

The role of iconic-historic commemorative events in event tourism: Insights from the 20th and 25th anniversaries of the fall of the Berlin Wall

Dr Maren Viol, Dr Louise Todd, Dr Eleni Theodoraki and Dr Constantia Anastasiadou

ABSTRACT

The role of commemorative events for event tourism has received marginal attention. Existing research primarily considers commemorative events for their social and political significance within the nation. This paper argues that commemorative events defined as 'iconic-historic' can play an important role for event tourism. Using the 20th and 25th anniversaries of the fall of the Berlin Wall as archetypical examples, this in-depth qualitative study contends that such iconic-historic commemorative events may be as significant as hallmark events within strategic event portfolios. The contributions of this paper are the definition of iconic-historic events as distinct forms of commemorative events; the recognition of the potential significance of these events to event tourism; and the development of a commemorative portfolio which can inform the established event portfolio for strategic event tourism management. The paper concludes by making recommendations for the use of such events in event tourism settings.

Key words: Commemorative events; iconic-historic events; event tourism; Berlin Wall; hallmark events; event portfolios

HIGHLIGHTS

- The significance of commemorative events is under-appreciated in event tourism research
- Iconic-historic commemorative events are unique but of internationally recognised stature
- Such events share characteristics with hallmark events and act as effective event tourism drivers
- Iconic-historic events should be integrated into a balanced commemorative portfolio
- Practitioners can use such events within strategic event portfolio approaches

1. INTRODUCTION

Events are important devices for making places more attractive to visit and creating economic benefits for destinations (e.g. Hodur and Leistritz, 2006; Richards and Palmer, 2010). In an image-saturated society and in a competitive globalised world, where effective destination brands are becoming increasingly important, events can be used for destination promotion as well as the construction of a destination brand (e.g. Dinnie, 2011; Mackellar, 2014; Mendes et al., 2011). The widespread use of events for tourism-related outcomes such as the above has given rise to the study and strategic implementation of event tourism. The concept of event tourism refers to the process of using planned events for the development and marketing of destinations for tourism (Getz, 2008). In the academic literature this phenomenon has recently been investigated from perspectives such as destination branding (Mendes et al., 2011; Mackellar, 2014), tourism strategy and product development (Connell et al., 2015; McKercher, 2016; Stokes, 2008) as well as stakeholders and partnerships (Mariani and Giorgio, 2017; Todd et al., 2017).

In destination and event tourism planning, the development and maintenance of an event portfolio is seen as good strategic practice. This management approach sees hallmark events as being particularly desirable devices for achieving long-term event tourism benefits (Getz et al., 2012; Getz, 2008; Ziakas, 2014). Hallmark events are commonly defined as recurring events which are inextricably linked to their location and are usually also valued for their potential for community-building (Getz et al., 2012; Todd et al., 2017). Well-known examples include the Calgary Stampede, Munich Oktoberfest or the Edinburgh Festival Fringe.

Recent research indicates an increase in the study of event tourism as a phenomenon, reflecting the adoption of strategic event tourism and portfolio management approaches in practice. Getz and Page (2016a) propose five basic propositions underpinning event tourism to illustrate its significance. The first and primary claim is that events can attract tourists which create economic benefits. Four further propositions cascade from this statement. These are that events can create positive images for the destination and help brand or re-position cities. They further contribute to place marketing by making places more attractive. Additionally, events can animate cities, resorts, parks, urban spaces and venues of all kinds. Finally, event tourism acts as a catalyst for other forms of desired development, such as improved infrastructure. The implication is that once events successfully attract tourists, they can be leveraged to fulfil the ensuing four propositions. According to Getz and Page (2016a)

many previous studies support the core propositions, but further assessment of claims to knowledge, concepts and terms in relation to event tourism is needed to develop the field.

This paper contributes to the field of event tourism by exploring the event tourism potential of particular forms of commemorative events, newly defined here as 'iconic-historic'. The paper further introduces the idea of a commemorative portfolio that can be linked to the existing event portfolio framework for strategic event tourism planning and management. Commemorative events more generally can be defined as 'memorial services, specific ceremonies or broader events (even festivals) designed to honour the memory of someone or something' (Getz, 2007, p. 34) or as those events that 'are staged so that society may remember and reflect upon past occurrences and their relationship to today' (Frost and Laing, 2013, p. 1). Whilst sports, business and leisure events as well as different types of cultural festivals have been investigated for their roles and potentials for event tourism development purposes (see Getz and Page, 2016a), commemorative events have so far received marginal attention in this context. With only limited previous research on commemorative events from a tourism point of view (most notably Frost and Laing, 2013), the role of commemorative events for event tourism remains under-researched.

A main contribution of the paper is therefore to help understand the event tourism role of particular forms of commemorative events. These events are presently defined as iconic-historic and are characterised as such based upon their alignment with existing definitions of iconic events and their commemorative underpinning. Sharing a growth in numbers and significance similar to that of hallmark events, iconic events are deemed as those that hold high symbolic value and have a strong appeal (Getz and Page, 2016b). Similar to iconic tourism sites being symbolic of their host destination, for example the Eiffel Tower and Paris, iconic events represent their host destination and become a community's most recognised event. This is in part due to functional aspects such as reputation and scale; but iconic events differ from other forms of events in the sense of symbolising 'something of potentially global significance' (Getz and Page, 2016b, p. 58). The meanings of iconic events therefore are cause for people attending: being drawn by what they represent, rather than the physical and functional form of event. Some examples of iconic events are the Mardi Gras being symbolic of Rio or New Orleans and the Homecoming Celebrations of 2009 being symbolic of Scotland. Another feature of iconic events that differentiates them from other recognised distinct forms of events is they are not necessarily repeated or one-time only, which is once again due to their symbolic value.

This paper builds upon the understanding of iconic events and of commemorative events by defining 'iconic-historic' events as a sub-category spanning both types of events. Such

events are by nature symbolically and historically momentous and, as such, grounded in commemorative practices. Iconic-historic events resonate internationally due to their symbolic meaning and value, as do general iconic events. However, these events differ from the more generic definition of iconic events due to their unique, globally significant historical context. Through studying the archetypal iconic-historic setting of the 20th and 25th anniversary events of the fall of the Berlin Wall, this study demonstrates that, while serving a unique role and purpose within their host destinations, iconic-historic commemorative events can be as significant as sought-after hallmark events to the strategic event portfolio approach and event tourism.

The paper applies the five propositions (Getz and Page, 2016a) as a tool to demonstrate the significance of such events to event tourism. It then discusses how iconic-historic events may fit into an event portfolio. It argues that, in certain contexts, such as that of Berlin, such iconic-historic commemorative events display similar characteristics to hallmark events, and can therefore be of comparable event tourism significance. The paper further situates these events within a proposed portfolio approach to commemoration which feeds into the event portfolio framework (Getz and Page, 2016a). The paper is based on constructionist research consisting of qualitative interviews with event organisers and analysis of key documents. All data were analysed with an overarching thematic analysis.

The fall of the Berlin Wall on 9th November 1989 was an event of worldwide political, socio-cultural and media significance (Manghani, 2008). In this sense, the commemorative events staged in 2009 and 2014 for the 20th and 25th anniversaries of the fall of the Berlin Wall may be considered archetypal iconic-historic commemorative events. They held high symbolic value, were representational of an internationally recognised historical occurrence and underpinned by commemoration. Whilst leading to unification of East and West Germany in October 1990, the historical event is also commonly seen as the event that became emblematic of the fall of communism in Eastern Europe as well as marking the end of the Cold War and the division of the world into two opposing ideologies (Drechsel, 2010). Due to its instant international broadcasting the fall of the Wall was immediately engrained as a defining moment in history in its global audience (Manghani, 2008). Moreover, the peaceful protests in East Germany played an important role for the fall of the Wall and the event has now become a symbol for the idea that any government or ideology can be overcome through the power of the people (Detjen, 2011). Due to the international political implications of its fall and as the city's most famous landmark, the demands of the tourist industry played an important role for the development of Berlin Wall commemoration (Tölle, 2010). While the Berlin Wall itself as well as places of permanent commemoration are the subjects of a large body of existing literature (see, for example, Feversham and Schmidt, 1999; Frank, 2009;

Harrison, 2011; Henke, 2011; Klausmeier and Schlusche, 2011; Knischewski and Spittler, 2006; Ladd, 1997; Tölle, 2010; Ullrich, 2006) the recent commemorative events associated with it have so far barely received any academic attention. With the 2009 and 2014 anniversary celebrations being the first and only large-scale internationally recognised public commemorative events of the fall of the Berlin Wall, they constitute an interesting and relevant context in which to explore the event tourism potential of iconic-historic commemorative events.

This paper starts by reviewing the relevant literature in relation to event tourism and commemorative events by drawing on previous studies from a tourism and events management perspective, but also on literature on commemoration from anthropology and sociology. The literature review also explores the extent of existing literature on commemorative events and event tourism. The paper further outlines the research context in regards to commemoration of the Berlin Wall more generally, as well as the two anniversary years more specifically. Following that, the methodology is outlined, including philosophical underpinnings. The findings of this study present the potential of iconic-historic events to event tourism management and propose a commemorative portfolio which can be linked to the strategic events portfolio approach (Getz and Page, 2016a). In addition to these theoretical contributions, the paper is therefore of tourism industry significance to destination marketers, event managers, and other professionals involved in the management of commemoration.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Event tourism

According to Getz and Page (2016a), planned events not only add to destination attractiveness but are now established strategic resources used for marketing purposes in order to remain competitive. Therefore, event tourism development is an increasingly popular choice for destination marketers and policy makers. The use of festivals and events for explicit event tourism goals may aim at, for example, attracting tourists off-season, dispersing economic benefits derived from tourism, marketing and branding of the destination, using events as a catalyst for urban (re-)development and animating specific areas or attractions (e.g. Allen et al., 2011; Connell et al., 2015; Getz, 1991; 2005; 2008; Getz and Page, 2016a; Hall, 1992; Mackellar, 2014; Mariani and Giorgio, 2017). All of these outcomes are embedded in the underlying key propositions presented by Getz and Page (2016a), mentioned in the introduction of this paper. In line with this, the first and foremost proposition is that events can attract tourists who may otherwise not have visited the destination,

bringing along potential economic benefits as well. This 'observable phenomenon' (Getz and Page, 2016a, p. 596) can be leveraged for outcomes such as the aforementioned.

Event tourism strategies may require the development of existing events, bidding for mobile events or new event creation (Allen et al., 2011). In this context, an event portfolio approach is usually recommended, which refers to a strategic and goal-driven approach to the management of complementary and inter-related events of different size, impact, theme, timing and frequency within one destination (Allen et al., 2011; Getz, 2008; Getz and Page, 2016a; Ziakas, 2014). An event portfolio is thus different from the coincidental collection of events within a destination and helps leverage the benefits of events (Ziakas and Costa, 2011; Ziakas, 2014). A portfolio approach favours a balanced development of occasional mega events, few periodic hallmark events, major one-time events as well as a wide range of regional and local events, thus forming a pyramid of events of different status, scale and reach as represented in Figure 1 below (Andersson et al., 2013; Getz, 2005; Getz and Page, 2016a).

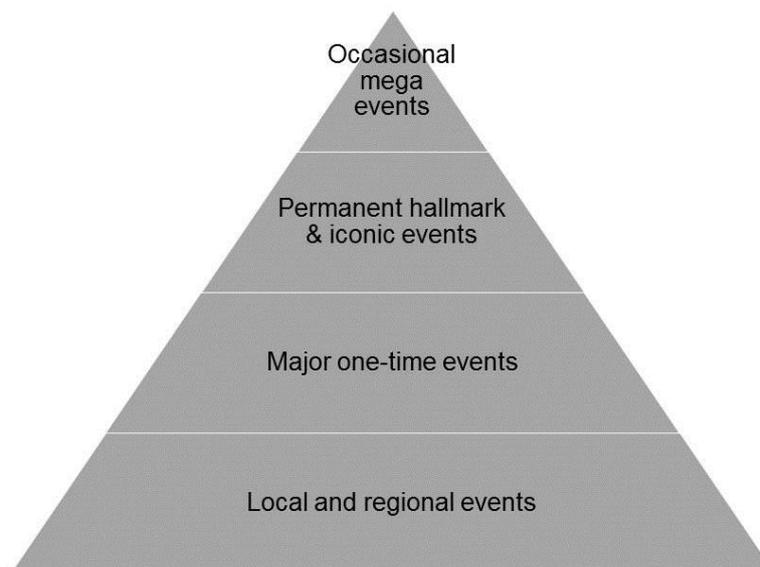


Figure 1: The (revised) portfolio approach to events (based on Getz and Page, 2016a & Getz, 2016)

The event tourism potential of different events within a portfolio has been considered in relation to event size or status and in relation to theme or content. In regards to size or status, particularly mega and hallmark events have received attention (Getz and Page, 2016a). Mega events are events of high tourist demand and value, such as the Olympic Games or the FIFA World Cup (Getz and Page, 2016a). Whilst there is some disagreement in the literature as to how large an event has to be to be classified as 'mega', these events are commonly defined in regards to the number of tourists attracted, media coverage generated, costs involved and transformative power on local environment (Müller, 2015).

Mega events are often perceived to be a useful means for event tourism development (Florek and Insch, 2011).

Hallmark events do not have a clearly agreed definition, but, as aforementioned, are now commonly seen to be recurring events which are inextricably linked to their location (Getz et al., 2012; Todd et al., 2017). In fact, hallmark events can be large and share some characteristics with mega events, but their defining characteristic is that, whereas mega events tend to be peripatetic, successful hallmark events are long-standing events that contribute to or reflect the destination's identity (Getz et al., 2012). Whilst hallmark events successfully attract tourists, they moreover enjoy widespread acceptance and support amongst the local community; over time, hallmark events become taken-for-granted institutions (Getz and Andersson, 2008). In this sense, hallmark events can contribute to community building (Getz et al., 2012). It is suggested that, in comparison to one-time mega events, successful hallmark events can be a more cost-effective tool for gaining long-term event tourism benefits whilst also catering to the needs and interests of the local community (Getz et al., 2012; Getz and Page, 2016a). However, hallmark status is not easily reached; it usually requires an evolutionary process that institutionalises the event through wide-ranging support and relationship building within the destination (Getz and Andersson, 2008). Therefore, events conceptualised as hallmark events may not materialise whilst other events may organically develop towards hallmark status. As discussed earlier, iconic events share similar characteristics with hallmark events and can be of equal significance within event portfolios (Getz, 2016), but have elevated symbolic significance on an international basis. Finally, regional and local events have the least power for achieving event tourism outcomes, although some events might have potential whereas others are deliberately protected from commercialisation and commodification and primarily carry meanings for the local community (Getz and Page, 2016a). Therefore, in terms of size and status, hallmark events and iconic events may be the most desirable and valuable elements within an event portfolio.

In regards to event theme or content, the event tourism literature is primarily focused on business events, sport events, festivals and cultural celebrations as well as entertainment events (Getz, 2008; Getz and Page, 2016a). For this paper, the role of festivals and other cultural celebrations for event tourism is particularly pertinent as Getz and Page (2016a) describe commemorations as a type of festival or cultural event. However, they primarily focus on past research on arts and music festivals as well as traditional cultural and religious celebrations (Getz and Page, 2016a). Such festivals have been considered for their event tourism potential, for example, in relation to attraction of tourists or marketing a destination, but also attract critical studies in relation to issues such as identity (e.g. Crespi-Vallbona and

Richards, 2007; De Bres and Davis, 2001; Merkel, 2015) or politics (e.g. Atkinson and Laurier, 1998; Jeong and Santos, 2004; Merkel, 2014).

Overall, it can be seen that event tourism has emerged as a significant field of research but has so far neglected commemorative events. As work by Frost and Laing (2013) illustrated, these commemorative events are plentiful in the Western world and consequently, it is of interest to explore how they can become iconic and therefore significant within event tourism planning whilst also considering how such events may fit into a strategic event portfolio. The following sections of the literature review outline how existing research into commemorative events may help illuminate these issues.

2.2. Commemoration and commemorative events

When an event or a person is commemorated, it is given particular importance in a group's history (Schwartz, 1982). Turner (2006) argues that commemoration includes all devices through which a collective such as a nation negotiates and remembers its past. This repertoire of devices consists of public and private acts of remembrance, the construction of monuments, museums and other places of memory as well as associated debates over their meaning (Turner, 2006). Overall, the existing literature on commemoration is primarily rooted in social science disciplines such as sociology and anthropology and considers these practices predominantly for their social and political roles within communities such as the nation. Here, commemoration is seen as a key resource for the construction of (often contested) shared identities (e.g. Connerton, 1989; Elgenius, 2011b; Gillis, 1994; Jedlowski, 2001; Spillman, 1997; Zerubavel, 1995). This section explores the nature and purpose of commemoration with particular reference to commemorative events, before investigating in more detail how such events can play a role for event tourism.

Commemoration at places of historical significance differs from commemorative events in that these places permanently 'fix' collective memories by providing tangible links to the past they refer to and are available for people to visit at any time (Barthel, 1996; Foote and Azaryahu, 2007; Turner, 2006). In contrast to that, commemorative events tend to mark crucial dates instead of places in a community's history. Furthermore, some argue that monuments can develop into unnoticed banal features of the urban landscape and can encourage forgetting more than remembering (Gapps, 2010; Turner, 2006), expressed aptly by Robert Musil: 'there is nothing so invisible as the monument' (cited in Kattago, 2015, p. 179). In contrast to this, ceremonies have the potential to generate a strong sense of belonging through creating a shared experience (Turner, 2006). Gapps (2010) also illustrates how events can create more widespread interest in historical events through focused attention on key anniversaries as well as through offering an immersive entertainment

experience. However, their temporary nature might make these events easily forgettable, only involving short-term impacts. Furthermore, there is more scope for ambiguity in regards to the meaning of commemorative events, and places of permanent commemoration are often considered clearer and more direct in their messages through their 'fixed' nature (Gapps, 2010). It has to be acknowledged though, that the meaning of places of permanent commemoration is also by no means 'fixed', as meanings are subjective and can shift depending on context and interpretation (Foote and Azaryahu, 2007). Gapps (2010), however, argues that this may be a positive way forward for contemporary commemoration in that commemorative events can offer open-ended, inclusive and participatory approaches.

Getz (2007) states that commemorative events mostly take place in the context of national days, birthdays of kings or queens, battles or wars. Frost and Laing (2013) propose a broader view of commemorative events by incorporating a range of non-political events, such as cultural anniversaries (e.g. the bicentenary celebrations of writer Hans Christian Anderson in Denmark in 2005 studied by Liburd, 2003), anniversaries linked to the construction or completion of buildings and other structures (e.g. the 125th anniversary of the UNESCO inscribed Forth Bridge in Scotland in 2015), corporate and product anniversaries (e.g. the 50th birthday of the Barbie Doll in 2007) as well as anniversaries of various other historical events (e.g. the centenary of the sinking of the Titanic studied by Frost and Laing, 2013). However, as the fall of the Berlin Wall is at the core of this study, existing literature in relation to commemoration of political historical events is particularly relevant.

Just like commemorative practices more generally, commemorative events are often researched in relation to their social and political roles in the context of the nation. In this regard, Frost and Laing (2013) suggest that commemorative events are effective for promoting unity, loyalty and a sense of belonging. St-Onge (1991) states that particularly governments' interests include education and the fostering of social cohesion or national morale. Hobsbawm and Ranger's (1983) influential book on 'The invention of tradition' is of relevance here to understand the purpose of such events. Their approach examines the ways in which invented ceremonies communicate a presumed link to a meaningful past for communities such as the nation (White, 1997). Hobsbawm (1983) claims that invented traditions are 'responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition' (p. 2). In particular, these invented traditions are used to provide structure to social life in a modern world of constant change and innovation (Connerton, 1989; Hobsbawm, 1983). Although they do not necessarily have to be of commemorative character, these invented traditions do imply continuity with the past. According to Hobsbawm (1983), there are three main purposes of invented traditions: to establish or symbolise social cohesion, to establish or legitimise

authority, and to inculcate beliefs, values and behavioural conventions. Invented traditions such as the Scottish kilt or Coronation rituals are a key resource for constructing national identity (Billig, 1995). In line with this, commemorative events can be considered such invented traditions, existing for the purpose of fostering the imagining of the (national) community by evoking a shared past (see also Anderson, 2006; Gellner, 2006 or Smith, 1991 for influential work in this context).

In this regard, it is state-sponsored commemorative events of national significance that have again received a lot of attention in the literature. McDonald and Méthot (2006) look at the purpose of centennial celebrations in particular, stating that these events are often hosted to foster nationalism, especially in young nations. Bodnar (1992), Spillman (1997) and White (2004) further studied centennial and bicentennial celebrations in the United States and Australia as events which constructed national identity and fostered patriotism in relatively young nations. Gillis (1994) also observed that commemorative events are particularly used in fragile new nations. In support of this, Gilbert (1976) states that important anniversaries in a nation's history are marked in order to strengthen a sense of community and communicate shared values. Frost (2012) argues how celebrations of the founding of a nation in particular are used to foster national identity and pride. Authors such as Spillman (1997), Misztal (2003) and Hall et al. (2010) support this stance. Spillman (1997) analyses the importance of the moment which is perceived as the foundation of the nation for the celebration of national identity in the United States and Australia. Misztal (2003) states that the myths surrounding such foundation moments are particularly powerful for strengthening unity within a group. Hall et al. (2010) investigated Anzac Day which is the national day of commemoration in Australia and New Zealand to remember those who fought at the Gallipoli battlefields during World War I. These authors emphasise that many attendees are attracted by the possibility to experience the birthplace of their nations.

Official annual national days are a related type of commemorative event of national significance that received particular attention in the literature in relation to their contribution to the construction of national collective memory and national identity (e.g. Elgenius, 2011a; 2011b; Frost and Laing, 2013; Fuller, 2004; McCrone and McPherson, 2009). Such national days are often also based on the founding myth related to political events such as independence, liberation, unification, the constitution and the formation of the state (Elgenius, 2011b). It can thus be seen that the social and political roles of commemorative events have been explored in quite some depth, whereas their incorporation in event tourism strategies is under-researched.

2.3. Event tourism at commemorative events

The literature on the role of commemorative events for event tourism development is limited and indeed such events are seen to be difficult to incorporate in these plans due to their presumed inward-focused nature (Frost and Laing, 2013). Even for places of permanent commemoration, the role of tourism is of emerging concern for academic research (e.g. West, 2010; 2015; Winter, 2009; 2015) unless one considers this area of research to be part of existing bodies of literature in relation to, for example, heritage tourism, post-conflict tourism, dark tourism or battlefield tourism. In the context of Getz and Page's (2016a) five propositions of event tourism, the literature is very limited in regards to if and how these may apply to commemorative events. Indeed, it is primarily the first three propositions that have been investigated in relation to commemorative events as outlined below.

McDonald and Méthot (2006) stress that the potential for financial gain from centennial celebrations was detected as early as the second half of the 19th century through events such as 100th anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence in 1876. This contributed to an increasing popularity of such events. However, they do not explicitly refer to event tourism as a cause for this economic gain. By analysing the role of commemorative events in former capitals, Frost (2012) underlines that economic benefits can be aimed for by using commemorative events to promote a destination for attracting tourists. Laws and Ferguson (2011) analysed a small-scale community-run commemorative event on Canadian National Day and outlined how the local community may benignly use the events for the construction of a certain destination image, but with limited reach and strategic implementation. Work by Hall et al. (2010) shows that Anzac Day at Gallipoli in Turkey attracts a large number of tourists, although these are primarily from Australia and New Zealand and therefore constitute a limited international audience. Grundlingh (2004) outlines how the centenary of the South African War in 1999 was planned with hopes of increased tourist numbers, but that the celebrations only reached a niche market. Apart from political commemorative events, particularly historical re-enactment events have received academic attention (e.g. Carnegie and McCabe, 2008; Ryan and Cave, 2007). Research has further shown that cultural anniversaries and anniversaries of other 'popular' historical events (i.e. secular and non-political events) can be used specifically as a means to develop event tourism strategies as indicated by the bicentenary celebrations of Hans Christian Anderson (Liburd, 2003), the 50th anniversary of the Roswell UFO incident (Paradis, 2002) or the centenary of the sinking of the Titanic (Frost and Laing, 2013). Frost, Wheeler and Harvey (2008) suggest that it is the potential for conflict over the meaning of such events that generally makes them difficult to be used for economic purposes and thus also event tourism as a whole. In line with this, commemorative events of political events such as the fall of the Berlin Wall have received particularly little attention in this context.

Overall, the event tourism potential seems to be limited to certain types of commemorative events. Due to limited research into commemorative events and event tourism, Frost and Laing (2013) speculate that the following types and formats of events may be able to attract tourists: international exhibitions, museum and gallery special exhibitions, historical re-enactments, national pageants, parades and ceremonies, diaspora events, and participatory events. Commemorative events held in national capitals that mark events of national significance may involve the spectacle required to attract tourists, although these may be primarily domestic (Frost and Laing, 2013). Consequently, many types of commemorative events, as argued by Frost and Laing (2013), may be subject to what they term a 'tourism paradox'. This paradox entails the idea that in order to gain public funding many events nowadays are expected to bring along event tourism benefits, but commemorative events are primarily aimed at a local or national audience. Thus, these events may attract domestic tourists under the most favourable circumstances, but are of limited appeal to international visitors. Overall, Frost and Laing (2013) consider tourists as outsiders that mostly do not share the memories and identities that are reinforced at the events and thus may be difficult to attract. If 'outsiders' do attend or acknowledge such events, this primarily validates national identity by reinforcing the international standing of the country and the significance of the event commemorated (Frost and Laing, 2013; Spillman, 1997). Nevertheless, this argument does not apply to those commemorations that are of international audience and media recognition.

2.4. Iconic-historic commemorative events and their role for event portfolios

Due to the limited research into commemorative events and event tourism, there are no studies that consider how commemorative events might fit into or complement a managed event portfolio in event tourism planning. While it can be argued that all strategically planned events within a destination may be viable additions to any portfolio, this paper proposes that in certain contexts, commemorative events can have significant and considerable event tourism potential. It contends that specifically the defined category of iconic-historic commemorative events assume this role for destinations in the same way as valuable hallmark events.

As discussed earlier, Getz and Page (2016b) defined iconic events as those having high symbolic value on a global basis. Getz (2016) further argued such events are as valuable as hallmark events within event portfolios. The 20th and 25th anniversary events for the fall of the Berlin Wall can be viewed as archetypical iconic-historic events. As noted previously, the term iconic denotes something 'significant' and 'admired' whilst at the same time representing a set of beliefs, in line with Getz's (2016) claim of these events having high

symbolic value. Iconic-historic events are thus those unique events that commemorate a significant person or event from the past and through this commemorative effort, these events symbolically communicate a highly resonant set of values and beliefs.

It can be argued that, similarly to hallmark events, iconic-historic commemorative events are unique to their individual geographic and symbolic setting and by association become synonymous with this setting. They mark anniversaries of internationally, politically, and socio-culturally significant events, of both tangible and symbolic significance. They tend to be periodic, similarly to hallmark events. This can be seen in the present setting of the 20th and 25th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall. Secondly, iconic-historic events are usually tied to a particular place – the place where the commemorated event occurred. Such ‘parent’ events may contribute to the identity of the place, and as such, their iconic-historic commemorative events do as well. This was illustrated, for example, by Paradis (2002) and his study of the link between the Roswell UFO incident and local place identity. It is particularly this uniqueness and co-branding with the destination that makes both hallmark events and iconic-historic commemorative events valuable devices, as in times of globalisation, many festivals and events are no longer inextricably linked with the community and place in which they arose and thus have become homogenised and placeless (Elias-Varotsis, 2007; MacLeod, 2006). The distinctiveness and attachment to a locality of both hallmark and iconic-historic commemorative events can thus add to the competitiveness of a destination. At the same time, commemorative events ideally carry meaning for the local community whose memories and identities are also reconstructed at the events. This is a commonly discussed characteristic of commemorative events outlined, for example, in work by Frost and Laing (2013), Connerton (1989) and Elgenius (2011a), particularly in relation to commemoration of political events of national significance.

Furthermore, some well-known hallmark events have their origins in what could be considered commemorative practices, for example, the catholic ritual background to the New Orleans Mardi Gras. Similarly, the Edinburgh International Festival was conceived in 1947 as a celebration of European high culture with the aim of reuniting the continent to mark the end of the Second World War (Jamieson, 2004) and could be seen as a commemoration of pre-war times. Furthermore, due to their recurring nature, hallmark events at some point become commemorations of themselves. Returning to Edinburgh, this was seen by the marked celebrations of the 70th anniversary of Edinburgh’s International, Fringe and Film Festivals in 2017. Another example was the 100th anniversary of the Calgary Stampede in 2012.

Based on the similarities pointed out in this section, certain commemorative events of an iconic-historic stature may be valuable devices within an event portfolio and of similar

standing to hallmark events. Frost and Laing (2013) already suggest that some commemorative events can be developed as hallmark events within event portfolios, giving the example of Hastings Week in the United Kingdom. However, this is currently seen as a rare occurrence and limited to annual events, with the conceptual similarities between the two types of events not further explored. This study proposes a distinct type of commemorative events, namely iconic-historic events, and observes the similarities between these and hallmark events in event tourism management.

3. RESEARCH SETTING

This research focuses on the iconic-historic events that commemorated the 20th and 25th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and therefore this section briefly introduces the development of Berlin Wall commemoration and the events that took place in 2009 and 2014.

Approximately the first fifteen years after unification of East and West Germany were characterised by a lack of public forms of commemoration of the Berlin Wall. As the Berlin Wall constituted 'uncomfortable history' (Harrison, 2011, p. 80) and a united city and nation had to be restored (Ladd, 1997; Tölle, 2010), there was very little public support for and even opposition to keeping parts of the Wall as memorial sites (Harrison, 2011; Ladd, 1997; Tölle, 2010). However, approximately fifteen years after unification, a change process in commemoration of the Berlin Wall commenced.

Starting in 2004, a variety of external pressures coming from actors such as the tourism industry or private commemorative efforts (Harrison, 2011; Tölle, 2010) caused the Senate to investigate the remains of the Berlin Wall. This led to the publication of the important 'Overall concept of memorial plans for the Berlin Wall' in 2006; a document that presents a strategy to connect all significant remains and places, aiming to tell a coherent story and to integrate the commemorative effort (Tölle, 2010). Existing remains were to be aligned to create an overall narrative that enables visitors to understand the meaning of the Wall (Flierl, 2006; Klemke, 2011). The official aims of the concept were to make the Wall visible again in public space and to establish appropriate forms of commemoration for its victims (Flierl, 2006; Klemke, 2011). Through this concept, the state-sponsored commemoration of the Wall within the city has become a managed landscape.

This development culminated in the 20th and 25th anniversary celebrations of the fall of the Wall in 2009 and 2014. The 20th anniversary saw the first large-scale celebration in the form of a theme year held throughout the city. Three main activities were included in the theme

year: First, there was an open-air exhibition on the Alexanderplatz¹ focusing on the Peaceful Revolution, which opened on 7th May 2009 and, due to its popularity, remained there until October 2010. Secondly, there was a hybrid event called 'Perspectives – 20 years of a changing Berlin'. This consisted of a combination of exhibitions and activities such as guided tours that showcased the changing nature of Berlin since the fall of the Berlin Wall at fourteen different locations throughout the city. These events also showcased changes in the city that were not directly related to the Wall, such as the plans for the presently still unfinished international airport. Finally, the anniversary on 9th November 2009 was celebrated with a commemorative event called the 'Festival of Freedom', taking place at the Brandenburg Gate. This was considered to be the big finale of the theme year and included the fall of painted domino stones along parts of the route of the Berlin Wall (please see Figure 2) as well as speeches by international heads of government and various forms of entertainment. The dominoes had been painted by a large number of people – primarily school children – prior to the event in an initiative called the 'Domino Campaign'. The 'Festival of Freedom' was attended by 250,000 people and was broadcast live on national and international television (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009a).

¹ A large square and important transport hub in the centre of Berlin. It was located in East Germany during times of division and large-scale protests took place here during the Peaceful Revolution in the run-up to the fall of the Berlin Wall.

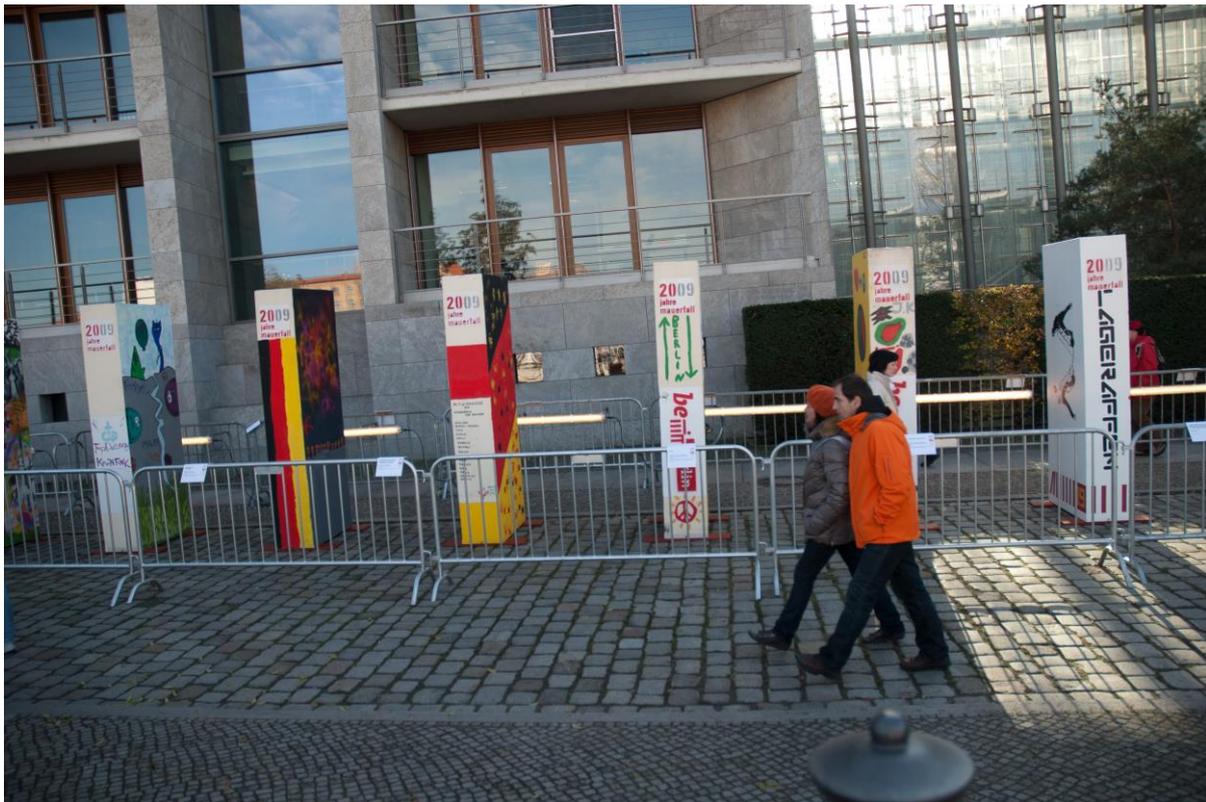


Figure 2: The dominoes during the 20th anniversary celebrations (Image: 'Berlin Dominoes 3' by Thomas Quine licensed under CC BY 2.0²)

The 25th anniversary celebrations in 2014 were presented on a much smaller scale and the events focused on the anniversary weekend of 9th November. The celebrations were staged around a key element called the 'Lichtgrenze' ('border of lights'). This was a 15km-long installation through Berlin's city centre which marked the former route of the Wall with illuminated white balloons from 7th to 9th November 2014 (see Figure 3). In the run-up to this weekend, people were able to adopt balloons. On the evening of 9th November, these 'balloon patrons' attached personal messages and released their balloons in highly publicised and well-attended 'balloon release event'. The 'Lichtgrenze' was accompanied by a variety of other elements. Yet again, there was an open-air exhibition, however, this year it was staged along the route of the balloons and presented anecdotes from times of division. Furthermore, there were various main locations along the 'Lichtgrenze' which functioned as visitor centres, with information points, short guided tours in the vicinity, shops selling souvenirs, as well as food and beverage outlets. Additionally, there were large screens which broadcast short films, for example, about various locations in Berlin to illustrate how they had changed by contrasting pre- and post-unification imagery. Another film briefly retold the history of the Wall from construction to its fall. These events in Berlin were furthermore accompanied by an online campaign called 'Fall of the Wall 25'. This campaign encouraged

² The image can be found here: <https://flic.kr/p/cd84GU>, the CC BY 2.0 license terms can be found here: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/>. No changes have been made to the original image.

people worldwide to share their personal stories or memories of both the Berlin Wall as well as other still existing literal and metaphorical walls. These stories were collected on social media and published on a dedicated website (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, nd).



Figure 3: The 'Lichtgrenze' during the 25th anniversary celebrations (Image: Author's own, 2014)

The events in both years were organised by four main institutions: The Berlin Senate, Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH (a state-owned organisation which conceptualises and manages large-scale cultural events and cultural education projects in the city on behalf of the Senate), Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft e. V. (an association which administers an archive of the citizens' movement in the German Democratic Republic) and the Berlin Wall Foundation (administrators of the Berlin Wall Memorial at Bernauer Straße which is seen by the Senate to be the 'official' memorial site for the Berlin Wall). The Berlin Senate, and in particular the Cultural Affairs Office, played an important role for the events in both years, as it functioned as the key patron and sponsor of the events. The events thus had governmental approval and support, rather than being a private initiative.

4. MATERIAL AND METHODS

This paper is based on qualitative research conducted from a constructionist philosophical perspective. It is believed that '[m]eaning is not discovered, but constructed' (Crotty, 1998, p. 9). Constructionism is described by Lincoln, Lynham and Guba (2011) as a paradigm that employs a relativist ontology and a subjectivist epistemology. This means that the ontological position is that realities are assumed to be 'multiple, intangible mental constructions' (Guba and Lincoln, 1998, p. 206). Furthermore, the epistemological position of constructionism is

that there is no objective knowledge of the social world which can be proven with facts, but knowledge is subjective and will be impacted by the researcher’s worldviews.

The paper is based on analysis of both primary and secondary data. More specifically, it draws on a thematic analysis of interviews with event organisers and documents authored by these organisers. Interviews can be defined as ‘a conversation with a purpose’ (Berg, 2004, p. 75) and are a useful method for approaching the social world from the interviewees’ perspective. One representative from all four key event organisers was interviewed (see Table 1). All interviewees are considered senior managers of their respective institutions and were important decision-makers for the events.

Event organiser	Further information	Referred to as
Berlin Senate – Cultural Affairs Department	This interview took place over the phone in October 2013 and is the only interview which took place prior to the 2014 events.	Interviewee 1 – 4 (for individual interviewees), not representing the order in which they are presented here.
Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH	This interview took place over the phone in November 2014.	
Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft e. V.	This interview took place face-to-face in a café in Berlin in November 2014.	
Berlin Wall Memorial	This interview took place face-to-face in the interviewee’s office in Berlin in November 2014.	

Table 1: Overview of interviews conducted

The interviews were semi-standardised or semi-structured (Berg, 2004; Flick, 2014) and questions were both theory- and context-driven. The questions were deliberately left broad, but related to the idea that commemoration is political and that organisers have agendas which shape the commemorative effort (e.g. Barthel, 1996; Frost 2012; Frost and Laing, 2013; Gillis, 1994; McDonald and Méthot, 2006; Spillman, 1997; Turner, 2006). The interviews aimed at further illuminating such agendas. Sample interview questions can be found in Table 2, but as interviews were semi-structured, these questions only constituted a rough guide and questions were altered or adapted slightly to tailor them to the interviewee. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. For purposes of confidentiality, the interviewees are not associated with any of the institutions in the subsequent sections of the paper. For reasons of simplicity, the authors opted for the male pronoun to refer to the interviewees but this is not a reflection of the actual gender of the interviewees.

Sample interview questions
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Please elaborate on the role that you personally as well as your institution have played in the planning of the 2009 and 2014 commemorative events. 2. Please tell me about the origin of the ideas for the 2009 and 2014 events and how these ideas have developed. 3. What did the collaboration with the other partners look like? 4. What did you want to achieve with these events and were you successful?

5. Have the events had any impacts? What kinds of impacts?
6. What is particularly important for you and your institution in the planning and staging of these events?
7. Were there any messages you wanted to convey through these events?
8. Did you come across any challenges in the planning process?
9. With a diverse audience from local residents to people born after 1990 to international tourists – how do you balance the different expectations of such a diverse audience?
10. Has the wider context influenced the planning of the events?
11. There has been a debate within the city about appropriate Berlin Wall commemoration. How does your institution see this debate?
12. Are there going to be any further commemorative events in the future? If yes, what would you like these to look like based on your experiences in 2009 and 2014?

Table 2: Sample interview questions

The analysis of documents constitutes an unobtrusive research method and a useful strategy for data collection and analysis (Berg, 2004). Two different types of documents were used in the analysis: Firstly, evaluative accounts published by the organisers after the 2009 theme year, and secondly, books that were produced by the organisers to accompany the events in both years as they were taking place. A total of six documents were included in the analysis which constitutes all such documents that existed at the time of the research (see Table 3). All documents used were openly and publicly available and access did not have to be negotiated. In fact, the books were sold as merchandise items at the events in both years, whereas the evaluative documents of the 2009 events were published on the event's website.

Source	Brief description
'Documentation of the 2009 theme year' (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009a)	Overview of activities of the theme year, including informal evaluation (such as visitor numbers, media coverage)
'Peaceful Revolution 1989/90: Documentation of the open-air exhibition' (Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft e.V. & Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2010)	An overview of the open-air exhibition as one of the three events of the theme year
'We are the people: Magazine for the exhibition Peaceful Revolution 1989/90' (publication accompanying the open-air exhibition) (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009d)	Overview of historical events from construction of the wall to fall of the Wall and reunification with reference to the theme year and the open-air exhibition
'Domino book' (publication accompanying the 'Festival of Freedom') (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009c) [hard copy]	Overview of the 'Domino Campaign' with some information on the 'Festival of Freedom'
'Futures of Berlin' (publication accompanying the 'Changing Berlin' event) (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009b) [hard copy]	Overview of locations chosen for 'Changing Berlin' event

'Mauergeschichten – Wall Stories' (publication accompanying the 'Lichtgrenze' event) (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2014) [hard copy]	Includes all 100 stories which were told in the exhibition along the 'Lichtgrenze' with some information about the 'Lichtgrenze' and the 'Balloon Campaign'
---	---

Table 3: Overview of documents analysed

Both interviews and documents were analysed simultaneously using thematic analysis. Braun and Clarke (2006) define thematic analysis as 'a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data' (p. 79). In this context, a theme can be defined as an important or recurring idea within the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

Thematic analysis is beneficial for the examination of a variety of qualitative data, including interviews and documents (Patton, 2002). As thematic analysis aims at exploring patterns and themes across data sets, it is a useful means for exploring the role of these commemorative events for event tourism across both primary and secondary data. The analysis can be inductive or data-driven (developing themes from the data) as well as deductive or theory-driven (analysing the data with pre-determined themes) (Patton, 2002). Notably, one analysis may employ both deductive and inductive approaches (Boyatzis, 1998). Furthermore, the analysis of themes can take place at two different levels: at the level of manifest or semantic themes or at the level of latent themes (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun and Clarke, 2006). The former is an analysis of explicit or surface meanings, whereas the latter focuses on underlying ideas, assumptions and ideologies that give shape to the semantic themes (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun and Clarke, 2006).

A series of steps were taken to develop and identify themes, and to write up the findings from the analysis. As there is no generally agreed process for conducting a thematic analysis, these steps are a combination of the description of the process of thematic analysis as outlined by Boyatzis (1998) and Braun and Clarke (2006). These authors' work was adapted for the purpose of this study with the process outlined in Table 4. NVivo software was used to help with the management and coding of data, although some documents were only available as hard copies (see annotations in Table 3) and had to be analysed manually with highlighter pens, using the same process and coding framework.

1	Choice of sources of data and first familiarisation with data
2	Development of initial coding framework
3	First round of coding (theory-driven)
4	Second round of coding (data-driven)
5	Writing up of 'rich description' of semantic / manifest themes
6	Writing up of separate discussion of deeper meanings based on 'rich description'

Table 4: Steps of the thematic analysis

The relevant themes developed in Step 2 were 'rationale' (Why were the events planned in the first place?), 'priorities' (What did event organisers want to achieve with the events?), 'outcomes and impacts' (What kinds of outcomes or impacts were observed by the organisers?) as well as 'problems, challenges and criticisms' (What negative elements did organisers encounter during the planning process?). All themes led to a wide range of additional data-driven sub-themes in Step 4, including the aspects relating to event tourism presented in this paper. For example, within the 'priorities' theme the authors developed the data-driven sub-theme of 'branding' which corresponds with one of the five propositions. Extracts from the rich description and discussion produced in the final two steps were edited for the purposes of this paper. The authors would like to point out that all textual data were in German and have been translated into English to the best of their knowledge.

5. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This section presents and discusses the findings of the study. The first five subsections are structured using Getz and Page's (2016a) propositions of event tourism as a means of demonstrating how commemorative event that fulfil iconic-historic definitions can play a significant role within event tourism. Following that, the potential gravity of iconic-historic commemorative events within event portfolio management is discussed. Finally, the proposed commemorative portfolio is presented and linked to the strategic event portfolio framework.

5.1. Iconic-historic commemorative events and tourists

The first and overarching proposition is that events can attract tourists and this can generate economic benefits (Getz and Page, 2016a). As aforementioned, all other propositions are subsequent to this prime claim, but commemorations of political events were seen to have little potential here in existing literature. It is very clear, however, that the events in Berlin in 2009 and 2014 successfully attracted tourists. Their iconic-historic stature ensured that the events appealed to an international audience due to their symbolic meaning and historical significance. In regards to the first large-scale commemorative event in 2009, the documents stated:

A year of remembering and celebrating is coming to an end. According to Berlin Tourismus Marketing GmbH (BTM), the theme year brought about 2 million tourists to Berlin. (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009a, p. 11)

The year 2009 was the most successful year for the tourism industry in Berlin up to then, with a total of 8.3 million domestic and international tourists, constituting an increase of 4.5% in visitor numbers (Berlin Tourismus Marketing GmbH, 2010). Total hotel nights in 2009

increased by 6.2% to a total of 18.87 million (Berlin Tourismus Marketing GmbH, 2010). Similar success stories were told by Berlin Tourismus & Kongress GmbH (2015) following the 25th anniversary celebrations:

One million guests came to Berlin on the weekend of the anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall alone. Overall, November 2014 was one of the strongest Novembers ever for Berlin tourism with 2.2 million hotel nights. The number of hotel nights increased by over 10% compared with the previous year. (Berlin Tourismus & Kongress GmbH, 2015, p.9)

And further:

We are particularly happy about the continuing increase in international visitors. In the past year 43.6% of all hotel nights were generated by visitors from abroad [...] The celebrations for the 25th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall contributed to this. The whole world looked at Berlin and hundreds of thousands used this occasion to visit our city. (Berlin Tourismus & Kongress GmbH, 2015, p. 6)

This information demonstrates that these iconic-historic commemorative events attracted domestic and international tourists, despite the assumptions in the existing literature that commemorative events have narrow appeal to tourists and limited potential for achieving economic benefits from tourism (Frost and Laing, 2013). It is clear that iconic-historic commemorative events fulfil this proposition and are therefore of significance for event portfolios as well as worth being nurtured for event tourism development.

5.2. Iconic-historic commemorative events as tools for branding and positioning

Events can create positive images for a place and therefore contribute to branding and positioning efforts (Getz and Page, 2016a). The interviewees revealed that the Berlin Wall commemorative events were indeed used for branding and positioning purposes. There were three main interrelated ways in which these iconic-historic events were used to brand and position the city: as a city of rich contemporary history, as a city of change, and as a city of Western values such as freedom, democracy and human rights.

The first emphasis can be seen in the following quote:

With these events, we determine important topics for Berlin. And we are branding Berlin in the area of contemporary history, make people aware of what happened in the various places and how it is all connected and this way we make Berlin attractive for a lot of people who come to this city as the German capital and ask what happened here and where can I see it. [...] We don't have any mountains and we also don't have the sea, there are loads of lakes, but not the sea, and instead Berlin lives on its history. (Interviewee 4)

This branding priority was thus particularly important for Interviewee 4, who outlines the role the events played for the branding of Berlin as a place rich in contemporary history. This interviewee specifically refers to the demands of tourists to see evidence of this rich history.

The interviewee argues that history is the city's most important resource for attracting tourists and the large-scale commemorative events are one way to make full use of this resource. The Berlin Wall in particular continues to attract tourists as the most recognisable reminder of a recent historical event with international consequences which are generally associated with positive change. The Wall thus remains one of the city's most famous and most emotive landmarks despite its absence, underpinning the inextricable link of such iconic-historic commemorative events with their location.

The second focus point for branding, the city of change, was also emphasised in the interviews:

And to showcase how Berlin has changed in the past 25 years, that is also very important to us. (Interviewee 1)

A priority was placed on presenting Berlin as a city of change which is no longer a divided city on the margins but an exciting place of change that is attractive to visit, live in and do business in. This emphasis was particularly visible in 2009 with the event 'Perspectives – 20 years of a changing Berlin', which aimed at illustrating the 'immense changes in Berlin since the fall of the Wall' (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2009a, p. 10) and focused on places such as the new Central Train Station, the new governmental district or the completely re-built Potsdamer Platz, a former area of the inner-German border.

Finally, the historical events were used to brand the city as a role model in terms of freedom, democracy and human rights:

Although 25 years have passed since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the symbolism of this seismic event has not waned. That a Peaceful Revolution successfully overthrew a dictatorship and ended the division of Germany, Europe and the world, continues to inspire hope across the globe that other barriers and walls can be surmounted in a similar fashion. (Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2014, p. 148)

The organisers commonly transferred the symbolic meanings and values of the iconic-historic events to situations around the world by drawing parallels between injustice in the GDR and existing injustice elsewhere. By outlining the processes of heroic self-liberation from a suppressive government, the fall of the Wall is used as a moral message and potential role model, encouraging people around the world that injustice can be overcome in a peaceful manner. As this process has already been completed in Berlin, the city presents itself as a positive example to people around the world that aspire to the same freedoms. In this way, Berlin is presented as an appealing, desirable place to be. This branding aspect is also emphasised by Berlin Tourismus & Kongress GmbH (2015) who state that 'the 'Lichtgrenze' consolidated the image of Berlin as a city of freedom' (p. 6).

Whilst successfully changing the reputation of a place through branding strategies is difficult (Anholt, 2009), positive iconic-historic events - the Peaceful Revolution and the fall of the Berlin Wall - are used to position Berlin positively in an international community. By presenting the striving for freedom, democracy and human rights as international goals, Berlin is presented as having achieved what others may want. What is more, these ideals and values were achieved by the power of the people and in a peaceful way. Thus, the positive associations with the historical events are leveraged (see also Florek and Insch, 2011) and the iconic-historic commemorative events are used to brand Berlin to a national and international audience. This illustrates that it is not just cultural or non-political anniversaries that can be successfully used for branding and positioning purposes, but anniversaries of events in political spheres as well.

5.3. Iconic-historic commemorative events as tools for place marketing

In close relation to the previous proposition, events can contribute to broader marketing efforts to make places more attractive (Getz and Page, 2016a). Whilst the events under investigation were successful in attracting visitors to the city, as mentioned in Section 5.1, they also contributed to longer term marketing benefits. In this case, the interviews outlined that the events helped with marketing communication efforts, particularly in relation to media publicity through extensive reporting of the events in the media. In this sense, the events generated significant national and international media coverage, emphasising the marketing potential of iconic-historic commemorative events. This helped to communicate the aforementioned branding and positioning efforts to an international audience:

The beginning was made in early summer in 2008 by the New York Times: Almost a year before the opening of the exhibition it recommended a visit to the open-air exhibition 'Peaceful Revolution 1989/90' to its readers. This report kicked off an overwhelming media response both nationally and internationally. (Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft e.V. & Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2010, p. 44)

The media coverage generated in both years was recognised as a helpful marketing tool:

For us this media attention was... We were in over 320 newspapers, media worldwide, we had over 40 reports on TV worldwide. [...] But that's a unique occurrence, I believe, and it was a major help. These images are worth more than any guidebook. (Interviewee 3)

Such coverage is a commonly discussed outcome of events where increased exposure in the media throughout the course of an event can enhance the profile of a destination, resulting in long-term event tourism benefits (Getz, 2007; Getz and Page, 2016a).

The potential to use commemorative events for the marketing of places is considered in the literature (Frost, 2012; Grundlingh, 2004; Laws and Ferguson, 2011; Liburd, 2003; Paradis, 2002), but rarely associated with commemoration of political events. In the case of the 20th

and 25th anniversaries of the fall of the Berlin Wall, however, being the home to such a unique iconic-historic event helps present an appealing and attractive image of the city. Iconic-historic commemorative events such as those of the fall of the Berlin Wall therefore have significant long-term event tourism potential.

5.4. Iconic-historic commemorative events as animators for static facilities

The data showed that the iconic-historic commemorative events also fulfil Getz and Page's (2016a) fourth proposition, i.e. as animators of static facilities. The interviews revealed a strong link between the commemorative events and the permanent commemorative infrastructure in the city. Of particular relevance are the developments that occurred as part of the 'Overall concept', where the opening of new, extended or improved commemorative efforts was timed to coincide with the anniversary years:

We opened the 'Wall Information Space' in the subway station at Brandenburg Gate during the theme year, and as I said, the visitor centre [at the Berlin Wall Memorial] after only one year of construction, and the first part of the extension to the Berlin Wall Memorial, so that the people can see, things are really getting started now. (Interviewee 4)

This quote relates to what Getz (1991; 2005; 2008) and Getz and Page (2016a) describe as using events as animators for static sites to encourage visitation and enhance publicity under the overarching term of event tourism development. This is clearly visible in this case, for example, the opening of the new permanent exhibition at the Berlin Wall Memorial was timed to take place on 9th November 2014 so that the media and public attention for the 25th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall could be leveraged. Additionally, the 50th anniversary of the construction of the Berlin Wall was also used for this purpose with the opening of a new extension to the Berlin Wall Memorial having been completed in 2011. Not surprisingly as well, the 2009 event 'Perspectives – 20 years of a changing Berlin' included the Berlin Wall Memorial and in 2014, a major focus point and visitor information centre along the 'Lichtgrenze' was located on memorial grounds. The use of events to animate permanent places of commemoration is therefore a common practice in Berlin.

5.5. Iconic-historic commemorative events as catalysts for future development

Evidence that the iconic-historic commemorative events fulfil the proposition of fuelling future development (Getz and Page, 2016a) can also be seen in this study. This is related to the aforementioned link between temporary and permanent forms of commemoration. These iconic-historic events were not only used to animate existing or newly opened places, but also to stimulate development for further places in Berlin:

Well, of course we want to create sustainable impacts with these theme years in that institutions are planned or completed, that places within the city are highlighted, that memorials are created, so that something remains from each year which continues to carry out this commemorative duty. (Interviewee 4)

Apart from the strategic use of the anniversaries for future development, the events also unintentionally stimulated debates over missing memorials and created demand for their development. This was particularly the case in relation to the Peaceful Revolution, which had not been commemorated before 2009:

The enthusiasm of the people illustrated that both Berliners as well as national and international visitors expect a presentation of recent German history, especially in the capital Berlin which was an important location of the Peaceful Revolution. The removal of the exhibition [on the Peaceful Revolution] leaves a gap which has to be filled. (Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft e.V. & Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH, 2010, p. 14)

Overall, emphasis is placed on 'sustainable commemoration', thus using the events as a catalyst for legacy purposes (Getz, 1991; 2005; 2008; Hall, 1992). An important question was what remains from such large-scale events. Frost and Laing (2013) argue that legacies in the form of permanent places of commemoration can fulfil a variety of functions, such as constructing public space or providing places of pilgrimage. These functions, however, are also applicable for places of permanent commemoration that are created without the link to an anniversary. The question of why such legacies of events are important thus remains. A potential explanation is that these places are seen to more effectively anchor the historical events in collective memory and determine their meaning and status on the long-term (Barthel, 1996; Foote and Azaryahu, 2007; Gapps, 2010; Turner, 2006), whereas the meaning of events can be more fluid and impacts can be more short-term. Nevertheless, Gapps (2010) and Turner (2006) argue that such permanent places can become unnoticed banal features of the cityscape whereas commemorative events can more effectively capture people's attention and create lasting sociocultural impacts. However, sociocultural event impacts are often intangible, abstract, highly subjective and difficult to measure (e.g. Bowdin et al., 2011; Dwyer et al., 2000; Getz, 2007), potentially making them less meaningful for the organisers in the long-term and thus creating the need for places of permanent commemoration.

5.6. Iconic-historic commemorative events and event portfolios

This paper proposes that iconic-historic commemorative events display similar characteristics to hallmark events and, if they successfully attract tourists, may be nurtured to gain similar status within an event portfolio. It can be seen that the iconic-historic commemorative events of the fall of the Berlin Wall in 2009 and 2014 indeed display similar characteristics to hallmark events (Getz et al., 2012; Getz and Page, 2016a). First of all, the

events in both years were large-scale events that managed to attract a significant number of domestic and international tourists. Secondly, the events contributed to the marketing, branding and positioning of the city. Thirdly, similarly to other commemorative events they have the potential to contribute to community building (Frost and Laing, 2013), although this research cannot comment on the extent to which this successfully took place. Fourthly, they are not one-off events, but take place periodically. Finally, the events are inextricably linked to the city of Berlin, with the Berlin Wall being an internationally recognised landmark of the city. This shows that, in certain contexts, such iconic-historic commemorative events have significant event tourism potential and could be nurtured to a status similar to hallmark events.

The key currently unfulfilled characteristic is whether the events will become permanent taken-for-granted institutions just as successful hallmark events (Getz and Andersson, 2008). With only two iterations of quite different format so far, it remains to be seen whether future events will take place. Indeed, the interviewees expressed some uncertainty about this. For example, when asked whether future events will be easier to stage or whether they will have to struggle for the required support, one interviewee said:

I think definitely the latter because it costs money and someone has to provide that money and they have to be willing to give it. And everyone that gives money is in a difficult situation because they are asked what they are giving money for. [...] it always depends on who is making decisions and what is the political constellation, in what kind of difficult situations are they. (Interviewee 2)

Another event organiser further noted that:

Whether there will be something of this scale in five years' time, we aren't able to predict that. After 2009 as well people had the feeling that because the project grew so much throughout the process especially in the run-up to 9th November and with this impact, people thought, 'Well, will it be possible to stage something which can keep up with this for 25 years after the fall of the Wall?' I think we succeeded in this with the 'Lichtgrenze' and the accompanying activities. But whether we do this again for 30 years... Perhaps it will only be this big for 50 years, we will see in the coming years and in three or four years we will think about how to deal with this for the 30th anniversary but it is a bit too early now. (Interviewee 1)

The above quote emphasises the idea that the event organisers had set very high standards with the theme year in 2009 which were difficult to achieve again or even to surpass. Although they consider the events in 2014 to be successful, it is uncertain whether something else of this scale can be organised again. This stresses the importance of the unique and novel programming in both anniversary years which cannot easily be repeated every five years. Interviewee 3 also discusses the difficulty of creating something meaningful and the potential discrepancies between the plans of the event organisers and actual experiences by attendees on the day of the event:

Yesterday there was a very interesting article in the Tagesspiegel³ about what happened. What actually happened there? And this distinction, I thought it was great, I thought it was very intelligent, they made a distinction between event and happening.⁴ [...] Well, there is this event which has been planned for a long time and it comes and makes BANG and it's gone. But this happening is something else. A happening simply happens. Whether you want it or not. Well, that it actually happens, you plan everything, you can plan Christmas, too, you can plan Christmas all year long but perhaps it doesn't happen. It takes place, but it doesn't happen, because the whole family is having a row again. Well, you can plan whatever you want but it doesn't happen. And that was the case here as well. All kinds of things were planned, but that is... and that is the special thing and for me there was a very nice atmosphere. [...] And that's quite an achievement; I didn't think it was possible in this way. (Interviewee 3)

Thus, Interviewee 3 concludes that:

It's not that you can easily reproduce these kinds of events again and again. And it was something very special. (Interviewee 3)

This line of thought is reflective of the literature on event experience design. Getz (2007), for example states that it is impossible to plan, design or guarantee a particular event experience for attendees. There are elements that can be designed in an attempt to facilitate certain experiences, such as the theme or programme. However, in the end the nature of the experience depends very much on the audience, their interactions with the environment and each other, and their beliefs and dispositions (Berridge, 2007).

There are thus two key challenges in the development of these iconic-historic commemorative events to a status comparable to hallmark events, and these are reflective of the existing literature. First of all, wide-ranging support from all stakeholders is needed for the events to institutionalise and achieve taken-for-granted permanent status (Getz and Andersson, 2008), and this support seems questionable in the case under investigation. Secondly, the success of the events depends on the extent to which they resonate with the audience; the meaningful commemorative effort cannot be imposed on the people, however, it is needed for a successful event and subsequent event tourism benefits. In this case, the organisers appear to think that with each anniversary, a new unique idea that successfully facilitates the desired experiences is needed and that previous formats cannot be repeated.

Therefore, overall, the development of these events into events of permanent status similar to hallmark events is uncertain despite past success. Nevertheless, the study suggests that commemorative events of similar iconic-historic status to the fall of the Berlin Wall can be desirable devices in an event portfolio and it should be considered whether they can be nurtured to become institutions.

³ Tagesspiegel: A daily liberal newspaper with its headquarters and primary target audience in Berlin.

⁴ The words used in German are 'Event' and 'Ereignis', the former is exclusively used in German to refer to a planned event whereas the latter can refer to something unplanned and unexpected.

5.7. The need for commemorative portfolios and their linkages with event portfolios

Whilst this paper argues that iconic-historic commemorative events can be as valuable for event portfolios as hallmark events, there are nevertheless several particularities of such events in considering their use for event tourism purposes. There are two key interrelated issues that relate to the process of commercialisation and links with permanent commemoration. In order to address these issues, the authors suggest the integration of iconic-historic commemorative events into both a commemorative portfolio and an event portfolio, where possible and appropriate.

In discussing the use of events for event tourism development purposes, Getz (1991) states that commercialisation is a common concern particularly with the use of cultural events. This concern is related to the commodification of cultural elements in the production of events explicitly aimed at tourists which may lead to a perceived lack of authenticity (Andrews and Leopold, 2013). Commodification and lack of authenticity may negatively influence the perceived meaning of the event (Andrews and Leopold, 2013). Authenticity, however, is a highly subjective concept and as such, the level of 'acceptable commercialisation' will differ from person to person. This management challenge of catering to a large number of visitors while at the same time trying to preserve the inherent meanings of commemorative events is pointed out by Hall et al. (2010). Furthermore, the increased usage of event portfolios for event tourism goals (e.g. Getz, 1991; 2005; 2008; Getz and Page, 2016a; Richards and Palmer, 2010) as well as an increased awareness of the importance to provide experiences (stemming from Pine and Gilmore's original discussion of the experience economy in 1998) led to what Jakob (2013) terms eventification of place: 'the process with which the consumption of products and space is turned into an event' (p. 449). Thus, what happens could be seen as an eventification or commodification of commemoration as part of wider event tourism strategies. This development is explicitly criticised by one organiser of the iconic-historic events under investigation:

I was very, very sceptical towards the whole thing. Because [...] I immediately see the eventification and exploitation of spaces. (Interviewee 3)

In contrast to this, another interviewee argued that staging the commemoration as an event does not necessarily imply any negative impacts on the profoundness or authenticity of the commemorative effort:

I think that it is okay to stage this, and it should be staged [...]. It doesn't mean you have to distort anything, and that's always this black and white thinking. [...] You don't have to lie. But that doesn't mean it can't be staged. (Interviewee 2)

In this interplay between temporary and permanent commemoration there is a level of disagreement among organisers in terms of what is most appropriate and what is most profound. Frost and Laing (2013) consider the question of when this eventification turns into disrespect, but also argue that the answer is highly subjective and that this may always be a resource for dispute.

Richards and Palmer (2010) argue that in line with processes such as event portfolio development, events increasingly challenge the dominance of static sites for cultural and economic development in cities. They further state that events can lead to more vibrant and stimulating experiences in urban spaces. Although the overall positive impact of the events is recognised among organisers, permanent commemoration nevertheless appears to carry the highest priority. In a city like Berlin which is highly dependent on its history for branding and (event) tourism development strategies, it is important to develop a balanced commemorative portfolio consisting of both permanent and temporary forms.

The idea of a commemorative portfolio was also supported by one of the interviewees who argued that the events should add to the existing infrastructure:

[W]e are working with partners in the city, especially those who usually deal with coming to terms with the topic on a daily basis [...] that means we do not want to do anything to compete with them or repeat what they are already dealing with, but simply to create something supplementary that matches our partners' ideas. (Interviewee 1)

This portfolio should not only consider permanent and temporary forms of commemoration in regards to one particular historical event, such as the fall of the Wall, but needs to be more wide-ranging in scope. One interviewee explained that:

Because naturally there were voices in 2009 that said 'You are celebrating the fall of the Wall on such a large scale, but don't forget the anniversary of the November Pogroms⁵'. And that led to the idea to stage [another] theme year for the 75th anniversary of the November Pogroms. And that's how one topic leads to another. (Interviewee 4)

It can be argued that such conflicts over the meaning and interpretation of different events being commemorated are inherent to any act of commemoration (Gillis, 1994). Nevertheless, in recent decades many Western societies have seen a development towards more nuanced and plural commemorative efforts (Elgenius, 2011a; 2011b; Ryan, 2011). Therefore, iconic-historic commemorative events can be as valuable as hallmark events within event portfolios, but at the same time need to be in line with and embedded within a balanced overall commemorative portfolio of the place. This is to address concerns surrounding eventification

⁵ Also referred to as the 'Night of Broken Glass', the November Pogroms took place on 9th and 10th November 1938. They constituted attacks and riots aimed at Jews in Germany and were a key event in the lead up to the Holocaust.

and commercialisation, conflicts due to competing offers and conflicts with commemoration of other historical events. Iconic-historic commemorative events should therefore not be nurtured into a status similar to hallmark events within an event portfolio without consideration of the permanent commemoration as well as of other key events in the history of the place. Figure 4 illustrates the proposed portfolio approach to commemoration and its links with the strategic event portfolio framework.

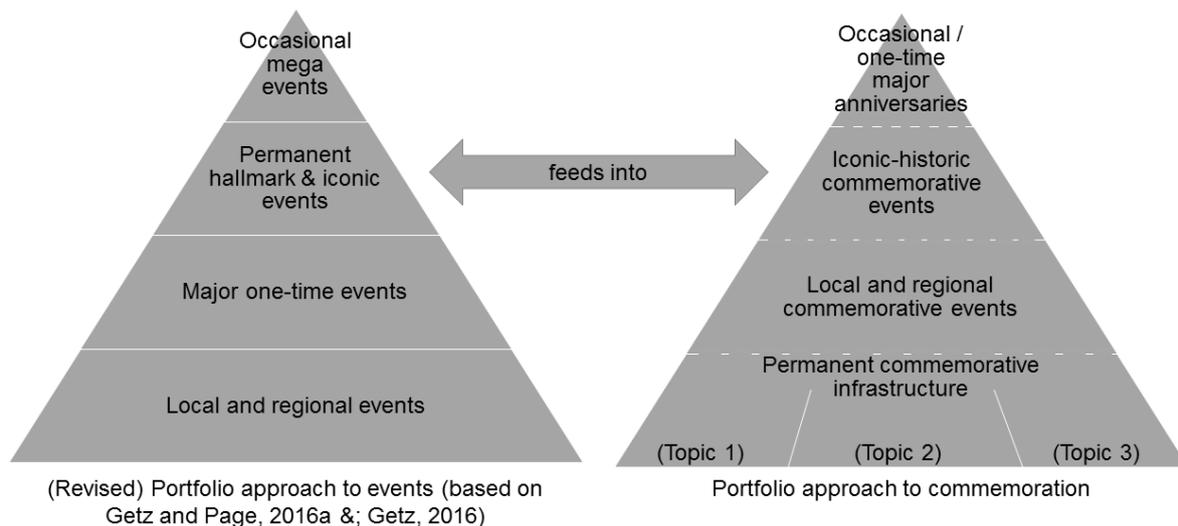


Figure 4: Strategic event portfolio linked with the proposed commemorative portfolio

As can be seen in Figure 4, the commemorative portfolio consists of a base of permanent commemorative infrastructure on a range of historical topics. Whilst Figure 4 portrays three topics, this could be any number appropriate and relevant to a destination. This base consists of a wide range of memorials, monuments, museums, street names and other forms of permanent commemoration. Some of these may be of interest to tourists whilst others may primarily be of interest to the local community or special interest groups only. In addition to this base, a destination may stage commemorative events on anniversaries of historical events. As this research suggests, there are links between permanent and temporary commemorative efforts (illustrated through the dotted lines in Figure 4) in that the events can be used to animate existing places as well as create demand for additional permanent commemorative infrastructure. Furthermore, organisers may place a high importance on the permanent infrastructure for long-term anchoring of memories as well as for avoiding a perceived commercialised approach to commemoration, therefore both permanent and temporary forms need to be considered for the portfolio. Similar to the event portfolio, the events staged in addition to the base of permanent commemoration can be of different scale and status. They can be local or regional, meaning they primarily carry meaning for local populations or small special interest groups and have little event tourism significance.

Alternatively, such events can be of iconic-historic stature such as the example in this paper and therefore be significant for event tourism. Finally, such events could be major large-scale anniversaries such as centenary celebrations, which, similarly to mega-events in the event portfolio, occur less frequently due to costs and efforts involved.

As this paper argues, as well as sharing similar characteristics, iconic-historic commemorative events can be as valuable as hallmark events within strategic event portfolios, and thus such temporary commemorative efforts from the commemorative portfolio can feed into the strategic event portfolio approach of a destination. This link between the two portfolio approaches is illustrated in Figure 4, where the proposed commemorative portfolio can be seen, including the defined iconic-historic form of event. Therefore, whilst these are two separate frameworks for the planning and management of two aspects within a destination – events and commemoration – they are linked particularly through the event tourism significance of iconic-historic commemorative events. Thus these two portfolios should not be managed in isolation but should inform each other, which will require cooperation between different actors within destinations, such as destination planners and managers, city marketers, cultural policy makers and the managers and planners of commemorative efforts.

6. CONCLUSION

By first defining a new category of commemorative event, this paper explored how these iconic-historic commemorative events can function as event tourism devices. In doing so, it used the example of the 20th and 25th anniversaries of the fall of the Berlin Wall as archetypical examples of iconic-historic commemorative events. This concluding section states the theoretical contributions as well as management implications of this research. It further outlines limitations and potential areas for future research.

6.1. Theoretical contributions

In its first major contribution, this paper defines a new form of commemorative event as iconic-historic through the example of the 20th and 25th anniversary events of the fall of the Berlin Wall. It argues that such events are both iconic in stature and of considerable historical significance, whilst representing internationally appealing values and ideals. The paper also showed that these events have significant event tourism potential and share the key characteristics of sought-after hallmark events. In characterising iconic-historic events, another major contribution of this paper is to provide a new commemorative portfolio framework. This was linked with the strategic event portfolio, thus contributing to knowledge in the realm of event tourism planning. This is presented in Figure 4 in this paper. In doing

so, it illustrates how iconic-historic commemorative events may function as devices for event tourism strategies.

In the context of event tourism, commemorative events within political spheres are a largely unexplored phenomenon. The definition of iconic-historic events as a further form of commemorative event in this area and the understanding of such events in relation to how they are used for event tourism development thus adds to work published on commemorative events, such as the studies by Frost (2012), Frost and Laing (2013), Frost, Wheeler and Harvey (2008), Hall et al. (2010), Laws and Ferguson (2011) and McDonald and Méthot (2006) whilst also adding a new perspective to work on event tourism (e.g. Getz, 1991; 2008; Getz and Page, 2016a). Furthermore, this study shows that iconic-historic commemorative events do fulfil all of Getz and Page's (2016a) five core propositions of event tourism. Although this is a broad event tourism framework, it further suggests commemorative events have been overlooked for their potential as devices of event tourism. Table 5 summarises the theoretical contributions in this regard.

	Proposition (Getz and Page, 2016a)	Previous theoretical assumptions	Theoretical contributions of this research
1	Events can attract tourists which can create economic benefits.	Commemorative events have limited appeal to tourists and limited potential for achieving economic benefits from tourism (Frost and Laing, 2013)	Iconic-historic commemorative events can be interpreted and staged as internationally appealing events with much more than just a domestic audience.
2	Events can create positive images for the destination and help brand or re-position cities.	Cultural anniversaries and anniversaries of other 'popular' historical events can be used for branding or re-positioning purposes (e.g. Frost and Laing, 2013; Paradis, 2002), but political anniversaries were largely unexplored.	Positive associations with iconic-historic events can be leveraged to brand and re-position a destination, nationally and internationally.
3	Events contribute to place marketing.	The potential to use commemorative events for the marketing of places is considered in the literature (Frost, 2012; Grundlingh, 2004; Laws and Ferguson, 2011; Liburd, 2003; Paradis, 2002), but these ideas are rarely associated with commemoration of political events.	Iconic-historic commemorative events can generate significant positive media coverage worldwide, which can contribute to place marketing by highlighting the attractive nature of the destination.
4	Events animate cities, resorts, parks, urban spaces and venues of all kinds.	This proposition has been largely unexplored.	Iconic-historic commemorative events can be used strategically to encourage visitation at and enhance publicity for permanent forms of commemoration.
5	Event tourism	Frost and Laing (2013) comment	Iconic-historic

	acts as a catalyst for other forms of desired development.	that commemorative events can provide a justification for funding permanent structures, but do not make the link to event tourism. Therefore, this proposition is largely unexplored.	commemorative events can be used strategically to stimulate development of and demand for places of permanent commemoration.
--	--	---	--

Table 5: Theoretical contributions in relation to the five propositions

The paper illustrates that iconic-historic commemorative events are interpreted and staged as internationally appealing events with more than just a domestic audience. The literature suggests that commemorative events may have limited appeal to tourists (Frost, 2012; Frost and Laing, 2013; Frost, Wheeler and Harvey, 2008; Grundlingh, 2004; Turner, 2006). However, the events in Berlin were clearly designed to appeal to an international audience by promoting iconic ideals of freedom and democracy and to educate attendees on what happened. This finding further highlights limitations of previous studies and suggests that tourists should not be considered as outsiders to commemoration but may be key drivers for these events to take place in the first place. Consequently, the dichotomy of locals and tourists which is common in studies of commemoration appears to be outdated. In interpreting the fall of the Wall as an event of international significance, this dichotomy is not applicable anymore. The existing literature is therefore too narrow in focus when discussing commemoration primarily in relation to political and social uses and contexts. Likewise, by assuming that commemorative events are primarily directed at a domestic audience, their event tourism potential has been overlooked. In line with this, Elgenius (2011b) and Frost and Laing (2013) comment on the festivities in Berlin on 9th November 2009 from a national day celebration perspective, when these events were clearly designed for broader purposes.

This study further suggests that it may be relevant to consider potential linkages between permanent and temporary forms of commemoration. Whilst some previous work in memory studies and event studies comments on such different forms (e.g. Frost and Laing, 2013; Gapps, 2010; Turner, 2006), to the best of the authors' knowledge, there is no in-depth consideration of the interplay between them in the context of event tourism. Frost and Laing (2013) comment that commemorative events can provide a justification for funding new permanent structures, but do not make the ensuing links to event tourism. In this study, the linkages between permanent and temporary forms of commemoration imply a further event tourism use of iconic-historic commemorative events as animators of and catalysts for static facilities that commemorate the same or related elements of the past. Such a linkage can help to increase visitor numbers and broaden public attention and thus augment commemoration at static sites. Nevertheless, iconic-historic commemorative events pose some key challenges in relation to concerns over commercialisation and conflicts over meanings and other historical narratives. The authors therefore introduce the

commemorative portfolio which incorporates both permanent and temporary forms of commemoration on a range of historical topics and which can help planners to develop a balanced approach to commemoration taking into consideration commemorative efforts of different forms, topics and scales.

The paper argued that iconic-historic commemorative events share important characteristics with sought-after hallmark events in that they are unique and inseparably linked with their host destination, occur periodically and can contribute to place marketing as well as community building. Therefore, it was argued that such commemorative events can be desirable event tourism devices and possibly be nurtured to be of a status similar to hallmark events within an event portfolio. Whilst Frost and Laing (2013) have already proposed that this is the case in rare occasions, this paper adds to their work by illustrating the shared characteristics of the two types of events and thus encouraging the deliberate inclusion and nurturing of iconic-historic commemorative events in event portfolio development plans.

6.2. Management implications

For organisers of commemorative events as well as event organisers more broadly, destination marketers and policy makers, this study illustrates that iconic-historic commemorative events can be incorporated into event tourism development strategies. Indeed, these events should be considered as valuable devices and the potential to nurture such events should be explored. In destinations where there are no existing commemorative events that can be developed, new events may be created to celebrate suitable anniversaries. Particularly in geographical settings with events with a positive connotation, such as the overcoming of injustice in the case of the fall of the Berlin Wall, managers could identify the potential transfer of symbolic meanings and values from iconic-historic events.

In order to use iconic-historic events for event tourism purposes, it is necessary to overcome the traditional internal, domestic orientation of commemoration. The event which is being commemorated needs to be interpreted as an event of international significance so that tourists are not seen as outsiders. To reach more than a local or national audience, the commemoration might thus focus on the communication of the international outcomes of the historical event as well as internationally appealing iconic ideals and values. In the case of the fall of the Wall, the construction of such an international orientation is not difficult due to the far-reaching implications of the historical events.

Table 6 outlines all management implications of this paper in relation to Getz and Page's (2016a) core propositions.

	Proposition (Getz and	Management implications
--	------------------------------	--------------------------------

	Page, 2016a)	
1.	Events can attract tourists which can create economic benefits.	Organisers should not assume international tourists are outsiders with no interest in the iconic-historic commemorative event and emphasise the symbolic value as well as international implications of the historical event.
2.	Events can create positive images for the destination and help brand or re-position cities.	The strategic development of iconic-historic commemorative events with positive connotations and high symbolic value can contribute to a destination's brand.
3.	Events contribute to place marketing.	Organisers should be aware of the potential media interest and leverage media publicity for the city. This media publicity can help communicate the positive symbolic value of the event and make the place more attractive to a broader audience.
4.	Events animate cities, resorts, parks, urban spaces and venues of all kinds.	Organisers may consider using iconic-historic commemorative events to encourage visitation of and creation of publicity for places of permanent commemoration. The (re)opening of new or refurbished places can be timed to coincide with major anniversaries.
5.	Event tourism acts as a catalyst for other forms of desired development.	Organisers may decide to leverage the focused interest around key anniversary events to stimulate debate and support for future development of places of permanent commemoration.

Table 6: Implications of Getz and Page's (2016a) core propositions for the management of iconic-historic commemorative events

Nevertheless, there are some particularities of using iconic-historic commemorative events for such purposes. It is important to consider potential fears of commercialisation and commodification of an 'authentic' or meaningful commemoration. In this context, the authors propose a portfolio approach to commemoration which should be carefully devised and feed into the strategic event portfolio approach. For practitioners, the commemorative portfolio approach can be helpful in navigating challenges in relation to commercialisation as well as conflicts with commemoration of other historical events. Furthermore, this study shows that the success of iconic-historic events is highly dependent on the experiences of the attendees which cannot be imposed on them due to the subjective nature of experiences. This poses challenges that managers will need to negotiate if wanting to nurture the events to become permanent institutions of status comparable to hallmark events elsewhere.

6.3. Limitations and future research

First of all, the findings of this research are not generalisable. Within the constructionist philosophy and a qualitative approach, generalisability is not an intended research outcome; however, there are theoretical contributions and transferable managerial implications as illustrated above. Furthermore, in reference to their conceptual similarities with hallmark events, the specific iconic-historic commemorative events considered in this study are unique and tied to their physical host destination and symbolic position, in cultural, social and

historical terms. The theoretical contribution of this research is therefore not in its transferability, but rather is of conceptual nature to the literature on event tourism and commemoration. Furthermore, it should be noted that organisers of other iconic-historic commemorative events might not have the same priorities as in Berlin. The authors of this paper therefore cannot claim that it is always desired or desirable to use iconic-historic commemorative events for event tourism development. Another limitation of the present study is it does not extend to consider the impacts and sustainability of commemorative events, either in the event tourism setting of Berlin and its stakeholder context, or in the generic sense.

Due to the uniqueness of iconic-historic commemorative events, it would be of interest to investigate further events from an event tourism perspective. Suitable events that might fulfil iconic-historic definitions are the upcoming centenary of the November 1918 Armistice that led to end of the First World War or the 500th anniversary of Martin Luther publishing his 95 Theses, observed in 2017. Furthermore, the potential symbolic value of iconic-historic events could be studied in particular geographical locations that are currently associated with more negative discourses of injustice, conflict and further human, political or natural phenomena. Examples here include the commemorations of the 9/11 attacks in New York City or the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Further research may contribute to a more in-depth understanding of the event tourism significance and associated challenges of commemorative events overall. This would provide additional insight into event tourism uses of commemorative events and thus partly address that the findings are not transferrable to other destinations. It would be of interest to explore whether the portfolio approach to commemoration, combining both temporary and permanent forms, is of relevance in other settings. Moreover, studies of potential future events commemorating the fall of the Berlin Wall can provide further understanding of the uses of these events and examine whether there are any developments from 2009 and 2014 and beyond. Such studies would also give further insight into the events' institutionalisation. Finally, as commemorative events remain under-researched, they could be investigated from a wide range of perspectives to provide additional insight, for example event planning, public policy, impacts and outcomes for destinations and stakeholders, as well as sustainability. Future studies could be from a theoretical perspective, or be situated in particular commemorative event management contexts.

References

- Allen, J., O'Toole, W., Harris, R. & McDonnell, I. (2011) *Festival & special event management*, 5th edition, Milton: Wiley.
- Anderson, B. (2006) *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, revised edition, London: Verso Books.
- Andersson, T. D., Getz, D. & Mykletun, R. (2013) 'The "Festival Size Pyramid" in three Norwegian festival populations', *Journal of Convention & Event Tourism*, 14 (2), 81-103.
- Andrews, H. & Leopold, T. (2013) *Events and the social sciences*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Anholt, S. (2009) 'Branding places and nations', in R. Clifton (ed.) *The Economist: Brands and branding*, 2nd edition, London: Profile Books Limited, 206-216.
- Atkinson, D. & Laurier, E. (1998) 'A sanitised city? Social exclusion at Bristol's 1996 International Festival of the Sea', *Geoforum*, 29 (2), 199-206.
- Barthel, D. (1996) 'Getting in touch with history: The role of historic preservation in shaping collective memories', *Qualitative Sociology*, 19 (3), 345-364.
- Berg, B. L. (2004) *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*, 5th edition, Boston: Pearson Education Limited.
- Berlin Tourismus & Kongress GmbH (2015) *Jahresbericht: Zahlen und Fakten 2014*, [Online], available at: http://partner.visitberlin.de/sites/default/files/visitberlin_jahresbericht_2014_final_web_version_0.pdf, accessed: 4th January 2017.
- Berlin Tourismus Marketing GmbH (2010) *Geschäftsbericht 2009*, [Online], available at: http://press.visitberlin.de/sites/default/files/GF2009_low.pdf, accessed: 3rd September 2013.
- Berridge, G. (2007) *Events design and experience*, Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Billig, M. (1995) *Banal nationalism*, London: SAGE.
- Bodnar, J. E. (1992) *Remaking America: Public memory, commemoration and patriotism in the 20th century*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Viol, M., Todd, L., Theodoraki, E. & Anastasiadou, C. (2018). The role of iconic-historic commemorative events in event tourism: Insights from the 20th and 25th anniversaries of the fall of the Berlin Wall. *Tourism Management* (Accepted, June 2018)

Bowdin, G., Allen, J., Harris, R., McDonnell, I. & O'Toole, W. (2011) *Events management*, 3rd edition, Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann.

Boyatzis, R. E. (1998) *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development*, London: SAGE.

Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006) 'Using thematic analysis in psychology', *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3 (2), 77-101.

Carnegie, E. & McCabe, S. (2008) 'Re-enactment events and tourism: Meaning, authenticity and identity', *Current Issues in Tourism*, 11 (4), 349-368.

Connell, J., Page, S. J. & Meyer, D. (2015) 'Visitor attractions and events: Responding to seasonality', *Tourism Management*, 46, 283-298.

Connerton, P. (1989) *How societies remember*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crespi-Vallbona, M. & Richards, G. (2007) 'The meaning of cultural festivals', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 13 (1), 103-122.

Crotty, M. (1998) *The foundations of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process*, London: SAGE.

De Bres, K. & Davis, J. (2001) 'Celebrating group and place identity: A case study of a new regional festival', *Tourism Geographies*, 3 (3), 326-337.

Detjen, M. (2011) 'Die Mauer als politische Metapher', in K.-D. Henke (ed.) *Die Mauer: Errichtung, Überwindung, Erinnerung*, Munich: dtv, 426-439.

Dinnie, K. (2011) 'Introduction to the practice of city branding', in K. Dinnie (ed.) *City branding: Theory and cases*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 93-98.

Drechsel, B. (2010) 'The Berlin Wall from a visual perspective: Comments on the construction of a political media icon', *Visual Communication*, 9 (3), 3-24.

Dwyer, L., Mellor, R., Mistilis, N. & Mules, T. (2000) 'A framework for assessing "tangible" and "intangible" impacts of events and conventions', *Event Management*, 6 (3), 175-189.

Elgenius, G. (2011a) 'The politics of recognition: Symbols, nation building and rival nationalisms', *Nations and nationalism*, 17 (2), 396-418.

Elgenius, G. (2011b) *Symbols of nations and nationalism: Celebrating nationhood*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Viol, M., Todd, L., Theodoraki, E. & Anastasiadou, C. (2018). The role of iconic-historic commemorative events in event tourism: Insights from the 20th and 25th anniversaries of the fall of the Berlin Wall. *Tourism Management* (Accepted, June 2018)
- Elias-Varotsis, S. (2006) 'Festivals and events — (re)interpreting cultural identity', *Tourism Review*, 61 (2), 24-29.
- Feversham, P. & Schmidt, L. (1999) *The Berlin Wall today: Cultural significance and conservation issues*, Berlin: Huss-Medien.
- Flick, U. (2014) *An introduction to qualitative research*, 5th edition, London: SAGE.
- Flierl, T. (2006) *Gesamtkonzept zur Erinnerung an die Berliner Mauer: Dokumentation, Information und Gedenken*, [Online], available at: https://www.berlin.de/imperia/md/content/mauer/asv2006616_1.pdf?start&ts=1415787047&file=asv2006616_1.pdf, accessed: 16th August 2015.
- Florek, M. & Inch, A. (2011) 'When fit matters: Leveraging destination and event image congruence', *Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management*, 20 (3-4), 265-286.
- Foote, K. E. & Azaryahu, M. (2007) 'Toward a geography of memory: Geographical dimensions of public memory and commemoration', *Journal of Political & Military Sociology*, 35 (1), 125-144.
- Frank, S. (2009) *Der Mauer um die Wette gedenken: Die Formation einer Heritage-Industrie am Berliner Checkpoint Charlie*, Frankfurt: Campus Verlag.
- Frost, W. & Laing, J. (2013) *Commemorative events: Memory, identities, conflict*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Frost, W. (2012) 'Commemorative events and heritage in former capitals: A case study of Melbourne', *Current Issues in Tourism*, 15 (1-2), 51-60.
- Frost, W., Wheeler, F. and Harvey, M. (2008) 'Commemorative events: Sacrifice, identity and dissonance', in J. Ali-Knight, M. Roberston, A. Fyall & A. Larkins (eds.) *International perspectives on festivals and events: Paradigms of analysis*, London: Elsevier, 161-171.
- Fuller, L. K. (ed.) (2004) *National days/national ways: Historical, political and religious celebrations around the world*, Westport: Praeger.
- Gapps, S. (2010) 'On being a mobile monument: Historical reenactments and commemorations', in I. McCalman & P. A. Pickering (eds.) *Historical reenactment: From realism to the affective turn*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 50-62.
- Gellner, E. (2006) *Nations and nationalism*, 2nd edition, Oxford: Blackwell.

Viol, M., Todd, L., Theodoraki, E. & Anastasiadou, C. (2018). The role of iconic-historic commemorative events in event tourism: Insights from the 20th and 25th anniversaries of the fall of the Berlin Wall. *Tourism Management* (Accepted, June 2018)

- Getz, D. & Andersson, T. D. (2008) 'Sustainable festivals: On becoming an institution', *Event Management*, 12, 1–17.
- Getz, D. & Page, S. J. (2016a) 'Progress and prospects for event tourism research', *Tourism Management*, 52, 593–631.
- Getz, D. & Page, S. J. (2016b) *Event studies: Theory, research and policy for planned events*, London: Routledge.
- Getz, D. (1991) *Festivals, special events and tourism*, London: Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- Getz, D. (2005) *Event management & event tourism*, 2nd edition, Elmsford: Cognizant Communication.
- Getz, D. (2007) *Event studies: Theory, research and policy for planned events*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Getz, D. (2008) 'Event tourism: Definition, evolution, and research', *Tourism Management*, 29, 403-428.
- Getz, D. (2016) *Revised event portfolio models*, [Online], available at: <https://donaldgetzprofessor.files.wordpress.com/2016/10/donald-getz-event-portfolio-paper-oct-2016.pdf>, accessed: 26th January 2018.
- Getz, D., Svensson, B., Petersson, R. & Gunnervall, A. (2012) 'Hallmark events: Definition, goals and planning process', *International Journal of Event Management Research*, 7 (1/2), 47-67.
- Gilbert, F. (1976) 'Bicentennial reflections', *Foreign Affairs*, 54 (4), 635-635.
- Gillis, J. R. (1994) 'Memory and identity: The history of a relationship', in J. R. Gillis (ed.) *Commemorations: The politics of national identity*, Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1–12.
- Grundlingh, A. (2004) 'Refraining remembrance: The politics of the centenary commemoration of the South African War of 1899-1902', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30(2), 359-375.
- Guba, E. G. & Lincoln, Y. S. (1998) 'Competing paradigms in qualitative research', in N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (eds.) *The landscape of qualitative research: Theories and issues*, London: SAGE, 195-220.
- Hall, C. M. (1992) *Hallmark tourist events: Impacts, management and planning*, London: Belhaven Press.

Viol, M., Todd, L., Theodoraki, E. & Anastasiadou, C. (2018). The role of iconic-historic commemorative events in event tourism: Insights from the 20th and 25th anniversaries of the fall of the Berlin Wall. *Tourism Management* (Accepted, June 2018)

- Hall, J., Basarin, V. J. & Lockstone-Binney, L. (2010) 'An empirical analysis of attendance at a commemorative event: Anzac Day at Gallipoli', *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 29 (2), 245-253.
- Harrison, H. M. (2011) 'The Berlin Wall and its resurrection as a site of memory', *German Politics & Society*, 29 (2), 78-106.
- Henke, K.-D. (ed.) (2011) *Die Mauer: Errichtung, Überwindung, Erinnerung*, Munich: dtv.
- Hobsbawm, E. & Ranger, T. (eds.) (1983) *The invention of tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hobsbawm, E. (1983) 'Introduction: Inventing traditions', in E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (eds.) *The invention of tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-14.
- Hodur, N. M. & Leistriz, F. L. (2006) 'Estimating the economic impact of event tourism: A review of issues and methods', *Journal of Convention & Event Tourism*, 8 (4), 63-79.
- Jakob, D. (2013) 'The eventification of place: Urban development and experience consumption in Berlin and New York City', *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 20(4), 447-459.
- Jamieson, K. (2004) 'The festival gaze and its boundaries', *Space & Culture*, 7 (1), 64-75.
- Jedlowski, P. (2001) 'Memory and sociology: Themes and issues', *Time & Society*, 10 (1), 29-44.
- Jeong, S. & Santos, C. A. (2004) 'Cultural politics and contested place identity', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 31 (3), 640-656.
- Kattago, S. (2015) 'Written in stone: Monuments and representation', in S. Kattago (ed.) *The Ashgate research companion to memory studies*, Surrey: Ashgate, 179-195.
- Klausmeier, A. & Schlusche, G. (eds.) (2011) *Denkmalpflege für die Berliner Mauer: Die Konservierung eines unbequemen Bauwerks*, Berlin: Christoph Links Verlag GmbH.
- Klemke, R. E. (2011) 'Das Gesamtkonzept Berliner Mauer', in K.-D. Henke (ed.) *Die Mauer: Errichtung, Überwindung, Erinnerung*, Munich: dtv, 377-393.
- Knischewski, G. & Spittler, U. (2006) 'Remembering the Berlin Wall: The wall memorial ensemble Bernauer Straße', *German Life and Letters*, 59 (2), 280-293.
- Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH (2009a) *20 Jahre Mauerfall: Dokumentation des Themenjahres 2009*, Berlin: Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH.

- Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH (2009b) *Berliner Zukünfte: Darstellung und Bilanz – Perspektiven und Visionen*, Berlin: Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH.
- Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH (2009c) *Dominobuch: Geschichte(n) mit Dominoeffekt*, Berlin: Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH.
- Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH (2009d) *“Wir sind das Volk”*: Magazin zur Ausstellung *Friedliche Revolution 1989/90*, [Online], available at: http://revolution89.de/media/pdf/Ausstellung/Katalog_FR_dt_Web.pdf, accessed: 15th August 2015.
- Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH (2014) *Mauergeschichten – Wall Stories*, Berlin: Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH.
- Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH (nd) *25th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall: Worldwide*, [Online], available at: <https://falloffthewall25.com/weltweit>, accessed: 4th November 2015.
- Ladd, B. (1997) *The ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German history in the urban landscape*, London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Laws, C. & Ferguson, R. (2011) ‘Where mega meets modest: Community events and the making of Canadian national identity’, in E. Frew & L. White (eds.) *Tourism and national identities: An international perspective*, Abingdon: Routledge, 121-135.
- Liburd, J. J. (2003) ‘Tourism and the Hans Christian Andersen bicentenary event in Denmark’, in J. Ali-Knight, M. Robertson, A. Fyall & A. Ladkin (eds.) *International perspectives of festivals and events: Paradigms of analysis*, London: Elsevier, 41-52.
- Lincoln, Y. S., Lynham, S. A. & Guba, E. G. (2011) ‘Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences, revisited’, in Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (eds.) *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research*, 4th edition, London: SAGE, 97-128.
- Mackellar, J. (2014) ‘Surfing the Fringe: An examination of event tourism strategies of the Bleach Festival - Coolangatta Queensland’, *Event Management*, 18, 447–455.
- MacLeod, N. E. (2006) ‘The placeless festival: Identity and place in the post-modern festival’, in D. Picard & M. Robinson (eds.) *Festivals, tourism and social change: Remaking worlds*, Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 222-237.
- Manghani, S. (2008) *Image critique & the fall of the Berlin Wall*, Bristol: Intellect Books.

- Viol, M., Todd, L., Theodoraki, E. & Anastasiadou, C. (2018). The role of iconic-historic commemorative events in event tourism: Insights from the 20th and 25th anniversaries of the fall of the Berlin Wall. *Tourism Management* (Accepted, June 2018)
- Mariani, M. M. & Giorgio, L. (2017) 'The "Pink Night" festival revisited: Meta-events and the role of destination partnerships in staging event tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 63, 89-109.
- McCrone, D. & McPherson, G. (eds.) (2009) *National days: Constructing and mobilising national identity*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- McDonald, T. & Méthot, M. (2006) 'That impulse that bids a people to honour its past: The nature and purpose of centennial celebrations', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 12 (4), 307-320.
- McKercher, B. (2016) 'Towards a taxonomy of tourism products', *Tourism Management*, 54, 196-208.
- Mendes, J., Valle, P. & Guerreiro, M. (2011) 'Destination image and events: A structural model for the Algarve case', *Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management*, 20, 366-384.
- Merkel, U. (2014) 'The critical, social-scientific study of international events', in U. Merkel (ed.) *Power, politics and international events: Socio-cultural analyses of festivals and spectacles*, London: Routledge, 3-29.
- Merkel, U. (2015) 'Making sense of identity discourses in international events, festivals and spectacles', in U. Merkel (ed.) *Identity discourses and communities in international events, festivals and spectacles*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 3-33.
- Misztal, B. A. (2003) *Theories of social remembering*, Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Müller, M. (2015) 'What makes an event a mega-event? Definitions and sizes', *Leisure Studies*, 34 (6), 627-642.
- Paradis, T. (2002) 'The political economy of theme development in small urban places: The case of Roswell, New Mexico', *Tourism Geographies*, 4 (1), 22-43.
- Patton, M. C. (2002) *Qualitative research & evaluation methods*, 3rd edition, London: SAGE.
- Pine, B. J., & Gilmore, J. H. (1998) 'Welcome to the experience economy', *Harvard Business Review*, 76, 97-105.
- Richards, G. & Palmer, R. (2010) *Eventful cities: Cultural management and urban revitalization*, Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann.

- Robert-Havemann-Gesellschaft e. V. & Kulturprojekte Berlin GmbH (2010) *Friedliche Revolution 1989/90: Dokumentation der Open-Air-Ausstellung*, [Online], available at: http://revolution89.de/media/pdf/Ausstellung/Dokumentation_FR_dt_WEB.pdf, accessed: 13th February 2015.
- Ryan, C. & Cave, J. (2007) 'Cambridge Armistice Day celebrations: Making a carnival of war and the reality of play', in C. Ryan (ed.) *Battlefield tourism: History, place and interpretation*, Oxford: Elsevier, 177-186.
- Ryan, L. (2011) 'Memory, power and resistance: The anatomy of a tripartite relationship', *Memory Studies*, 4 (2), 154-169.
- Schwartz, B. (1982) 'The social context of commemoration: A study in collective memory', *Social Forces*, 61 (2), 374-402.
- Smith, A. D. (1991) *National identity*, London: Penguin Books.
- Spillman, L. (1997) *Nation and commemoration: Creating national identities in the United States and Australia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stokes, R. (2008) 'Tourism strategy making: Insights to the events tourism domain', *Tourism Management*, 29, 252-262.
- St-Onge, T. (1991) 'Canada's 125th anniversary: An example of public participation', *Journal of Applied Recreation Research*, 16 (1), 53-60.
- Todd, L., Leask, A. & Ensor, J. (2017) 'Understanding primary stakeholders' multiple roles in hallmark event tourism management', *Tourism Management*, 59, 494-509.
- Tölle, A. (2010) 'Urban identity policies in Berlin: From critical reconstruction to reconstructing the wall', *Cities*, 27 (5), 348-357.
- Turner, C. (2006) 'Nation and commemoration', in G. Delanty & K. Kumar (eds.) *The SAGE handbook of nations and nationalism*, London: SAGE, 205-213.
- Ullrich, M. (2006) *Geteilte Ansichten: Erinnerungslandschaft deutsch-deutsche Grenze*, Berlin: Aufbau Verlag.
- West, B. (2010) 'Dialogical memorialization, international travel and the public sphere: A cultural sociology of commemoration and tourism at the First World War Gallipoli battlefields', *Tourist Studies*, 10 (3), 209-225.
- West, B. (2015) *Re-enchanting nationalisms: Rituals and remembrances in a postmodern age*, New York: Springer.

Viol, M., Todd, L., Theodoraki, E. & Anastasiadou, C. (2018). The role of iconic-historic commemorative events in event tourism: Insights from the 20th and 25th anniversaries of the fall of the Berlin Wall. *Tourism Management* (Accepted, June 2018)

White, G. M. (1997) 'Mythic history and national memory: The Pearl Harbor Anniversary', *Culture & Psychology*, 3 (1), 63-88.

White, L. (2004) 'The Bicentenary of Australia: Celebration of a nation', in L. K. Fuller (ed.) *National days/national ways: Historical, political and religious celebrations around the world*, Westport: Praeger, 25-39.

Winter, C. (2009) 'Tourism, social memory and the Great War', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 36 (4), 607-626.

Winter, C. (2015) 'Ritual, remembrance and war: Social memory at Tyne Cot', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 54, 16-29.

Zerubavel, Y. (1995) *Recovered roots: Collective memory and the making of Israeli national tradition*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Ziakas, V. & Costa, C. A. (2011) 'Event portfolio and multi-purpose development: Establishing the conceptual grounds', *Sport Management Review*, 14, 409-423.

Ziakas, V. (2014) *Event portfolio planning and management: A holistic approach*, London: Routledge.