The Heritage of Festivities

Catherine M. Matheson
Caledonian Business School
Glasgow Caledonian University
Glasgow, UK

Abstract: As host communities seek to enhance and diversify their attractions base through the creation and development of festivities, there is a need for a conceptual underpinning to the nature and character of these events. This paper offers a theoretical overview of the heritage of festivities by tracing their chronological development, from the medieval to the modern day. Bakhtin's classic theorisation of festivity within traditional and medieval society, which is the precursor to their modern equivalent, is subject to critical examination. With reference to modern events, Rojek's thesis of Modernity 1 and 2 is drawn upon. In addition, key stages in the changing shape of modern festivities are identified and attention is paid to the changing face of tourism demand and the meaning of the tourism commodification process. Finally, the implications of tourism and festivity-based empirical research are noted. It is proposed that tourism processes reflect broader social changes within society and the consumption of festivities offers insights into identity creation, thereby contributing to an understanding of the arena of tourist lifestyles.

Keywords: Festivity, tourism, medieval, modern.

Introduction

Festivities are often interpreted as an integral part of the human existence given their relationship to 'play' dimensions of life. These festivities can assume various guises in their production and representation of cultural and geographical contexts. Immersing oneself, however ephemerally, in festivities can offer a sense of release from everyday existence. The individual may be released from social mores and hierarchical boundaries (Bakhtin, 1968). Sociability and participation can form the backbone to the festival experience and the way the individual participates offers insights into the inner structures and workings of a society (Gilmore, 1998). Festivities may encapsulate the identity of a place and its people and a people's participation in an event, therefore, has the potential to affirm or reject the identities conveyed. However, entrepreneurial pressures can threaten the authenticity of such emblematic moments of identity and, in this context, the tourism commodification process brings to light tensions regarding the culture and enterprise relationship.

Although there is a body of literature exploring not only the relationship between tourism and festivity, from a production and consumption perspective (Bossen, 2000; Green, 2002; Jeong & Santos, 2004; Saleh & Ryan, 1993), and theorizations that have endeavoured to ground the nature and meanings of festivities (Bakhtin, 1968, 1984; Turner, 1974, 1982, 1983a, 1983b, 1984), there remains scope for a conceptual offering pertaining to the development of festivities. As host communities seek to enhance and diversify their attractions base through the creation and development of festivities, and there is evidence to suggest that they act as a stimulant to the tourism market (Getz, 1991;

Prentice & Andersen, 2003), there is a need for a conceptual underpinning to the nature and character of these events. This paper seeks to offer a theoretical overview of the heritage of festivities by tracing their chronological development, from the medieval to the modern day. Hence, Bakhtin's (1968, 1984) classic theorisation of festivity within traditional and medieval society, which is the precursor to their modern equivalent, is subject to critical examination. With reference to modern events, Rojek's (1995) thesis of Modernity 1 and 2 is drawn upon. In addition, key stages in the changing shape of modern festivities are identified and attention is paid to the changing face of tourism demand and the meaning of the tourism commodification process. Finally, the implications of tourism and festivity-based empirical research are noted. It is proposed that tourism processes reflect broader social changes within society and the consumption of festivities offers insights into identity creation, thereby contributing to an understanding of the arena of tourist lifestyles.

Bakhtin and Medieval Festivities

The Bakhtin Circle of Russian thought focused their intellectual talents upon the philosophy of culture with Bakhtin at the helm. Signification in social life and artistic creation and, more specifically, the way in which language registered conflicts between social groups was a particular focus of study within the group (Brandist, 2001). A substantive portion of Bakhtin's work was embedded within the realms of literary theory, but his articulation of the concepts of heteroglossia (different languages in a discourse), dialogism (power relations within language), polyphony (multiple voices in texts), chronotype (time-space) and the carnivalesque (disruption of the social order and the profane) have extended far beyond that (Vice, 1997). Such has been the influence of these concepts, given their application and relevance to the contemporary world, that they have permeated film, post-structuralist, post-colonial, (ibid.), psychoanalytic, linguistic and literary theory. The role of tourism in mediating cultures and, more particularly, in mediating cultural performances provides an opportunity to examine Bakhtin's conceptualisation of the carnivalesque. For example, in the sense of whether there remains an inversion of the social order in those contemporary festivities that are subject to tourism commodification. There is evidence to suggest that the concept of the carnivalesque has been used in contemporary studies of festivities (Eco, 1984; Kates & Belk, 2001; Gilmore, 1998; Waite, 1998), but the application of Bakhtin to tourism and festivities is an area that has largely been left unrealised. Certainly there are particular difficulties in doing so, not least of which, is the application of the medieval to the modern, but Ooi (2002) has made considerable inroads towards an application of Bakhtin's dialogic approach to tourism studies. At this juncture, one must first outline the key tenets of Bakhtin's theory in relation to medieval festivities and the carnivalesque.

Rabelais' mythicised literary history of medieval festivities provided Bakhtin (1968) with a platform from which he could explore his conceptualisation of the carnivalesque. A clear distinction was made between festivities that either challenged or affirmed the existing order. Official festivities in the Middle Ages strove to legitimate and reaffirm the existing order of the day and sought to assert "all that was stable, unchanging, perennial: the existing hierarchy, the existing religious, political and moral values, norms and prohibitions" (Bakhtin, 1968: 9). In the production of festivities, histories were put to use within the carnival frame of reference in an effort to sanction the regime. The celebratory and spontaneous spirit of festivities was strictly controlled by the organising powers and, in such circumstances, the freedom to engage in participatory social relations was severely curtailed. The reason being that the fundamental purpose of these festivities was not to celebrate, but rather to maintain and reinforce the hierarchical structures in place. Bakhtin was sharply critical of these official, ecclesiastical, feudal and political festivities due to the restrictions placed upon them and the concomitant consequences upon participation. He argued that "the true nature of festivity was betrayed and distorted" (ibid: 9) for they did not create a "second life" for the people, the second life that was based around celebration and participation. Such an interpretation stands up to critique up to a point. One can hardly dispute his proposition that political festivities had the potential to preserve hierarchical structures and curtail the celebratory aspects of festivity for the purposes of social order. However, within the orbit of ecclesiastical festivities the situation is quite different, medieval festivities notwithstanding. Central to many religious festivals (e.g. pilgrimage to Mecca) is the opportunity to participate within a group and engage in authentic social relations with others, albeit within a different framework. Moreover, within such festivities there is the potential for a 'second life', but a different second life to the type that Bakhtin outlined, for this is not based according to an inversion of social order but rather of a second life in terms of the devout communing with the Divine Other.

It was those festivities that were the incarnation of play that Bakhtin devoted considerable attention and which are particularly significant within the current frame of reference. Celebrants had opportunity aplenty to overthrow the existing power structures and revel in the freedom that was thence accorded to them. Both Church and State temporarily suspended their regulatory powers and made concessions to the populace. Central to Bakhtin's arguments was that festivities were "the second life of the people, who for a time entered the utopian realm of community, freedom, equality and abundance" (1968: 9). Liberation, in the duration of the carnivalesque, was embodied in the structure of social relations. The participatory nature of festivities meant there was no division between performers and spectators. All were involved and all lived

the carnival experience for the duration as carnivalistic life was "life turned inside out" (1984: 122). Liberation extended to the rank and distance between people and resulted in free and familiar contact among all.

Structures governing everyday life were suspended. Hierarchical boundaries and their associated mores and symbolic codes of conduct were no longer adhered to but rejected. Within the carnival environment a sense of familiarity in attitude, the carnivalistic mésalliances, developed. The suspension of existing hierarchical structures and the change in social relations encouraged the development of violent comic images. Popular festive images were littered with violence, for example, bloodshed, dismemberment, burning, beatings, deaths, blows and curses and, on the surface, this had humorous connotations, but at another level, these images were infused with deep meaning. The deep meaning of these images arose from their relationship to what Bakhtin termed "merry time" (ibid: 211). Merry time was essentially regenerative time in the sense that the old could not be maintained and the new and youthful were self-generating. It was a time of death and regeneration. For example, images of death and uncrowning were linked to birth and renewal. Regeneration was related to death of the old. Popular festive images were a way of understanding the nature of reality and illustrating the process of its meaning and direction. Violence was part of Bakhtin's festive imagery and has the potential to be borne into realisation with explosive tendencies. Gilmore's (1998) ethnography of Andalusian festivities invokes the modern equivalent of the aggressive spirit whereby it was instigated against the authorities and peer group deviance. The power of the people in play can be recognised and acted upon by the state and a case in point is the Spanish Franco regime which banned carnival in 1937.

For Bakhtin, playful celebrations were authentic and unfettered expressions of intense emotion and sociability. Unhindered by regulatory forces, and free movement and participation for all contributed to a spontaneity in celebration. The authenticity of festivities centred around their structure, organisation, and the social relations that participants engaged in. The individual was part of a group in the mass of carnival attendees and, to an extent, lost a sense of the individual self while part of the group self (Bakhtin, 1968). However, the spirit of the carnivalesque was not exclusive to carnivals as they were also to be found during private family occasions (ibid.). As to their longevity, Bakhtin suggested that the carnivalesque spirit was indestructible. Though the spirit of festivities was subject to change ultimately it could not disappear altogether. Festivities offered a temporary respite from a utilitarian attitude and society and a release into a utopian realm (ibid.).

Bakhtin (1968) identified a number of features that characterised playful festivities. Their roots lay within ancient pagan festivities which were agrarian

in character, however, some forms of festivity were linked to feasts of the Church. Festivities enabled the celebrant to embark on a process of self-actualisation, albeit temporarily, as regeneration of the self and nature was at the heart of these activities. Indeed, change and renewal of the self was both welcomed and celebrated. Folk culture was expressed in three distinct forms during the carnivalesque. First, ritual spectacles that comprised of carnival pageants and comic shows of the marketplace. Second, the use of comic verbal compositions within festivities meant that humour was invariably directed at the upper stratum of society and the sources of power, namely the Church and State. Third, various types of what Bakhtin termed as billingsgate, which referred to curses and oaths.

The aforesaid unquestionably contributed to the shape and character of festivities but perhaps one of the underpinning characteristics of festivities was their relation to time, whether it was through an event in the natural cycle, or a period of historical or biological significance. The relationship between festivities and the cosmic cycle signalled a move to the future whereby the regeneration of nature and the self was intertwined with the change in seasons. Carnival time also signalled that it was a time of freedom for the participants, a time where all could participate and the boundaries, implicit and explicit among people, was suspended for the duration. The distinction between actual time and the meaning of time is developed and elaborated upon by Foley and Lennon (2003) in their conceptualisation of 'chronos' and 'chairos'. The former is related to the measurement of time and the latter to the experience of time. Hence, to apply such a conceptualisation to Bakhtin it may be suggested that the chronos relates to the actual cosmic cycle whereas the chairos denotes the suspension of order. To do so, illustrates the multi-faceted nature of conceptions of time and the way in which it may be deployed. A further dimension of the relationship between time and festivities is the way in which it can be commodified. In a study based upon the 'night-time economy' and the Edinburgh Hogmanay Street Party, Hughes (1999) argues that the extent and depth of festivity promotion has become such that time is subject to increasing commodification. In this capacity, the actual temporal sign (e.g. Hogmanay) and period is commodified to the extent that it is divorced and removed from its original signifying value. He goes to argue that to "relate something as seemingly superficial as a 'party', to cosmic time, is a reflection on the extent to which we have emptied these occasions of their ritual and mystical depth rather the absence of their cosmic origins. All we are left with today are the visual signifiers and decorative artefacts of earlier ritualistic practice – such as feasting and drinking at Christmas and the practice of exchanging greeting cards and presents" (ibid: 129). Hence, while the relationship between time and festivities is incontrovertible, the actual shape and character of this relationship is far removed from that discussed by Bakhtin,

in the sense that the meanings attached to it are subject to commodification forces which has implications for its meaning and significance.

Hence, the pertinence of Bakhtin's work is that it is not only a classic in the field, thereby warranting attention, but in addition it offers a theoretical framework to the realms of festivities. Given that his theorisation is located within medieval and traditional societies it can offer insights into the precursor to their modern equivalent and, furthermore, provide a platform to examine the development of contemporary festivities. Certainly, those festivities that are free from regulatory forces can be seductively liberating for their participants. In the midst of festivities that are infused with a sense of play, the hierarchical and social structures that govern society are temporarily suspended, thereby ensuring that all can socialise and participate freely. These are immensely powerful concepts to behold as one is entering into the realms of utopia - a utopia of egalitarianism and community spirit. For a fleeting moment power, status and class are inconsequential within the festival environment and this freedom accords its participants with a quintessentially sociable and participatory experience.

Nevertheless, there are certain limitations with Bakhtin's thesis. Bakhtin was inherently dismissive of ritualistic festivities that were subject to official manipulation. The restrictions placed on such festivities distorted and confounded their innate authenticity to the point of it becoming irrecoverable. The actual experience of ritual festivities became inauthentic as a result. The limitations and restraints placed upon both the event and participants meant the ability to participate freely was restricted, to the extent that participants were unable to pursue and engage in authentic social relations with others. In essence, there was no 'second life' for the people. Perhaps one interpretation of this could be that Bakhtin equated the manipulation of festivities as inauthentic, thereby contributing to an inauthentic experience for the self, and equated the spontaneous, free-flowing festivities as authentic thereby leading to authentic experiences for the self. There are particular flaws with such a proposition, particularly when one turns to ritual pilgrimages and the authentically social experience for their participants and, to a lesser extent, within political rituals.

Undoubtedly, the political manipulation of festivities alters the experience. However, this is not quite enough to support the argument that the politicisation of rituals negates their authenticity. In times of peace, participants may not fully recognise the ideological significance of events. It is at times of social conflict that it becomes visible. The politicisation of rituals does not necessarily detract from the fact that participants can resist the ideological claims of an event by pursuing an authentically social experience. Further, there is evidence aplenty to suggest that ritual pilgrimages can be utilised as a means for the authenticity of the self. For example, Turner (1974) maintained that in embarking on a pilgrimage the individual had opportunity aplenty to

engage in authentic social relations with others. Individuals pay homage to a Divine and genuine Other for whom they make this pilgrimage. The intention being to satisfy a question for existential inner or outer liberation. Pilgrimages to Lourdes, France by those who are physically incapacitated and/or seek internal solace would testify to this. In the midst of this, pilgrims engage in the social bonds of the communitas. Hence, pilgrims seek authentic liberation of the self and to participate in authentically social relations with others, all of which is intertwined with the authenticity of the experience.

To relate to Bakhtin's proposition, the relationship between external pressures and festivities, one must reflect upon his position for purposes of conceptualisation. It may well be significant that Bakhtin was influenced by the political regime in place at the time, the Stalinist dictatorship. Immense pressures were placed upon the personal and public lives of the people and, it is in this context, that Bakhtin must be understood and placed. There are commentators who suggest this thesis means something else altogether, "it is very tempting to see Rabelais as a dangerous joke at the expense of the Soviet authorities, and that it is they who are being lampooned obliquely when Bakhtin describes . . . medieval culture" (Vice, 1997: 151).

Bakhtin's assertion that all may participate freely within the play frames of festivity is debatable in the modern context. Although there is ample evidence to support the contention that hierarchical social structures are suspended during festivities (Boissevain, 1992c; Konrad, 1983; Walens, 1982; Da Matta, 1984), the cessation of structures does not function in all scenarios. Festival structures can replicate traditional gender roles (Lavenda, 1983) and the boundaries between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' in the community (Crain, 1996). In these situations, although they are firmly located within play frames they can serve to affirm the prevailing order.

Thus, it is evident from the aforesaid that the festivities literature is littered with concepts of 'ritual' and 'play'. What is notable is that these concepts can all be applied to the field of tourism. Elements of tourism indisputably focus upon play, play frames that are central to tourism, and act as a respite from the ritual and the order in one's life. In relation to ritual, MacCannell (1976) argued that tourism has become a ritual within contemporary society whereby there is a quest to escape from modernity and seek something else, the authentic. While this illustrates the value of the aforesaid theories and its applicability to the frame of reference, one must reiterate that the festivities discussed by Bakhtin were based in medieval and traditional societies. Such festivities are the precursor to their modern equivalent. However, the nature and character of festivities have been subject to change within modernity, and to enable an understanding of this transition Rojek's (1995) conceptualisation of Modernity 1 and 2 can usefully be employed in situating and place the tourism commodification process regarding festivity.

Modernity, Festivals and Tourism

The move to an industrial and capitalist modern society invariably had an impact upon the nature of the carnivalesque. Indeed, under modernity festivities became much more controlled. The carnivalesque play frames that Bakhtin described were based upon temporary insurrection in that they could act as a safety valve for the people. Under modernity, festivities became increasingly subject to order. Rojek (1995) differentiates between Modernity 1 and 2. Although these concepts can be separated on a theoretical basis, Rojek argues that these processes are in fact interdependent. Modernity 1 was based on order and Modernity 2 centred on disorder. He argues that "in the name of 'progress', Modernity 1 sought to control both nature and society. This involved prioritising certain personality types and spaces in the social and geographical landscape and annexing others. The ideology of Modernity 1 identified normality with white, Christian, work-centred and propertied attitudes . . . [It] called upon individuals to commit themselves to a particular kind of self-making. The self was organised as a machine to accumulate value from leisure as well as work, and to consume commodities and 'civilised' experience" (ibid: 56). Hence, leisure was firmly linked to order, both order of a people and the activities in which they engaged in as it is was part of the modern social order and inextricably intertwined with the civilising influence and morality. Leisure became related to progress and 'deviant' behaviour was marginalised. Consequently, the carnivalesque was suppressed under Modernity 1 for it was a visible and tangible symbol of obstruction to the power of the state. In addition, they were sites of disorder and irrationality, as the festivities that Bakhtin described threatened the social order and celebrated disorder and chaos. Rojek (ibid.) suggests that specific elements of the carnivalesque were pushed to the periphery of society, namely entertainment and freak shows, for these were not aspects of leisure that could usefully promote the civilising influence.

Modernity 2 occurred simultaneously to Modernity 1. "Modernity 1's attempt to arrange the rational differentiation of society generated irresistible de-differentiating tendencies. Modernity 2 should be understood basically in terms of a process of de-differentiation" (ibid: 101-102). This can be understood as a reaction arising from the social pressures of Modernity 1 and resulting in a degree of conflict. Thus, in such scenarios, the demonisation and repression of the carnivalesque under Modernity 1 contributed to their glamorisation and continued appeal. It is within these simultaneous forces, Modernity 1 and 2, that one can understand the commodification and consumption of festivities for such processes are a central and fundamental element of capitalist modern society. Ultimately, in the modern context, the shape and character of festivities was substantively altered as a consequence of the scope of civilising influences.

Furthermore, their commodification within capitalist society is in part due to the tourism commodification process as illustrated in the following discussion.

Historically, festivities in traditional society were primarily intertwined with the agrarian cycle. The demands placed upon agricultural workers were physically taxing, and, consequently, festivities usually took place following the completion of a major agricultural task (e.g. harvesting). For a brief period, agricultural communities were liberated from their commitments and had the opportunity to engage in sociable activities whereby affirmation of both community and culture was central to the event (Rolfe, 1992). Festivities continued to take place on a seasonal basis long after links with the agrarian calendar had ceased (Abrahams, 1982). Boissevain (1992a) elucidates upon the decline of European festivities following World War Two in an edited collection of ethnographic texts. Migration and the concomitant loss of festive manpower, increasing secularisation, and agricultural industrialisation were influential factors in their decline (Boissevain, 1992b). For example, Cruces and de Rada (1992) identified a number of minor religious festivities linked with the liturgical calendar (April-June) that had either disappeared or were in decline as a result of secularisation and changes within the Spanish agricultural economy.

However, this period of decline was relatively short-lived as new celebrations have been created and older ones revived in both industrialised and developing countries (Manning, 1983). This is contrary to received academic wisdom whereby it was suggested that in addition to the aforesaid factors, the rationalisation of production, mobility, mass media and liturgical reforms of the Vatican would have an adverse impact upon public festivities. Instead, festivities contain elements of invention, revival, resurrection and retraditionalisation (Boissevain, 1992b). Boissevain (ibid.) argued that festivals may be revitalised via a revival and resurrection of earlier traditions or they may be subject to a restructuring process of retraditionalisation to make them seem more authentic. At the core of festivity renewal is an element of the invention of tradition whereby customs are constructed and institutionalised for authentication purposes.

Explaining the growth in European festivity is problematic. The cause of their decline is well-documented and given that festivities have been subject to wide ranging and long-term external influences, a further decline may have been anticipated. However, a series of multi-faceted factors can be drawn upon to offer sustenance to the debate. First, the social costs of modernity are readily recognisable and festivities proffer an opportunity to recover something of the alienated self and react against homogenising forces of globalisation and consumption. In moments of play, however ephemeral, participants can regain a sense of community and belonging (Boissevain, 1992b), or, may engage in what Turner (1974) terms the spontaneous communitas. Second, the desire to

engage in sociable activities may be unquenchable and Bakhtin (1968) argued that the carnival spirit was essentially indestructible. Third, festivities may act as a means to reaffirm and rejuvenate social identities (Poppi, 1992). Finally, the resurrection, rejuvenation or indeed creation of festivities may also be seen as part of the commodification process, which is central to the modernity that Rojek (1995) discussed. In this regard, the commodification process through tourism has a direct impact upon the creation and reinvention of such events.

That this is the case can be attributed to the changes in the tourism product. The 1960s was characterised by a sun, sea and sand orientated tourism product within Europe, which by its very structure and mode of activity entailed a range of potentially detrimental environmental, economic, social and cultural issues that are well rehearsed (Britton, 1982; Cohen, 1978; Crick, 1989; Greenwood, 1989) within tourism studies. The maturing of the tourism product has since entailed significant segmentation. Increasing attention has been paid to both alternative tourism (Ryan, 2002; Smith, 1994; Weaver, 1995) and cultural tourism. With respect to the latter, commentators have noted that since the 1980s, cultural tourism has been considered a growth area (Craik, 1997; Richards, 1996a; Smith, 2003). Richards (1996b: 24) offers a conceptual definition of cultural tourism, "the movement of persons to cultural attractions away from their normal place of residence, with the intention to gather new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs". For host communities, such a trend can be interpreted as beneficial given that these modes of tourism do not entail the equivalent detrimental impacts associated with mass tourism and, moreover, tend to be undertaken by higher socio-economic groups (Craik, 1997; Richards, 1996c) thereby offering particular economic rewards. These changes in tourism demand, in the form of cultural tourism and alternative tourism, also reflect wider social changes within society whereby greater emphasis is paid to cultural consumption, most especially to cultural activities that relate to stylised modes of living as a means of self-making (Featherstone, 1991). In this regard, the demand for cultural tourism activities relates to the mobilisation of consumer identity choices. Within the broad arena of cultural tourism, festivities and events act as one particular type of attraction that are subject to tourism commodification. For host destinations, the benefits of investing in events are multi-faceted. Getz (1991) suggests that events may be used as a means of contributing to sustainable forms of tourism development, act as an animator for attractions and facilities, expand the tourist season and place of destination, contribute to image-making in the destination, and act as a catalyst for urban regeneration. With regard to urban renewal, there is evidence aplenty to suggest that events are employed as a place marketing strategy and to stimulate the local economy and create employment for regeneration purposes (Evans, 2001; Gomez, 1998; Harcup, 2000; Hughes, 1995). However, the tourism commodification process brings

to the fore a set of circumstances relating to its impact upon the product and experience.

"'Commodification' refers, literally, to the extension of the commodity form to goods and services that were not previously commodified" (Jackson, 1999: 96). The commodification process is contentious and emotive due to the alleged deleterious impacts upon the authenticity of the cultural product and experience. In specific terms, questions have arisen as to whether commodification pressures have altered or squeezed the authentic carnivalesque spirit from events. Broadly, two interpretations of such processes may be delineated. The conventional wisdom suggests that tourism commodification pressures may render the cultural product inauthentic and the social relations therein. In this regard, host communities commodify their culture for economic gain. So seductive is the allure of tourism commodification that host communities commodify their festivities for economic gain (Boissevain, 1996) and the celebrant is unable to negotiate through commodified festivities and experiences a meaningless facet of local culture. Within such a scenario, the very authenticity that MacCannell (1973, 1976) argued tourists were desirous of attaining in the backstage region of social space - partaking of authentic social relations - is thwarted. However, alternative commentators have drawn upon post-modern theory to provide a counterpoint to conventional constructions of the commodification process. It is suggested that the individual is not a passive dupe of consumer society and that leisure and tourism roles can relate to practices of self-making, in realising the existentially authentic experience (Hughes, 1995; Wang, 1999). Certainly, cultural rituals can maintain their authenticity within the tourism commodification process (Daniel, 1996; Halewood & Hannam, 2001) and, furthermore, the possibility for the authentic experience can remain intact (Matheson, 2004).

Finally, the tourism commodification process in relation to festivities offers the potential delineation of a set of interlocked social and cultural factors. At one level, commodification illustrates the tensions between culture and enterprise. These tensions are not readily remedied and debates pertaining to commodification are likely to continue, particularly as host communities endeavour to widen their attraction base. At a more fundamental level, the commodification of festivities and, more particularly, the demand for cultural products relates to the negotiation and creation of identities and modes of lifestyle consumption. In this context, one may surmise that tourism reflects broader social changes within society. In general, one may reflect upon an increasingly secular society whereby politics and religion has less purchase. Further, consumption, both in terms of its economic and social functions, relates to identity structures, and their creation and maintenance. Leisure and tourism capitalises upon such an orientation towards consumption whereby consumers look to the marketplace to satisfy an increasingly broad range of

needs and desires. Commentators have sought to emphasis the role of tourism as a ritual and contemporary enactment of pilgrimage (MacCannell, 1973, 1976) and such ideas are encapsulated in the various manifestations of tourist lifestyles through the tourism markets. The increasing emphasis upon the cultural and environmental aspects of host destinations offers a way to understand what such consumers are seeking for in their identity construction and, therefore, relates to the broad arena of lifestyle marketing. Such an area warrants further empirical research and is one that can offer inroads into the demands of lifestyle consumers, thereby contributing to strategic development and innovations in the tourism product.

Conclusion

In sum, this paper has outlined the heritage of festivities with regard to the medieval and modern event. Bakhtin's theorisation of medieval festivities has been outlined and subject to critical review. His exposition is fundamentally situated within medieval and traditional societies thereby entailing certain limitations. Although it is possible to draw links between the traditional festivities that Bakhtin describes to their modern counterparts, it would be foolhardy to apply these theorisations to the contemporary given the timeframe involved. This is not to dismiss his theory in its entirety for the value of Bakhtin lies within the historical contextualisation and conceptualisation of festivities. Moreover, it offers a platform from which one may frame and base the study of festivity. In an attempt to address these challenges attention has been paid to Rojek's (1995) theory of modernity. This offers a means by which one can understand the transition to modernity and the concomitant impacts upon festivity, namely the tourism commodification process. In this regard, phases in festivity development and the relationship to the tourism product and commodification process are outlined. The implications of tourism and festivity empirical research in relation to the tourism product are also considered. Finally, the implications of an analysis of the heritage of festivities are twofold. First, the competitiveness of the tourism industry, as demonstrated by the multi-faceted nature of tourism demand and, the very diversification of the tourism product, necessitates a greater understanding of the culture of tourism practices. An increased emphasis upon cultural tourism, of which festivities are an integral element, is but one manifestation of the changing shape of tourism demand and, in this context, has significance for tourism producers. In this context, the heritage of festivities offers one particular avenue to comprehend the culture of tourism practices. Second, the study of festivities, as Gilmore (1998) noted, offers insights into the inner structure and workings of society. As such, festivities are consumed, in part, as a means of identity creation and, therefore, provide a means by which to comprehend the creation of lifestyles and cultures of consumption.

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About the Author

Dr. Catherine Matheson is a Research Associate with the Division of Media, Culture and Leisure Management at Glasgow Caledonian University, UK. Her research interests include: commodification and consumption of festivities, music and the construction of social identities. Her Doctoral research centred upon the meaning and significance of authenticity in relation to its mediation and consumption within a Celtic music festival framework.