

Resident's perception of festivals – a case study of Łódź

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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

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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.

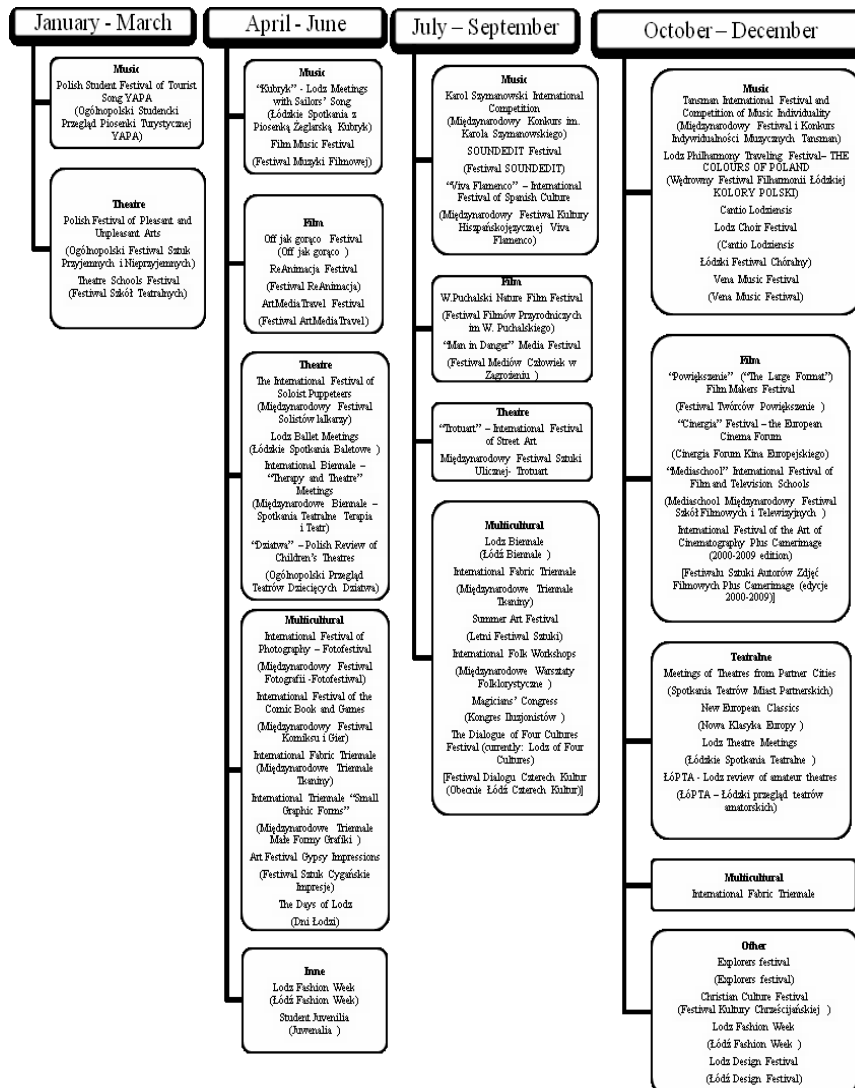
The study area and methodology; the respondents' structure

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 (Fig. 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 (Fig. 2). What is more, many of them are not ticketed, i.e. the admission is free.

Fig. 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, Łódź 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.

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