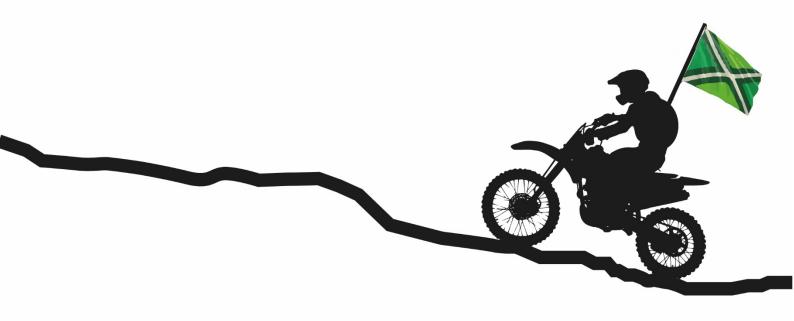
The Social-Cultural Impacts of a Festival and the Development of Regional Identity

A Case Study of the Zwarte Cross





COLOPHON

Title: "The Social-Cultural Impacts of a Festival and the Development

of Regional Identity: A Case Study of the Zwarte Cross"

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ABSTRACT

Festivals are incubators for collective identities and place-bound connections. In order to ensure long-term viability of a festival, the organizers have to be aware of the social-cultural impacts they produce on the host community. This research applies qualitative methods in order to add greater methodological diversity to the predominantly quantitative existing body of research on social-cultural impacts. This thesis investigates the social-cultural impacts of the Zwarte Cross festival on the identity of its host community, the Achterhoek region in the Netherlands. This research aims to grasp social-cultural impacts through social capital theory. A triangulation of the research methods observation, semi-structured interviews and documentary analysis has been conducted in order to answer the main research question. The findings indicated positive social-cultural impacts that contributed to the diversity and pride of the region.

Keywords: Social-cultural impacts, festivals, regional identity, social capital, Zwarte Cross, Achterhoek

[1] Introduction

1.1 Background

March 2020 marked an abrupt halt in the rise and expansion of the festival industry in the Netherlands where until recently, the number and attendance of festivals saw a steadily increasing trend (van Dijke, 2019). Likewise, the popularity of the Zwarte Cross festival had been on a continuous rise (figure 1.1), with the upcoming edition having sold out their 220.000 available tickets within a mere 30 minutes (Vermeer, 2019). However, the organisation of festivals has been put on hold until further notice due to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic (Rijksoverheid, 2021). Their absence poses an excellent opportunity to reflect on the implications that festivals have on their host communities, as long-term success is fragile, particularly in the turbulent times of a pandemic (Armbrecht et al., 2021).

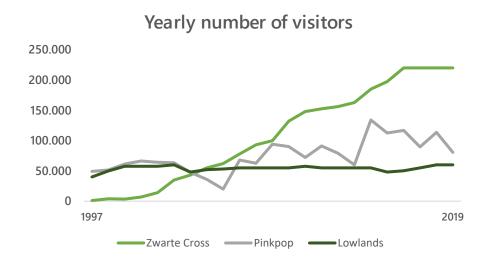


Figure 1.1: Yearly number of visitors (based on: Kersten, 2016; Pinkpop, 2019; Zwarte Cross, 2021)

Even if a festival has proven to be economically viable and successful, festival success is dependent on social-cultural factors such as community support and the central involvement of actors, especially in rural or nonmetropolitan areas (Dinaburgskaya & Ekner, 2010; Gibson et al., 2010; Pavlukovic et al., 2017; Small, 2007). Conversely, festivals can have negative social-cultural implications, such as loss of traditional values and identity, in order to meet the needs of an increasing pool of visitors (Getz, 1997; Douglas et al., 2001; Small et al., 2005). Here, festival growth can be linked with commercialisation, which leads to loss of community support and participation, both of which are of key importance for festival success (Beasly, 2014). Hence, there is a vital need to assess social-cultural impacts of a festival for the event organizers in order to optimize opportunities and eliminate threats (Small & Edwards, 2003; Small, 2007; Deery et al., 2012). This is particularly the case for festivals where research on social-cultural impacts is scarce or non-existent, such as the Zwarte Cross.

The majority of festival research has been focused regarding economic implications (Litvin et al., 2013; Small et al., 2005; Wilson et al., 2017; Wood, 2009) or the profile of the festival audience (Arcodia & Whitford, 2007; Wilks, 2011). However, there is a steady increase in recognition for other factors, such as social-cultural implications (O'Sullivan & Jackson, 2002). To guide further research in the festival domain, Wilson et al. (2017) developed a daunting research agenda. They urged for further research on measuring the social impact of festivals on

their host communities. The quantitative focus from previous social impact research has led to a narrow understanding of the issues surrounding social-cultural impacts (Deery et al., 2012). This is due to the fact that social-cultural impacts are always context dependent and will vary from festival to festival, which means that they cannot easily be quantified (Small et al., 2005). Hence, it is of importance to expand the amount of research on the social-cultural impacts of festivals within the context of their host community. Special attention should be devoted to the collective identity of the organizing community, as festivals can function as important mechanisms through which collective identities and place-bound connections can submerge (Quinn & Wilks, 2013). Empirical explorations of sense of community and identity have been common in a range of literature, but not on festivals (Sirianni & Sabbagh, 2020).

1.2 Research Problem

In order to tighten the research gap on the social-cultural impacts of festivals and the formation of identity, the aim of this research therefore will be to assess and determine the importance of the social-cultural impacts of the Zwarte Cross festival on the identity of the Achterhoek region. Consequently, this research adopts the following research question:

How do the social-cultural impacts of the Zwarte Cross festival influence the identity of the Achterhoek?

The following sub-questions have been constructed in order to answer the main research question:

- What constitutes the identity of the Achterhoek?
- What are the social-cultural impacts of the Zwarte Cross?
- How is the Zwarte Cross perceived in the Achterhoek?

1.3 Reader's Guide

This Bachelor thesis is comprised of six chapters. In chapter two, the core concepts of the research will be defined and elaborated. Chapter three describes the applied research methodology. The fourth chapter will present the research results for of the case study. Conclusions and an answer to the research question will be drawn in chapter five. The last chapter will both discuss the findings as compared to existing literature, as well as provide a reflection on the research process and a recommendation for future research.

[2] THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Festivals

Festivals are a distinct sub-category of events. Specifically, festivals go beyond a pure entertainment and revenue generating activity, since they originate as a collective celebration of social-cultural dimensions (Gursoy et al., 2004; Rao, 2001; Wilson et al., 2017). This means that festivals have a significant societal aspect, with the involvement of multiple stakeholders and the possibility to reinforce or break communal ties (Finkel, 2010; Rao, 2001; Ziakas, 2016). Festivals are theme based events that generally occur on a regular basis, often times annually (Saleh & Ryan, 1993). As festivals do not take place all-year round, they offer a unique disruption of everyday life (Getz, 1995). Due to the aforementioned reasons, festivals generally have a spatial-temporal character (Getz, 2008). Owing to their spatial-temporal character, festivals are heavily connected to their host community. Not only does the host community provide facilities, co-operating businesses and (public) space for the festival, members of the community are usually a resource in their own right, often in the form of festival volunteers (Dimmock & Tiyce, 2001). The efficacy of local efforts and volunteers depends on their connection and identification with the event (Gursoy et al., 2004; Julien, 2007; Small, 2007). The connection of actors with the festival is largely determined by their participation and involvement with the festival (Gibson et al., 2010) and identification with the theme (Small, 2007). Therefore, the host community consists of key stakeholders in the success of a festival (Song et al., 2014). Hence, the next section will aim to scrutinize the concept of community within this research context.

2.2 Community

Research surrounding the meaning of the phenomenon of community has been widely adopted since the introduction of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* by Tönnies (1887). As the concept of community has been subject to research and debate for many decades, not a single, unambiguous definition can be constructed (Small, 2007). Instead, a community is a social construct defined in the literature by three distinct characteristics, namely geographical location, social interaction and common ties (Reid, 2003; Small, 2007).

Inherent to the concept of community is that it serves as a generalized bond between individuals of the community due to connections and social interaction on the basis of a common denominator, such as race, ethnicity or religion, or mutual interests such as profession or hobby (James et al., 2012; Wilkinson, 1991). These common ties, fostered by mutual interests, encourage members of a community to interact with one another (Small, 2007). Communities are therefore both distinctive nodes and particular modes of social interaction. Geographic proximity functions as an important facilitator of this interaction and cultivation of ties (Small & Adler, 2019). From a spatial perspective, a community is a dynamic and interactive concept, particularly regarding demographic changes (Lager & van Hoven, 2019). Here, a community refers to a bond of a group of people that is created by cohabitation in a more or less confined space (James et al., 2012). Therefore, communities used to be described as a highly local phenomena (Jones et al., 2004). However, the features of a community can nowadays be regarded as applicable on higher levels of abstraction than only the local level, which is especially the case in rural regions without a dominant metropolitan core (Flint et al., 2010). In a non-spatial context, this is also the case for online communities (Baker & Ward, 2002).

For this research, communities are henceforth understood as: dynamic, intangible entities of generalized bonds and social interaction between members based on common ties and spatial proximity.

2.3 Identity

For the formation of a coherent community, it is of vital importance that an individual recognizes themselves as being part of said community (Council of Europe, 2001). In regards to a community, the identity of the individual and the community should form a match. The importance of this notion of identity is highlighted in this section.

Regional or communal identity involves a cognitive and emotional relationship of individuals or groups bound within a specific geographic locality (Paasi, 2011). When an individual identifies with others, their own identity is self-reframed in terms of others' identities (Davis, 2014; Kuo et al., 2021). Indeed, in a broader context, identity is one of the key aspects in distinguishing between individuals, but also between communities and regions (Paasi, 2009). Geographical delineations such as regions are often regarded as repositories of identity (Prokkola et al., 2015). Shared identity at the regional scale can also generate a sense of connection within communities that facilitates development of these communities or the greater region (Flint et al., 2010).

Identity is particularly important in festival research since festivals have the potential to create a living legacy within the host community, taking a step beyond just the memories and immediate heritage of the festival (Brownett, 2018). This living legacy is created by enhancing the existing qualities of the community and stimulating awareness of existing assets and resources. A festival can therefore positively influence the identity of the community (Brownett & Evans, 2020).

2.4 Social-Cultural Impacts

To grasp the definition of social-cultural impacts, the concept has to be dissected into the twin-concepts of Social Impacts and Cultural Impacts. Social impacts are the overarching definition that encompasses all impacts, positive and negative, on the ways and quality of life of a society, which may directly or indirectly result from any program, activity or project, such as a festival (Burdge & Vanclay, 1995; Sharpley & Stone, 2012). Cultural Impacts are changes in the norms, values and beliefs of the host community which shape their individual and communal identity (Sharpley & Stone, 2012). Due to the clear connection between the concepts, they can be jointly considered as social-cultural impacts. For this research, social-cultural impacts are therefore understood as: the development of community identity due to changes in norms, values and beliefs of the host community which may directly or indirectly result from a festival hosted within the community.

As a collective celebration of culture, festivals can put their host community on display, meaning that they have a high potential of creating social-cultural impacts (Small et al., 2005). A number of studies regarding the social-cultural impacts of festivals and festival-like events have been conducted in the past (Delamere, 2001; Delamere et al., 2001; Fredline et al., 2003; Rollins & Delamere, 2007; Small & Edwards, 2003; Small, 2008). These studies focused on developing quantitative scales for social impacts, such as the Festival Social Impact Assessment Scale (Delamare, 2001; Delamare et al., 2001) and the Social Impact Perception Scale (Small et al., 2005). Collectively these studies provide a comprehensive list of effects of festivals on host communities. To assess the meaning of socio-cultural impacts as well as to gain a deeper

understanding, social-cultural impacts have to be assessed via a different approach (Vanclay, 2002). One approach that facilitates this understanding is through social capital theory.

2.5 Social Capital

One way of understanding social-cultural impacts of festivals is through social capital (Arcodia & Whitford, 2007; Misener & Mason, 2006; Wilson et al., 2017). Furthermore, important aspects of identity such as values, beliefs and attitudes share intrinsic commonalities with social capital (Quinn & Wilks, 2013; Small, 2007). Social capital finds its roots in capital theory (Bordieu, 1986). However, adoption of social capital in theoretical frameworks emerged after the expansion of the concept by Putnam (2000, pp.19) as "connections among individuals social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them". In other words, social capital is constructed due to positive social interaction between individuals and within a community. The value of social capital will be increased when capitalised and diminished when not capitalized (Small, 2007). Unlike its economic counterpart, social capital is an intangible good, which is cumulative, transferrable and freely accessible by a community (Portes, 1998; Pret et al., 2015). Furthermore, social capital is not a resource itself, but a vehicle to acquire resources (Arcodia & Whitford, 2007). The value of social capital is expressed as "the resources and other benefits which become available as a result of the networks, bonds, other social ties and trust that exist within a community" (Small, 2007, pp.17). Hence, social capital is clearly grounded in the connectivity of human activity (Arcodia & Whitford, 2007). This can mean insignificant favours like borrowing sugar from a next-door neighbour, or larger benefits such as gaining a job interview due to mutual connections. Putnam (2000) distinguished between two interconnected types of social capital, namely bonding social capital and bridging social capital. This distinction is made due to the fact that social capital both adds value to individuals as well as groups within a community.

Bonding Social Capital

Bonding social capital is concerned with the connection between individuals within homogenous groups and is determined by the factors trust, reciprocity and social norms (Putnam, 2000). In other words, bonding social capital is embedded in the micro (individual) level (Lewis et al., 2013).

Bridging Social Capital

On the other hand, bridging social capital is concerned with the links between individuals of heterogeneous groups within a community (Putnam, 2000). Therefore, bridging social capital is determined by the strength of the networks within the community and is embedded in the meso (community) level (Lewis et al., 2013).

Bridging social capital and bonding social capital are hence mutually dependent, albeit inherently different in conceptualising social capital. The next sections highlight each of the determinants of both bridging- and bonding social capital.

2.5.1 Trust

Trust is considered an essential component in the construction and continued existence of communities (Putnam, 2000; Simpson, 2012). Warren (1999) defines trust as an implicit judgement to accept vulnerability to others by granting them a form of power over goods or individuals. Henceforth, trust is a choice or decision (Messick & Kramer, 2001), relying on a form of dependence on others (Baier, 1994; Holton, 1994). Trust is therefore a form of social

solidarity (Claridge, 2004), and a social construct between individuals (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011). As increased trust therefore leads to an increase in interaction and human connectivity, it is an important determinant of social capital.

2.5.2 Reciprocity

Reciprocity refers to a generally positive continuum of exchange between individuals (Lewis, 2015), where an individual acts similarly upon how is acted towards him (Fehr & Gächter, 2000). Therefore, positive reciprocity can function as an instigator of trust, as a relationship of trust inherits a form of acknowledgement of the trustor's needs and desired outcomes (Konieczna & Robinson, 2014). Within communities, it is often unsure when or whether reciprocity will eventuate, but it still can be expected (Leonard & Onyx, 2004). Since reciprocity can be seen as an instigator of social exchange and is inherently intertwined with trust, it therefore is a key component of social capital.

2.5.3 Social Norms

Social norms function as informal and unwritten guidelines for normal or desired behaviour within a community (Leonard & Onyx, 2004). Social norms can refer to both macro-, meso-and micro levels. Within communities, social norms are in place where there is a high level of trust and reciprocity, as people can be trusted to act upon these social norms and reciprocate common and desired behaviour (Small, 2007). Social norms are hence built upon notions of trust and reciprocity, which make them an important element of social capital.

2.5.4 Social Networks

Social Networks consist of the networks that are made between individuals or groups within a community due to commonality between these individuals or groups (Small, 2007; Marin & Wellman, 2009). Inevitably, social networks are both the outcome and the instigator of interaction (Bennet et al., 2009). It is in the nature of social networks that they both lead to bridging as well as bonding links (Newman & Dale, 2005), and therefore to their corresponding types of capital (Putnam, 2000). As social capital cannot be generated by sole individuals without interaction with others (Onyx & Bullen, 2000), the existence of networks within a community and between individuals are important in constructing social capital.

2.6 Conceptual Model

The conceptual model (Figure 2.1) of the theoretical framework of this research explains the interrelatedness of the concepts on which this research is based. Brownett & Evans (2020) and Brownett (2018) conducted earlier research of festivals and their connection with social capital. Their proposed model for linking the individual to the community by means of festival social capital has been adapted to include both bridging and bonding social capital. The conceptual model shows how involvement and participation in the festival lead to development of both bonding and bridging social capital. The developed social capital acts as a feedback mechanism for the festival, where identification with the festival and the development of social capital facilitate the perception of the festival by the host community.

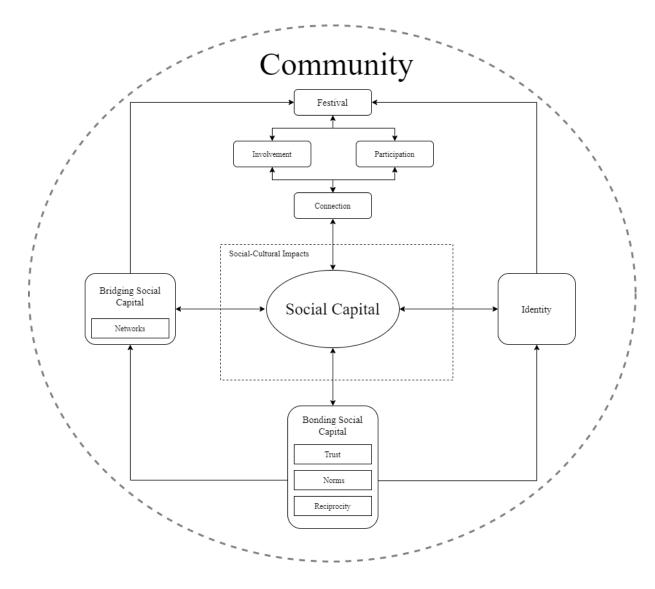


Figure 2.1: Conceptual model (based on: Brownett & Evans, 2020)

[3] METHODOLOGY

To uncover a deeper layer of understanding of the social-cultural impacts of festivals, this research will adopt a qualitative methodology. Qualitative research allows for a meaningful interpretation of variables and a deeper understanding of the complex human behaviour (Black, 1994). With respect to data collection, qualitative data are the primary choice when conducting a case study (Ridder, 2017).

3.1 Case Study

A case study is an excellent way to uncover and interpret complex systems of meanings which are embedded in a unique social-cultural context. This is in context to a breadth study, which does not offer these possibilities (Taylor, 2016). Case study research has its strength in formulating theory by expanding constructs and relationships within distinct settings (Ridder, 2017). These criteria are most fitting within the specific setting of the Zwarte Cross and the Achterhoek region. Therefore, this research will adopt a case study approach.

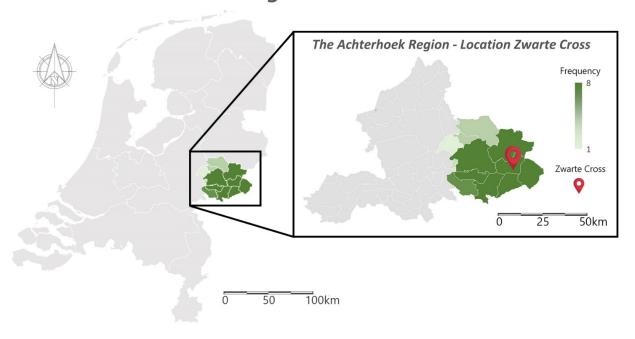
3.1.1 Case description: The Zwarte Cross

The Zwarte Cross festival was founded in 1997 by childhood friends and bandmates Hendrik Jan Lovink & Gijs Jolink in cooperation with their band Jovink & de Voederbietels and their aunt Rikie. The founders are still exploiting the festival as the managers of the Feestfabriek Alles Komt Goed BV. In the early days, the prime focus of the festival was to serve as a local motocross and music event. Other fundamental characteristics that the Zwarte Cross festival has developed over time are diversity, theatre, humour and the celebration of uniqueness of the individual. Nowadays, the Zwarte Cross has grown to become the largest paid-for music festival of the Netherlands. The festival location changed numerous times, but always remained in the Achterhoek. The Zwarte Cross festival terrain of recent years comprises almost the complete non-built-up area between the villages Lievelde, Lichtenvoorde and Vragender (Map 3.1). The festival terrain is fully situated within the municipality of Oost-Gelre, Gelderland, the Netherlands.

3.1.2 Case selection

Despite being one of the largest and most significant festivals of the Netherlands, a renowned festival country in its own right (van Gijssel, 2019), the Zwarte Cross festival has not been subject to any kind of scientific research yet to date. The unique context and development from a small-scale community festival to the largest festival of the Netherlands make the Zwarte Cross case of adequate relevance to the research objective. The Achterhoek also fits the terminology of a host community as explained in section 2.2 due to a predominantly rural character and the absence of a metropolitan core (Bengevoord, 2021; Schut, 2012; Wikkerink, 2021).

The Achterhoek Region



Map 3.1: *The Achterhoek Region – Location Zwarte Cross* (based on: 8RHK Ambassadeurs, 2019; Bengevoord, 2021; CBS, 2021; Hezeman, 2021; Kamperman, 2021; Lukkezen, 2021; Municipality of Aalten et al., 2012; Wikkerink, 2021).

3.2 Data Collection

This research adopts the research strategy of triangulation, which is the comparison and reflection of different research methods. Triangulation allows for a richer, more accurate understanding of the situation, a more clear grasp on an answer for the research questions and can lead to higher data validity and trustworthiness (Taylor, 2016). This research makes combined use of the research methods: observation, semi-structured interviews, and documentary analysis. Furthermore, a literature review has been conducted to sharpen the focus and scope of this research as well as to position the results within the contemporary research field. Lastly, the literature review served as the backbone for the interview questions and deductive coding tree.

Due to Covid-19 restrictions, the interviews will be conducted via video-call services, such as Microsoft Teams, Zoom, Google Meet or Skype. The platform used is dependent on the preference of the interviewee to keep the threshold for participating as low as possible.

3.2.1 Observation

In any case study research, observation is a key method of data collection. To grasp the scope of the case, an immersion in first-hand experience is necessary (Taylor, 2016). However, observation within this research context does come with challenges. The Zwarte Cross festival itself will not be held within the time-slot in which this research is conducted. This is partly caused by the restriction to organise events during the COVID-19 pandemic (Rijksoverheid, 2021), but also due to that the festival is usually held within the summer, which is beyond the time-frame of this research. Therefore, observation will consist of an on-site visit of the location where the festival usually takes place, informal conversations with local residents and a scan of

relevant (newspaper) articles and other publications to get familiar with the context in which the event takes place.

3.2.2 Semi-structured Interviews

The core of the primary data has been collected by means of expert semi-structured interviews. Experts can function as surrogates for a wide range of groups within a region, and therefore allow for more a more effective data collection process (Bogner et al., 2009). Semi-structured interviews can facilitate open and in-depth responses with the possibility for follow-up questions, which is necessary since the experts interviewed have different backgrounds and expertise and thus framing their answers is not a preferred strategy (Longhurst, 2016). Semi-structured interviews are effective in gathering qualitative open-ended data whilst providing guidance for data analysis (DeJonckheere & Vaughn, 2019). The interviews will be held in the native tongue of the respondents. Rubin and Rubin (2005) mention that the use of the interviewee's native tongue during the interview is a potentially useful tool for acceptance and participation, facilitating willingness of the potential interviewees to partake in the interview. Allowing interviewees to respond in their preferred language can result in more authentic answers and subtle nuances, which in turn enrich the data results (Welch & Piekkari, 2006). The Dutch interview guide can be found under Appendix II.

3.2.3 Documentary Analysis

The third method of data collection conducted in this research is documentary analysis. Documents can be an important source of information to determine the historical context and public image of the case (Taylor, 2016). Documentary analysis will be primarily used in order to answer this research's sub-question: *What constitutes the identity of the Achterhoek?* Furthermore, information gained from documentary analysis can function as complementary to the results gained from interviews.

3.2.4 Participant Selection

To realize a selection of participants, a purposeful sampling strategy has been applied. Purposeful sampling, as explained by Patton (2002) and Mertens (2005), is a strategy which results in meaningful and information-rich cases for an in-depth study. These information-rich cases (table 3.1) can teach a great deal on issues that are of central importance and applicable to a plurality of groups. Since this research focuses on such a central issue that concerns a plurality of groups, purposeful sampling is the most suitable sampling strategy.

Furthermore, purposeful sampling was supplemented by use of snowballing. This method uses a contact person as a facilitator for other points of contact (Valentine, 2005). Snowballing has been incorporated during the first couple of interviews to gain access to a larger pool of potential interviewees.

Overview of Participants			
Respondent	Function	Date	
Hezeman, M.	Managing Director of Achterhoek Toerisme	11 May 2021	
Hagelstein, E.	Managing Director of Hagelstein Producties Author of <i>Parels van de Achterhoek</i>	14 May 2021	
Wikkerink, J.	Alderman municipality of Aalten Achterhoek Ambassador	26 May 2021	

Ostendorp, H.M.	Managing Director of Betaald Voetbal De Graafschap BV	1 June 2021
1	Former mayor Municipality of Bunnik	
Kamperman, P.	Kamperman, P. Managing Director Achterhoek in Beweging	
	Achterhoek Ambassador	
Bengevoord, B.J.J. Mayor of the municipality of Winterswijk		4 June 2021
	Achterhoek Ambassador	

Table 3.1: Overview of Participants

3.3 Data Analysis Scheme

The information provided by the respondents will be recorded under consent, in order to minimize bias and distortion of translation and loss of information. Consequently, the information given by the respondents will be transcribed using Amberscript due to its user friendliness and accuracy. The information that stems from the interviews will then be aggregated and coded using AtlasTi. AtlasTi is the coding service recommended by the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, and is readily available for the researcher.

The coding strategy of the data in Atlas.ti will be a combination of deductive and inductive coding. Deductive coding (Appendix III) allows for an initial coding framework based on existing literature, whilst inductive coding (Appendix IV) allows the researcher to take knowledge into account that was not discussed within the theoretical framework (Cope & Kurtz, 2016). A combination of deductive and inductive coding allows for a more clear connection between the primary data and existing theory (Cope & Kurtz, 2016).

3.4 Ethical considerations

The important ethical considerations that every research containing interviews should reflect upon are confidentiality and anonymity (Longhurst, 2016). The interviewees were asked to fill in an informed consent form in order to assure and inform the participants on both of these aspects. This consent form was sent prior to the interview via email alongside a short summary of the research and research aim. The Dutch consent form can be found under Appendix V, whilst its English translated counterpart can be found in Appendix VI.

A pseudonym in the form of 'respondent *number*' has been assigned for the respondents that expressed the wish to remain anonymous. Taylor (2016) mentions that if the researcher does not clearly demarcate the use of pseudonyms, reader's distractions can occur.

3.4.1 Positionality

One of the main factors that influences the generating and analysation of data is the researcher itself (Leibing & McLean, 2007). Hence, it is important to mention the possible impact of the researcher's background and motivation for research (Jacobsen & Mustafa, 2019). Furthermore, the characteristics of the researcher influence the way in which the interaction with the interview participants are shaped (Valentine, 2005). Being explicit about positionality allows for a better understanding of the reader on how data has been gathered or constructed (Finlay, 2002). Furthermore, reflecting on positionality adds to improving rigour and trustworthiness of qualitative work (Galdas, 2017). Participants might be more comfortable and trusting in providing deeper and more meaningful answers if the researcher is perceived as being part of their community (Holmes, 2020), which can apply within this research setting due to the researcher being a semi-insider with former ties to the Achterhoek region. However, the researcher is detached from the region to a greater degree than an insider is, which improves the ability to study the case without bias (Holmes, 2020).

[4] RESULTS

4.1 The Achterhoek Region

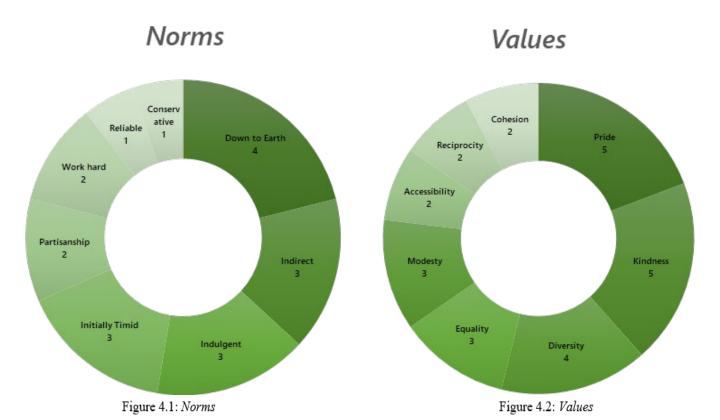
The Achterhoek region is hard to define geographically. Especially since regions, being complex geographical and/or political units, are rarely subject to a generally accepted agreement on their boundaries (Dredge & Jenkins, 2007). The Achterhoek is a Dutch region, where some municipalities are inherently divided on whether they should be regarded as part of the Achterhoek or not (Schut, 2012). Map 3.1 depicts the different delineations of the Achterhoek that have been identified within this research.

The region has a predominantly rural character with a bocage-type landscape, and is marked as one of the areas in the Netherlands that suffers from population decline, aging and dejuvenation (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koningsrelaties, 2014).

4.1.1 The Achterhoek Identity

Norms and values are two key aspects that link identity to social capital (Quinn & Wilks, 2013). Figure 4.1 and figure 4.2 visualize the amount of respondents that identified norms or values as specific for the Achterhoek. To determine the social-cultural impact of the Zwarte Cross Festival, it is important to establish the communities' identity and therefore the present social capital.

From these results it can be concluded that Achterhoekers are friendly people after the 'getting-to-know stage', who are generally down to earth and have well established bonding social capital, where reciprocity in the form of 'naoberschap' (a regional term for looking after your neighbours), forms of trust and common social norms can be identified.



4.2. The social-cultural impacts of the Zwarte Cross

4.2.1 Social Capital

The Zwarte Cross started out as a relatively small local motocross event (Kamperman, 2021). Following, the impacts of the festival were rather insignificant. However, throughout the years the festival experienced rather rapid growth (fig. 1.1). This growth meant that the Zwarte Cross organisation had to widen their scope in order to reach a larger pool of visitors: "They have really expanded themselves. This contributed to the fact that more people came and identified themselves with it." (Bengevoord, 2021). Four out of the six respondents praised diversity as one of the core strengths of the festival: "They do a lot for all age groups and different interests." (Wikkerink, 2021), "I think that the Zwarte Cross showcased the diversity of the region." (Hagelstein, 2021). Diversity has also been identified by the respondents as a typical value of the Achterhoek identity (figure 4.2). This diversity attracted not only visitors from within the Achterhoek, but also from other regions of the Netherlands, leading to the development of bridging social capital. In fact, many respondents valued this bridging social capital effect as positive: "... you meet a lot of new people, I think that's positive" (Bengevoord, 2021), "... it's unsurprising, they are just like us... it creates a bond" (Hagelstein, 2021).

Conversely, as the Zwarte Cross started out as just a motocross event, diversity was not a prime aim at the start: "I don't think that when they started, they would assume that people over 60 years old would visit. But it became like that." (Bengevoord, 2021). In fact, the Achterhoek identity used to be rather conservative at the time (Wikkerink, 2021). By pushing people out of their comfort zone, and confronting them with things they would not encounter in their everyday life, the festival might have contributed to increased diversity within the region (Hagelstein, 2021; Wikkerink, 2021). For example, the Zwarte Cross provides many cultural experiences on the festival and openly supports the LHBTI+ community.

4.2.2 Image

All of the respondents identified the Zwarte Cross as being one of three identity bearers of the Achterhoek region, alongside the band 'Normaal' and football club 'De Graafschap'. Hezeman (2021) agrees with this phenomenon and identifies this concept as 'ingredient brands'. Ingredient brands are a type of marketing strategy in which components are part of the end product (Smit, 1999). In this case, it translates to the Zwarte Cross being an ingredient in determining the image of the Achterhoek. Hezeman (2021) goes even one step further as he identifies the Zwarte Cross as "... the most important ingredient brand that the Achterhoek has today." (Hezeman, 2021). The importance of the Zwarte Cross as ingredient brand of the Achterhoek makes the festival a key component in determining the image of the region (Hezeman, 2021). The Zwarte Cross has become this key component due to the success of the festival and its ability to reach large amount of groups through the media (Hagelstein, 2021; Hezeman, 2021). Due to the lack of a strong metropolitan core, the Achterhoek has been more dependent on their agricultural characteristics in their development than other predominantly rural regions of the Netherlands (Bengevoord, 2021; Hezeman, 2021). Hence, these identity bearers elaborated on the farmer image of the region: "De Graafschap affiliates a lot with farmers, and Normaal even more" (Hagelstein, 2021). At first, this was also the case for the Zwarte Cross (Bengevoord, 2021; Wikkerink, 2021). However, this image began to shift towards diversity, allowing for a new common tie within the region and determinant of the Achterhoek identity (fig. 4.2).

4.2.3 Pride

The factor that is perhaps the most important in the formation of identity in the region as identified by the respondents is pride: "... it makes the whole of the Achterhoek proud on the festival... everyone almost feel like they're part of it" (Wikkerink, 2021). This pride is largely attributable to the fact that the Zwarte Cross has become a success (Hagelstein, 2021; Kamperman, 2021). Although high levels of participation and involvement are important for development of social capital (Brownett, 2018), Hagelstein (2021) mentions that direct participation is not necessarily important in order for the host community to feel proud on the festival: "... I think that if you would send out a survey, 99 percent of people would indicate that they are proud on the festival even though they never visit". The respondents indicate that direct participation in the festival is not a prime determinant of connection of the festival with its host community, unlike the findings of Gibson (2010). Rather, the connection between the host community and the festival organization is made in quite a different way, namely through the social responsibility that the Zwarte Cross has.

4.2.4 Social Responsibility

The participants furthermore identified the role in society that the Zwarte Cross has: "I think that the Zwarte Cross puts a lot of effort into societal themes." (Ostendorp, 2021). First of all, the Zwarte Cross is one of the instigators of the Foundation 'Pak An', who fund regional startups and initiatives. This foundation also kick-started another identifier of the region, namely the Achterhoek flag (Timmer, 2019). Furthermore, the Zwarte Cross contributes to the regional economy by acquiring resources predominantly from local entrepreneurs and organizations (van Werkhoven, 2019). Next to that, the festival relies heavily on the efforts of many volunteers. Volunteers of local associations can work at the festival to fill their association's treasury, which enables the festival organization to gain a large amount of community support (Hagelstein, 2021; Wikkerink, 2021). In the article by Pols & Rutten (2017), the chairman of the local flower parade association, Benno Voorhuis, stated that the Lichtenvoorde flower parade (one of the largest in the Netherlands) would hardly be able to take place if the Zwarte Cross did not existed. The role that the Zwarte Cross plays in society contributes to community support and allows the festival to be embedded in the region (Hagelstein, 2021). This results corresponds with the finding of Brownett (2018), where festivals have the potential to create a 'living legacy'.

4.2.5 The Future

The respondents did not experience important negative social-cultural impacts of the Zwarte Cross: "I haven't heard many people that are negative about the Zwarte Cross" (Kamperman, 2021); "it's all positive" (Bengevoord, 2021). When asked, the participants generally responded with very specific examples such as... these examples are overshadowed by the 'greater good'. Therefore, the Zwarte Cross has overly positive social-cultural impacts on the Achterhoek. Their significance in the Dutch festival scene has been recently underlined once more due to the takeover of the festival organizer, The Feestfabriek, by the European festival giants Superstruct, who are responsible for organizing among others the Sziget festival in Hungary, and Wacker Open Air in Germany (Feestfabriek Alles Komt Goed BV, 2021). This caused some respondents to reflect critically on the possible outcomes that this takeover might have in the future. Particularly Hezeman (2021) and Ostendorp (2021) mentioned the possibility of future social-cultural impacts of the Zwarte Cross: "I am a little concerned about that. If the authenticity gets lost, the Achterhoeker will identify themselves less with the festival. I think it entails a certain risk at a certain point of time for the event itself, and for the image of the

event." (Hezeman, 2021), "That you lose the soul is a realistic risk" (Ostendorp, 2021). Hence, it remains important to re-evaluate the social-cultural impacts of the Zwarte Cross in the coming years. This is in contrast to the common practise of social impact assessments, who are generally ex-ante based (Vanclay, 2002; Vanclay, 2014).

[5] CONCLUSION

This research has provided an insight in how the Zwarte Cross has influenced the identity of Achterhoek region. The success of the festival and its role in society allowed the Zwarte Cross to become one of the key identity bearers for the Achterhoek. Therefore, the Zwarte Cross is currently perceived as predominantly positive contributor to the Achterhoek identity. Furthermore, the event is considered as a key aspect of the identity of the region and contributes to the regional pride of its residents as well as the diversity of the region and the development of social capital. However, there is also criticism on the future of the event following the organization's takeover by Superstruct. This concern confirms the need for future longitudinal studies regarding the social-cultural impacts of the festivals in the coming years, as already mentioned by Wilson et al., (2017). In conclusion, it can be stated that the Zwarte Cross festivals has the ability to influence the Achterhoek identity, which is in accordance with other research on the social-cultural impacts of festivals (e.g. Beasly, 2014; Brownett, 2018; Deery et al., 2012; Quinn & Wilks, 2013). Currently, this influence is perceived as predominantly positive. However, it must be noted that future changes to the festival might influence this positive view.

5.1 Further research

The findings pave the way for further research on both social- and social-cultural impacts of festivals in a plurality of settings. First of all this research suggests, in line with Wilson et al. (2017), to conduct longitudinal case study research rather than case studies that are bound to a specific point in time to gain insights in the possible fluctuations of perceived impacts and to more accurately predict the outcome of upcoming editions.

Furthermore, in order to facilitate more understanding in both of these impact categories, this research advocates a mixed-methods approach in understanding the impacts of festivals on host communities in the future, where impacts are tested by quantitative methods and evaluated by qualitative methods. A mixed-methods approach facilitates a complete understanding of social-or social-cultural impacts as it both identifies and measures values that determine impacts (Bamberger, 2012).

[6] REFLECTION & DISCUSSION

6.1 Delineation of scope

As with any case study, particularly those on events such as festivals, the results are limited by its specific characteristics, such as size, type and context (O'Sullivan & Jackson, 2002). Next to that, this research only focuses on social-cultural impacts. However, in the bigger picture, it is important to grasp the full range of social impacts of festivals in order to facilitate festival planning and management in the future.

6.2 Research process

Particularly during the data collection period, it became apparent that some questions of the interviews gave more insight than others. The interview guide has therefore been adapted several times during the period of data collection.

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APPENDICES

I. Interview Guide – Dutch

Welkom! Allereerst hartelijk dank voor het bijwonen van dit gesprek.

Ruimte voor smalltalk tussen interviewer en geïnterviewde

Het interview zal ongeveer 30 minuten duren. Uw antwoorden zullen mij helpen met het schrijven van mijn Bachelorscriptie aan de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. Het doel van dit gesprek is om meer te weten te komen over de identiteit van de Achterhoek als regio en de sociaal-culturele rol die de Zwarte Cross hierin speelt.

Graag zou ik met (nogmaals) uw toestemming vanaf dit punt het gesprek opnemen, hiermee kan ik ervoor zorgen dat ik geen informatie omtrent hetgeen u mij vertelt verloren gaat.

Introductie

- 1. Zou u mij allereerst een korte omschrijving over uzelf, uw organisatie en uw functie binnen de organisatie kunnen vertellen?
 - a. Persoon
 - b. Functie
 - c. Organisatie
 - d. Tijd in de Achterhoek doorgebracht

De Achterhoek:

- 2. Als ik het begrip Achterhoek noem, wat komt er dan in u op?
 - a. Materieel-Cultureel
 - b. Normen/waarden
 - c. Geografisch
 - i. Zutphen, Wehl
 - d. Begrippen/steekwoorden
- 3. De Achterhoeker, Wie is dat?
 - a. Hoe zit de buitenwereld de Achterhoeker?
- 4. Waarin verschilt de Achterhoek van de omliggende regio's als bijvoorbeeld Twente en Arnhem/Nijmegen?
- 5. Zou u uzelf in de context die u schetst als Achterhoeker omschrijven?
 - a. Doorvragen -> waarom wel, niet
 - b. Verschil participant en 'de Achterhoeker'

De Zwarte Cross

- 6. Bent u betrokken bij het Festival de Zwarte Cross? Op welke manier?
 - a. Participeren/organiseren
 - b. (als organisator) Wat is uw rol binnen het festival?
 - c. (Als participant) Waarom wel/niet?
 - d. Contact met anderen uit de regio waar je normaal niet mee in contact komt
- 7. Als ik het begrip de Zwarte Cross noem, wat komt er dan in u op?
 - a. Festival zelf
 - b. Locatie
 - c. Normen/waarden

- d. Karakter
- e. Doel/Doelgroep
- 8. Zou u de Zwarte Cross omschrijven als typisch Achterhoek?
 - a. Doorvragen
 - b. Door de regio voor de regio
 - i. Bijdrage van de regio
 - c. Link Achterhoek-Lievelde/Lichtenvoorde
- 9. Hoe is volgens u de binding tussen de Zwarte Cross en de Achterhoek?
 - a. Doorvragen
 - b. Saamhorigheid
 - c. Samenwerken onderling
 - d. Vertrouwen
 - e. Vormen van een gemeenschap
 - f. Trots
- 10. Hoe beïnvloed de Zwarte Cross en haar organisatie het dagelijks leven?
 - a. Ook buiten festivaltijd om
- 11. Heeft de Achterhoekse identiteit (het succes van) de Zwarte Cross (mede) vormgegeven? Op welke manier?
 - a. En andersom? Heeft de Zwarte Cross bijgedragen aan hoe men de Achterhoek ziet?
 - b. Voorbeelden
- 12. Is door de jaren heen, gezien het groeien van de zwarte cross, de invloed van het festival veranderd?
 - a. Op welke manier?
- 13. Kan de Achterhoek zonder de Zwarte Cross?
 - a. Doorvragen
 - b. Wat zou er anders zijn?
- 14. Is het succesrecept (200.000 tickets) van de Zwarte Cross elders toepasbaar en waar ligt dat aan?
 - a. Binnenland, maar ook buitenland?
- 15. Kleven er ook nadelen aan het festival?
 - a. Zo ja, welke?

Tot slot:

- 16. Heeft u zelf nog dingen toe te voegen/te rectificeren?
- 17. Wilt u het transcript van dit gesprek ontvangen om te checken voor feitelijke onjuistheden?

Dan wil ik u bij deze hartelijk danken voor uw medewerking aan dit onderzoek. *Informatie over afhandeling*. Zou u de uiteindelijke versie van dit onderzoek graag willen ontvangen? Zo ja, waar kan ik deze heen sturen?

II. Interview Guide – English

Welcome! First of all a warm welcome and a thanks for attending this conversation.

Possibility for Smalltalk between researcher and participant.

The interview will take approximately 30 minutes. Your answers will help me in writing my bachelor thesis at the University of Groningen. The aim of this conversation is to gain a deeper insight in the identity of the Achterhoek as a region and the social-cultural role that the Zwarte Cross plays.

I hereby would like to ask you (again) for your permission to record the conversation starting from now on, so that I can make sure that there will be no loss of valuable information concerning the things that you tell me.

Introduction

- 1. Can you first of all provide me with a short description of yourself, your organisation and your function within this organisation?
 - a. Person
 - b. Function
 - c. Organisation
 - d. Time you've spent in the Achterhoek (Lived, worked, other).

The Achterhoek:

- 2. When I name the concept of the Achterhoek, which things come to mind?
 - a. Material-cultural
 - b. Norms/values
 - c. Geographical
 - i. Zutphen, Wehl
 - d. Concepts/keywords
- 3. Who is, 'the Achterhoeker'?
 - a. How does the outside world see the Achterhoeker?
- 4. How does the Achterhoek differ from surrounding regions like Twente and Arnhem/Nijmegen?
- 5. Would you describe yourself in the context that you provide as an Achterhoeker?
 - b. Follow-up question -> why/why not?
 - c. Difference participant and 'the Achterhoeker'

The Zwarte Cross

- 6. Are you involved with the Festival Zwarte Cross? In what way?
 - a. Participation/organisation
 - b. (as organiser) What is your role in the festival?
 - c. (As participant) why/why not?
 - d. Contact with others from the region which you might normally not encounter
- 7. When I name the concept of the Zwarte Cross, which things come to mind?
 - a. Festival itself
 - b. Location
 - c. Norms/values
 - d. Character
 - e. Target/Target Audience

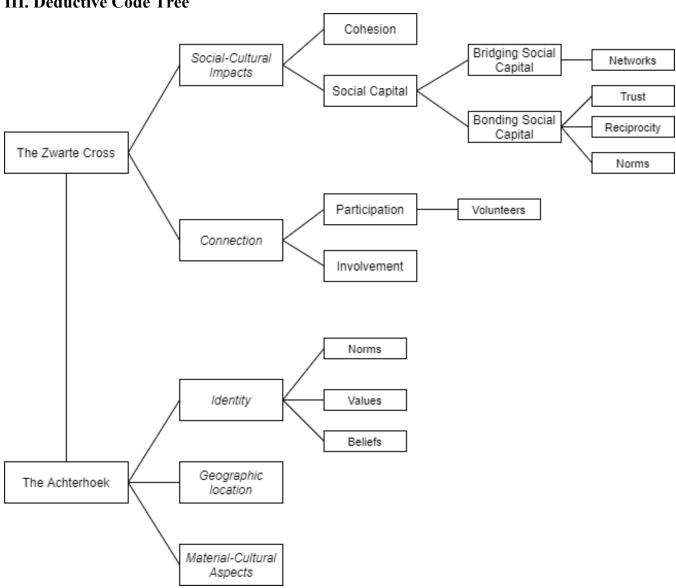
- 8. Would you describe the Zwarte Cross as typically Achterhoek?
 - a. Follow-up
 - b. By the region, for the region
 - i. Regional contribution
 - c. Link Achterhoek-Lievelde/Lichtenvoorde
- 9. What is the nature of the connection between the Zwarte Cross en de Achterhoek?
 - a. Follow-up
 - b. Cohesion
 - c. Co-operation
 - d. Trust
 - e. Community construction
 - f. Pride
- 10. How do the Zwarte Cross and her organisation influence daily life?
 - a. Also beyond the timeframe of the festival
- 11. Has the identity of the Achterhoek (partially) influenced (the success of) the Zwarte Cross? In which way?
 - a. And the other way around? Has the Zwarte Cross contributed to the the way people view the Achterhoek
 - b. Examples
- 12. Has the influence of the festival changed through time, especially regarding its growth?
 - a. In what way?
- 13. Is the Achterhoek able to cope without the Zwarte Cross?
 - a. Follow-up
 - b. What would change?
- 14. Is the successfull recipe (200.000 tickets) of the Zwarte Cross applicable elsewhere and why?
 - a. National, but also International?
- 15. Are there also negative sides to the festival?
 - a. If yes, which?

Concluding:

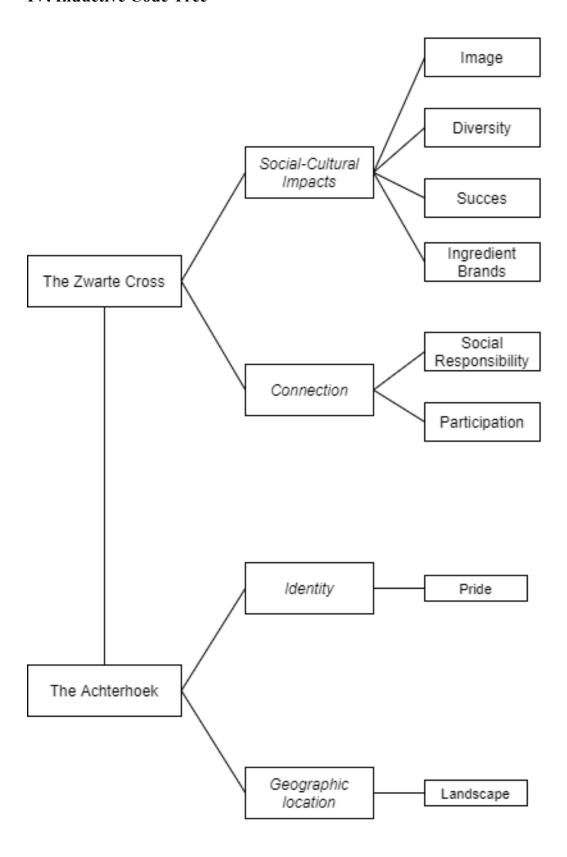
- 16. Do you wish to add or rectify anything?
- 17. Do you want to receive the transcript of this conversation to check on factual errors?

Hereby I would like to thank you for your co-operation in this research. *Possibility for further information of the closure*. Would you like to receive the final version of this research, if yes, where can I send it?

III. Deductive Code Tree



IV. Inductive Code Tree



V. Interview Consent Form – Dutch Verklaring van toestemming

Onderzoeksproject: Bachelorscriptie Spatial Planning & Design Julian Freriks

Universiteit: Rijksuniversiteit Groningen - Faculteit Ruimtelijke Wetenschappen

Titel: "The Social-Cultural Impacts of a Festival and the Development of

Regional Identity: A Case Study of the Zwarte Cross"

Onderzoeksdoel: Het onderzoeken van de regionale identiteit van de achterhoek en de

bijdrage van de Zwarte Cross aan deze identiteit.

Geachte heer/ mevrouw,

Bedankt dat u mij wilt helpen met mijn onderzoek naar de Regionale identiteit van de Achterhoek en de sociaal-culturele rol van de Zwarte Cross. Via dit formulier informeer ik u over het verloop van het interview.

Vanwege de huidige beperkingen omtrent COVID-19 zal het interview via de digitale weg plaatsvinden. Het gesprek zal circa 30 minuten duren. U kunt op ieder moment aangeven te willen stoppen, of een vraag niet te willen beantwoorden. Het interview kan gezien de semiopen structuur daarnaast uitlopen indien u extra toelichting wenst te geven.

Het interview zal worden opgenomen door middel van een audiorecorder, waarna het vervolgens zal worden getranscribeerd. U bent in de gelegenheid om het transcript te controleren en indien nodig aan te passen op feitelijke onjuistheden. Het transcript zal worden gebruikt om de verstrekte informatie uit het interview verder te analyseren, waarmee getracht wordt de onderzoeksvraag te kunnen beantwoorden. Het audiobestand zal vernietigd worden wanneer het onderzoek is afgerond. De gegevens die tijdens het interview worden verstrekt zullen op een vertrouwelijke manier in behandeling worden genomen.

Het transcript en relevante gegevens zullen enkel worden gedeeld met mijn scriptiebegeleider, Jacco Kuper, MSc. Bovendien zal het eindproduct, zijnde de scriptie, worden opgenomen in het archief van de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. Het transcript zal daarmee niet in de scriptie worden opgenomen. U heeft de mogelijkheid om binnen de scriptie anoniem te blijven indien u dit wenselijk acht.

Met het ondertekenen van deze overeenkomst verklaar ik dat:

- Het mij duidelijk is waar dit onderzoek over gaat.
- Zonder mijn schriftelijk bezwaar hiertegen, verstrekte informatie (algemeen of in de vorm van quotes) in de scriptie van de onderzoeker kan worden gebruikt.
- Dat de verkregen data gebruikt kan worden wetenschappelijk onderzoek.
- Ik begrijp dat deelname aan dit onderzoek vrijwillig is en ik het recht heb om op ieder moment het interview te beëindigen of individuele vragen niet te beantwoorden.
- Ik begrijp dat mijn deelname aan het onderzoek vertrouwelijk is en de verstrekte informatie vertrouwelijk zal worden bewaard.

feitelijke onjuistheden.	aanpassen op
Voor vragen, opmerkingen of andere zaken kunt u contact opnemen met:	
 Julian Freriks (student) j.freriks.2@student.rug.nl Jacco Kuper (begeleider) b.j.kuper@rug.nl 	
Verklaring van de onderzoeker: (Naam)	
Hierbij verklaar ik dat ik de gestelde voorwaarden in het document 'V toestemming' zal respecteren en de participanten volledig en feitelijk juist heb	•
Handtekening Datum: / /	
Toestemmingsverklaring van de participant: (Naam) Hierbij verklaar ik mijn akkoord met de gestelde voorwaarden in het document toestemming' <i>Indien u akkoord gaat met Bovenstaande, graag invullen</i> :	
Ik geef toestemming tot het opnemen van het interview voor verwerkings- en coderingsdoeleinden	JA / NEE
Ik wens anoniem te blijven binnen dit onderzoek Wanneer Ja: Er wordt een pseudoniem voor u gebruikt in de vorm van 'Respondent *nummer*')	JA / NEE
Mijn voornaam kan worden gebruikt binnen dit onderzoek	JA / NEE
Mijn functie en organisatie kunnen worden genoemd binnen dit onderzoek	JA / NEE
Email(indien u wenst een transcript van dit interview te ontvangen)	

Handtekening.....

Datum: .. / .. /

VI. Interview Consent Form – English

Participation Agreement

Research project: Bachelor thesis Spatial Planning & Design Julian Freriks

Universiteit: University of Groningen - Faculty of Spatial Sciences

Title: "The Social-Cultural Impacts of a Festival and the Development of

Regional Identity: A Case Study of the Zwarte Cross""

Research Aim: To research the Regional identity of the Achterhoek and the

contribution of the Zwarte Cross to this identity

Dear Sir/Madam,

First of all, thank you in providing your help with my research concerning the assessment of the social-cultural impacts of the Zwarte Cross festival on the identity of the Achterhoek region. With this letter I will inform you about the process of the interview.

The interview will take place in an online setting due to current circumstances regarding the COVID-19 pandemic. The interview will take approximately 30 minutes. You can decide to end the conversation at any given moment. Furthermore, you have the freedom of choice whether to answer any of the questions posed. The interview can exceed the time allotted if you wish to add extra information, due to having a semi-open structure.

The interview will be recorded using an audio recorder, after which it will be transcribed. You will have the opportunity to check the transcript for factual errors, and can adjust these if applicable. The transcript will be used to further analyse the interview, from which the research question will be answered. When the research project has been finalized, the recording will be terminated. All information provided by you will be handled with confidentiality.

The information, as well as the transcript, will be shared with my supervisor: Jacco Kuper, Msc. Next to that, the resulting bachelor thesis will be added to the archive of the University of Groningen. The transcript will not be included in the thesis. You will have the opportunity to remain anonymous if desired.

By signing this Agreement I declare that:

- I am aware of what the research is about.
- I understand that participating in this research is voluntary and that I have the right to refuse to answer individual questions.
- I am aware that my participation in the research is confidential.
- I am aware that, without written objection, contents of this conversation (via paraphrasing or direct quoting) can be used within the research project.
- I understand that all information provided will be safely and confidentially stored.
- I am aware that data that stems from this interview can be used in articles, book chapters, published and unpublished work and in presentations.

-	Julian Freriks (student) Jacco Kuper (supervisor)	j.freriks.2@student.rug.nl b.j.kuper@rug.nl	
Decla	ration of the researcher (Name	e):	
	,	rms & conditions posed in the document ne participant with complete and just inforr	•
Signat	ture	Date: / /	
Partic	ipation agreement of the part	icipant (Name):	
	by declare that I agree to the te ment'. <i>If agreed, please fill in the</i>	erms & conditions posed in the document box below:	'Participation
l agre	ee with the recording of the inte	rview for analysis- and coding purposes	YES / NO
	h to remain anonymous within tl a pseudonym will be used in terms		YES / NO
My fi	irst name can be used within this	s interview	YES / NO
My fu	unction and organisation can be	used within this interview	YES / NO
Email			
	se you wish to receive a transcrip		
Signat	ture	Date: / /	

- I am aware that after the interview has been conducted, I can only adjust my answers

on factual errors.
Contact details for further questions: