

Is Current Czech Society a Social Class-Based Society? The Validity of EGP and ESeC Class Schemes¹

Tomáš Katrňák²

Katedra sociologie/Ústav populačních studií, FSS MU Brno

Is Current Czech Society a Social Class-Based Society? The Validity of EGP and ESeC Class Schemes. The subject of this article is the EGP and ESeC class schemes and their validity for Czech society. The basic question is to what extent these two schemes identify differences in occupational conditions in Czech society. In the first part of the article, the author presents EGP and ESeC schemes, focuses on their theoretical grounds, and looks at the criteria that define social classes within these frameworks. In the second part of the article, the author tests whether these two class schemes really measure what they are supposed to – the criterion validity of EGP and ESeC is tested. After that, the author examines how much the two class schemes predict other social variables on the basis of theoretical expectations – the construct validity of EGP and ESeC is tested. Finally the author compares these two class schemes and discusses which of them is a more appropriate explanatory instrument of occupational inequalities, and the consequent differences in life outcomes in current Czech society.
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Social classes indicate the inequalities given by the labour market. The magnitude of these inequalities is directly proportional to the instruments by which we measure them. The more subtle the approach we select, the finer the web of inequality we can identify. Keeping this problem in mind, scholars of social class present so-called schemes of class structure grounded in theoretical arguments. These schemes are then tested in specific countries to show to what extent the schemes “work”. They study to what extent the class schemes differentiate among labour positions – to what extent they reflect differences in a given type of labour, type of employment contract, social security and benefits, income, qualifications, and power and prestige. (Goldthorpe – Llewellyn – Payne 1980) Sociological class schemes therefore are not and cannot be the result of empirically identified groups on the labour market, the members of which have access to similar resources and must face the same barriers. Present class schemes are grounded in theory, conceptually clear, and well-constructed. They are designed to explain the differences between occupations in modern societies in the final third of the 20th century. (Katrňák 2005) Such class schemes can then be used to study empirical reality.

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² Address: doc. PhDr. Tomáš Katrňák, PhD., Masaryk University, Faculty of Social Studies, Department of Sociology/Office for Population Studies, Joštova 10, 602 00 Brno, Czech Republic. Tel.: +420-549494025, fax: +420-549491920, e-mail: katrnak@fss.muni.cz

Before we begin to play with class schemes, we need to know by which criteria class positions are to be separated. The criteria will lead to a certain number of social classes for a given class scheme. After that we can proceed to empirically test whether the class scheme differentiates among positions on the labour market – and whether it is valid for a given society. If it is, social scientists can use that class scheme to explain differences in life outcomes, such as attitudes and opinions, lifestyles or values, economic differences, political preferences, health, family life, child rearing, longevity, or divorce probabilities. If a class scheme is valid, if it “works”, then we can expect people from the same social class to have similar life outcomes.

The subject of this article is the class schemes EGP and ESeC and their validity for Czech society³. The basic questions are: to what extent do these two schemes identify differences in occupational conditions in Czech society? To what extent are the EGP and ESeC class schemes sensitive to different characteristics of the Czech labour market? Can we conclude on that basis that contemporary Czech society is a social class society? Each of the schemes was originally designed for a different society than the Czech one. The EGP class scheme was adopted somewhat uncritically during the 1990s by Czech sociologists (see Machonin – Tuček 1996; Večerník – Matějů 1998; Matějů – Vlachová 2000) and the majority of sociological analyses of Czech society continue to work with it today – albeit in various versions modified for Czech society (c.f. Tuček 2002, 2003; Mansfeldová – Tuček 2002; Matějů – Straková 2006). Its validity must therefore be tested; it must be shown whether the scheme works as an adequate explanatory instrument for Czech society. The ESeC class scheme is of a relatively recent date; it has not yet been applied to Czech society. It is based on the EGP class schema, addresses some of its imperfections, and is designed and standardized as an “updated” class scheme for the countries of the European Union, so that their occupational structures can be compared. This is why a test of their validity in the Czech Republic is more than desirable.

The structure of the text is as follows: First I will present the two schemes; I will focus on their theoretical reasons, and look at the criteria that define social classes within these frameworks. Then I will focus on the validity of each scheme when applied to Czech society. I will test whether the two schemes really measure what they are supposed to, focusing on the two schemes’ validity in terms of the criteria. I will also examine how much the two class schemes predict other social variables on the basis of theoretical

³ These two schemes were preceded by Wright’s class scheme (Wright 1985; 1989), which from an empirical standpoint is very seldom used, and in Czech society no one has worked with it (as far as we know). For this reason we will skip validity testing on it for Czech society, and focus on the widely-used EGP scheme and the newly-designed class scheme ESeC (more on Wright’s class scheme in Katrňák 2005).

expectations, concentrating on construct validity. Finally I will compare the two schemes, and discuss which of them is a more proper instrument of class inequality in current Czech society.

What are the EGP and ESeC class schemes?

In the late 1970s, Goldthorpe and Llewellyn (1977) presented a seven-class scheme for Great Britain. The scheme was based on aggregations from a collapsed version of Hope and Goldthorpe's scale of "occupation desirability". (Goldthorpe – Hope 1974) Two years later, Erikson, Goldthorpe, and Portocarero (1979) expanded this scheme to nine classes⁴. Modification and clarification of the scheme was taken up a few years later by Goldthorpe and Payne (1986). A full version consisting of 11 classes, including all of their "submerged" versions (7 classes, 5 classes, and 3 classes) which can be easily transformed into full versions according to the purpose of comparative analysis, amount and quality of empirical data, was presented by Erikson and Goldthorpe in the early 1990s (1992).

Erikson and Goldthorpe (1992) clarified their concept of class schemes, writing "the aim of a class scheme is to distinguish among positions on the labour market and the status of employees, or more accurately differentiate among these positions according to type of the labour contract employees are bound to". (Erikson – Goldthorpe 1992: 37) Erikson and Goldthorpe emphasize that their scheme deals with positions on the labour market – jobs, not the persons occupying them; however, they add that in analyzing and describing social classes and the differences between them, it is very difficult in many cases to avoid the influence of the specific persons actually occupying the jobs.

Table 1 shows the complete eleven-class EGP schema. Each class is given a Roman numeral; with some classes the numeral is accompanied by a letter.

How are the individual positions within this scheme derived? Goldthorpe and his colleagues distinguish between three basic class positions. According to whether a person buys labour, sells, or does neither, they distinguish between employers, employees, and the self-employed.

Employers are divided into large and small. The class position of employees is differentiated by type of employment contract; that is, the relationship that exists between employer and employee. On one hand, there are workers who have signed a contract for a particular position. Their relationship to the employer is to provide a service. On the other hand, there are employees that

⁴ An acronym of the first letters of the authors' names, this class scheme is known in an international context as EGP, later also the *CASMIN scheme* (after the project *Comparative Analysis of Social Mobility in Industrial Nations*) and also the *Erikson-Goldthorpe scheme*. In Great Britain this scheme is widely known as the *Goldthorpe class scheme*.

have a contract to do a specific job. Their relationship to their employer is defined through their job description.

Table 1: **EGP class scheme**

Class position	Description	Type of employment contract
I	Higher-grade professionals, administrators, and officials; managers of large industrial establishments, large proprietors	Employer or service relationship
II	Lower-grade professionals, administrators, and officials; higher-grade technicians; managers in small industrial establishments; supervisors of non-manual employees	Service relationship
-----	-----	-----
IIIa	Routine non-manual employees, higher grade (administration and commerce)	Combination of service relationship and labour contract
IIIb	Routine non-manual employees, lower grade (sales and services)	Combination of service relationship and labour contract
IVa	Smaller proprietors, artisans, etc. with employees	Employers
IVb	Small proprietors, artisans without employees	Independents
IVc	Farmers and smallholders; other self-employed workers in primary production	Employers or independent self-employed
V	Lower-grade technicians; supervisors of manual workers	Combination of service relationship and labour contract
-----	-----	-----
VI	Skilled manual workers	Labour contract
VIIa	Semi- and unskilled manual workers (not in agriculture)	Labour contract
VIIb	Agricultural and other workers in primary production	Labour contract

Source: Erikson – Goldthorpe (1992: 38)

The first type of contract is widespread at the higher levels of bureaucratic organizations. A second type of contract is typical for manual labourers. A service relationship is typical for all professionals, managers, trained technicians, and bureaucrats. Usually according to the degree of education, extent of decision-making responsibility, and level of pay, we can further distinguish a higher class (class I) and a lower class (class II). The labour contract is typical of all labourers.

Even though the roman numbers used by EGP suggest the idea of a class hierarchy, here it is not about hierarchical structure. We can arrange the EGP into three vertically distinguishable blocks, which more or less correspond to the class structure that arises based on the prestige of individual occupations or the socio-economic status of the people occupying the class positions. The broken line in Table 1 separates these hierarchically-arranged blocs.

The highest bloc consists of classes I and II. This is the service class – the so-called “salarial”, characterized by a service relationship with the employer. Representatives of these classes have the highest incomes, contract security, career growth, and employee benefits. Compared to the members of other

classes they also have better life chances that are not derived directly from their (relatively) higher earnings, but the co-existence of three elements that are (latently or explicitly) part of their contract with the employer. First: the income of the salariat does not change according to the amount of work turned in. Second: the income of the salariat does not drop markedly when work activity is interrupted (illness, injury, unemployment). And third: the economic income of the salariat increases in direct proportion with the age (length of career) of its members (peak income is usually reached at the end of one's employment career).

The lowest-placed bloc represents the working class, characterized by a work contract with the employer. The contract is usually short-term. The members of this class earn less on average than members of the salariat. Their income varies according to the amount of work they do. They have a specifically-set wage ceiling; in the event of disability, they do not have benefits from the employer as the members of the salariat do; and the peak of their income career usually comes at about thirty years of age. For these reasons the life chances of members of the working class are lower than those of the salariat.

The classes situated between these two blocs are the intermediary classes. Their members typically cannot be categorized on the basis of their employment contract into either salariat or the working class. Their intermediary position reflects the mixed nature of their employment contract, not a location in between the vertically-arranged class positions. Representatives of these classes are characterized by greater economic and social insecurity than the members of other classes; nevertheless, they have a better chance to accumulate economic capital on the labour market, as well as the tendency to pass down class status from one generation to the next.

The full eleven-class EGP scheme has been modified for purposes of comparative research. Seven-, five-, and three-class versions have been devised; each simplified version is "submerged" within the previous, more detailed version. Table 2 shows each version and its structure. The seven-class version combines classes I and II (labelled as the service class), classes IVa and IVb (small businessmen), and classes V and VI (skilled labourers). We create a five-class version by adding routine non-manual employees to the service class, which gives us the white-collar workers; and by lumping together agricultural employees with private individuals in agriculture, classifying them all as farmers. By further lumping together white collar workers and small businessmen, leaving agriculture as it is, and combining skilled and unskilled labourers, we arrive at a three-class scheme consisting of non-manual workers, farm workers, and manual workers.

Table 2: Full and collapsed versions of EGP class scheme

Full version	7-class version		5-class version		3-class version
I	I+II	Service class	I-III	White collar	Non-manual workers
II					
IIIa	III	Routine non-manual			
IIIb					
IVa	IVa+b	Petit bourgeoisie	IVa+b	Petit bourgeoisie	
IVb					
IVc	IVc	Farmers	IVc-VIIb	Farmers	Farm workers
V	V+VI	Skilled workers	V+VI	Skilled workers	Manual workers
VI					
VIIa	VIIa	Unskilled workers	VIIa	Non-skilled workers	
VIIb	VIIb	Agricultural labourers			

Source: Erikson – Goldthorpe (1992: 39)

Although the EGP classification is still being used in many European countries, over the last decade there have been growing calls to either revise it, or create an up-to-date alternative. In 2002 to 2004, this task was taken up by a research team led by British sociologists Davis Rose and Eric Harrison, composed of researchers on social stratification from selected EU countries. (Rose – Harrison 2010) Under the auspices of the Eurostat, they developed a class scheme designed to assist in the description and comparison of employment structures throughout the European countries (the EGP was primarily designed to describe the employment structure in Great Britain). It has been updated for contemporary labour markets (the EGP was developed during the late 1970s), which is also evidenced by its use for ISCO08⁵. The official name of the scheme is the European Socioeconomic Classification (ESeC), and it is based on the same concept as the EGP⁶. Position on the labour market is the root of socio-economic inequality and life chances in the European countries. Occupation (position on the labour market) is an indicator of these inequalities and chances; thus occupational structure forms the backbone of social stratification. (Rose – Harrison – Pevalin 2010) The aggregate of like positions on the labour market goes to make up the social classes. Members of a class have access to the same resources and must face the same barriers. Thus occupational position within the framework of the ESeC is not primarily defined by income or level of education, but mainly in relation to other positions. Social class thus determines not only the

⁵ ISCO (*International Standard Classification of Occupations*) was developed by the International Labor Organization in Geneva. First in 1958 and every twenty years thereafter (1968, 1988, and 2008) the ILO has published an update of this classification in view of the changes in occupational structure in European countries (for more on this see ILO 1968; 1988; 2008).

⁶ The scheme has its own internet page: www.iser.essex.ac.uk/research/esecc.

opportunities and behaviour of its members, but above all determines how they will be treated by members of other social classes (and, in turn, what attitudes they will have towards other social classes).

The ESeC is based conceptually on the EGP class scheme, which is founded on three social classes: *employers*, the *self-employed*, and *employees*. To these the ESeC adds a fourth class, the excluded – people who have dropped out of the labour market because they do not work (but wish to) or are long-term unemployed⁷.

Employees make up 90% of the population on the labour market in EU countries. (Rose – Harrison – Pevalin 2010) Under the ESeC, they are divided according to two criteria: *labour market situation*, and *job situation*. Labour market situation refers to economic security, job prospects, and career advancement. Job situation refers to authority, autonomy, and accountability in the workplace. These two criteria of market situation and work situation are dealt with in the various types of employee contract which define the positions people fill. The employment contract, then, is a method of regulating the relationship between employer and employee.

The authors of the ESeC, like those of the EGP, distinguish between workers with labour contracts and those with service relationships⁸. Each is a way of addressing the problems connected with employing people (Goldthorpe, 2000). On one hand, employers are able to react to the problem of supervising workers, and to reward them according to their degree of knowledge on how to do their jobs (education, skills, competence, expertise). With the non-manual positions, the problem of management and monitoring is significant, because the volume and quality of work, as well as its time frame, are not precisely formulated for these positions. On the other hand, among manual workers, the job, the amount of work, and time frame are all clearly given, and the job usually consists of standardized tasks. Oversight of this kind of employee is relatively problem-free. Compared to people in the manual jobs, people in non-manual situations are less easily replaceable, as non-manual positions require advanced skills and specialized knowledge. Entry-level requirements for these jobs are significant compared with those for entry-level manual jobs.

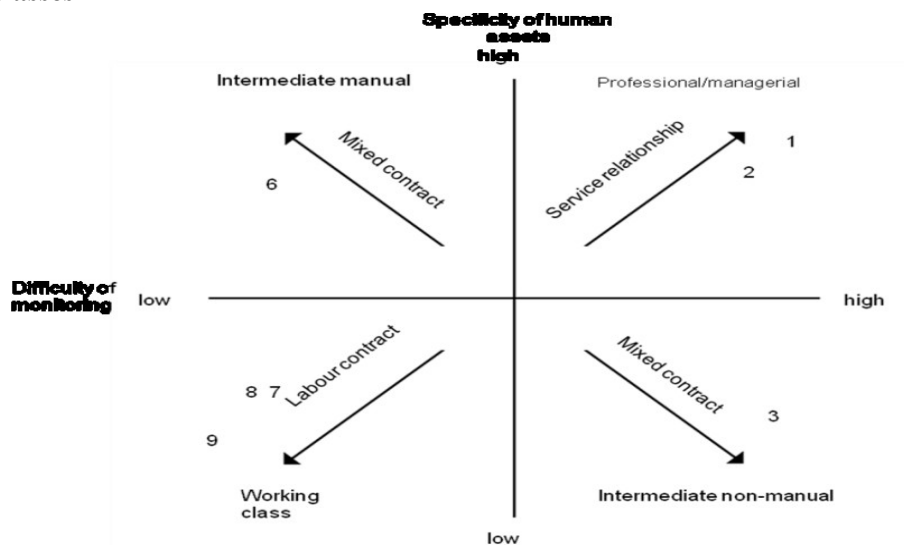
The labour contract is typical for jobs where job performance is easily monitored, and where specialized knowledge is not necessary to perform the work. The service relationship is more common with positions where performance is linked to personal responsibility. Monitoring in the form of

⁷ It is evident that people outside the labor market, such as students, women on maternity leave, retirees, and the unemployed are not part of the EGP social scheme, because they do not have a work contract. The question is, however, whether these people shouldn't also be a part of the social class structure, and how to deal with them from the standpoint of class analysis (for more on this see Katriňák 2005).

⁸ These are ideal models of typical employment contracts. In reality we find greater or lesser variations on these.

tangible production over a clear time horizon is difficult in these cases. Filling these positions requires education and skills. Each contract presupposes a different approach by employer towards employee. Labour contracts are usually agreed upon for a shorter time period than contracts for a service relationship, and are not linked to specific employee benefits and securities. However, each contract requires a different approach by employees towards employers. In the case of service relationships, employee loyalty towards employer is assumed to be high – the employee must identify with the employer. The holder of such a job is responsible, independent, conscientious, and disciplined. With labour contracts, employee identification with employer is not expected. The holder of such a job does predetermined tasks within a set period of time.

Figure 1: **Difficulty of monitoring, specificity of human assets and the ESeC classes**



Source: Rose – Harrison – Pevalin (2010: 12)

The third type of contract is a combination of the preceding two. This is a type of contract which combines the elements of the service relationship with those of the labour contract. In Figure 1, the horizontal axis shows the degree of monitoring by the employer, and the vertical axis shows the extent of specialized knowledge necessary to fill the employment position. In the upper right quadrant (problem of monitoring and evaluation significant, high education), we find the service relationships and the highest ESeC classes 1 and 2. In the opposite lower left quadrant (work easily monitored, with low degree of specialized skills), we have the labour contract and lowest ESeC

classes 7, 8, and 9. The remaining quadrants contain the mixed contracts, and either manual intermediate classes (class 6, where monitoring of work is not a problem but the job requires high specialized skills) or the middle non-manual (class 3, where monitoring of work performance is difficult, but specific expert knowledge is unnecessary).

In the EU countries, employers and the self-employed are in the overwhelming minority compared to employees. Under the ESeC, employers are divided into large and small – according to whether they only delegate tasks to others (the larger) or carry out these tasks themselves (smaller). Small employers, according to their situation on the employment market and the degree of their authority on the job, are divided into higher and lower skilled. This division is also applied to the group of self-employed.

The final class under the ESeC consists of those involuntarily excluded from the paying labour market. These are the long-term unemployed and those who seek but cannot find employment.

Table 3 describes the 10 classes under ESeC. An Arabic numeral is given to each class. This is not a hierarchical structure. Differences between the classes are mainly of a qualitative character. Nevertheless, if we take into account the amount and security of incomes, classes 1 and 2 (the salariat) dominate over classes 3, 6, 7, 8, and 9, according to Rose, Harrison and Pevalin (2010).

Table 3: European Socio-economic Classification (ESeC)

ESeC class	Common term	Employment regulation
1 Large employers, higher-grade professional, administrative, and managerial occupations	Higher salariat	Service relationship
2 Lower grade professional, administrative, and managerial occupations and higher grade technician and supervisory occupations	Lower salariat	Service relationship (modified)
3 Intermediate occupations	Higher-grade white collar workers	Mixed
4 Small employer and self-employed occupations (except agriculture, etc.)	Petite bourgeoisie or independents	Not applicable
5 Self-employed occupations (agriculture etc.)	Petite bourgeoisie or independents	Not applicable
6 Lower supervisory and lower technician occupations	Higher-grade blue collar workers	Mixed
7 Lower services, sales, and clerical occupations	Lower white collar	Labour contract (modified)
8 Lower technical occupations	Skilled workers	Labour contract (modified)
9 Routine occupations	Semi- and non-skilled workers	Labour contract
10 Never worked and long-term unemployed	Unemployed	Not applicable

Source: Rose – Harrison – Pevalin (2010: 13)

The basic 10 classes of the ESeC can be collapsed into versions with 6, 5, or 3 classes – depending on the empirical content of the individual categories and the purpose the class scheme is being used for. (Rose – Harrison – Pevalin 2010) The class categories are combined in a way so as to preserve the basic division into employers, self-employed, and employees (except for the 3-class version, in which the self-employed are grouped with employees; see table 4). The 6-class version contains the salariat (grouping together the higher and lower salariat), the intermediate employee positions (combining the higher white and blue collar), small businessmen and independents (combining these positions into one) and the remaining classes 7, 8, and 9. In the 5-class version positions 8 and 9 are combined, creating a class of lower technical and manual employment. And the 3-class version contains the salariat (classes 1 and 2), the intermediate classes (3+4+5+6), and the working class (classes 7+8+9). Class 10 (those excluded from the labour market) constitute a supplementary category in all ESeC versions, which can be included in the study depending on the analytical goal.

Table 4: ESeC classes from 10-class to 6-, 5-, and 3-class versions

ESeC classes	10-class version	6-class version	5-class version	3-class version
Higher salariat	1	1+2	1+2	1+2
Lower salariat	2			
Higher white collar	3	3+6	3+6	3+4+5+6
Petite bourgeoisie or independent	4	4+5	4+5	
Petite bourgeoisie or independent	5			
Higher blue collar	6			
Lower white collar	7	7	7	7+8+9
Skilled manual labourers	8	8	8+9	
Semi-skilled and unskilled labourers	9	9		
Unemployed	(10)	(10)	(10)	(10)

Source: Rose – Harrison – Pevalin (2010: 21)

The Czech labour market as seen by EGP and ESeC

The EGP class scheme does not come with instructions on how to operationalize it. Its authors laid out the conceptual rationale for their class schema, but they did not prepare an algorithm according to which it would be possible to examine empirical reality in terms of EGP classes. The scheme was created at a time when a unified classification of occupations had yet to be established in the national states. (See Erikson – Goldthorpe 1992) Only in the mid-1990s did Ganzeboom and Treiman (1996) operationalize the EGP into empirical indicators and produce an algorithm to identify EGP classes on the basis of ISCO occupational classification and a number of supplementary questions dealing with occupational position. Today these algorithms are

acknowledged by most social researchers; nevertheless there are national variations and deviations. By comparison, the ESeC has a clear operational definition that was created alongside its conceptual reasoning. This algorithm is standardized for the majority of European countries. Ganzeboom and Treiman's EGP operationalization is based on the four digit ISCO88, while the operationalization of ESeC is based on the three-digit ISCO88, and can also be used for ISCO08. This favours the ESeC over the EGP, as the coding of occupations according to the three-digit ISCO88 or ISCO08 should not require as much knowledge on the part of the coder as the four-digit ISCO88 (errors in classifying occupations are fewer in this case), and should be more easily accessible in the already-gathered data by the three-digit ISCO88 than the four-digit.

The data I am analyzing comes from the study *Class Structure and Social Mobility (CSSM)*. This survey (based on the quota selections) was realized during September and October 2009 in the Czech Republic. The size of the original sample is 3006 respondents. There were 1797 economically active respondents for which a class position was identified. I operationalized the EGP class scheme with the help of the Ganzeboom-Treiman algorithm⁹ and the ESeC class scheme with the help of the algorithms designed by its authors¹⁰. Not all of the classes are sufficiently empirically represented in either of the schemes; I decided to test the six-class variations of both schemes¹¹. First I collapsed the full version of EGP to seven classes according to Table 2. In the seven-class version of the EGP I also combined farmers and agricultural employees (classes IVc and VIIb) according to the instructions for creating a five-class version, which gave me an EGP with six social classes. I modified the full ESeC version into a six-class version according to Table 4. Figure 2 shows the proportion of respondents in these EGP and ESeC classes in the Czech Republic (in parentheses after every column is the absolute number of respondents). The proportion of respondents in the first three classes is practically identical for both schemes. More than a third of respondents are in the services class, just under a fifth are in intermediate, non-manual routine positions, and about a tenth of respondents make up the class of small proprietors. Only the ESeC has a class of the lowest non-manuals primarily in retail and services, while only the EGP has a class of agriculture. Qualified

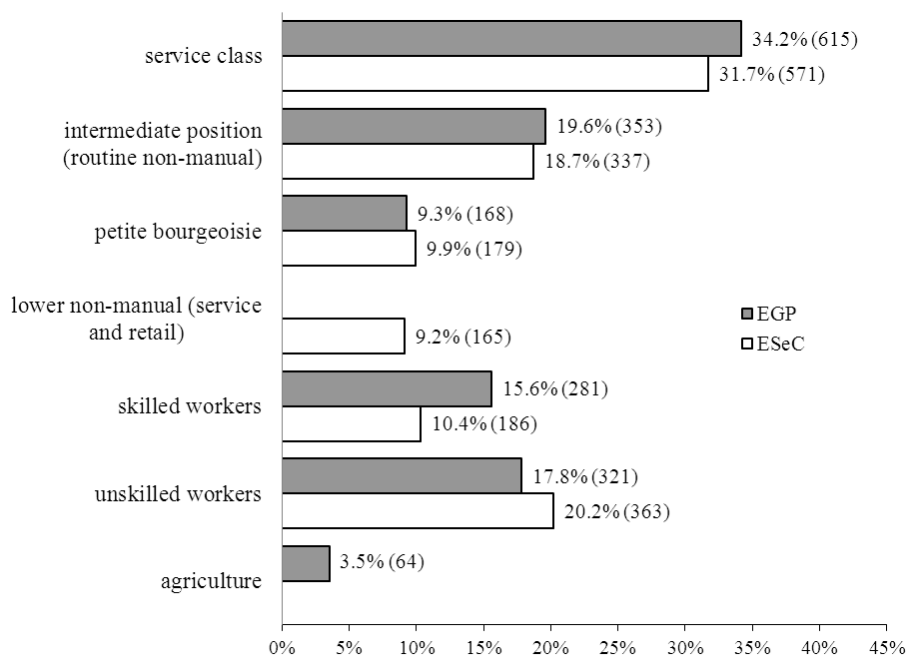
⁹ The SPSS syntax of this algorithm is available on the website of Harry Ganzeboom
<http://home.fsw.vu.nl/hbg.ganzeboom/index.htm>.

¹⁰ The SPSS syntax is accessible at:
<http://www.iser.essex.ac.uk/research/esec/matrices-and-syntax>. The Stata syntax is available here: http://www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/download/ESeC_full_version_for_ESS.do.

¹¹ It is known that Goldthorpe and his co-authors never used the full version of the EGP in empirical research. The most often-used versions of the EGP are the seven- and five-class versions, or their national versions. (More on this in Erikson – Goldthorpe 1992; Evans 1992; Breen 2004)

workers are favoured in the EGP unlike in the ESeC; in the ESeC, non-qualified and semi-qualified workers are over-represented compared to the EGP.

Figure 2: **Proportion of respondents in EGP and ESeC social classes (6-class version)**



What accounts for these differences? The number of class positions in the collapsed six-class version is different in each of the two schemes, of course. Each of the six-class schemes has one unique class the other doesn't have (in the EGP it is the farmers, in the ESeC lower non-manuals in retail and services). Under either scheme respondents from these classes must be placed into other social classes. Table 5 demonstrates how respondents from EGP classes are distributed into ESeC classes, and vice versa; with respondents from the ESeC classes as they would break down into EGP classes (the first part of the table shows relative frequency horizontally, and the second part of the table vertically). The service class, small proprietors, and unskilled labourers are consistent between the two schemes. There are differences between the other, same-labelled classes; i.e., the intermediate positions and skilled labourers. The EGP intermediate positions are divided differently in the ESeC into

intermediate positions (52 %) and lower non-manual positions (36 %). Under the ESeC, the intermediate positions in the EGP class scheme are divided into the intermediate positions (55 %), service class (22 %), and skilled labourers (15 %). Skilled labourers in the EGP are divided in the ESeC into the intermediate position (18 %), skilled labourers (48 %), and non-skilled labourers (26 %). Skilled labourers in the ESeC schemes are also classified as skilled labourers under the EGP scheme (71 %). The farmers have their own class under the EGP, while the ESeC places them among non-skilled labourers. Under the ESeC, the lower non-manuals have their own class, while the EGP ranks them mostly in the intermediate positions.

Table 5: Proportion of respondents in ESeC classes by EGP and in EGP by ESeC

EGP	ESeC						Total
	service class	intermed. position	petite bourgeoisie	lower non-manual	skilled workers	unskilled workers	
service class	85,97	12,22	1,56	0,12	0	0,14	100
intermediate position	9,72	52,25	0,26	36,35	0	1,42	100
petite bourgeoisie	3,18	0,67	94,55	0,48	0,65	0,47	100
skilled workers	0	18,04	0	8,37	47,45	26,14	100
unskilled workers	0	7,54	0,36	3,56	11,02	77,52	100
agriculture	3,28	1,81	14,73	0	26,13	54,05	100
<i>Total</i>	<i>31,69</i>	<i>18,7</i>	<i>9,94</i>	<i>9,15</i>	<i>10,35</i>	<i>20,17</i>	<i>100</i>
service class	92,69	22,33	5,36	0,43	0	0,23	34,17
intermediate position	6,02	54,78	0,51	77,88	0	1,38	19,61
petite bourgeoisie	0,93	0,33	88,26	0,49	0,59	0,22	9,28
skilled workers	0	15,04	0	14,27	71,52	20,22	15,6
unskilled workers	0	7,18	0,64	6,93	18,98	68,49	17,82
agriculture	0,37	0,34	5,23	0	8,92	9,46	3,53
<i>Total</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>

Validity testing of EGP and ESeC class schemes in Czech society

I will examine the validity of the two class schemes both in terms of criterion and construct validity. The criterion test should tell us whether a theoretical instrument is measuring what we want it to – whether it is not telling us something else without our realizing it. It is a test of how well an instrument hits the desired target. (Carmines – Zeller 1979; Nunnally 1978; Bailey 1988) In this case, we will be testing whether the EGP and ESeC are adequate tools for describing the Czech labour market. In particular, I will be interested whether the categories of the class schemes are sufficiently valid so that the descriptions of the work positions – the important characteristics of the work positions – are separated from one another statistically. (Evans 1992) I will focus on selected job aspects and will investigate to what degree the differences

between them go hand in hand with differences between the social classes of both class schemes¹².

The test of construct validity means that the instrument functions according to theoretical propositions and to other social variables. (Cronbach – Meehl 1955; Carmines – Zeller 1979) It differentiates between the work positions of respondents according to the consequences their jobs have for their social lives. It classifies them according to life chances and life results – for example according to the income, education, and occupational chances of their offspring, living standard, cultural capital, political attitudes, social security, health, and life expectancy. It always depends on the theory we have at our disposal for the relationship of the resulting variable and the class position. If we were to assume, for example, that political attitudes are class-conditional, a test of construct validity would mean measuring the correlation between class position and political attitudes. (Evans 1992) If the correlation is strong, the scheme being tested can be regarded as an adequate explanatory tool. In the text of construct validity, I will investigate whether class positions influence income, opinions about the trends in society and social inequality after 1989, ethnic tolerance, how leisure time is spent, unemployment risks, and political attitudes. According to theoretical assumptions, class position should structure the variability of these social variables.

Test of criterion validity for EGP and ESeC

The indicators I have chosen for distinguishing between occupational positions touch on four areas: work conditions, career advancement, degree of job autonomy, and last but not least, the amount of decision-making authority.

Work conditions were measured by six questions about working hours, remuneration for work, overtime pay, wage categories, irregular remuneration, and negotiation of higher pay. Here are the questions:

- 1) *Does your current occupation require the marking of arrivals and departures?*
- 2) *How is your job paid?*
- 3) *Are you paid overtime?*
- 4) *Does your current occupation fall into a wage category?*
- 5) *Do you have specific annual (non-regular) financial bonuses?*
- 6) *Does your position allow for negotiation over how much you are paid?*

Career advancement was also measured by six questions, aimed at the prospects of advancement at work and the possibility of getting higher pay. Here are the questions:

¹² On this approach to validity testing of the EGP class scheme for British society, see Evans (1992).

- 7) *How great do you think the chances are that you will be promoted within your current occupation?*
- 8) *And how great are the chances that you can get a better position if you change occupation?*
- 9) *Does your pay grow if you work more hours a day?*
- 10) *Does your pay grow if you work faster and do more work?*
- 11) *Does your pay grow if you are promoted?*
- 12) *Will your pay be greater if you take another (second) job?*

Degree of work autonomy is indicated through four questions aimed at decision making at work, the speed of job performance, and length and amount of work. Here are the questions:

- 13) *Do you make your own decision as to what you do on your job and how?*
- 14) *Do you make your own decision as to how much you do and how fast you do it?*
- 15) *Do you decide yourself when to begin and end your work day?*
- 16) *If you want, do you have the option of significantly cutting back on your daily amount of work?*

And finally, the amount of decision-making authority (degree of power at work) was indicated by two questions aimed at management of employees and opportunities to form the work organization; here are the two questions:

- 17) *Is managing other employees a part of your job?*
- 18) *To what extent can you affect the organization you work for?*

Although the variations in the questionnaire's answers to all eighteen of these questions were of an ordinal scale (answers from complete agreement to complete disagreement), their range of distribution varied. For this reason I collapsed their answers into only two variants – yes and no. So that the answers would not be influenced by differing numbers of respondents in each scheme, I limited the analysis to respondents who were part of both the EGP and ESeC schemes. Table 6 shows the proportion of positive answers to these questions according to the six-class version of EGP, Table 7 according to the six-class version of ESeC.

At first glance it is clear that both schemes work well. The differences in occupational characteristics go hand in hand with the class differences between the two schemes. As for employment conditions, recording starting and quitting times is common mainly among workers and those in intermediate positions. The working classes are paid mainly by the hour, and are paid extra for overtime. Most employees fall within a system of wage categories, and most are paid bonuses. The ability to negotiate the amount of one's salary is common for small proprietors, but not for employees and especially not for the

working class. As for career advancement and chances to get promoted, whether in one's current employment or another job, these are highest in the service classes. Among workers they are minimal. Increasing pay by working more hours is characteristic of both small businessmen and the working class. Small businesses can increase their income by increasing performance, which is not typical for employees either in the working or service classes. Career advancement for better job remuneration is typical mainly for the service class. Small businessmen and the working class are able to increase their income mainly by taking on more jobs. As for job autonomy, this is most available to small businessmen – what is going to be done, how fast, how long, and how much. The service class, except for the decision on the extent of working hours, has a similarly broad degree of work autonomy. Among the working class, job autonomy is low. Decision-making authority, the management of personnel, and influence on the direction of the organization is enjoyed mainly by the service class; small businesses influence only the form of the organization in which they work¹³.

Although these percentage differences show that both these class schemes are adequate instruments for the description of social classes in Czech society, they do not say which of the class schemes is more suitable for the conceptualization and operationalization of class positions. To analyse the divergence between the social classes of the EGP and ESeC and eighteen employment characteristics, I therefore chose a (normalized) multiple correspondence analysis. (Everitt – Dunn 2001; Rencher 2002) This technique is intended for the identification of relations between a number of categorical variables. It breaks down and thus reduces the variation of variables in the spatial dimension and shows how much each contributes to them. Its advantage is that it presents the relationships between variables graphically. Over a geometric area, we illustrate the similarities and differences among variables, thus demonstrating the closeness of the association between them.

Table 8 demonstrates the decomposition of the overall table inertia into the orthogonal dimension for both class schemes and eighteen occupational characteristics (shown in Tables 6 and 7). In the case of the EGP, the first dimension explains 77.38 % of the table inertia, the second 5.91 % (together the two dimensions explain 83.30 % of table inertia). In the case of the ESeC, the first dimension explains 77.96 %, the second dimension 6.24 % (together the two dimensions explain 84.20 % of table inertia). Thus the ESeC class scheme operationalizes differences in occupational characteristics somewhat better than the EGP.

¹³ According to both EGP and ESeC classes, most of the percentage differences are statistically significant at the level of 95 % (tested by K-sample test of differences in proportions).

Table 6: Characteristics of occupational positions in the EGP classes (percentage of agreements)

EGP 6 classes	1) arrival	2) pay	3) overtime	4) wage category	5) bonuses	6) negotiates pay	7) prom. now	8 prom. later	9) hours
service class	45,70%	35,45%	36,97%	53,74%	49,13%	34,66%	13,19%	22,73%	34,47%
intermediate position	58,82%	57,19%	36,83%	62,25%	47,35%	17,25%	5,44%	11,02%	28,48%
petite bourgeoisie	23,46%	18,62%	18,68%	20,26%	24,96%	41,37%	14,64%	10,73%	64,78%
skilled workers	67,87%	63,98%	64,18%	60,67%	48,97%	26,37%	10,13%	10,07%	62,47%
unskilled workers	64,96%	57,05%	60,94%	56,71%	49,27%	13,53%	2,02%	7,68%	56,08%
agriculture	38,95%	48,39%	44,89%	43,57%	28,28%	16,81%	1,63%	9,10%	56,05%
<i>Total</i>	52,52%	46,55%	43,82%	53,19%	45,70%	26,50%	9,00%	14,45%	45,11%

EGP 6 classes	10) by work	11) by career	12) by other job	13) decides on work	14) decides on time	15) decides on beginning	16) decides on volume	17) management of empl.	18) management of org.
service class	19,25%	63,13%	68,34%	55,11%	25,66%	46,86%	44,39%	45,40%	46,85%
intermediate position	13,33%	64,22%	71,02%	30,10%	11,67%	29,15%	30,31%	6,41%	25,59%
petite bourgeoisie	55,21%	34,29%	65,58%	79,99%	57,60%	74,92%	70,42%	29,95%	69,74%
skilled workers	26,96%	62,88%	74,81%	24,74%	8,75%	15,99%	21,06%	22,94%	21,76%
unskilled workers	20,11%	51,61%	76,53%	20,15%	4,71%	16,45%	12,90%	11,48%	21,29%
agriculture	30,38%	41,78%	67,26%	18,66%	19,21%	22,12%	27,94%	10,10%	30,71%
<i>Total</i>	23,35%	57,75%	70,98%	40,88%	19,79%	35,47%	34,69%	25,90%	36,23%

Table 7: Characteristics of occupational position in ESeC classes (percentage of agreements)

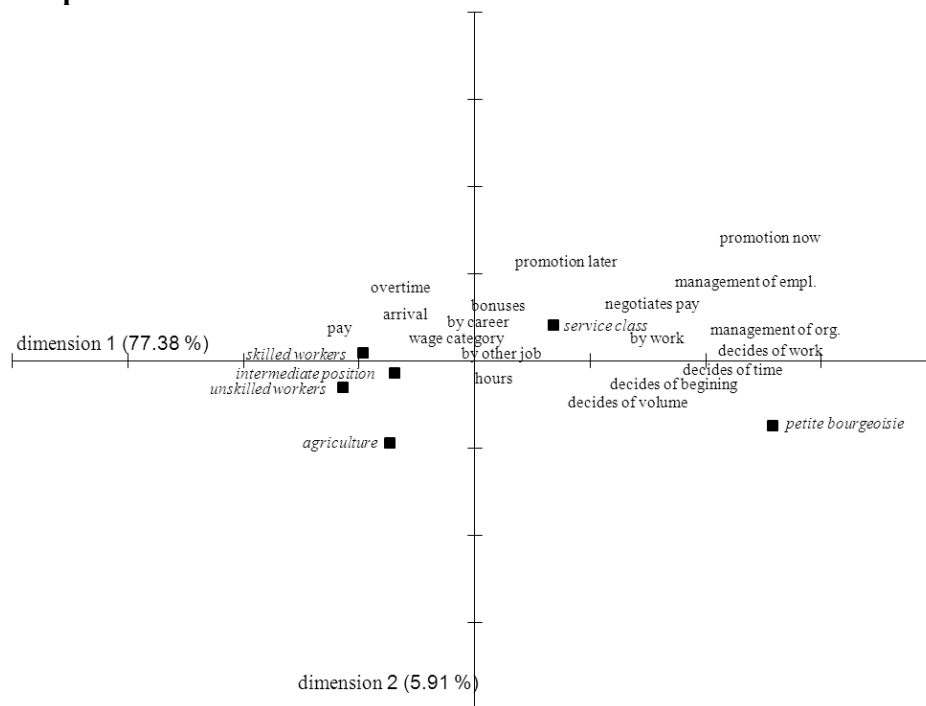
ESeC 6-class	1) arrival	2) pay	3) overtime	4) wage category	5) bonuses	6) negotiates pay	7) prom. now	8) prom. later	9) hours
service class	44,74%	37,45%	38,69%	55,91%	48,47%	34,49%	13,75%	22,47%	35,29%
intermediate position	60,99%	45,94%	35,26%	59,53%	53,34%	23,77%	9,62%	14,24%	29,68%
petite bourgeoisie	24,06%	20,36%	19,24%	19,68%	24,12%	41,21%	13,29%	11,41%	62,54%
lower non-manual	58,36%	64,83%	46,74%	53,14%	40,53%	15,91%	3,10%	11,92%	42,09%
skilled workers	56,19%	59,64%	66,39%	52,78%	52,28%	21,29%	5,04%	6,78%	70,14%
unskilled workers	68,74%	61,69%	61,16%	61,82%	44,44%	14,77%	3,06%	6,97%	55,60%
<i>Total</i>	52,52%	46,55%	43,82%	53,19%	45,70%	26,50%	9,00%	14,45%	45,11%

ESeC 6-class	10) by work	11) by career	12) by other job	13) decides on work	14) decides on time	15) decides on beginning	16) decides on volume	17) management of empl.	18) management of org.
service class	19,37%	63,14%	68,66%	55,61%	23,91%	47,46%	44,44%	46,15%	47,72%
intermediate position	17,36%	66,17%	69,64%	38,33%	19,34%	37,61%	37,53%	31,53%	29,19%
petite bourgeoisie	53,88%	35,49%	64,08%	77,10%	56,84%	73,52%	68,76%	27,97%	67,94%
lower non-manual	14,94%	61,20%	74,97%	25,86%	6,98%	15,41%	16,14%	4,41%	29,27%
skilled workers	34,77%	56,64%	77,17%	19,05%	5,77%	12,17%	19,57%	8,84%	18,71%
unskilled workers	17,29%	51,54%	74,83%	16,27%	5,58%	13,04%	12,94%	3,60%	18,27%
<i>Total</i>	23,35%	57,75%	70,98%	40,88%	19,79%	35,47%	34,69%	25,90%	36,23%

Table 8: Dimensional decomposition of class schemes and eighteen occupational characteristics on the basis of multiple correspondence analysis

	dimension	total inertia	percentage	cumulative percentage
EGP	1	0.030266	77.38%	77.38%
	2	0.002312	5.91%	83.30%
	3	0.001897	4.85%	88.14%
	4	0.000140	0.36%	88.50%
	5	0.000040	0.10%	88.60%
	6	0.000013	0.03%	88.64%
	7	0.000001	0.00%	88.64%
<i>total</i>		0.039111		
ESeC	1	0.030974	77.96%	77.96%
	2	0.002478	6.24%	84.20%
	3	0.001685	4.24%	88.44%
	4	0.000073	0.18%	88.62%
	5	0.000025	0.06%	88.69%
	6	0.000015	0.04%	88.72%
	7	0.000005	0.01%	88.73%
<i>total</i>		0.039730		

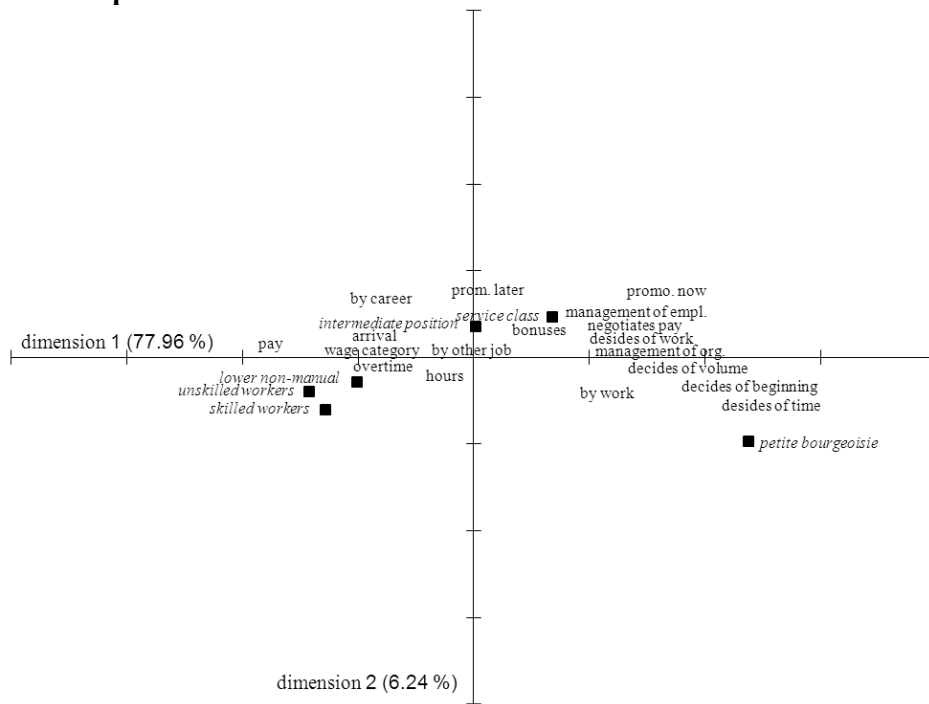
Figure 3: Results of multiple correspondence analysis for six-class EGP and occupational characteristics



Test of construct validity for EGP and ESeC

Figure 3 and 4 show the proximity (association) between variants of the variables and the EGP and ESeC class schemes (in both graphs, for simplicity, along with the variants of the class schemes only the positive variants of answers with the variables are presented). The X and Y axes correspond to two of the specified dimensions from the two class schemes. The nearer the variables are to one another and the further they are from the middle of the geometric space, the larger the association between them. With the EGP classes, the first dimension separates the service class and small proprietors from the rest of the classes. The small proprietors mainly determine the amount and the beginning and end of their daily labour, while the services class decides on the management of the organization and management of its employees. Small proprietors do not get promoted at work, while the service class does. Intermediate class positions and skilled and unskilled labourers must mark the times of their coming and going, are paid by the hour, and make extra for overtime.

Figure 4: Results of multiple correspondence analysis for six-class ESeC and occupational characteristics



These class differences are even more clearly shown by Diagram 3 dealing with the ESeC schema. In this case, the intermediate positions lie almost at the centre of the geometric space. The horizontal axis divides the service class and the small proprietors from the working class (skilled and unskilled labourers and lower non-manuals). Small proprietors stand out mainly for being able to decide on the beginning, amount, and length of their work day; the service class for the management of other employees, the ability to negotiate better pay, and the nature of their job. Skilled and unskilled workers are paid overtime; typically they record arrival and departure times and make more money by working longer. Along the vertical axis, small proprietors are near the levels of skilled and unskilled labourers, but the degree of autonomy in deciding how their job is to be done is incomparably greater.

In the construct validity test, I focused on eight variables which I assume are differentiated by social class; i.e., that their variability is class-linked. On one hand, social classes should sort themselves by income. Furthermore class position should condition attitudes towards social change, the understanding of socio-economic inequalities, attitudes towards minorities and other ethnicities, the spending of leisure time, cultural capital, unemployment risk, and political attitudes. (Bourdieu 1989; Breen – Rottman 1995) I indicated income through the question on gross monthly income with the given categories. Attitude questions were ascertained through the question on an increase or decrease in individual freedom and social inequality between 1989 and 2009. Attitudes towards minorities were indicated by a question about whether to help minorities or let them be. Leisure time activities were indicated by the frequency of visits to sporting events, cultural capital by the number of books in the home library, unemployment risk by a question as to whether the respondent has been unemployed within the last five years, and political attitudes by self-placement on the left-right of the political spectrum. These are the eight questions:

- 1) *How much was your gross pay last month?*
- 2) *When you compare today's society with the society in this country at the end of the 1980s (before November 1989), has individual freedom increased or decreased?*
- 3) *When you compare today's society with the society in this country at the end of the 1980s (before November 1989), has inequality among people risen or fallen?*
- 4) *Should we help ethnic minorities to become part of society; or should we not help them at all, or let them help themselves?*
- 5) *How often do you attend sporting events?*
- 6) *Roughly how many books do you have at home (1 meter = about 50 books)*
- 7) *Have you been unemployed at any time during the past five years?*

8) *In politics we speak of “left” and “right”; where would you place yourself?*

Table 9 shows the average values for these questions according to the EGP and ESeC social classes (question 7 is an exception, where instead of an average value there is the percentage of unemployed)¹⁴. The average value for income is counted from nine income categories (a higher average number also means higher income). For freedom and inequality, a higher average number indicates that freedom and inequality are greater than in 1989, for minorities, the number means the degree of support for them, and for sports and books, a greater frequency of these activities. For unemployment, a higher proportion indicates higher unemployment. For politics, a higher number means inclination to the right, lower to the left.

Table 9: Characteristics of representatives of EGP and ESeC social classes

EGP	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)	6)	7)	8)
6 classes	income	freedom	inequality	minorities	sport	books	unemployed	politics
Service class	4.97	4.42	3.61	3.10	3.79	383	13.03%	6.18
Middle position	3.75	4.33	3.64	2.95	3.27	273	23.63%	5.77
Petite bourgeoisie	4.53	4.33	3.77	2.79	3.41	248	18.95%	6.10
Skilled workers	3.99	4.12	3.45	2.84	3.21	210	14.32%	5.35
Unskilled workers	3.58	4.08	3.53	2.82	2.91	202	26.15%	5.25
Agriculture	3.69	3.99	2.89	2.59	2.85	183	21.31%	5.69
<i>Total</i>	<i>4.25</i>	<i>4.27</i>	<i>3.57</i>	<i>2.93</i>	<i>3.37</i>	<i>282</i>	<i>18.45%</i>	<i>5.78</i>

ESeC	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)	6)	7)	8)
6 classes	income	freedom	inequality	minorities	sport	books	unemployed	politics
Service class	5.04	4.40	3.64	3.12	3.76	375	12.76%	6.20
Middle position	4.17	4.39	3.64	2.95	3.64	302	18.91%	6.01
Petite bourgeoisie	4.41	4.34	3.66	2.76	3.40	265	20.24%	6.07
Lower non-manual	3.36	4.26	3.66	3.01	2.99	239	25.47%	5.44
Skilled workers	3.94	3.94	3.21	2.73	3.13	157	12.64%	5.15
Unskilled workers	3.53	4.09	3.49	2.77	2.80	213	26.14%	5.24
<i>Total</i>	<i>4.25</i>	<i>4.27</i>	<i>3.57</i>	<i>2.93</i>	<i>3.37</i>	<i>282</i>	<i>18.45%</i>	<i>5.78</i>

Both class schemes work satisfactorily from the standpoint of construct validity. The class of services and small proprietors earn more on average than representatives of other classes. Classes also differ on opinions and attitudes

¹⁴ As with the previous test of criterion validity, the construct validity test analyzed only respondents who were part of both class schemes.

towards freedom and social inequality. The higher classes are more tolerant of ethnic minorities, and have a different concept of leisure time and cultural capital (number of books in the home library) compared to the working classes. The service class is also less threatened by unemployment than the working class, and its political attitudes are further to the right than the working classes¹⁵.

Between the two class schemes and the selected indicators of construct validity, I measured correlation using Spearman's correlation coefficient ρ .¹⁶ Table 10 shows these coefficients. Except for unemployment, where a higher value means a greater length of unemployment, all of the variables are in negative relationship with both class schemes. For example the coefficient with income says that the higher the EGP or ESeC social class, the lower the group income. Likewise with the other variables: the social classes most strongly correlate with income, attendance at sporting events, and cultural capital. The other correlations are negligible. When we compare the two correlation columns, the ESeC class scheme correlates with all indicators of construct validity somewhat more strongly than the EGP. This means that the ESeC class scheme forms the selected variables more than the EGP class scheme. For this reason I regard this scheme from analytical and explanatory standpoint as somewhat better suited than the EGP.

Table 10: Coefficients of association (Spearman's ρ) among characteristics of representatives of social classes and the EGP and ESeC social classes

	EGP	ESeC
income	-0.32	-0.38
freedom	-0.15	-0.16
inequality	-0.06	-0.07
minorities	-0.14	-0.15
sport	-0.21	-0.23
books	-0.26	-0.27
unemployed	0.09	0.10
politics	-0.17	-0.19

Conclusion

Both the EGP and ESeC class schemes satisfactorily conceptualize the social classes in current Czech society. The class division lines correspond to the differences between the characteristics of different occupations. In an adequate manner they distinguish among positions on the Czech labour market, and are reliable in explaining social data. We can therefore regard current Czech

¹⁵ Differences in the results of the Levene's test and differences in proportions of variable unemployment were tested by K-sample test. Most of the averages and percentage differences were statistically significant at a level of 95 % for both the EGP and ESeC classes.

¹⁶ We regard both six-class schemes in this case as an ordinal scale.

society as a social class society. (For similar conclusion on post-socialist Russia see Gerber – Hout 2004; on East Germany see Pollak – Müller 2002; for Poland see Mach 2004; Domański 2008; 2011; on Hungary see Robert – Bukodi 2004.)

But which of the two schemes is best for Czech society? On the basis of test of criterion and construct validity, we would slightly prefer the ESeC. Although not overwhelmingly, its empirical findings indicate that the ESeC class scheme is a more suitable instrument for analyzing social classes in Czech society than the EGP.

Besides the empirical findings there are also two theoretical arguments in favour of the ESeC over the EGP. First, the ESeC was created on the basis of a comparison of the class structure of European countries, while the EGP was designed mainly for the occupational structure in Great Britain and was adapted to the class structure of other countries. Secondly, more than 20 years have passed since the EGP was created. Since that time, there has been a shift in the occupational structure of the European countries. In the near future, the EGP may yield a somewhat distorted picture of these occupational structures. Concerns over this were reflected in recent efforts to update it (see Güveli – Need – de Graaf 2007) or reconceptualise it from an occupational skill requirements point of view. (Tählin 2007a; 2007b) In comparison, the ESeC is an updated class structure based on the EGP but designed and validated on current class structures in the European countries. Thus the results of class-based behaviour should be better predictable. If the researcher has the opportunity to make use of the ESeC scheme, then by all means they should.

Tomáš Katrňák is Associate Professor of Sociology at the Faculty of Social Studies, Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic. His research interests include social stratification, class analysis, social mobility and categorical data analysis.

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Resident's Perception of Festivals – a Case Study of Łódź

Waldemar Cudny¹ – Pavol Korec – Rafał Rouba

Institute of Tourism and Economic Development, University of Łódź, Łódź
Human Geography Branch at the Department of Human Geography and
Demogeography, Comenius University, Bratislava
Institute of Tourism and Economic Development, University of Łódź, Łódź

Resident's Perception of Festivals – a Case Study of Łódź. Festivals are presently among the fastest growing types of events in the world. Recent years have brought many scientific studies, which include an analysis of the economic and social functions of festivals, as well as their organization and management. Particularly intensive research is carried out in the field of social interactions. The scope of study includes the analysis of the local community's perception of festivals. The authors of this article decided to contribute to this stream of research and analyze the perception of the festivals organized in Łódź – one of the largest Polish cities. For this purpose, the authors conducted over 1200 interviews with Łódź inhabitants in order to examine how they perceive these events. The main objects of the study were the inhabitants' evaluation of festivals and their importance for them, the assessment of festival organization, the impact of the events on the image of the city and the residents' participation in festivals.

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Introduction

Recent decades have brought a dynamic development of social interactions and multidimensional relations, which are the foundations of modern society, frequently studied in social sciences. (Johnson – Gilles 2000; Jessop et al. 2008) Since the fall of communism, these phenomena have been researched in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe as a part of cultural geography studies. (Goodchild et al. 2000; Corrado – Fingleton 2011; Porter 2011) It is very often interdisciplinary research, where apart from a geographical approach, the researchers implement other methods and refer to theories used in other sciences, such as sociology, economics or psychology. (Fujita – Krugman 2004; Logan et al. 2010)

Studies which are partly geographical and partly based on other social sciences are currently very popular. The interdisciplinary approach involves many qualitative research methods, presently applied in e.g. cultural geography. (Gans 2002; Convert – Heilbron 2007; Beckert 2009) Many authors

¹ Address: Prof. Pavol Korec, Department of Human Geography and Demogeography, Faculty of Natural Sciences, Comenius University, Mlynska Dolina B-1, 842 15 Bratislava, Slovak Republic. E-mail: korec@fns.uniba.sk; Dr Waldemar Cudny and Dr Rafał Rouba, University of Łódź, Branch in Tomaszów Mazowiecki, Institute of Tourism Studies and Economic Development, Konstytucji 3 Maja 65/67, 97–200 Tomaszów, Poland. E-mail: algernon1@neostrada.pl

are discussing this sub-discipline and its future. (Haggett 2001; Lorimer 2005; Hampl et al. 2007)

Lorimer (2005) identifies three basic trends in contemporary cultural geography: traditional cultural geography, known as the Berkeley School, new cultural geography, and “more-than-representational” cultural geography. The Berkeley School, based on the works by Carl Sauer, claims that cultural geography focuses on mutual relations between people and the natural environment. It mainly studies the impact of human activity on the geographical environment, the phenomenon of culture diffusion, as well as the creation of cultural regions and culture ecology. (Haggett 2001) The second research trend developed in the 1980s and 1990s. According to Lorimer (2005), the traditional issues of cultural geography studied at the Berkeley School have been replaced by new ones, such as colonialism and post-colonialism, postmodernism, human gender and sexuality, racism, ethnic problems, the media, and popular culture. Another area of study includes festivals and mass events (concerts, exhibitions, sports events, etc.), as well as free time management. New cultural geography brought a diversification of scientific theories, using for instance political and economic conceptions and models based on Marxism, feminism, post-colonialism, post-structuralism or psychoanalysis. The issues raised in new cultural geography are still relevant and continue to be studied, but many authors postulate further theoretical and methodological development of this discipline. (Thrift 2002; McCormack 2005; Matlovič 2007) The first of these authors claims that it is important to establish the rules according to which different social groups function (e.g. political, economic), and not just analyse their behaviour. Cultural geography should then explore behind-the-scenes conflicts and hidden rules governing the functioning of social groups. Lorimer (2005), who introduced the concept of the “more-than-representational” cultural geography, believes that its main aim should be a better recognition of the rules of an individual’s behaviour in a contemporary, multidimensional world. According to Lorimer (2005: 84), in more-than-representational cultural geography “the focus falls on how life takes shape and gains expression in shared experiences, everyday routines, fleeting encounters, embodied movements, precognitive triggers, practical skills, affective intensities, enduring urges, unexceptional interactions and sensuous dispositions”. For example, popular urban activities, like jogging, could be treated as everyday routine as well as social experience, shaped by the social fashion for jogging. This phenomenon is connected with the social pressure to remain young, slim and beautiful. Many people go jogging in places specially designated for this purpose, such as green areas, along the coast, or on promenades along river banks, and at particular times – before or after work. This jogging time is a kind of everyday social ritual in well-developed urban

societies. (Strüver 2011) The authors see festivals in a similar way. They think that festivals are already well established events, especially in big cities, like Łódź. Thus, they are an element of urban life, and lots of people treat participation in them as a kind of common social ritual and part of their everyday life.

Higher level needs, connected with self-actualization, are playing an increasingly important role in contemporary societies. Thus culture and entertainment have become a permanent part of human behaviours. Going to the theatre, cinema, gallery or festival is not an exceptional event any more. It is often something quite ordinary and common and is viewed as a necessary means to unwind, maintain social relationships or pursue one's interests. Moreover, at present, many cities are implementing the strategy of socio-economic development through festivals. They are organized in order to attract tourists, promote the city and enlarge the cultural – entertainment offer for the local inhabitants, making their lives more attractive. The phenomenon of the growing number, variety and influence of festivals on cities is referred to as *festivalization*.

Sometimes the festival offer in cities is so large that both the inhabitants and the tourists can choose from a wide range of events practically all year round. A good example is Edinburgh in Scotland. Several large festival events are held there every year, in winter (December, January), spring (April, May) and summer (July, August). The largest and most famous one is the Edinburgh Festival, consisting of several individual events, held in summer. (Prentice – Andersen 2003) The development of festivals in Europe is also possible thanks to the European Union and The European Capital of Culture program (ECC). At present, two European cities receive the status of the European Capital of Culture every year. Each of them hosts dozens of cultural – entertainment events throughout the year. For instance, in Liverpool, Great Britain, which received the title in 2008, there were 276 large events organized, including festivals. (Cudny et al. 2012)

It should also be stressed that festivals, concerts and other cultural and entertainment events are increasingly organized within spaces visited by the city inhabitants many times a week, i.e. large shopping and service centres. For instance, one of the most important events in Łódź, the Dialogue of Four Cultures Festival, has been repeatedly held on the premises of the largest shopping and service centre in the city, Manufaktura. This is also the venue of many other large events, including those connected with music and dance. In this way, apart from being a place where consumption goods are sold, large shopping centres are becoming areas of contact with entertainment and culture, often referred to as festival marketplaces.

The tendencies described above lead to the development of festivals in modern cities. Many events are not ticketed and admission is free of charge. As a result, festivals are continuously present in the urban space, whose inhabitants are participating in them as visitors and co-organizers more and more often. In a way, festivals are becoming a part of their everyday life, enriching it and making it more interesting.

Looking at the development of cultural geography in the last 20 years, in the post-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe (e.g. Poland, Slovakia, the Czech Republic or Hungary), we may notice three main research trends as well. They are strongly related to the trends in cultural geography discussed above, but they have their own identity resulting from the particular transformation processes found in post-communist countries. (Domański 2004; Hampl et al. 2007; Matlovič 2007)

The Berkeley School, as well as new cultural geography, have a well-established tradition in Central and Eastern Europe. The third trend in cultural geography in post-communist European countries focuses on regional culture and free time management. It also includes the analysis of possible ways of spending free time, i.e. attending shows, exhibitions, concerts and festivals organized in individual regions and localities.

Introduction to the concept of festivals

Festivals have been a subject studied in sociology, anthropology as well as geography. Moreover the study of festivals is currently an element of wider research into special events. This particular study is a separate sub-discipline, which is well-developed due to the cultural universality and commonality of festivals. (Getz 2008) In literature, the concept of a special event is defined in various ways. Getz (1997: 4) defines it from the organizer's point of view: "A special event is a one-time or infrequently occurring event outside normal programs or activities of the sponsoring or organizing body". Jago and Shaw (1998) identify several main types of special events, depending on their size and influence on tourism development: minor events, major events, hallmark events, mega-events, festivals, etc. In another work, Getz (2008: 404) distinguishes planned events, which he describes as a "...spatial-temporal phenomenon, and each is unique because of interactions among the setting, people, and management systems—including design elements and the program". He identifies many types of planned events, e.g. business and trade events, cultural celebrations (e.g. conventions, trade shows), educational and scientific events (e.g. conferences), political and state events (e.g. summits, VIP visits), sport competitions, as well as cultural celebrations – such as festivals, carnivals, commemorations, or religious events.

According to several authors (Pašiak 2009; Rylander 2010 and others), creative activities or experience industries are becoming key activities in urban development and correspond to a broad definition of regional competitiveness. According to a definition developed over the years by The Swedish Knowledge Foundation and cooperation partners in R&D, the creative industries or the experience industries contain the following 15 activities (in alpha beta order): Architecture, Art, Computer games, Design, Experience-based Learning, Fashion clothing, Film production, Gastronomy, Literature, Marketing communication, Media, Music, Performing arts, Photography and Tourism. (Rylander 2009) This list shows that festivals (Film production, Music, Performing arts) belong to this group of progressive experience industries.

The term 'experience' was intended to shift focus away from a strict industrial customer perspective. This shift was carried out in order to redirect a new policy, which emphasizes the importance of the knowledge economy. A series of other internationally applied terms – such as creative industries, cultural industries, media and entertainment industries or copyright industries – have attempted to get at much the same idea, that is to call attention to the importance that creative and experiential business has for the economy of the city in general, both as contributors to existing traditional industry and as a growing economic force. Tourism has the biggest share of creative or experience industries.

As we can see, festivals are treated as events, as well as a part of the creative field in cities. However, due to their great variety and characteristic features, they are often studied individually. The term "festival" comes from the Latin word *festum*, meaning "a holiday". The Latin word *festum* entered many languages. It is the original form of the word signifying a festival. (Falassi 1987) The history of festivals is as long as the history of civilization. Even primitive tribes celebrated important social events (religious or secular) by organizing games and feasts, which were the early forms of today's festivals. (Durkheim 1965)

Ancient Greeks organized the Dionysia – a holiday devoted to god Dionysus, which consisted of religious celebrations, feasts and theatre spectacles. In the Roman Empire, there were the Bacchanalia or Saturnalia. The Renaissance period brought carnivals and numerous small country festivals. The 18th and 19th century was a time when new forms of festivals flourished. After the Second World War, especially in the 1950's, a lot of new festivals were brought to life, e.g. the Cannes International Film Festival, the Berlin International Film Festival, Woodstock, or the Edinburgh Festival. (Cudny 2012)

According to Duvignaud (1989: 11) quoting E. Durkheim, a festival is an event reinforcing the solidarity of a group of people, and representing the

invisible relations between the man and nature, as well as the bonds among community members. British anthropologist and religious historian J. Frazer (1890) believed that festivals reflect the system of beliefs and myths of a given community. Duvignaud (1989) claims that in this sense festivals are events celebrating the most important moments of human life, such as birth, marriage or death. Such celebrations usually involve small groups – family and friends, and are often related to the system of beliefs in a given community. The role of festivals in shaping and strengthening local communities is also examined in American (De Bres – Davis 2001) and Australian (Derrett 2003) studies. Falassi (1987: 2) has come up with a definition of festivals used in social sciences: “Festival means a periodically recurrent, social occasion in which, through a multiplicity of forms and a series of coordinated events, participate directly or indirectly and to various degrees, all members of whole community, united by ethnic linguistic, religious historical bonds, and sharing a worldview”. Jędrysiak (2008: 71) defines festivals as a “series of artistic events, usually of one type (e.g. film, music, theatre), which is a review of the achievements in a given area, organized at one time, under a common name and often in the form of a competition”. On the basis of the above definitions, we can distinguish between several basic features of festivals:

1. They are varied, uncommon events, unconnected with work.
2. They celebrate elements which are significant in the life of a given community, consolidating it.
3. They are often related to the culture and religion of local communities.
4. They often consist of many different social and cultural events.
5. They are often events connected with art and culture.
6. They are regular events.
7. Sometimes they are combined with competitions.

The types and functions of festivals

In literature, festivals are classified in different ways. According to Cudny (2012), the first classification was made by Durkheim, who distinguished between two basic types of festivals: secular and religious. (Durkheim 1965) Falassi (1987) provides some other classifications of festivals. According to this author, festivals are divided into rural and urban; another division may be based on social class structure, power and social roles. Here, we can distinguish between festivals organized by the people for the people, by the establishment for itself, by the people for the establishment, by the establishment for the people, and by the people against the establishment. (Falassi 1987)

There are a number of publications discussing types of festivals as distinguished on the basis of their themes. These include festivals whose theme is related to religious beliefs, festivals devoted to the countryside and farming

or art festivals (film, music, theatre etc.). Recent years have also brought many publications regarding wine and food festivals, as well as migrants and the multicultural character of contemporary society, which is reflected in festival themes. (Cudny 2012)

According to Arcodia – Whitford (2006), festivals affect the modern world on many planes: economic, political, socio-cultural and environmental. Below, the authors present the influence of these events, taking into consideration their functions and dysfunctions (Table 1).

Table 1. **The main functions and dysfunctions of festivals**

Influence	Functions	Dysfunctions
Economic	Generating income. Generating new jobs. Promotion of cities and regions. Economic restructuring through the development of services, culture and entertainment.	Higher prices of basic services – an effect of festival tourism. Increased cost of transport – an effect of heavy road traffic (traffic jams). Higher costs of communal service, e.g. more litter, sewage waste.
Political	Supporting the democratization of life (e.g. a Pink Floyd concert in Berlin in 1990) Fighting xenophobia and intolerance. Promoting political parties, politicians at festivals.	Possible conflicts between festival organizers and local politicians, as well as the politicians in power and politicians from the opposition parties.
Social and cultural	Consolidating local community. Promoting multiculturalism and tolerance. Promoting culture and art. Engaging excluded social groups in cultural and entertainment events, e.g. migrants, persons of low material status. Promoting religious values.	Conflicts with tourists arriving at festivals, (e.g. regarding parking places, higher prices). Lack of acceptance of some festivals (e.g. connected with sexual minorities) Excluding some social groups (the poor) from watching festivals and staying in the urban space intended for the festivals, Violence (riots), risky sexual behaviors, use of alcohol and drugs.
Environmental	Promotion of ecology through some festivals. Development of communal infrastructure and mass transport service for the purpose of the festivals.	Increased environmental pollution during festivals, e.g. due to larger traffic. Degradation of green areas in cities.

Source: Authors' compilation based on Arcodia – Whitford (2006).

A function is a role played by a given element, a task. A dysfunction is the inadequacy of something to perform certain functions or the improper functioning of something². (www.sjp.pl) As we can see in Table 1, festival functions are multidimensional and may be both positive and negative.

² This type of approach was previously taken in the analysis of the positive and negative effects of tourism.

Concepts and related literature

At present, festivals are among the most dynamically developing types of events. They have become an important social, economic and political element and are used for promoting regions and localities. The current development of festivals is to a large extent the result of some changes in the production process and in the approach to the administration of regions, cities and rural areas. In the second half of the 20th century, the world experienced large social and economic transformations including the processes of deindustrialization and the automation of production, which were followed by the development of services. According to J. Rifkin (2000), as a consequence of these processes, people in developed countries have higher salaries and do not have to work as long as before. They already have lots of free time and will have even more in the future. This surplus of free time and money is used for traveling, entertainment and culture. These processes are seen in a similar way by G. Schulze (1993), who uses the term *experience societies*. Such societies search for new experiences, which are provided by activities such as traveling, having fun or participating in exciting events, such as festivals. Moreover, festivals are an important tourist asset and product which attracts tourists who take part in festival tourism. (Long – Robinson 2004) Nowadays, city authorities in many countries have realized that culture and festivals have a great promotional potential. They also have a positive influence on the development of services. They also generate new jobs and income from festival tourism. That is why authorities subsidize such events and use them to develop and promote the city. (Quinn 2005)

Taking the significance of festivals into consideration, the authors decided to discuss those organized in Poland – one of the European post-communist countries. They chose this particular area also because the world literature clearly lacks studies of festivals held in this region. The authors' aim was to analyse the festivals organized in Łódź, the third largest city in Poland. The primary objective was to present the perception of Łódź festivals by the city inhabitants. The authors decided to examine their interest in the events, establish how they evaluate the organization of festivals and their influence on the promotion of the city, and measure the inhabitants' participation.

Festival studies developed in the 1960's and 1970's (Pieper 1965; Duvignaud 1976; Isar 1976) and boomed in the 1990's and after 2000 (Getz 2010). According to Getz (2010), we may presently identify three main trends in the study of festivals. The first is the analysis of their influence on culture and society. It is based on anthropological and sociological research. The second trend regards economic issues, i.e. the influence of festivals on the economy, promotion of cities and regions, as well as tourism development. The

third trend in festival studies, distinguished by Getz (2010), is more practical and regards analyses of festival organization and management.

This article represents the first of the research trends listed above, regarding the influence of festivals on the society and based on anthropological and sociological studies. Such studies concerning festivals may be divided into the following groups:

1. Those which deal with the motivations of festival visitors. (Uysal et al. 1993; Crompton – McKay 1997)
2. Those referring to the division of the festival audience according to their age, gender, social background, or wealth. (Peterson 1992; Formica – Uysal 1996)
3. Those regarding the festival visitors' satisfaction, where the authors analyse the main factors determining the spectators' opinion of festivals. (Mohr et al. 1993)
4. Those describing the behaviours of the organizers and people working at the festivals. (Saleh – Wood 1998; Molloy 2002)
5. Those regarding the perception of festivals by the inhabitants of the localities in which they are held. (Delamare 2001; Delamare et al. 2001; Gibson – Davidson 2004)

This article presents research which concerns the perception of festivals among the inhabitants of Łódź, a city where dozens of such events are held every year. The analysis presented here, like other studies of this type, is based on a survey. This research method has many strong points, though it is not completely free of disadvantages. The analysis conducted for the purposes of this article has the following advantages. It gives the opportunity to learn about the local inhabitants' attitude towards this type of event. The researcher may find out whether the festivals are an interesting offer, satisfying the inhabitants' needs. Such research also enables us to find out which urban festivals are best perceived and most popular. This is a significant function of this type of study, which verifies the importance of festivals, their evaluation, as well as the number of festival goers. This study also enables the researchers to analyze the opinions of city inhabitants regarding the role which the festivals organized in their city plays in its promotion or in the development of the tourist offer. Therefore, research conducted for the purposes of this article is also an opportunity to check whether the Łódź city development strategy (event-led regeneration strategy) is positively perceived and supported. Another advantage of such research is the possibility to use the results both in practice and theory. Information received through such investigations could play an important role for the city authorities, as well as for the organizers of events. From a theoretical point of view, the results of such studies conducted in the post-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe become significant

comparative material for similar analyses, conducted earlier and on a larger scale in the countries of Western Europe, the United States or Australia.

Like any type of research analysis, the approach adopted in this article has its disadvantages as well. Such surveys always need exceptional meticulousness in constructing the survey questionnaire. As in every study using survey techniques, it is essential to construct the questionnaire and to select the respondents properly. The authors believe that in the next comparable studies on festivals, more attention should be paid to the construction of questionnaires, which should be constructed more carefully and include a larger theoretical component. Another important issue is the sampling technique, which should result in a more representative respondent structure in comparable research conducted in the future. However, it was difficult to choose a more representative sample in research conducted for the purposes of this article due to the lack of interest in some groups of respondents (like older people). A serious obstacle in a questionnaire survey concerning the perception of given phenomena is the susceptibility of the respondents' opinions to external influence. According to Walmsley – Lewis (1997), the perception of phenomena is based not only on objective information, but also on the emotions, perceptions and opinions of other people. Therefore, if festivals are evaluated by the inhabitants, there is a risk that this evaluation will be based not only on the respondents' objective observations, but it will be affected by external factors as well, such as media information (not always objective), friends' opinions, etc. The authors believe that in the case of their research, the conflicts (described further in the article) between some of the festival organizers and the city authorities had a significant effect, as they could have influenced the respondents' attitude.

It should be emphasized that issues related to festivals have a long tradition of research, especially in sociological and anthropological work, although the biggest development of festival studies has taken place in the last 20 years. In recent years, we have observed a large diversity of research topics and a development of festival research methodology, especially methodology used for the analysis of the sociological and economic impacts of festivals. Apart from theoretical studies, a lot of practical analyses, like research reports, have been done. The development of festival studies was a result of the increasing number and diversity of organized events. Moreover, 1989 marked the beginning of a powerful process of transition in European post-communist countries. It had a lot of social and economic impacts, one of them being an increasing interest in culture and the growing number and diversity of festivals. At the same time, researchers in this region were seldom interested in festival studies. The authors' intention was to compensate for this deficiency, at least to a certain extent.

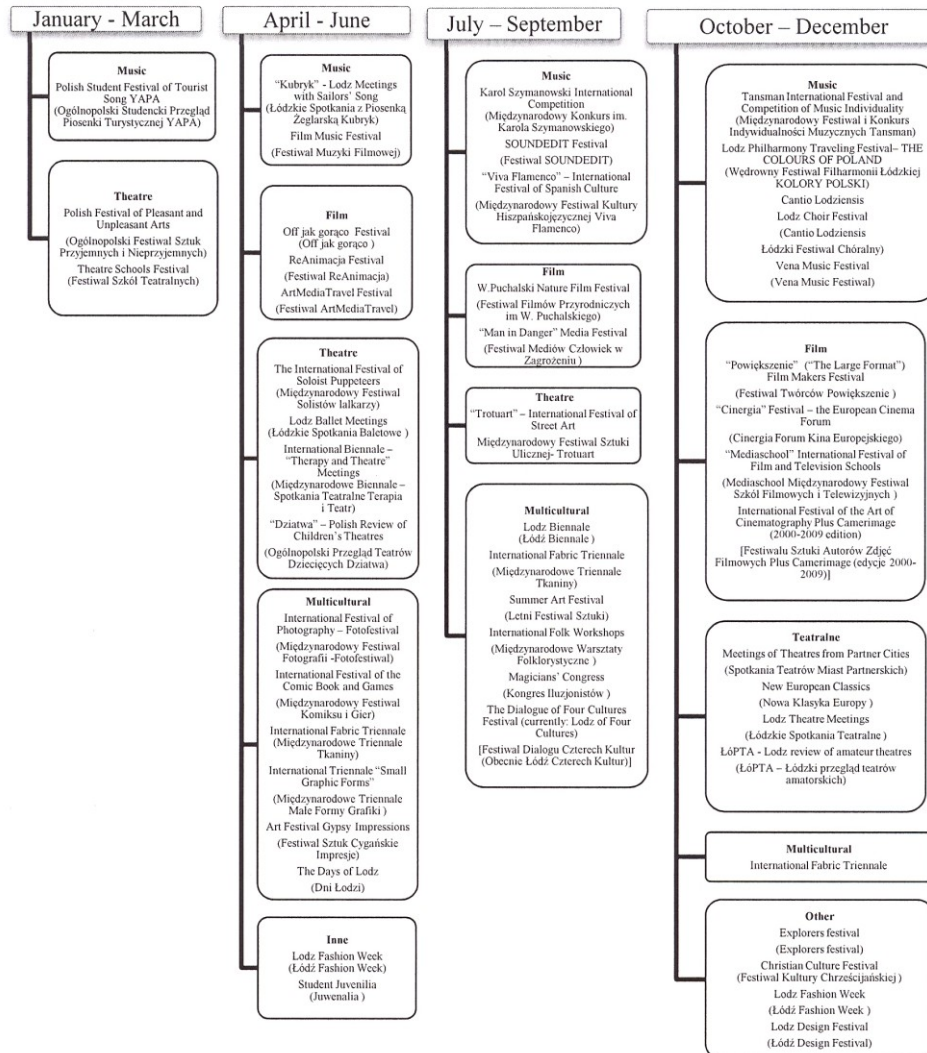
The study area and methodology; the respondents' structure

Łódź is a city inhabited by about 740,000 people, situated in central Poland, in the borderland of the Mazovian and Wielkopolska Lowlands. It is the capital of Łódź voivodeship. It was first granted municipal rights in the 15th c. but the history of Łódź as a large city began in the 19th c., when it developed as the main centre of textile production on Polish lands. The city preserved this function after the Second World War.

Transformations in Poland after 1989 led to many changes in the economic and social structure of the city. The transformation resulted in intensive de-industrialization and development of services but also a strong demographic and social crisis. At the same time, new cultural and entertainment events, especially festivals, started to develop in the city. At present, they are among the best developed areas of urban culture. City authorities count on their further development, which is meant to enhance the positive image and economic development of Łódź. (Cudny 2011b) Currently, about 50 different festivals are organized annually in Łódź. The authors of this article have conducted analyses of Łódź festivals before. (Cudny 2006a; Cudny 2011a; Cudny et al. 2011; Cudny – Rouba 2011a; Cudny – Rouba 2011b; Cudny – Rouba 2012) As shown by the results of those studies, at present there are many various festivals held in Łódź. Their themes are extremely varied; there are art festivals (music, theatre and film), as well as multicultural events, related to a variety of arts. Moreover, there are a number of festivals devoted to travel, science or fashion (Figure 2). The events vary considerably in terms of their duration – from one-day festivals to events lasting for several days. There are events in Łódź attended by several hundred people and others which are visited by thousands.

It should be stressed that the majority of visitors to most Łódź events are the inhabitants of the city. They are the main recipients of the festival offer, while tourists are only a complementary group of festival-goers (from a few to several per cent). A larger percentage of tourists is recorded in the case of some major and more famous events. (Cudny – Rouba 2011a; 2012) The large number and variety of festivals gives Łódź the rightful name of a festival city. The events are held at many different places, including public spaces, such as museums, galleries, theatres, cinemas, churches, large shopping centres or the main city squares and streets, e.g. Piotrkowska Street. Łódź festivals are organized in most months of the year – in spring, summer, autumn and (more rarely) winter (Figure 2). What is more, many of them are not ticketed, i.e. the admission is free.

Figure 2: The main Łódź festivals



Source: Authors' compilation based on the Łódź City Hall materials.

All this leads to a situation where the inhabitants of Łódź, who are the majority of most festivals' audience, may take advantage of a very rich festival offer practically all year round. Returning home after work, going shopping or for a walk with the family or friends, they may purposefully or quite incidentally visit a festival. In this way, these events become a part of the

everyday life of the city and its inhabitants. Therefore, it is essential to answer the questions posed in this article concerning the attendance and perception of Łódź festivals by the city residents.

The considerable number and variety of Łódź festivals, most of which were created after 1989, are undoubtedly of great value to the city. Despite the fact that the recipients of these events are mainly the local residents, they also remain a tourist asset and product of Łódź. However, both the organizers and the city authorities, which strongly support the events, should focus more on attracting larger numbers of tourists in the future. Moreover, the last two years have brought serious personal, financial and organizational problems resulting from conflicts between the city authorities and the organizers of the two most important festivals, i.e. the Dialogue of Four Cultures Festival and the Camerimage film festival. In the second case, the conflict resulted in relocating the event to another city by the organizers. Both conflicts were highlighted by the media and badly affected the image of the city, both among its inhabitants and outside. They undermined the position of Łódź at a time when the city aspired to the prestigious title of the European Capital of Culture 2016. It was an important lesson both for the authorities and festival organizers, who must understand that in the future similar conflicts must be solved through negotiations and consensus. (Cudny 2011a; Cudny et al. 2012)

For the purposes of this article, the authors used two basic research methods. The first one was preliminary research³ conducted in 2010 at the City Hall, Łódź Promotion Office and the offices of Łódź festivals. The aim of the research was to obtain information about the number and structure of the festivals organized in the city. The other research method was the questionnaire interview. It is a survey method based on a standardized form with questions. The people conducting the survey (questioners) ask the questions orally, reading them to the respondents and then write down the answers. During the survey the questioner and the respondent may interact – have a discussion, ask questions or clarify the answers. (Lutyński – Lutyńska 2000) In the case of the survey presented in this article, the authors prepared a questionnaire containing four groups of questions regarding the interest in Łódź festivals, the evaluation of their organization and influence on the promotion of the city, the knowledge of and participation in festivals and the respondents' personal data. After constructing the survey questionnaire and before running the proper survey, a test study was conducted among 50 respondents, in order to check whether the questionnaire had been constructed properly.

Next, the actual survey began, during which a total of 1245 interviews were conducted by students of the University of Łódź, specially trained for that

³ Preliminary research is collecting information needed to explain a given problem in archives, libraries, offices, etc.

purpose. Engaging students in conducting a survey is a common practice in traditional geographical studies (Cudny 2006b) and in the study of festivals. (Lee et al. 2008; Chang 2005) The students approached every fifth passer-by, asked him/her whether they were willing to take part in the survey and informed them about what the survey concerned. The respondents had to be adults. If the person agreed, the interviewer proceeded, and when they refused to take part in the survey, the same procedure was repeated with the next person⁴. The interviewers had been instructed to approach a similar number of men and women, as well as people of different ages. In order to diversify the group of respondents, the interviews were conducted on six different working days in April, May and June 2011. They were conducted in different public spaces in the centre of Łódź – in front of the two largest shopping centers, in the main shopping street, in restaurants and shops. The survey is not representative due to the random, incidental choice of respondents. This means that the respondents were selected randomly, available at a given moment. They did not reflect the structure of the whole community. Although not fully representative, such a survey is valuable, because it gives the researchers an idea of the respondents' opinions. (Szafrńska – Napierała 2007)

The survey included a total of 1245 Łódź inhabitants, 50.4% of whom were women. As regards age structure, the respondents were mainly at the age of 18-24 (52.6%), followed by a group aged 25-35 (22.7%) and then 36-45 (10.5%), 46-55 (7.7%), 56-65 (4.2%) and 66+ (2.3%). As regards the level of education, the largest group of respondents had completed secondary education (59.5%). They were followed by those with university (22.8%), vocational (12.0%) and primary (5.7%) education. As regards the occupation of the respondents, the majority of them were university students (31.6%), followed by personal services workers, shop assistants (13.4%) and adult students, of e.g. post-secondary schools (10.4%). A sizable group consisted of specialists (10.4%), unemployed persons (7.6%), industry workers and craftsmen (6.6%), technicians and other middle-level personnel (3.7%), office workers (3.7%) and old-age pensioners (3.6%). About 9.0% of the respondents belonged to other professional groups, none of which exceeded 3%⁵. The sample was quite large. Still, it was not representative. The percentage of women in Łódź, according to data from the Polish Main Statistical Office in 2009, was 54.5%. This is higher than the percentage of women that took part in the survey. In 2009, the percentage of Łódź inhabitants according to the economic groups of age was: 14% people in the pre – working age (below 18), 65% in working age (18-64)

⁴ In total, about 30% of the people approached did not agree to take part in the survey. They were mainly elderly people, aged 40 and above. The refusal was usually explained by the lack of time or lack of interest in festivals.

⁵ The respondents were divided into professional groups on the basis of the Profession/Occupation and Specialty Classification of the Main Statistical Office.

and 21% in post – working age (65 and more) (GUS 2010). The sample used in this study had more people representing the working age, much less respondents were in the post – working age and the respondents in pre – working age were excluded from this survey. The authors believe that in their future research, respondent samples should be more representative. However, this is difficult to achieve due to the reluctance of older people to take part in such surveys.

Results

The questionnaire survey included seven questions on the topic of Łódź festivals. The aim of the first question was to establish whether the inhabitants considered festivals to be an interesting way of spending free time and why: *Do you think that Łódź festivals are an interesting option to spend free time?* The possible answers were *a – yes*, *b – no*, and *c – I don't know*. The most frequent answer was *a – yes* (71.2%), answer *b – no* appeared much less frequently (15.6%) and the smallest number of respondents chose answer *c – I don't know* (13.2%). Women chose answer *a – yes* more frequently and answer *b – no* more rarely than men. The majority of answers *a – yes* were provided by the people aged 25-35, 56-65 and 18-24, and the smallest number of these answers were obtained from the people aged 66+ (Table 2). We can observe that the percentage of answers *a – yes* increased along with the level of education (Table 2). In this question the respondents were asked to justify answer *a – yes* or *b – no*. In the case of answer *a – yes*, it was said that festivals are an interesting option to spend free time, because there is a variety of them (35%), they are a good alternative form of spending free time (25%), they enable people to develop social contacts (10%), educate oneself and make it possible to develop one's interests (6%)⁶. In the case of answer *b – no*, showing that festivals are not an interesting way of spending free time, the most frequent explanations were that they are boring (37%), the respondents did not like festivals (30%) and the events are badly organized (10.5%).

The second question regarded the effects that festivals have on the image and promotion of Łódź: *Do you think that Łódź festivals have a positive effect on the image of the city?*⁷. There were three possible answers here: *a – yes*, *b – no* and *c – I don't know*. The majority of respondents (82.3%) chose answer *a – yes*, followed by answer *c – I don't know* (14.6%) and *b – no* (3.1%). Men less

⁶ In the analysis of comments on the chosen answers, similar answers were aggregated in groups whose number exceeded 5% of the total number of explanations in a given type of answer. This was done in order to avoid too many variants. Another group of explanations also appeared in the analysis; it included varied answers. They could not be included in the groups established earlier. An identical method was used in the analysis of explanations in the next questions of this type.

⁷ The second question was particularly important because, as was described previously in 2010, Lodz lost its most important film festival – Camerimage. Another conflict concerned the well-known Dialogue of Four Cultures Festival, which was replaced with the Łódź of Four Cultures Festival.

frequently pointed to the positive effect of festivals than women. The older the respondents, the more answer *c- I don't know* appeared and there were fewer answers in which the respondents pointed to positive effects of the events (Table 2). If we consider education level, we can observe that the higher it was, the fewer respondents pointed to the positive effect of festivals. We can also see an increased percentage of respondents who were unable to decide and those who chose the negative answer (Table 2).

The aim of the next (third) question was to check the inhabitants' opinion regarding the organization of the events: *Do you think that Łódź festivals are well-organized?* There were three possible answers to this question: *a – yes*, *b – no*, and *c – I don't know*. The majority of respondents (52.5%) chose variant *c – I don't know*, followed by *a – yes* (28.2%) and *b – no* (19.3%). Women chose answer *c – I don't know* more frequently than men. On the other hand, men pointed to the good organization of festivals more frequently than women. Most respondents who positively evaluated the organization of festivals were aged 25-35, while most respondents who pointed to the poor organization of events were aged 36-45. The majority of respondents who chose answer *c – I don't know* were in the oldest group (Table 2). As regards education level structure, we can observe that the organization of festivals is evaluated the highest by the people at the highest and the lowest education levels. The differences, however, are small and it is difficult to establish a clear tendency here. On the other hand, the percentage of negative/ critical answers increases with the level of education (Table 2).

In question 4, respondents were asked about their perception of the city authorities' support: *Do you think that the city authorities support the Łódź festivals in a proper way?* Like before, there were three possible answers to this question: *a – yes*, *b – no* and *c – I don't know*. The majority of respondents chose answer *c – I don't know* (50.0%), followed by *b – no* (36.7%) and *a – yes* (13.3%). The elimination of the two most famous Łódź festivals – The Dialogue of Four Cultures Festival and the Camerimage film festival, had without doubt a strong impact on the structure of responses. The first one was replaced by another festival, the other was transferred to another city. This was the result of a financial and organizational conflict between festival organizers and city authorities. These happenings were negatively reported in the regional media. In addition, some other festival organizers publicly expressed their dissatisfaction with the poor (financial and organizational) support from local authorities. This could be a reason for the quite large percentage of negative answers to this question. Men evaluated the role of the city authorities slightly higher than women, though the differences were fairly insignificant. The most decisive responses were from those below 35 years of age – they had the strongest positive or negative opinions regarding the authorities' support.

Table 2: Percentage structure of respondents' answers to the closed questions from the questionnaire (questions 1-5).

answers	gender				age										education									
	women		men		18-24		25-35		36-45		46-55		56-65		66+		primary		vocational		secondary		university	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Question 1: Do you think that Łódź festivals are an interesting option to spend free time?																								
a- yes	472	75,2	415	67,3	473	72,2	207	73,4	87	66,4	65	67,7	38	73,1	17	58,7	25	35,2	101	67,8	546	73,7	215	75,7
b- no	74	11,8	120	19,4	91	13,9	35	12,4	24	18,3	24	25,0	13	25,0	7	24,1	29	40,9	28	18,8	103	13,9	34	12,0
c- I don't know	82	13,0	82	13,3	91	13,9	40	14,2	20	15,3	7	7,3	1	1,9	5	17,2	17	23,9	20	13,4	92	12,4	35	12,3
total	628	100,0	617	100,0	655	100,0	282	100,0	131	100,0	96	100,0	52	100,0	29	100,0	71	100,0	149	100,0	741	100,0	284	100,0
Question 2: Do you think that Łódź festivals have a positive effect on the image of the city?																								
a- yes	520	82,8	505	81,9	552	84,3	279	98,9	123	93,9	67	69,8	2	3,8	2	6,9	69	97,2	146	98,0	630	85,1	180	63,4
b- no	20	3,2	18	2,9	13	2,0	2	0,7	1	0,8	18	18,8	3	5,8	1	3,4	0	0,0	3	2,0	21	2,8	14	4,9
c- I don't know	88	14,0	94	15,2	90	13,7	1	0,4	7	5,3	11	11,4	47	90,4	26	89,7	2	2,8	0	0,0	90	12,1	90	31,7
total	628	100,0	617	100,0	655	100,0	282	100,0	131	100,0	96	100,0	52	100,0	29	100,0	71	100,0	149	100,0	741	100,0	284	100,0
Question 3: Do you think that Łódź festivals are well organized?																								
a- yes	160	25,5	191	31,0	191	29,2	86	30,5	27	20,6	28	29,2	12	23,1	7	24,1	21	29,6	43	28,9	204	27,5	83	29,2
b- no	125	19,9	115	18,6	116	17,7	55	19,5	39	29,8	20	20,8	8	15,4	2	6,9	12	16,9	24	16,1	142	19,2	62	21,8
c- I don't know	343	54,6	311	50,4	348	53,1	141	50,0	65	49,6	48	50,0	32	61,5	20	69,0	38	53,5	82	55,0	395	53,3	139	49,0
total	628	100,0	617	100,0	655	100,0	282	100,0	131	100,0	96	100,0	52	100,0	29	100,0	71	100,0	149	100,0	741	100,0	284	100,0
Question 4: Do you think that the city authorities support the Łódź festivals in a proper way?																								
a- yes	80	12,7	85	13,8	75	11,5	78	27,7	4	3,1	7	7,3	1	1,9	0	0,0	60	84,5	8	5,4	85	11,4	12	4,2
b- no	234	37,3	223	36,1	345	52,6	107	37,9	3	2,3	2	2,1	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	130	87,2	314	42,4	13	4,6
c- I don't know	314	50,0	309	50,1	235	35,9	97	34,4	124	94,6	87	90,6	51	98,1	29	100,0	11	15,5	11	7,4	342	46,2	259	91,2
total	628	100,0	617	100,0	655	100,0	282	100,0	131	100,0	96	100,0	52	100,0	29	100,0	71	100,0	149	100,0	741	100,0	284	100,0
Question 5: Have you ever visited any of the Łódź festivals?																								
a- yes	374	59,6	324	52,5	396	60,5	280	99,3	17	13,0	1	1,0	3	5,8	1	3,4	69	97,2	140	94,0	483	65,2	6	2,1
b- no	254	40,4	293	47,5	259	39,5	2	0,7	114	87,0	95	99,0	49	94,2	28	96,6	2	2,8	9	6,0	258	34,8	278	97,9
total	628	100,0	617	100,0	655	100,0	282	100,0	131	100,0	96	100,0	52	100,0	29	100,0	71	100,0	149	100,0	741	100,0	284	100,0

Source: Authors' compilation based on research.

However, it must be stressed that negative opinions dominated among young people. We can also observe a clear tendency: the older the respondents, the lower the percentage of answers *a – yes* and *b – no*, and the higher the number of people who could not decide. On the other hand, with a higher level of education, there were fewer positive answers and more respondents who could not decide (Table 2). In this question, the respondents were asked to explain/justify answers *a–yes* and *b – no*. In the case of answer *a – yes*, the respondents mostly said that the festivals are supported by the city authorities in a proper way because the authorities: *support their organization* (30.0%), *subsidize* (25.0%) and *promote* them (10.0%). Those who chose answer *b – no*, usually said that the authorities: *subsidize the festivals insufficiently* (56%), *do not support the festivals at all* (13.3%), *promote them inappropriately* (6%), *have conflicts with the organizers* (5.1%) and *eliminate well-known festivals* (5.1%).

The last (fifth) closed question was: *Have you ever visited any of the Łódź festivals?* There were two possible answers to this question: *a – yes* and *b – no*. The majority of respondents chose answer *a – yes* (56.1%); answer *b – no* was chosen by 43.9%. Women visited festivals more often than men and young people more often than the elderly. With an increase in education level, the percentage of positive answers decreases (Table 2).

The first open question was: *What festivals have you visited recently?* It was asked to people who in the previous question said that they had visited festivals (698 respondents); everybody could name up to five festivals. The aim was to determine which Łódź festivals were the most popular among the inhabitants. It was an open question, with a total of 727 answers, i.e. each respondent quoted 1.04 festivals on average. 457 answers were from groups with over 5% of the total number of answers, and 140 from groups with 5 – 1%. The festivals mentioned most frequently were large, popular events, such as: *The Dialogue of Four Cultures Festival (Festiwal Dialogu Czterech Kultur)* (33.1%), *the International Festival of the Art of Cinematography Plus Camerimage (Międzynarodowy Festiwal Sztuki Autorów Zdjęć Filmowych Plus Camerimage)* (10.7%), *Juwenalia* (7.6%), *The International Festival of Photography in Łódź – Fotofestiwal (Międzynarodowy festiwal Fotografii w Łodzi – Fotofestiwal)* (6.1%), and *The Days of Łódź (Dni Łodzi)* (5.4%). A frequent answer was *I don't remember* (4.4%). Next, the respondents mentioned *Łódź Fashion Week* (3.7%), *Łódź Ballet Meetings (Łódzkie Spotkania Baletowe)* (2.8%), *The Explorers Festival* (2.5%), *Yapa Student Song Festival (Festiwal Piosenki Studenckiej Yapa)* (1.9%), *The Festival of Pleasant and Unpleasant Arts (Festiwal Sztuk Przyjemnych i Nieprzyjemnych)* (1.5%), *The Theatre Schools Festival (Festiwal Szkół Teatralnych)* (1.4%) and *The Film Music Festival (Festiwal Muzyki Filmowej)* (1.1%).

The next (seventh) question was: *Name the most important, in your opinion, Łódź festivals*. Each respondent could name up to five events. The aim was to examine the perception of Łódź events through the respondents' evaluation of their rank and significance for the city. It was an open question to which 2192 answers were given, i.e. each respondent named 1.8 festivals, on average.

Out of the overall number of answers, 1414 were included in groups holding over 5% of all answers, while 161 answers were included in groups holding over 5% to 1% of all answers. The festivals which were mentioned most frequently were the following: *The Dialogue of Four Cultures Festival (Festiwal Dialogu Czterech Kultur)* (35.3%), *The International Festival of the Art of Cinematography Plus Camerimage (Międzynarodowy Festiwal Sztuki Autorów Zdjęć Filmowych Plus Camerimage)* (18.7%), *Łódź Fashion Week* (5.6%), *The International Festival of Photography in Łódź – Fotofestiwal (Międzynarodowy festiwal Fotografii w Łodzi – Fotofestiwal)* (5.0%), as well as *The Days of Łódź (Dni Łodzi)* (2.0%), *The Film Music Festival (Festiwal Muzyki Filmowej)* (1.9%), *Juwenalia* (1.3%), *Łódź Ballet Meetings (Łódzkie Spotkania Baletowe)* (1.3%), and *The Festival of Pleasant and Unpleasant Arts (Festiwal Sztuk Przyjemnych i Nieprzyjemnych)* (1.1%). With this question we can see the similarity of the answers to the results obtained in question 6, regarding participation in festivals.

Conclusions

Festivals are social, artistic and economic events. At present, they are widely studied by researchers representing sciences like sociology, anthropology, cultural and urban geography, as well as event studies. Nevertheless, there are few publications concerning post-communist countries in Central and Eastern Europe, so the authors decided to present the perception of festivals by the inhabitants of Łódź – one of the largest cities in Poland.

Łódź is a typical example of a post – industrial city, where festival events have acquired a significant social and economic position. At present, there are several dozen important festivals organized in Łódź every year. The aim of the research conducted in the city was to verify the inhabitants' opinions about Łódź events. The results of the questionnaire survey conducted among the inhabitants show that their attitude is definitely positive. Most respondents also believe that festivals have a positive effect on the image of Łódź.

It should be stressed that the positive perception of festivals as an interesting option to spend free time, which builds a positive image of the city and enhances the development of tourism, is often observed among respondents in similar studies conducted all over the world (Molloy 2002, Gibson – Davidson 2004, McDowall 2010). The positive influence of festivals on the image of cities, their promotion and, consequently, tourism development are also

confirmed in many theoretical works. (Quinn 2005; Getz 2008; 2010; Long – Robinson 2004; von Rohrscheidt 2008)

One of the questions in the survey concerned the organization of festivals. Here, the majority of respondents did not have an opinion, but the next most frequent answer pointed to a good organization. In this case, it was difficult to identify a clear tendency, apart from the fact that most elderly people did not have an opinion regarding the matter.

In the next question, concerning the city authorities' support for the festivals, most respondents did not have an opinion. However, they were followed by those who pointed to insufficient support. It must be stressed that two of the most important Łódź events – Camerimage and the Dialogue of Four Cultures Festival – encountered serious problems and conflicts with city authorities. Those problems must have influenced the structure of answers to this question. Other authors also mention problems which arise while organizing events, e.g. they point to the conflicts among the local politicians, regarding the organization of events or insufficient subsidies. (Arcodia – Whitford 2006; Cudny 2011a)

Over 50% of the respondents have attended festivals; they were mainly young people and those with lower education. The inhabitants usually visit large, well-known multicultural, film and theatre festivals. They often visit students' events, such as *Juwenalia* and *Yapa* – the Student Song Festival. This probably results from the large number of students among the respondents. It is significant that the most frequently mentioned events were the two festivals that have disappeared from Łódź, i.e. the Dialogue of Four Cultures Festival and Camerimage. This shows that they were highly respected and very popular, and that their loss is a great disadvantage to the city. The results regarding participation in festivals are partly confirmed in the answers to the question regarding the most important festivals in the city.

The analysis presented in this article clearly shows that Łódź festivals are important for the inhabitants of the city, who believe that they have a positive influence on its image. Festivals are considered to be an interesting form of spending free time and over a half of the respondents actually attend them, which is a good result. The inhabitants mainly visit the largest and most famous events, considering them to be the most important for the city. The results confirm some positive features (functions) of festivals, which are abundantly discussed in the literature on the subject, also presented in this article. At the same time, the inhabitants notice some organizational and financial problems the festivals encounter due to, for instance, conflicts between the organizers and city authorities.

Gajdoš (2009) makes an interesting observation, claiming that a consequence of globalization is the very selective development of large cities,

not only as regards their spatial structure, but also individual activities. Cities offer a wide range of rapidly developing cultural and leisure activities, which have become a very important part of the urban economy and have a great influence on the image of cities. As regards the impact of globalization on cities, Gajdoš (2002; 2009) notes that the main challenge for large European cities, particularly those in Central and Eastern post-communist Europe, is to effectively combine their globally oriented features with the locally rooted society and culture.

***Prof. RNDr. Pavol Korec, CSc. (62)**, works at the Department of Human Geography and Demogeography Faculty of Natural Sciences, Comenius University in Bratislava. He lectures on the Theory and Methodology of Human Geography, Internationalization and Globalisation, Geography of Religion, and Urban Geography. His research concerns the development of the regional structure of the Slovak Republic, and the urban structure of Bratislava. In recent years, he has focused on regional competitiveness, regional culture and its impact on regional development. He is the author/co-author of 5 monographs, and 78 original scientific papers (26 published abroad). His work was cited 337 times, 103 times abroad.*

***Dr Waldemar Cudny** is a human geographer, working at the Institute of Tourism and Economic Development, University of Łódź, Tomaszów Mazowiecki branch. He specializes in tourism geography and the socio-economic changes which took place in Polish cities as a part of post-communist transformation. He is the author and co-author of 38 scientific publications, including 2 books and presently is conducting research into the role of cultural functions in the transformations of large Polish cities. A particularly important issue analysed in his current study is the role of events and festivals in the transformation of urban areas.*

***Dr Rafał Rouba** works at the Institute of Tourism and Economic Development, University of Łódź, Tomaszów Mazowiecki branch. He is a theorist and practitioner of the tourism and hotel industry. He investigates a broad range of topics concerning tourism, business tourism, and hotel management, mainly from the perspective of cultural tourism. The author of many publications, mostly on tourism geography, including an original monograph devoted to the transformation of palaces, mansions and castles for hospitality functions. In the last few years, Dr Rouba has also conducted research into the cultural functions of Polish cities, including festival development.*

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