FESTIVAL AS CREATIVE DESTINATION

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Abstract: The Edinburgh "Festival" positions the city via creativity. Its success in attracting audiences for the performing arts contrasts with the limited extent it appears to modify the general image of Scotland among its tourists. Three styles of consumption are considered: Edinburgh as a tourism-historic city; Scottish performing arts; and international performing arts. The festival is judged successful in its international arts positioning in terms of the core of serious repeat tourists it attracts, but much less so in modifying the image of Scotland as a "landscape and tradition" destination. It is suggested that if the focus of consumption is not seen as typical of a wider destination, familiarity will not necessarily impel changes in how the destination is imagined. **Keywords:** cultural tourism, festivals, marketing, Scotland. © 2003 Elsevier Science Ltd. All rights reserved.

Résumé: Le festival d'Édimbourg positionne la ville au moyen de la créativité. Il réussit bien à attirer le public aux arts du spectacle, ce qui fait contraste avec le degré limité auquel il semble modifier l'image générale de l'Écosse parmi ses touristes. On considére trois perspectives de consommation: Édimbourg comme ville de tourisme historique, les arts du spectacle écossais et les arts du spectacle internationaux. Le festival est jugé une réussite du point de vue de sa position dans les arts internationaux à cause des touristes sérieux qui reviennent fidèlement, mais il réussit beaucoup moins à modifier l'image de l'Écosse comme destination de «paysages et traditions». On suggère que si le point di mire de la consommation ne se voit pas comme typique d'une destination plus large, la familiarité ne fera pas avancer la façon dont la destination est imaginée. **Mots-clés:** tourisme culturel, festivals, marketing, Écosse. © 2003 Elsevier Science Ltd. All rights reserved.

INTRODUCTION

Conceptualizations of cultural tourism have commonly postulated the transient consumption of aesthetic "difference", of the often exotic "other", in the search for the sincere or the authentic (MacCannell 1973, 1976; Urry 1990, 1995). That is, the passive consumption of the unfamiliar. But not all cultural tourism is of this kind. Some is a form of serious leisure (Stebbins 1979, 1996, 1997a, b), and festivals often attract serious tourists of this kind, actively consuming the familiar as

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art form or socialization. After Stebbins, serious tourists are those for whom cultural pursuits are a form of identity creation, an extension of general leisure, and a systematic (career-like) pursuit. In some cases, according to Richards "career-like" can be taken further. It can be the pusuit of creativity in a coherent and cumulative manner, namely of creative tourism (2001). In an earlier paper (1994), he identified serious tourists as frequent consumers often employed in cultural occupations which, as such, are extensions of their leisure employment. At the extreme, these are the expressivists: consumers confident in the purposive shaping of their identity, seeing their lives as a narration of the self (Gibbins and Reimer 1999). The pertinence of serious consumption as a festival paradigm is central to any positioning for creative tourism.

Performing arts and other festivals are now a worldwide tourism phenomenon (Chacko and Schaffer 1993; Getz 1991; Grant and Paliwoda 1998; Rolfe 1992). The explosion in festival numbers is multifaceted in cause, ranging from supply factors (such as cultural planning, tourism development, and civic re-positioning), through to demand factors (such as serious leisure, lifestyle sampling, socialization needs, and the desire for creative and "authentic" experiences by some market segments). In Scotland, festivals have been integral to civic repositioning. But much of Scottish "heritage" has been created through an idealized rural past of "Highlandism", "Tartanry" and "Brigadoonism" (Hughes 1995; McCrone, Morris and Kiely 1995), and more recently "Braveheartism". As such, the national tourism product to be celebrated is itself doubly false to the cities of Scotland. These are urban places seeking to present a contemporary cultural vibrancy. It is also at variance with the Highland-plus-tartan imagery often used to promote Scotland overseas, and especially in North American promotions. In consequence, the principal cities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dundee have sought in the past decade to position themselves as distinct from the overall overseas promotion of Scotland as a largely rural place. In the context of industrial decline, Glasgow and Dundee have also sought to emphasize innovation.

Richards (2001) noted that creativity has emerged as an additional positioning device, following the large number of cities using culture to position themselves. With its established arts festivals, Edinburgh has sought to position itself for innovation for much longer than its Scotland rivals and from a creative artistic base asserting continuity back to the Scottish Enlightenment of the 18th century. It thereby uses its historical ambience and associations as a setting for festivals. It has sought worldwide to position itself as "the Festival City", rather than solely as Scotland's capital, offering a unique selling point of creativity as well as heritage. Arts festivals in effect commodify and proffer sensory experience as part of a package of strategic experiential modules, including those of sense, feeling, thinking, acting, and relating (Schmitt 1999). Music, pageantry, dance, and theatre are traditional forms of experiential mixes, as the hallmark of the Edinburgh festival. As such, the city readily demonstrates this contemporary form of product design. How far this alternative proffering of Scottish heritage has

been adopted by tourists attracted to these city festivals is of interest. In particular, has their direct experience effected more nuanced imaginings about Scotland? Primary data collection is needed if this question is to be answered.

Equally, Hughes' (1996) classification of cultural tourists into those for whom their primary consumption style is cultural, incidental, or accidental implies caution in assuming that all festival tourists are essentially different to mainstreamers. Not everyone at a destination during a festival can be assumed to be a festival-goer, especially if a place (like Edinburgh) attracts tourists throughout the year, thus positioned beyond just festival tourism. As such, there is a need to recognize a potential range of motivations and behaviors, and their combination into forms of tourism. These forms are also of interest in terms both of multiple uses of space and for market-based product development. This paper presents a methodology combining both qualitative and quantitative surveying to define forms of tourism from a supplier's perspective and to facilitate an assessment of the effectiveness of repositioning.

Edinburgh as a Festival City

Scotland's tourism industry was in decline even before the downturn in international visitors consequent of the "Attack on America" of 2001. As MacLellan and Smith had commented, "Scotland's tourism is at an interesting stage of development. The country, exposed to the cold blast of competition and shivered alarmingly … now finds itself compelled to compete in what is at the same time both a more individualized and a more globalized marketplace. The basic prescription is to … reposition the country as an interesting place for a variety of short holiday options for both British and international visitors" (MacLellan and Smith 1998:xii).

Indeed, in its economic review of the consequences of the events of autumn 2001, the Scottish Executive's report described its tourism as already facing a "familiar set of challenges" (Scott 2001:4). Edinburgh as a tourism city has been in the forefront of this restructuring. In its Old Town area alone, tourism and associated day trips had been estimated to be directly responsible for 191 service jobs in the early 90s (Parlett, Fletcher and Cooper 1995). For most of the year the city offers a largely historical tourism product, proffered with the sentiment of Scottishness and symbolism of the nation's capital.

Edinburgh Castle, set on its rock, is an iconic sight promoted the world over. It is a "must see" attraction for most first timers to the city, especially international tourists. Through its spectacular siting, it can be seen without actually being visited, and has a presence beyond visitation. The Royal Mile, the main street in the medieval Old Town, is another must see, if only from the open top of one of the competing double-decker tourism buses. It is made to look Scottish to tourists by the retailing of iconic experience. This mix includes pipers dressed in tartan playing their bagpipes for money, "Scottish" shops selling tartan, whiskies and reproduction weapons, and clothes retailers selling "Scott-

ish" woolens and Highland dress. Many of these shops are "Tier 1" businesses in Smith's (1993) typology, deriving virtually all their revenue from tourism. Unlike the emergence of heritage businesses in some other parts of Europe (Halewood and Hannam 2001), this commodification is not a major driver to redefining local identities. Indeed, it has frequently been mocked by Scots (McCrone et al 1995). In essence, retailers collectively create a genre scene in the enclave of the Royal Mile which tourists expect, and have been led to expect. It is an example of where authenticity and realism part company in "tourist realism" (Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimlett 1994; Prentice 2001). Or to adopt Bruner's (1994) nomenclature, this is authenticity proffered as verisimilitude rather than as genuineness. Authenticity as verisimilitude is achieved through meeting tourists' expectations about what a place looks like. However, one does not know at "Festival"-time how far such generic expectations are displaced among those interested in performing and other arts, and how the realism is redefined.

The historical product offered by Edinburgh is reflected in tourists' expressed reasons for visiting the city, as demonstrated by surveys throughout the 90s (Edinburgh Marketing and LEEL 1993; ETB and LEEL 1995; LEEL and ELTB 1998; Lynn Jones Research 1998). For example, of those interviewed in 1996/1997, 51% and 42%, respectively, of overseas and British tourists cited the historic towns (the World Heritage Site Old and New Towns) as a reason for visiting Edinburgh. However, this essentially historical resource is transformed in August. The castle esplanade carries a temporary stadium for the Tattoo; part of the Royal Mile is closed to vehicles and becomes an open air and largely informal performance space; and many buildings become venues for formal performances. Museums and galleries have special temporary exhibitions. Within the historic setting of the city, the overt tourism product becomes temporarily dramatic and carnivalesque. During the festival, the Royal Mile offers carnival and drama freely to excite the appetite of tourists, and to mark a "boundary" between the normal historic city and the festival. It becomes a special space. Equally, many city attractions remain unchanged: it would be false to imply that the city's product offering becomes a total eclipse.

Edinburgh holds several cultural festivals throughout the year (Table 1). As they are contiguous, the International, Fringe, Book and Film Festivals and the Tattoo jointly constitute what is commonly known as the "(Edinburgh) Festival". In 1996, the International Festival was estimated to support 525 jobs but the Fringe, 806 jobs (Jones Economics 1996).

Whereas in 1990 the Tattoo was estimated as having the greatest economic impact (Scotinform 1991), due to the changes in comparative audience sizes since, this is unlikely to remain the case. The International Festival was originally developed as a celebratory leisure product, with objectives to promote both international arts to Scotland and Scottish arts internationally. These objectives remain, but the tourism product has developed within them: to promote and encourage arts of the highest possible standard; to reflect international culture in presentation to local audiences and to reflect Scottish culture in

Table 1. Edinburgh's Festivals

Festival	Audiences (estimates in '000)	
	1990	1996
Science Festival (April)	201	150
Children's Festival (May)	30	33
Jazz Festival (July/August)	65	56
International Festival (August)	245	418
Fringe Festival (August)	500	935
Military Tattoo (August)	200	216
Book Festival (August)	62	79
Film Festival (August)	15	41
Hogmanay Festival (December/January)	–	565

Source: STB (1993), Lynn Jones Research (1998).

presentation to international audiences; to bring together a program of events in an innovative way that cannot easily be achieved by other organizations; to offer equal opportunity for all sections of the public to experience and enjoy the arts, and thus encourage participation through other organizations throughout the year; and, to promote the educational, cultural, and economic well-being of the city and people of Edinburgh and Scotland (Edinburgh Festival Society 1993).

As such, the core of the Festival remains not simply a tourism product. However, two other constituents of it have demonstrated a much stronger focus. Non-Scottish were in the majority as tourists to the Tattoo and the Fringe festivals in 1990, at respectively 81% and 55% (Scotinform 1991). Unlike many festivals in Britain, some of Edinburgh's date back to the immediate post-Second World War era of reconstruction: the International, Fringe and Film festivals began in 1947, and the Tattoo was formalized in 1950 (Curtis and Hendersen 1991; Vaughan 1977). As such, the Festival has developed a core of repeaters, whose imagery of Scotland as an arts rather than a historical destination is of particular interest in an assessment of the effectiveness of re-positioning. In contrast, an innovation of the 90s was the Hogmanay (New Year) Festival, which now in effect has been brought forward to become Christmas and New Year.

The success of Edinburgh in its positioning for international arts acclaim via tourism can be measured in at least three ways. Successively, each is a necessary condition for that which follows. First, success may be measured in terms of product offering. In particular, the extent to which its Festival product mix is international, as well as Scottish, and the extent to which the Scottish product is contemporary as well as historical. The Festival offers a mix of international and Scottish productions, of both traditional and contemporary performing arts, across a multitude of venues offering a basket or culture opportunity spectrum (Pearce 1995) of performances from which tourists can construct individual programs. However, the success of this mix is better evalu-

ated in terms of tourists' demands. This is the second measure. Namely, the extent to which the city attracts segments primarily interested in performing arts at its Festival venues, rather than accidental heritage tourists. Of itself, this second measure is also insufficient, for it ignores any longer term changes in how Scotland is perceived as a performing arts destination. The latter is the subject of a third measure, the extent to which the traditional generic image is modified by the Festival.

The present paper pays particular attention to the success of the Festival in terms of the second and third measures: to attract performing arts segments and their interests and to modify tourists' images of Scotland. However, the wider extent to which others (for example, inward investors or potential tourists) may have incorporated the Festival into their imagery of Scotland is not addressed here.

FESTIVAL CONSUMPTION

Studies of festival motivation place critical engagement and empathy within motivational schemes reminiscent of Crompton's (1979) general scheme of seven motive domains, of which educational value/intellectual enrichment was only a single domain. For example, Crompton and McKay (1997) offered six factors of motivation for festival visiting, of which cultural exploration was only one. The enjoyment of company as gregariousness is a recurrent motive, and socialization, family and other, has been found frequently as a dimension of festival consumption (Backman, Backman, Uysal and Sunshine 1995; Formica and Uysal 1996, 1998; Getz 1991; Kerstetter and Mowrer 1998; Krausse 1998; Mihalik and Ferguson 1994; Scott 1996; Uysal, Gahan and Martin 1993; Willems-Braun 1994). Chacko and Schaffer (1993) described the sharing of experiences as a particular form of socialization. The recurrent importance of gregariousness may imply that the festival itself becomes a destination, rather than simply an attraction of place-based destinations. The experience of gregariousness may ultimately be independent of any specific place, and what makes festivals special has been found to center around uniqueness and quality, as well as atmosphere (Getz and Cheyne 1997).

In their destination choice model, Moscardo, Morrison, Pearce, Lang and O'Leary defined motives in the context of destinations, namely as "providing travelers (sic) with expectations for activities"(1996:112). Essentially, these authors define motives as destination-specific intentions to do or otherwise consume. This definition flows from the frequent conceptual distinction between push as individual and pull as destination factors likely to meet tourism motives (Pearce 1997). It flows also from a recognition of the "…plurality of expression based on a homogeneity of needs" (Ryan 1997:26). Potential pull factors are many and unmanageable for marketing, unless contextualized to a specific destination as mediated offerings. Multiple intentions and activities can be conceptualized as characterizing different forms of tourism or consumption styles, and used as summaries in marketing. These styles offer potential application in market-based

product development, as different product offerings can be designed for different segments. In the case of Edinburgh, issues of the market-relevance of historical versus contemporary products, and of Scottish versus international, can be explored.

At least three styles may be postulated as pertinent to market-based product development for the Festival. These styles are consuming Edinburgh as a tourism-historic city; consuming Scottish performing arts/arts in a Scottish context; and consuming international performing arts. In the first style, the Festival activities are largely irrelevant to the tourists, other than special exhibitions offered at the same time by non performing arts venues. The term flows from Ashworth and Tunbridge's (1990) description of the changing morphologies and activity-patterns in Western cities. In the second style, an explicit Scottish focus in cultural consumption pertains. This is an interest in the festival-offering pertinent to the culture in which the Festival is set: Scotland. The first two styles are place-specific, but in different ways, historic ambience or specific Scottishness. The third style of consumption is in essence independent of the actual location of the Festival, in that the focus of consumption is generic performing arts. The latter style may be termed place-nonspecific. It is also potentially the style most readily to be lost to other festivals, as the quality and variety of international performances rather than the particularly Scottish location are the drivers to attendance.

It is unlikely that only a single consumption style pertains to all tourists. Rather, overlap in styles may be expected as shown in Figure 1. In this figure the three styles are shown as overlapping circles, which implicitly define segments of consumers in terms of how many of the three styles they demonstrate. Variant (a) shows a situation of minimal joint consumption: there is a little overlap between the circles. In contrast, variant (b) shows extensive joint consumption: there is extensive overlap among the circles.

Study Methods

As summaries, each of the three styles of consumption is operationalized through intentions and actual activities. For the present research, each style was summarized as four reasons for visiting and two activities, specified from management experience and how these organizers collectively differentiated their products, rather than inductively from tourists. After Moscardo et al (1996), the design focused on those broad intentions most accessible to the recipient destination, the pull factors of the destination. As in modeling, each intention and activity could map onto only a single consumption style, particular intentions and activities could only be included in the operationalization of the styles. For example, generic activities such as viewing Edinburgh Castle or watching street performances had to be excluded. In consequence, the numbers of activities specified for each style was in particular constrained. The operationalized consumption styles formed the basis of an interview schedule. Both the content of the styles and the interview schedule were produced through discussion with
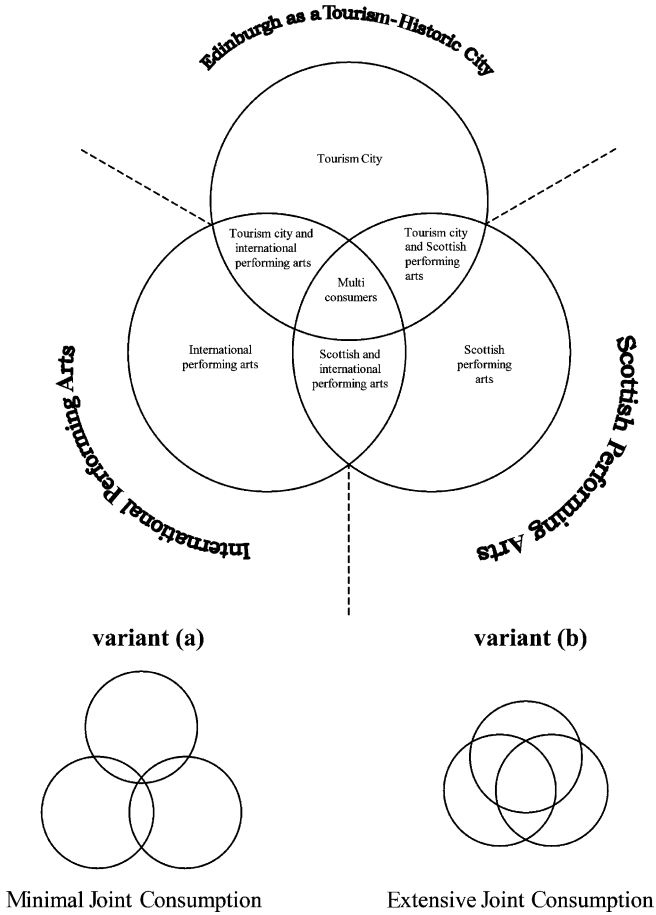
Figure 1. Postulated Interaction of Consumption Styles

both Festival and venue organizers, grounding the intentional state-
ments in particular in their market perceptions. Similarly, past market
research also helped inform the design, most notably a major survey
of 1990 (Scotinform 1991). One of the authors also had over 10 years
professional experience in managing aspects of the Festival, contribu-
ting her insights to the initial design. The schedule was subsequently
validated through piloting among tourists. The latters' comments were
invited and recorded, and in some cases the statements amended
(Table 2).

   Data were gained by an interview schedule. Imagery data were
gained by open-ended initial questions, asking tourists first to describe
their images of Scotland as a country, and then of Scottish culture.
These questions generated qualitative data, of nouns and adjectives.
Both push and pull factors have been studied elsewhere using tech-
niques enabling respondents to express themselves freely in their own

Table 2. Operalization of the Consumption Styles

Consuming Edinburgh as a tourism-historic city (style prevalent throughout the year in Edinburgh)

Intentions

- To learn about Scottish cultural traditions (a proxy for authenticity)
- To meet new people/locals (a proxy for sincerity)
- To see the exhibitions
- To combine the Festival shows with sightseeing in Scotland

Activities

- Visiting the National Gallery
- Visiting the Royal Museum of Scotland

Consuming Scottish performing arts/arts in a Scottish context (style involving either traditional or contemporary Scottish arts)

Intentions

- To see Scottish opera/ballet/orchestral performances
- To see Scottish drama productions
- To experience the Festival atmosphere
- To see the Edinburgh Military Tattoo

Activities

- Attending the Tattoo
- Attending Scottish performances[a]

Consuming international performing arts (style involving either traditional or contemporary non-Scottish arts)

Intentions

- To see opera/ballet/orchestral performances by internationally famous non-Scottish companies
- To see plays performed by internationally famous non-Scottish companies
- To see new experimental performances
- To see comedy shows

Activities

- Attending the Film Festival
- Attending the Book Festival

[a] Attending Scottish performances was further subdivided into attendance at performances written by Scots, those on a Scottish theme, and those performed by a Scottish company.

words (Fielding, Pearce and Hughes 1995; Pearce and Caltabiano 1983) and through scaled items (Andersen, Prentice and Watanabe 2000; Formica and Uysal 1998; Moscardo and Pearce 1999). The former approach encourages "thick" description and "indigenous meaning" (Bruner 1986), but at the expense of standardization. Equally, without prompts, respondents may forget to mention their true reasons, rather than that which comes first to mind. In contrast, pre-

structured methods can be accused of putting words into tourists' mouths. In the present study, consumption style data were gained via closed-ended questions on the same interview schedule. Scaled response items had to be used in order to gain systematic data for modeling. In an attempt to avoid superficial and "mechanical" responses, the interviewers asked respondents to read fully through each batch of items, before responding (a considered response was sought). Other closed-ended and open-ended questions sought supplementary data.

The sample was obtained during the August 1997 Festival period. International Festival, Fringe, Tattoo, and street venues were used as sampling points. Interviewers were assigned to specific performances or times intended to give a full range of activities associated with the performing arts during the Festival period, and to cover the full period in terms of performance type, times, and days of the week. Sixteen separate sampling locations were used. Each was a location involving queuing, waiting around, or relaxing, and respondents were interviewed as they queued, waited or relaxed, thereby minimizing refusals and encouraging reflexive response. In view of the frenetic quality of the Festival, the interviews were designed to be completed in under 20 minutes. Longer interviews were considered, but rejected on the basis that the busier Festival-goers would tend to refuse to be interviewed and the sampling would become skewed if the design was not constrained. As such, depth of interviewing was traded off against practicalities: the closed-ended questions assisting in the completion time target. The interviewers were trained and supervised as a team. Only adult tourists who were neither Scottish nor resident were interviewed.

All tourists were surveyed in English. A minimum target of 400 completed interviews over the full period was set. In total, 418 were actually completed (but the usable total for the present purpose was 403). Fifteen respondents who failed to answer all the intentional or activity items needed for the consumption style analysis were excluded. The figures presented throughout derive from the 403 usable interviews. No statistical association between consumption style and type of interview venue was found, and in consequence it is assumed that the sample is representative of the wider population of Festival-goers found in Edinburgh at the time. In total, 192 tourists were interviewed at International Festival venues, 121 at Fringe venues, and 87 at street venues. This was analyzed as if it were a fully random sample using SPSS windows 6.1. With a non-parametric data set, Cramers' V (Blalock 1960) was used as a comparative measure of contingency, due to its standardization to differing matrix sizes in two sample chi-square analysis.

Festival Tourists Profiled

More than four out of ten (42.3%) of those interviewed came from outside the British Isles. This compares to 32% of non-Scottish audiences to the International Festival in 1995 (Edinburgh Festival Society 1996). Continental Europe (16.3%) and North America (15.5%) were

the main source of overseas tourists interviewed for the present study. By occupationally derived social class (OPCS 1991), the tourists were almost exclusively middle class ("white collar"). Over half were from managerial or technical households, and a further fifth from professional households. Fewer than 4% were from manual households. This profile shows a marked change since that of 1990, when the surveyed audience profiles were far less professional or managerial. For example, of International Festival-goers in 1990, only 7% were professionals and 38% managerial or technical (Scotinform 1991). Of Fringe-goers, the corresponding figures were 4% and 33%.

The age range of the tourists interviewed was wide, although few were aged over 70. This profile is comparable to that found before, although Fringe (and Hogmanay) tourists are known to be disproportionately young adults (Scotinform 1991; System Three 1998) and the Tattoo, older (Progressive Research 1993). Few (22.6%) were on their first visit to Scotland, but almost half on their first to the Festival. The latter is different in extent to that of International Festival-goers of the early 90s, of whom only 24% were first timers (Edinburgh Festival Society 1994).

The findings of the 1997 survey would imply that the Festival is a secondary destination for many visiting Scotland: a destination for a subsequent rather than for a first visit. Indeed, over half (55.8%) cited their own experience as influencing their decision a lot; a similar proportion, 51.8%, cited reports from friends and family. Informal sources of information, such as films and newspapers, also featured. That the Festival is a secondary destination would concur with the past promotional emphasis of tourism agencies. That is, they proffered Scotland as a "landscape and heritage" destination, rather than a contemporary destination, with personal experience needed to suggest otherwise.

Consumption of the Festival

Intentions and Activities. The survey results confirmed that the Festival is consumed foremost experientially. Experiencing the festival atmosphere was the most frequently cited reason, rated as very important by 69.7% of the sample. Socializing with friends formed a second order intention (46.7%), confirming the importance of socializing found generally in festival attendance.

Third order intentions included utilitarian intentions, both specific and generic. The former included seeing new experimental performances (39.2% rating this as very important) and enjoying plays (32.5%) and musicals (31.8%) performed by internationally famous companies. Of the more generic utilitarian third order intentions were combining the Festival visit with sightseeing (35.2%) and to learn about Scottish cultural traditions (30.8%). In contrast, intentions to see Scottish performing arts were generally of fourth order. For example, only 17.9% considered the Tattoo and 20.3% ranked Scottish operatic, ballet, or orchestral performances as very important. The former is despite the

traditional "landscape and heritage" promotion of Scotland, to which the Highland piper is integral. Sincerity, defined as intention to meet locals, was the least rated (13.4%).

Scottish performances featured more generally in the tourists' actual and intended activities than in their intentions. More than 4 out of 10 of those interviewed had attended, or intended to attend, at least one performance written by a Scot, and a like proportion, a performance on a Scottish theme. More (54.8%) reported having attended or intending to attend, a performance by at least one Scottish company. Generic arts consumption during the Festival is also implied. From the closed-ended schedule, the National Gallery (art museum) headed the list of activities both undertaken and intended. Of those interviewed, 56.1% had visited or were intending to visit this gallery. The temporary exhibition of the work of the Scottish Enlightenment artist, Sir Henry Raeburn (Thomson 1997), was the major draw. The Royal Museum was also a popular attraction (38.9%). When asked an open-ended question of what else they had visited other than the activities used for the styles, 69.1% named other art galleries, most notably the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art. In contrast, only 4.8% claimed to have visited the castle (in contrast to having seen it or attended the Tattoo in its forecourt). The large proportion of repeaters at the Festival likely explains the low visitation rate to the castle.

Segmenting by Tourism Styles.   A composite muliplicative indicator was first constructed for the three postulated styles of consumption to capture any compounding effects within each. As to the procedure, the responses for each of the four intentions were weighted: 8 as very important, 4 quite important, and 1 not important. With the exception of Scots performances as an activity, the activity responses were similarly weighted: 8 having been, 4 intended, 1 neither. Because attendance at Scottish performances had been specified as three distinct aspects, this activity had to be computed differently. For each of the three aspects, scores of 2 for attendance and 1 for non-attendance were assigned. They were then combined multiplicably, thereby yielding a score comparable in numerical range to the other indicators ($2 \times 2 \times 2 = 8$; $1 \times 1 \times 1 = 1$).

The indicator for each consumption style was calculated from the six components of the styles: (intention 1 score)×(intention 2 score)×(intention 3 score)×(intention 4 score)×(activity 1 score)×(activity 2 score). Implicit in this amalgamation is the equal weighting of each element, and due to the preponderance of intentions over activities, the pertinence of the former. Each indicator could initially range from 262,144 (high consumption) to 1 (low consumption). Due to skew and "lumpiness", the interval scales derived were not considered suitable for parametric analysis. In consequence, each indicator was then re-coded by quartiles and median into four groups: group 1, below lower quartile (low consumption); group 2, lower middle between the lower quartile and the median; group 3, upper middle; and group 4, above the upper quartile (high consumption).

Using the three indicators, a non-parametric hierarchical agglomerative clustering was undertaken using chi-square on a furthest neighbor basis. A seven cluster solution was accepted as maximizing discrimination without the inclusion of clusters of trivial size. The seven clusters ranged in size from 32 members to 110. The large cluster of 110 could not be disaggregated without first disaggregating several of the smaller clusters, as it had formed earlier in the aggregation. The discrimination achieved between the clusters in terms of the three consumption styles on which they were based was strong, with Cramer's Vs ranging from .388 to .486.

The Festival Segments

Analysis of the data led to the formation of seven distinct clusters.

Cluster 1: Serious Consumers of International Culture (N=84). Among members of this segment, 88.1% are above average in the consumption of international performing arts; but 79.8% are below average in consuming Scottish performing arts. This segment is characterized by the highest proportions of strong intentions towards attending experimental (61.9%), comedy (48.8%) and both international music and drama performances (36.9% for both). The segment contains the highest proportion of participation in the Book Festival (71.5%), and the second highest attendance in the Film Festival (50.0%). As such, these tourists may be described as consuming art forms rather than ethnicity. The segment also contains the largest proportion of those repeatedly frequenting the Festival, with 20.2% having visited more than five times. It also contains the second largest proportion of repeaters to Scotland (83.3%). This segment is the second highest in citing both friends and family (69.9%) and previous experience (62.7%) as sources of information influencing their decision to visit.

Cluster 2: British Drama-Going Socializers (N=67). Similar to the first segment, these tourists may be described as consuming art forms rather than ethnicity. Most are also gregarious, all below average in consuming Edinburgh as a tourism-historic city (with 88.1% in the lowest quartile), but 74.6% above average in consuming international performing arts. This segment contains those most highly motivated to be with friends (53.7% for whom this was very important). This segment also contains the highest proportion of arrivals from the southeast of England (42.4%) and the fewest overseas tourists; and the highest number of repeaters both to the Festival (59.7%) and to Scotland (89.6%). This segment is the most likely to rely on previous experience (68.2%) as well as Festival programs (47.0%) and contemporary films (25.8%). These tourists are characterized by their interest in drama: the cluster contains the highest proportions highly motivated by both international and Scottish drama (50.7% and 35.8%). It also has the lowest or joint lowest proportions of tourists motivated by strong interest in Scottish cultural traditions (none), combining sightseeing with the Festival (3.0%) and the Tattoo (3.0%). They are the least likely to

visit museums and galleries (6.0% and 20.9%), but the most likely to participate in the Film Festival (59.7%) and the second most likely to go to the Book Festival (58.2%).

Cluster 3: Scots Performing Arts Attenders (N=110).   In contrast to the first two segments, these tourists may be described as consuming art forms as ethnicity. Among members of this segment, 64.6% are above average in the consumption of Scottish performing arts, and have the strongest profile in attending festival performances with a Scottish flavor (for example, 68.2% favoring a Scottish company and 56.4% a Scottish theme). North Americans form over a fifth of this segment (22.7%).

Cluster 4: Scottish Experience Tourists (N=34).   Similar to cluster 3, ethnicity is a focus of this segment. Most (64.7%) are attending the Tattoo, but few the Film or Book Festivals. All members of this segment are above average in consuming Scottish performing arts; but all are in lowest quartile in consuming international performing arts. They are highly intent on experiencing the festival atmosphere (79.4%). The segment contains the highest proportion of tourists from outside the British Isles (67.6%), and nearly 3 out of 10 of the segment (29.4%) are from North America. It also has the oldest profile, with 38.2% over 50 years. It contains the highest proportion of first timers to Scotland (41.2%) and to the Festival (67.6%). They were the most likely to cite package tour brochures and travel agents (44.1%) and television programs (29.4%) as main sources of information. In many ways this segment is similar to that of Tattoo-going tourists defined by Scotinform (1991), and can be regarded as a generic version of the latter's segment. In some ways, these tourists are also similar to Gottlieb's (1982) *Queen (King) for a Day* tourists. Their focus is Establishment heritage (the Tattoo) and luxury hotels as part of package tours.

Cluster 5: Gallery-Goers (N=33).   These tourists are disproportionately visiting museums and galleries (51.5% the Royal Museum and 78.8% the National Gallery). Further, 48.5% are in the upper quartile of consuming the tourism-historic city. However, this segment is most likely to consider the Tattoo as unimportant (97.0%). Indeed, all members of this segment are below average in consuming Scottish performing arts, with 72.7% in the lowest quartile; similarly, 75.8% are below average in consuming international performing arts. It contains the lowest proportion of those repeatedly frequenting the Festival (only 9.1% having made over five previous visits). However, it also contains the second highest proportion of tourists strongly intent on experimental performances (45.5%).

Cluster 6: Incidental Festival-Goers (N=43).   This segment has the highest proportion of tourists strongly motivated by combining sightseeing with the Festival (55.8%). Of this segment, 79.1% are above average in consuming Edinburgh as a tourism-historic city; but 72.1% are below average in favoring international performing arts. This segment is joint

second in its proportion of overseas tourists (58.1%), and second highest in not having visited Scotland before (32.6%). They are the most likely to have been influenced by newspaper articles (32.6%) and tourist board brochures (20.9%).

Cluster 7: Accidental Festival-Goers (N=32).   This segment is among the highest for visiting museums and galleries, with 78.2% visiting these attractions. It contains the greatest proportion (59.4%) of members strongly intent on seeking to learn about Scottish cultural traditions, although this is not paralleled in intentions towards attending any performing arts. All are in the lowest quartile in consuming international performing arts; and 53.1% are in lowest quartile in opting for Scottish performing arts. Whereas members of this segment are above average in consuming Edinburgh as a tourism-historic city, this cluster has the lowest proportions of tourists strongly motivated by music or drama, either Scottish or international. For example, only 3.1% and 6.3% are strongly motivated by international or Scottish drama. This segment has the highest proportion citing friends and family (76.7%) and historical feature films (33.3%) as main influences for visiting. Further, 58.1% of these tourists are from outside the British Isles, mostly from North America.

Notably absent from the descriptions of the clusters are Gottlieb's (1982) *Peasant for a Day* tourist, or those seeking sincerity through meeting local people. This implies that the small minority of tourists intent on sincerity differ substantially in their other characteristics. In terms of the consumption styles from which they were created, the seven clusters in effect collectively specify a variant (a) version of Figure 1 with minimal multiple primary focus in consumption. Clusters 5, 6, and 7 are part of the "northern" circle of Figure 1, clusters 3 and 4 of the "eastern", and clusters 1 and 2 of the "western". However, instead of three totally distinct circles in terms of the primary focus of consumption, a model of two overlapping circles and one more distinct is pertinent. This is shown in Figure 2, with the clusters located within the circles.

The Festival is clearly attracting a range of arts segments, with more than 7 out of 10 of those interviewed (73.2%) to be precise, forming four performing arts segments (clusters 1 to 4). Of these segments, only one (*Scottish experience tourists*) is essentially traditional in focus. The Festival is being consumed by a majority of those interviewed for contemporary performing arts of international and Scottish production. Most of the tourists are consuming an urbane Scotland of international, gregarious or Scottish emphasis. The second measure of positioning effectiveness discussed above is being met. This enables the third to be meaningfully applied.

Imagining Scotland

The logic of the analyses of Fakeye and Crompton (1991), Pizam and Milman (1993), Andersen, Prentice and Guerin (1997), and Pren-
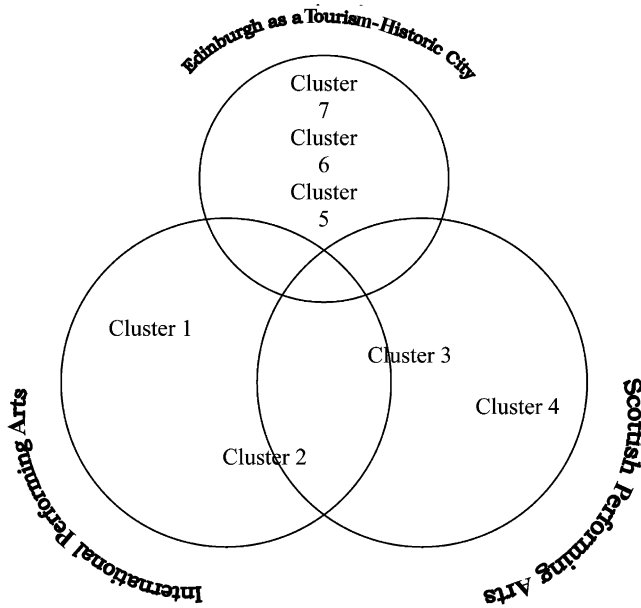
Figure 2. Actual Consumption Styles at Edinburgh Festival

tice and Andersen (2000) is that familiarity with a destination through visiting or family associations enhances the complexity of the imagery held of that place. In the present case, this implies that tourists at the Festival are likely to hold more sophisticated images of Scotland than other tourists there. This (the inclusion of arts in the imagery evoked of Scotland by Festival-goers) is the third measure of re-positioning success advanced above.

In fact, the present survey found that the tourists interviewed held much the same generic image of Scotland as is both generally proffered to, and held by, tourists (namely, one of a "landscape and heritage" destination). From their unprompted reported imaginings of Scotland, they saw it overwhelmingly as a country of Highland scenery (essentially lochs and mountains), with 66.9% of the Festival-goers describing such an image. Second order images in terms of frequency were all traditional: whisky (13.6% of tourists), Highland dress (13.2%), bagpipes (10.9%), and haggis (7.2%). Despite being at the Festival, the Edinburgh Festival was only mentioned by 6.5%, and Edinburgh otherwise by only 6.2%. When asked specifically about Scottish culture, the respondents' images were also generally of traditional Scots (and Gaelic) culture: 23.1% mentioned Highland dress in response to this question, 22.6% bagpipes, and 16.9% Scots or Gaelic music. The Festival was a second order image of Scottish culture, despite the tourists being at it. It was mentioned by only 11.4%, a frequency a little greater than that of two traditional Scottish icons, Robert Burns and whisky (both at 8.9%). It would appear that the Festival is not associated with mainstream Scottish culture, and that generally

the culture is seen as traditional rather than contemporary, even by people who are themselves enjoying the opposite. Scotland is also imagined as rural rather than urban by these people, despite the location of the interviews being in its capital city.

These conclusions are confirmed by the reflexive closed-ended opinion scaling also undertaken. Those interviewed were asked to rate four aspects of Scottish culture on five point bipolar scales, in terms of it being modern/traditional, authentic/unauthentic, international/local, and familiar/unfamiliar. Overall, the sample thought Scottish culture to be traditional (60.3%), authentic (79.8%), international (57.6%), and familiar (62.0%). In all four cases, the modal frequency was the extreme rating (1 or 5). Overseas tourists to Scotland were more likely than others to consider the culture to be traditional and authentic. For example, 47.9% of overseas tourists were above average in rating it as traditional, compared to 23.1% of those from southern England and 34.4% of those from the rest of England. The comparable figures for the rating of authenticity were 59.9%, 37.5%, and 50.4%, respectively.

Repeated experience of Scottish culture, however, changed the impressions of authenticity and traditionalism found by the opinion scaling. This suggests that the illusions of Scottishness proffered by spaces such as the Royal Mile somewhat fade once other aspects of Scottishness or other places are explored. For example, 55.6% of first timers gave an above average rating for Scottish culture as traditional, compared to 31.4% of repeaters (Cramer's V=0.209); and similarly, 61.1% and 47.2% concerning authenticity (V=0.116).

CONCLUSION

Certain questions can be addressed from the debates around cultural tourism discussed in this article.

Is festival-going in Edinburgh primarily the consumption of difference? Over half the tourists interviewed were from Britain, and nearly three-quarters were from Europe. Most others came from Western (European-settled) developed societies. As a European culture, it is unlikely that substantial numbers of these tourists would find Scottish culture unfamiliar. This was the case. Nearly two-thirds of those interviewed at the Festival considered Scottish culture to be familiar. Many were repeaters, and for these, Edinburgh is not an unfamiliar city. In contrast, the consumption of international drama was the second most common intention cited. However, much of the international product is Western at the Festival and thus both Scottish and the international cultures presented may be considered familiar for many tourists. The concentration of North Americans in segments explicitly Scottish in consumption focus (*Scots performing arts attenders, Scottish experience tourists, and accidental Festival-goers*) also supports the interpretation of familiarity. With migration links to Scotland, many of these tourists can be expected to be exploring their own ethnicity at the Festival. Indeed, 5.4 million US citizens reportedly now claim Scots ancestry (Kerevan 2001). Drawing lessons from Bruner's (1996) work, such tourists are likely to be making necessary acts of self-realization, not only to experi-

ence one of the very places their (imagined) ancestors may have known, but also to experience a Scottish essentialism transcendent of place. In sum, but in different ways, the Festival is the consumption of familiarity rather than difference.

Is festival-going in Edinburgh primarily aesthetic? The popularity of combining the Festival with sightseeing in Scotland could be mistaken for support for essentially aesthetic consumption, as sightmarking and sightseeing have generally been interpreted in this way. However, the overwhelmingly experiential intentions of those surveyed would suggest otherwise. Experience is multisensual. The Festival offers noise and animation, as well as sights: it is more than aesthetic consumption. The aesthetic component is the setting of the Festival in the historic townscape of the city.

Is festival-going in Edinburgh serious consumption? The Festival offers some partying opportunities where serious consumption is also common. Repeaters account for half of the total market. Indeed, 1 in 6 tourists have visited the Festival at least 6 times before. At least 2 of the 7 segments identified can unequivocally be considered serious consumers (namely, *serious consumers of international culture* and *British drama-going socializers*). Together, these segments account for nearly 4 out of 10 consumers. To them can possibly be added the *Scots performing arts seekers and the gallery-goers.* These four segments together account for over 7 out of 10 tourists. The Festival would seem a serious business for many tourists and the label "culture-vultures" may not be far from the mark. If so, authenticity may be defined more as involvement than as image, or, in Crang's (1996) terms, as a quest involving the cummunitas of participation. These are Richards' (2001) creative tourists.

Is festival-going in Edinburgh multi-intentional? As with other festival studies, intention was found to be multiple, but with socialization or gregariousness prominent. The Festival is frequently somewhere to be with friends, rather than somewhere to meet new people. To learn about Scottish cultural traditions, and to be engaged by artistic performances were common intentions. These tourists were consuming something that was real to them. Part of this was Scottish culture, either as a setting or as an insight. Among those interviewed, 8 out of 10 considered Scottish culture to be authentic. But they were intent on consuming much more too.

Is festival-going primarily consumption of the traditional or of the contemporary? Scottishness can be consumed as a historic and/or contemporary experience. In the present analysis, this was investigated in terms of consuming the tourism-historic city or consuming performing arts, Scottish or international. Essentially contemporary consumers considerably out-numbered the traditionalists. Traditional consumers included *accidental and incidental* Festival-goers and one segment of arts consumers, *Scottish experience tourists.* These tourists accounted for over a quarter of the market. To them may be added those *gallery-goers* uninterested in experimental arts performances. Together these traditionalists represent at most three tenths of the market: a substantial aggre-

gated segment, but clearly a minority. The Festival is overwhelmingly the consumption of the contemporary.

Marketing and Modeling Implications

Three tests of positioning for performing arts were outlined earlier, and the present analysis particularly applied two. The first application considered the extent to which the Festival is attracting non-"landscape and heritage" segments. The Festival was found to be attracting arts segments largely focused on contemporary performing arts, either of an international or Scottish production. As such, it is successfully diversifying the Scottish tourism product, as the more traditional product experiences increased global competition. The implication of this for market-based product development is that the Festival will need to continue to offer a product mix of the international and the Scottish, or it risks losing segments. Nor should the spectacle of the Tattoo be considered the hallmark of the Festival, despite its international prominence.

The second test applied concerned the extent to which the urban and contemporary culture of the Festival was incorporated into the described imaginings about Scotland among participants. Successful repositioning requires changes in imagery to make the exceptional into the generic. The Festival has not achieved this change. Its tourists imagine Scotland and its culture in very traditional ways, essentially historical and rural in content. The Festival is a minor part of at least their superficial imaginings about Scotland. An explanation is that if the particular focus of consumption is not seen as typical of a wider destination, familiarity with the destination will not necessarily impel changes in how it is imagined. This impels one to refine models of tourism imagery emphasizing familiarity. A task for VisitScotland (the former Scottish Tourist Board) is to seek to change how tourists imagine this destination. The present survey also suggests that this may be possible, as repeat tourists tend to hold less naïve views of Scotland. However, this is no easy challenge, as a substantial commonality of view also holds. Perhaps Scotland is the victim of its past success in promoting a distinctive Highland product image. The analysis gives only limited support for a stance that Festival tourists move from *naïve verisimilitude* to *nuanced verisimilitude* through the process of familiarization either with a particular destination or staging elsewhere. Much greater research attention is needed to understand this process and its determinants, to inform both modeling and marketing.

Traditionally, repeat visitation has been used as a proxy for tourists' loyalty to a destination (Oppermann 2000). However, despite its strong repeat profile, the second largest segment, *serious consumers of international culture*, may be that most easily lost to rival festivals. The loyalty demonstrated is likely to be to the experience of excellence in performing arts, rather than to Edinburgh as a stage for the arts. If an expansion of Scots performances in response to re-invigorated domestic interest in Scottishness occurs at the expense of international orchestral performances, the loss of this repeat market is possible. Dou-

bly so, as arts festivals have now been developed in many European cities, and music and dance are international in the sense that they do not depend upon language proficiency, in contrast to drama. The Festival succeeds through its intensity, excellence and reputation, not that it is unique. The Festival product developed by the Scottish tourism industry is subject to increasing international competition.

The serious tourists attracted may be akin to Selänniemi's (1994, 1997) tourists: buying time and enjoyment in an essentially placeless world. Such a characterization needs further investigation, however, for the Festival may be greater than its current content alone. After Bruner (1999), it may be a "site of memories", of affective recollections. As sincerity through meeting locals as an intention is unimportant, such inter-personal memories are likely to focus on other tourists met in Edinburgh. If so, partial place-*attachment* (via tourist friends) rather than *placelessness* is implied. However, the potential of a Selänniemi-like interpretation also affects the largest segment, *Scots performing arts attenders*. Intention to consume does not describe this group, rather consumption of what is on offer. This segment may be mobile, as other European cities can offer a feeling of ethnicity to tourists largely unconcerned with where they are going so long as a desire to consume the diversity of European culture is met. These tourists may be characterized as Ooi's (2002) *versatile tourists*, utilizing a repertoire of social behaviors in response to mediated consumption opportunities.

The present study has important implications for how one seeks to measure the effectiveness of repositioning and how to conceptualize composite product offerings. The segments derived are clearly specific to the Edinburgh Festival at a particular stage in its development. However, they not only offer insights for similar festivals in heritage townscapes, particularly the relatively discrete consumption styles, but also a methodology. The latter impels attention to multiple uses of the same space. If locally grounded, the methodology is transferable. More importantly, the methodology includes both expectations and engagement, and thereby extends beyond engagement alone in measuring effectiveness. In so doing, it remedies frequent weaknesses in assessment focused only on engagement.

The recognition of multiple audiences potentially extends into conceptualization, how one thinks of festivals. The Festival is foremost a composite experiential product, consumed by an elite with international tastes, seeking gregariousness, excellence, and familiarity. Interpreting attractions as sets of activity opportunities, the Festival has acquired characteristics of a destination in its own right, in part removed from that of the historical city other than as setting and the offer of Scottishness. It is a polyphony of attractions, individually competing, but offering opportunities for joint consumption through the sheer range and volume of performances on offer. It may be regarded as an "experience theater, in imaginary space into which tourists enter and through which they negotiate a physical and conceptual path" (Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1994:449). It is permanent in the sense that it is recurrent, but not generally imagined even by its tourists as part of the host country's identity or culture. Authenticity as verisi-

militude is achieved through meeting tourists' expectations about what a place looks and feels like. Authenticity through involvement (and ultimately through reflexivity) requires a different product mix. If festivals are considered as destinations, one needs to understand how performing arts festivals (quite literally staged productions) are felt to be real by their participants, and for marketing, by different segments. Questions on authenticity need now to focus on who uses it, why it is used, and what it is used for (Meethan 2001). In particular, how much does actual location matter? For those seeking an arts essentialism, how does the ethnicity of the location matter? For those seeking an ethnic essentialism, how do contemporary arts affect the realization of this search? For the latter tourists, what, if any, are the tensions between familiarity and strangerhood? Indeed, how important is the particular ethnicity of a destination? In marketing terms, how do the symbol-systems of tourists differ between segments? Thinking of festivals as destinations not only sets a research direction, it has great practical application in defining the unique selling points of particular festivals. ∎

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