflecting attention away from minorities. Jarvis (1994) commented that historically festivals were produced for political purposes as a mechanism of social control (Burke, 1978; Ekman, 1991; Jarvis, 1994; Rydell, 1984). However festivals could provide a platform for those in marginalised and/or minority groups. We follow Clegg (1989) and Prus (1999) in believing that power and its relationships are among the major concepts in the social sciences. Lamont (1989) identified four prominent fields where power can be a prime cause for investigation; cultural industries as an arena for power struggles; knowledge and aesthetic competence serving as resources in the exercise of power; cultural power exerted indirectly by modes of definition; and finally power by exclusion – either of people or ideas. We shall demonstrate that all of these fields can be elaborated in the context of this case study.

Power
Power can be explored in a number of different ways (Macleod and Carrier, 2010) and different bases for claims to power can also come from many sources. Although these theories would benefit from an extended critical elaboration, this section will briefly outline our understanding of the concept, its variety and its application within the context of this study of the DJF. Church and Coles (2007) suggest that power does not simply exist, but has to be created through the 'social production of power, the relationships between stakeholders and also includes the spatial dimensions or 'sites of power' (Westwood 2002:135).

This study has been influenced by power firstly as a result of the politics involved in the creation of the festival, and secondly, because of the definition of community festivals, the events themselves should be representations of local community culture from various ethnically diverse groups within the City of Derby. This study is of interest as all of Lamont's fields of investigation can be highlighted in the DJF.

This research is particularly interesting when one considers emergent power theories such as; equity can only be achieved through power sharing (Ryan, 2002), the redistribution of power/power sharing in stakeholder coalitions is rare (Thomas and Thomas, 2005).

We identified the 'power brokers' (Ioannides, 1998; Klem and Martin-Quiros, 1999; Bastakis et al, 2004), i.e. those who held direct power over the festival and its construction but also located Judd and Simpson's (2003) 'independent centres of power' within public-private sector urban tourism developments which often bypassed or limited democracy. Swain's (1995) patriarchal structures and male domination within planning processes were also evident.

The theories of Weber (1978), Lukes (1974), Foucault (1978), Clegg (1989) and Gramsci (1976) underpin the discussion of power relations. Weber's view on power presupposes that there is defined group of people that will obey a kind of command (or all commands). Weber's account of power is rooted in the investigation of the legitimacy of different kinds of authority. The motif behind the obedience determines the character of the relationship between the group exercising authority and the group they have the authority over. As Anderson (1976) notes, Gramsci develops a complex and variable usage of power, with hegemony refering to a process of moral and intellectual leadership through which dominated or subordinate classes of post-1870 industrial Western European nations consent to their own domination by ruling classes, as opposed to being simply forced or coerced into accepting inferior positions. Clegg's (1989) notion of power in practice in organisations owes much to these Gramscian notions and recontextualises these ideas into an industrial context.

These arguments are pertinent in the evolution of the DJF as the four key players developed power from a number of different sources; the traditional bases of the church and the local authority. In addition they also inscribed a professional bureaucratic system by appointing a festival co-ordinator and introducing a recognisable accountability structure which held a heavy basis in the discourses of financial viability. Foucault (1978) concluded that it is knowledge itself that gives disciplinary power which in the case of the DJF was restricted by the small number in charge thus giving that group enhanced power over other festival stakeholders. The construction space of the festival was within a politically charged setting of the formal council chambers and its more informal extensions. According to Clegg (1989:189) "power in organisations must concern the hierarchical structure of offices and their relation to each other, in the classical Weberian sense." *Legal authority* is characterised by continuous, rule-bound official (bureaucratic) procedures. In the case of *traditional authority*, the person is appointed on the basis of the traditionally 'inherited' norms. The commands are legitimate because the content of the command is legitimate by tradition. It must be noted that authority never exists in the pure forms described above. The most typical form of everyday administration draws on traditional, legal and bureaucratic constructions of power: as it is "tied to precedents transmitted from previous generations and (is) being bound by abstractly formulated universal principles" (Giddens, 1972:38).

Power can be seen as 'the rules of the game', which both enable and constrain action. Where rules are invoked, there must be discretion. The freedom of discretion requires discipline if it is to be a reliable relay.

This has become popularised in the concept of 'hegemony', where power is seen to be exercised through consensus as well as through coercion. In effect the power relations are defined by what is deemed 'proper' and what is excluded (Gramsci, 1976). This has particularly serious repercussions for discussions of cultures, where the power to value and the power to deny can be very profound (Clarke, 2000). Gramsci and Clegg both see the need for power to be analysed in terms of networks, alliances, points of resistance and instability which are also acknowledged by Foucault (1982). As Clegg (1989:201) continues "Power is implicated in authority and constituted by rules: the interpretation of rules must be disciplined, must be regulated, if new powers are not to be produced and existing powers transformed." This is the war of position which the Steering Group undertook during the development of the festival.

Table 1: The Population of Derby

Population of Derby in 2001	Total	White		Black and Asian		Largest non-White group in each ward	
Derby	221.700	193.900	87%	27.800	13%		
Wards in Derby							
Arboretum	13.800	6.900	50%	6.900	50%	Pakistani	4.700
Normanton	13.500	7.000	52%	6.450	48%	Pakistani	2.700
Blagreaves	12.500	10.050	80%	2.500	20%	Indian	1.550
Sinfin	13.800	11.350	82%	2.450	18%	Indian	1.050
Abbey	12.400	10.250	83%	2.100	17%	Indian	700
Littleover	12.250	10.400	85%	1.850	15%	Indian	1.000
Alvaston	13.700	12.900	94%	800	6%	Indian	200
Chellaston	12.150	11.500	95%	650	5%	Indian	250
Boulton	13.750	13.050	95%	700	5%	Indian	200
Darley	12.150	11.550	95%	600	5%	Indian	150
Oakwood	13.450	12.900	96%	550	4%	Chinese	100
Mickleover	13.550	13.050	96%	500	4%	Indian	150
Derwent	13.600	13.150	97%	450	3%	Mixed origins	100
Mackworth	13.050	12.650	97%	400	3%	Mixed origins	100
Allestree	13.000	12.650	97%	400	3%	Indian	100
Chaddesden	13.200	12.900	98%	300	2%	Mixed origins	50
Spondon	11.950	11.750	98%	200	2%	Indian	50

Profile prepared by the Cathie Marsh Centre for Census and Survey Research, University of Manchester.
Source: the 2001 and 1991 Censuses (Crown Copyright).

www.ccsr.ac.uk/research/migseg/Derby.doc

Contextualising The Research Setting

Before developing the analysis any further, it is necessary to introduce the context of the research by looking at the city and the festival. Derby is a city in the East Midlands of the UK, which developed from a market town with the advent of engineering, particularly focussed on aero-engines at Rolls Royce and railways, with what is now Bombadier. Derby has a population of 221,700 people (see Table 1).

There is a danger in Table 1 of missing the diversity of the ethnic groupings in the city as, for example, the majority white population includes approximately 10% who describe themselves as Irish, Polish, Lithuanian within an umbrella count of 'white other'. Similarly the non-white populations forming around 10% of the total include significant numbers of Asian or British Asians who can trace routes to Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and other Asian communities. The joy of the UK census allows for some but not enough community identifiers, as can be seen with the idea of the Black or Black British communities, which includes African, Caribbean and other Black categories. There is also an active Chinese community in the city although statistically they register less than 1% of the total population.

The DJF took place from the 22nd of June to the 1st of August 2002, centred on HM Queen Elizabeth II's Golden Jubilee. The DJF was unique as it also celebrated the City's twenty-five years as a city and seventy-five years since the Church of England created the new Diocese and the church assumed 'Cathedral Status'. The original concept 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 'high culture', following Williams' (1974) usage, with classical music by Beethoven, Chopin, Haydn, and Mozart (although some Gershwin was allowed!). There is therefore no history to the events as the DJF was designed to fill a gap. It brought together a range of existing events from within the city and with a few headline events that would attract further interest. The existing events were brought together under the stewardship of the representatives of the Cathedral, the City Council and the Governors of the University, none of them specialists in cultural events, and an appointed festival coordinator: thus a team of four, the 'Steering Group',were in direct control of the festival's construction. The aims of the DJF, taken from the post festival report, were to (emphasis added):

- ***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 original intention clearly speaks to a rationale of inclusion and openness. We are dealing with a single festival, although the DJF was a composite construction. Our focus is on the limitations which were placed on it. We will limit our account to the construction of a hegemonic position based upon the usage of a limited definition of culture. Some of the other objectives listed were met more successfully as the programme was highlighted and it is possible that the standing of the city was raised. However we return to the definition offered earlier of community festivals that those criteria, whilst important, are not sufficient in evaluating the work of a community festival
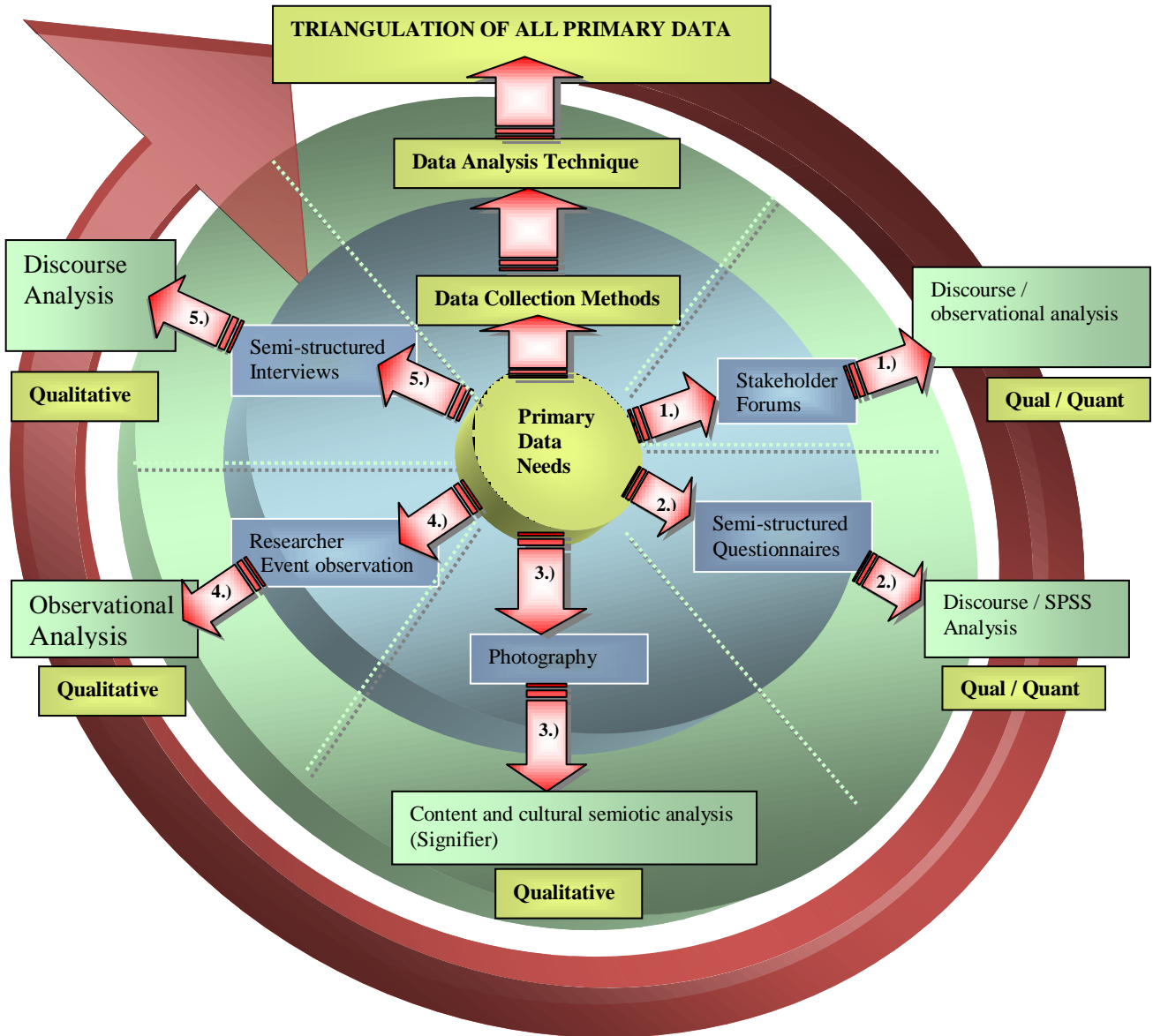
Research Approach
Undertaking the study we recognized the need for utilising multiple research paradigms and data collection methods (Goodson and Phillimore, 2004) to explore how power becomes a feature of both the internal production and construction processes.

We were fortunate to gain access to the decision making process, with attendance at the Planning Forum meetings and open 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 Steering Group met regularly, every two weeks to begin with although as the events neared these became more frequent and sometimes informally with only combinations of the members attending. The Planning Forum was the name given to a larger monthly meeting, where representatives of the groups involved, either through the creation of events or through the sponsorship offered to the DJF, would meet to be briefed on progress and developments. Our observations noted that there was little dialogue at these meetings as the 'audience' received the news from the Steering Group and that attendance both declined and featured a rolling representation. This means that the same group would be represented by different people at every meeting, which is not the best way to share continuity and knowledge of the developments. Initially this group comprised of 20 members, which included five sponsors and fifteen arts groups. Within this were 2 ethnic minority representatives and three women – and here we are counting an Asian woman in both categories.

The analysis is based primarily upon these observations and interviews with the members. Alongside this, questionnaires, secondary sources and photographic analysis techniques were all part of the research and contributed to the data analysis.
The adoption of different data collection methods and the use of triangulation within the 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 how control was produced and maintained through an assimilation of 'power' by a small group of organisers.

Table 1: Five point multi-methods, and Analysis Framework

TRIANGULATION OF ALL PRIMARY DATA

Data Analysis Technique

Data Collection Methods

Discourse Analysis

Qualitative

Semi-structured Interviews

5.)

5.)

Primary Data Needs

1.)

Stakeholder Forums

1.)

Discourse / observational analysis

Qual / Quant

2.)

Semi-structured Questionnaires

2.)

Discourse / SPSS Analysis

Qual / Quant

Researcher Event observation

4.)

Observational Analysis

4.)

Qualitative

3.)

Photography

3.)

Content and cultural semiotic analysis (Signifier)

Qualitative

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 to replace the older canons of positivist research. There are four dimensions to these criteria:

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 explicit to construct a meaningful account of the phenomena and the ways in which those meanings emerged. They conclude that satisfying these criteria entails:

> ➢ 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. We have limited this account to the questions of cultural inclusion within the festival, drawing heavily from the observation of the Planning Forum meetings and formal and informal interviews with the Steering Group.

Cultured, Cultural and Cultures
The analysis of the Steering Group will be presented within the structure of the fields outlined by Lamont (1989) which we highlighted earlier.

Cultural power exerted indirectly by modes of definition
The nature of the DJF was defined by the Steering Group who explicitly expressed the view in a series of interviews and statements to the Planning Forum that the cultural dimension of the festival should be educational and intellectually stimulating. As Williams (1974) observed high culture gives a legitimacy to certain beliefs and values within the social order and it was the educational promotion of these values that was emphasised in the organisation and promotion of the DJF.

Taken out with the context of the DJF, arguing for educational and intellectually stimulating events could be seen as a valid claim, however in the specific delimited context we are analysing the claim becomes a straight jacket that denies inclusion and openness. The power struggle around what should have been included was defined by the first meeting of the Planning Forum when our observations noted that no one challenged the Steering Group's view of what was to be valued. Further evidence of this exclusive cultural stance is drawn from the Steering Group's desire for 'quality' events as they asserted that only high cultural or exclusive cultural events represented high quality. Again no one would suggest that the DJF would have been improved by the inclusion of low quality events but the articulation of high quality with high culture has to be challenged so that high quality could also include the high quality presentations of different cultural forms and expressions. In holding these views of high or exclusive culture the Steering Group were accepting, at least implicitly, traditional viewpoints on culture which view popular cultures as cheapening high culture and as such did could not value popular or inclusive culture as its equal. In taking an exclusive view of culture the organisers also expressed the view at the second meeting of the Planning Forum that inclusivity of local community cultures would weaken the festival, which culminated in a strong bias toward exclusive cultural events within the festival programme.

By failing to identify, understand and embrace definitions of culture as a way of life the Steering Group greatly restricted the types of events which would become a part of the festival programme and the cultural diversity within it. This can also be seen as a missed opportunity to soften traditional cultural boundaries and open cultural products to a wider culturally diverse local audience as well as introduce and integrate new ones into Derby's cultural sphere. It was an exercise of power by the Steering Group as they restricted the claims to knowledge from local communities' about culture which gave them disciplinary power (Foucault, 1978) and they were therefore able to manipulate the festival towards their own direction rather than one in favour of the inclusion of the local communities' cultures.

Cultural industries as an arena for power struggles
We would evidence this by noting the obvious limitations on inclusiveness, as there were another six notable celebrations, which should also have been recognised as significant within the city: the 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 Derby' 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 DJF as the Steering Group focused on the valued 'big three' celebrations highlighted previously.

Knowledge and aesthetic competence serving as resources in the exercise of power
The second contributing factor to the hegemonic position of the Steering Group became apparent as a result of their limited research and consultation, which meant invitations to engage the support and involvement of the local communities through consultation meetings were only extended in the English language.

This action was seen as an exclusive gesture as it had the effect of denying local communities a direct voice in what should have been their festival. A community festival was being constructed without the local communities whose lack of inclusion and voice laid the foundations for hegemony and a minority to exercise and retain power within the festival planning process. This lack of involvement by the local communities also meant that they were not able to claim ownership of the festival. The inability to take ownership of the festival or claim the idea of it was also a reason the City Council Arts Department was not able to fully integrate within the festival planning process. This reveals the competitive nature which can be a result of involvement in cultural production and whilst healthy competition can be considered an asset, in the case of the DJF it caused departments to become separatist and work in isolation because they were not able to assume ownership of what was a 'community festival' rather than integrate and cooperate to ensure the festival delivery was the best it could be.

The third contributing factor in the establishment of hegemony was the selection and appointment of a festival coordinator by the three festival organisers rather than as literature advocated (Greenfeld, 1988; Dale, 1995; Arnold, 2001; Edensor, 2001; Maurin, 2001; Derrett, 2003; Jeong and Santos, 2004; Lade and Jackson, 2004), a festival director or producer. This created an unbalanced relationship within the festival planning process where those who appointed the coordinator became the 'employer' and the festival coordinator became the 'employee', resulting in the coordinator having limited power to challenge decisions made by the established hierarchy. This meant that the festival's original architects maintained their influence over the festival and became the 'directors' or 'gatekeepers' (Greenfeld, 1998; Derrett, 2003) of its cultural and creative direction rather than the coordinator who had considerable more festival expertise.

Power by exclusion – either of people or ideas
Abercrombie, Hill, and Turner (1980) argued that the perspective of culture as 'dominant ideology' still survives in present society, which means the benefits of 'culture' are only witnessed and given to the dominant classes within a society, although in this context the benefits of culture should theoretically be available to all local communities. The DJF demonstrated exclusion of a variety of cultural forms and venues. Within the festival programme for example there were no film, photography, drama, dance, theatre, or comedy based events. The city's public houses and clubs were also not utilised as festival venues and the parks within the city were only included once within the 'DET Motor show' which was an existing event.

One key example with regard to the planning process was the limited identification of and subsequent non inclusion of local community voices during the planning process. The relationships which developed within the festival planning process therefore not only demonstrated explicit exclusion strategies as Jeong and Santos (2004) suggested because, although hegemony was exercised over less powerful subcultures and ethnic minority groups in Derby, it occurred implicitly as a result of not carrying through all the local community festival consultation meetings. Other suggestions that the festival was used as a mechanism of social control (Burke, 1978; Ekman, 1991; Jarvis, 1994; Rydell, 1984) can also be supported within the context of the DJF but in an accidental context rather than one which was meticulously planned.

Festivals could also create demonstrative resistance to that social control (Cohen, 1982; Jackson, 1988, 1992; Smith, 1995; Western, 1992), resistance can take many forms but protests are usually the most likely form for demonstrating a resistance to power (Gramsci, 1976) – we observed no such overt behaviours but identified passive resistance and a withdrawal of support from the official DJF.

Our observations suggest that the festival Planning Forums became a largely undemocratic platform through which organisers were able to express their cultural stance by selecting mainly exclusive annual cultural events which had already been produced and by packaging them loosely under the umbrella of the DJF. The Steering Group therefore missed a valuable opportunity to integrate and promote ethnic understanding across the city mainly because they did not recognise the importance of cultural and ethnic diversity within the festival context and also because they could not agree on how they could widen cultural understanding and participation in cultural events. In the interviews it was clear that the Steering Group members did not think in terms of explicit control but individually and collectively were unable to think through the alternatives of inclusion. Their responses to our questions repreatedly stressed the lack of 'awareness' of other cultural sites and entrepreneurs in the city. As the woman who represented one of the key sponsors told us there was no point in raising alternatives as the Steering Group could not recognise them. She eventually went so far as stopping attending the Planning Forums in light of what she saw as cultural and sexual blindness on the part of the organisers.

These results highlight the lack in diversity both within the events themselves and the audiences they attracted, which demonstrates that local cultures were not well represented which as well as being clearly visible through photographic evidence was further reinforced through event questionnaires and stakeholder interviews. Ethnic minority groups and diverse cultures within the city from India, Pakistan, the Ukraine, Poland, the Russian Federation, Serbia, Bosnia – Herzegovina, Japan, Iran, or the Peoples Republic of China, which exist within the populations in the districts of Normanton, Peartree, Mickleover, Littleover, Sinfin, Alvaston, were noticeably absent from the events and audiences which were created as a result of the festival planning process.

Seeing is believing: valuing cultural diversity in Derby
Our analysis of what happened in the DJF is underlined by the final event of the celebrations. This saw the visit of the Queen to Derby and a carnival like celebration organised at the city's football stadium, Pride Park. This day attracted huge crowds to see the Queen, with 27,000 people inside the stadium and thousands more outside the ground and lining the Queen's route to and from the venue. The Pageant was inclusive of performances by the local communities, showcasing and celebrating their cultures. The traditional Derbyshire morris dancing was juxtaposed with a dragon dance from the Chinese community; children's poetry, stories and drawings were displayed to the accompaniment of African and, next to them, Caribbean drummers. The significance of this truly multicultural event is that it was not organised by the Steering Group but by Pride Park Stadium and the Queen's appointee in Derbyshire. They succeeded in filling the football ground with an audience drawn from every section of the local communities, demonstrating the opportunity that a broader definition of culture could have extended throughout the DJF.

Conclusions

This case study opens up issues of importance in the management of festivals and events, where the exercise of power needs to be carefully explored. More detailed examinations of the links between power, politics and policy are needed to further elaborate these relationships but this study does have application in the realm of cultural and community based studies of policy making and its consequences, both intended and unintended.

The 'Steering Group' were able to achieve hegemony over the stakeholders involved in the festival by firstly controlling knowledge, both in terms of the organisations who contributed financially, and the local communities themselves. In doing this they were able to retain discipline and governance helped in addition by the spatial dimensions of power held by the political venue of the forums, which limited the opportunity for any resistance to power. As a result of limited resistance to the 'Steering Group's' power and influence no 'counter-hegemonic' challenge was observed, leaving them in full control over the direction of the festival.

The hegemonic control which was knowingly or unknowingly demonstrated had far reaching ramifications within the construction and delivery of the DJF. And how the festival goals such as '*Embrace all sections of the community*' and '*Celebrate multiculturalism and diversity of the city*' could be addressed, rendering them almost impossible. Firstly the local communities as a result of their non inclusion were not able to challenge the established order of the planning process on decisions affecting the festival which meant that community opinion was not demonstrated. Secondly this meant that local cultural identity and what was culturally appropriate for the festival was defined by the dominant social group which in the context of the festival was the 'Steering Group'. And thirdly very little 'democracy' existed within the festival planning process because the four male organisers were consistently in charge of making festival decisions which meant other members were unable to create any influence or have any effect on the decision making processes.

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