

# Between Two Worlds Evaluation

Report

for

Forestry Commission Scotland

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# 1. Introduction

This report provides an evaluation of the impact of the Between Two Worlds event.

## 1.1 Between Two Worlds

Between Two Worlds was a Forestry Commission Scotland event held between 2 – 18<sup>th</sup> November 2007. It was an event for the Year of Highland Culture 2007 and was held in Glenmore Forest Park in the heart of the Cairngorms National Park. Glenmore Forest Park and National Nature Reserve is looked after by Forestry Commission Scotland.

Between Two Worlds was created by Diane McLean (sculptor and environmental artist), Malcolm Innes (light and sound artist) and Bob Pegg (musician, composer and storyteller).

The Between Two Worlds experience was a 2-mile journey along the Caledonian forest, along gravel tracks and boardwalks. Using local myth of faerie folk, the experience involved a night time forest journey along a lighted boardwalk. Visitors were encouraged to follow the lights marking the route of an ancient glacial river that ran below the ice that carved the local landscape. Light and sound were used to reveal the mystery and beauty of the historic Glenmore Forest and bring its ancient legends to life.

This report provides an evaluation of the event in line with Forestry Commission Scotland's requirements.

## 1.2 Structure of Report

The remainder of this report is structured as follows:

- Chapter 2 provides feedback on survey work undertaken with visitors and local businesses;
- Chapter 3 sets out the economic impact assessment; and
- Chapter 4 provides conclusions.

## 2. Survey Analysis

### 2.1 Introduction

This Chapter provides analysis of the surveys undertaken with visitors to the Between Two Worlds event and local businesses. Some of the data collected through the survey of visitors has been used to assess the economic impact of the project and has been reported later in **Chapter 3**.

### 2.2 Method

An email request was sent to 350 visitors to the event to take part in the survey with a further 50 postal questionnaires also being sent out. In total 210 questionnaires were returned giving a response rate of 53% (this is a very high response rate for an email/postal survey where you would usually expect between 20-25%).

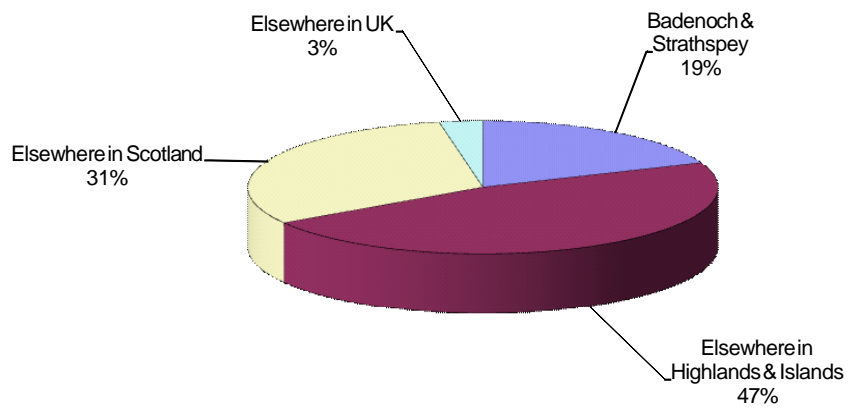
A sample of eleven local businesses that would potentially have been affected by the event were also interviewed together with the local Tourist Information Centre.

### 2.3 Visitor Survey Analysis

#### 2.3.1 Visitor Origin

**Figure 2.1** shows the origin of visitors.

Figure 2.1: Visitor Origin

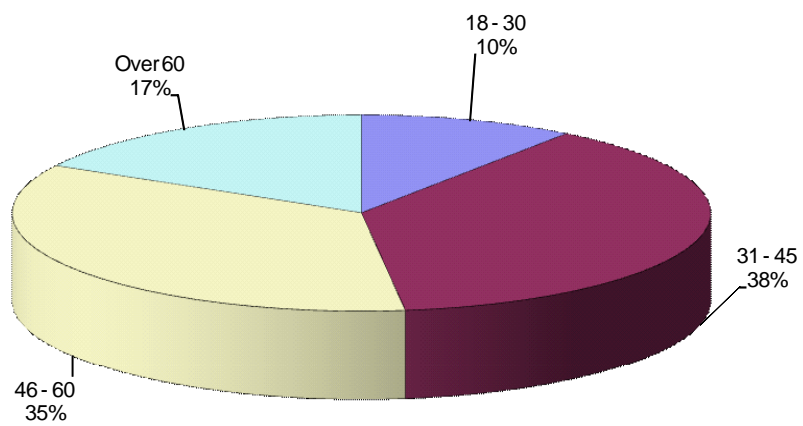


The majority of visitors (81%) originate from outside the Badenoch and Strathspey area with 47% coming from elsewhere in Highlands and Islands, 31% from elsewhere in Scotland and 3% from elsewhere in the UK. There were no visitors from overseas as part of the sample.

### 2.3.2 Visitor Profile

As **Figure 2.2** shows, the majority of visitors were aged over 30 with 38% in the 31-45 age group and 35% in the 46-60 age group. The largest proportion of visitors were in full time employment (55%). Those in part time employment accounted for 15% of visitors, the same figure for those who were retired.

Figure 2.2: Age Profile



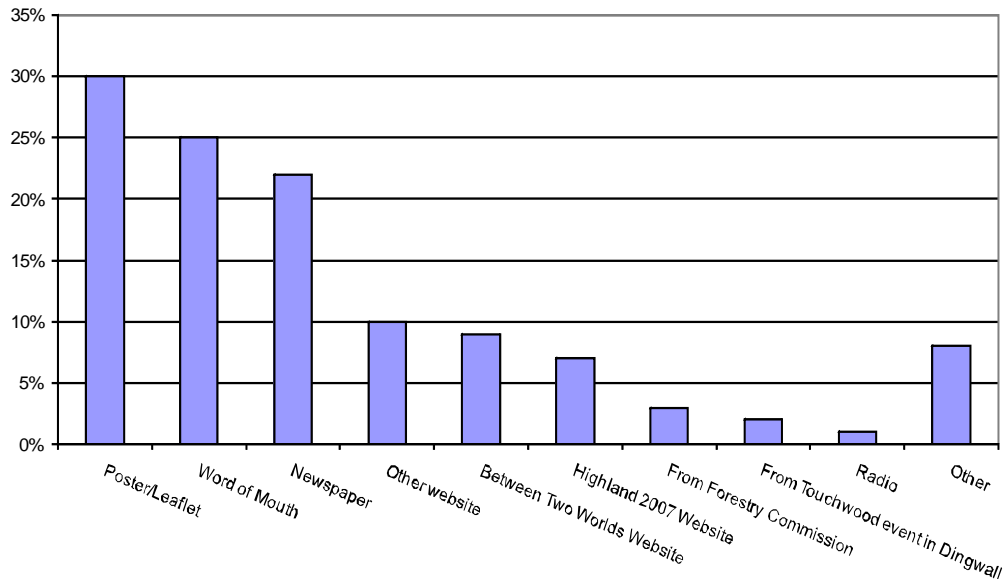
Over a third (36%) of respondents had children within their group and the average group size was 3.5.

Only 4% of visitors attended the event more than once over the seventeen days.

### 2.3.3 Awareness

**Figure 2.3** shows how the visitors became aware of the Between Two Worlds event.

**Figure 2.3: Awareness of the Between Two Worlds Event**



The most common way visitors found out about the Between Two Worlds event was through posters and leaflets (30%), followed by word of mouth (24%) or by newspaper (22%). The most common newspapers identified were Press and Journal, Badenoch & Strathspey Herald and the Inverness Courier. Some 9% found out through the Between Two Worlds website.

**Table 2.1** shows the importance of the Between Two Worlds event in the decision to visit the Badenoch and Strathspey area.

<b>Table 2.1: Importance of Between Two Worlds Event in decision to visit the Badenoch and Strathspey Area (%)</b>	
Only reason for visiting Badenoch and Strathspey Area	49
One of the main reasons for visiting Badenoch and Strathspey Area	22
One of several reasons for visiting Badenoch and Strathspey Area	15
Not a factor in decision to visit Badenoch and Strathspey Area	14

Excludes Badenoch and Strathspey residents

For approximately half of respondents the Between Two Worlds event was their only reason for visiting the Badenoch and Strathspey area.

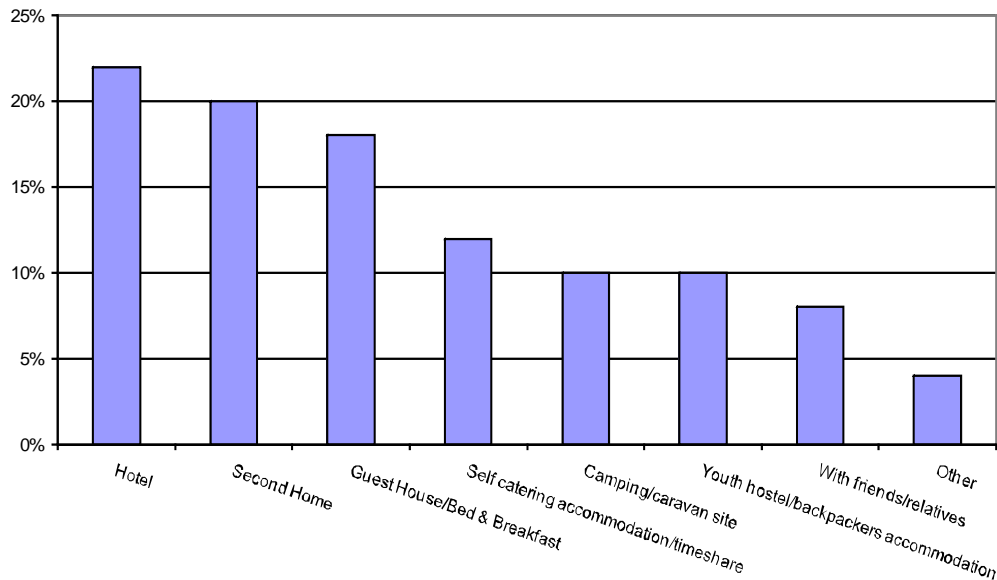


### 2.3.4 Accommodation

Over a quarter of visitors (28%) were spending at least one night away from home with 88% planning to spend at least one night in the Badenoch and Strathspey area.

As shown in **Figure 2.4**, the most popular type of accommodation for visitors was a hotel (22%) with a fifth staying at a second home. A slightly smaller proportion (18%) stayed at guest house or bed and breakfast.

**Figure 2.4: Types of Accommodation**



### 2.3.5 Ratings

Respondents were asked to rate a number of different aspects of the Between Two Worlds event, **Table 2.2** provides details.

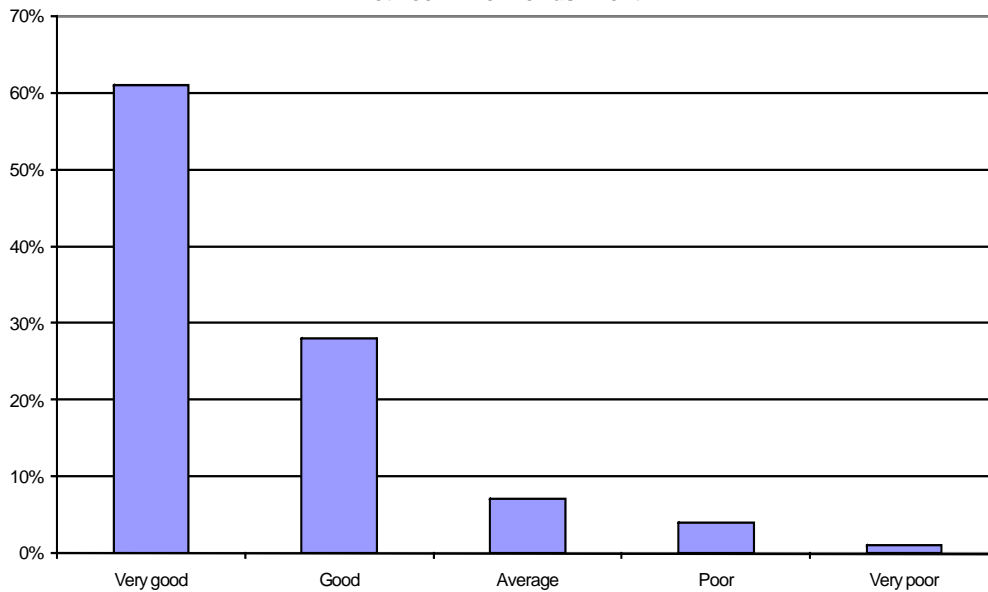
<b>Table 2.2: How would you rate the following aspects of the Between Two Worlds event? (%)</b>					
	Very good	Good	Average	Poor	Very poor
Event organisation	67	29	3	0	0
Music	44	38	12	4	1
Lighted features	54	31	10	3	2
Lochan Show	50	30	11	7	2
Staff	71	27	2	0	0

All aspects of the event were rated highly with staff and event organisation rated the highest with 98% and 93% rating these aspects as

very good or good. Poor ratings were relatively small with event organisation and staff receiving no negative feedback.

As **Figure 2.5** shows an overwhelming majority of visitors rated their overall experience of the Between Two Worlds event as either very good (61%) or good (28%). Only 5% rated it as poor and 7% rated it as average.

**Figure 2.5: How Would You Rate Your Overall Visitor Experience of the Between Two Worlds Event**



Respondents were asked what their favourite feature was within the Between Two Worlds event. **Table 2.3** details their response.

<b>Table 2.3: What Was Your Favourite Feature Within the Between Two Worlds Event? (%)</b>	
Lochan Show	34
River of Light	29
Tree with circle of lights	9
Music	9
Lighted pines	9
Non specific (i.e. all of it)	9
Wolves	7
Lighting/lighted features	7
Boardwalk	6
Fairy ring	6
Other	4

The Lochan show was highlighted as the favourite feature within the Between Two Worlds event, by just over a third of respondents, while nearly 30% selected the River of Light as their favourite feature.

### 2.3.6 Repeat Visits and Suggestions for Improvement

**Table 2.4** shows that 88% would either be very likely or likely to visit another event like Between Two Worlds in the future.

<b>Table 2.4: How likely would you be to visit another event like Between Two Worlds in the future? (%)</b>	
Very likely	65
Likely	23
Neither/nor	5
Unlikely	3
Very unlikely	3

A total of 80% of respondents provided suggestions for improving the Between Two Worlds event. **Table 2.5** provides the most popular suggestions.

<b>Table 2.5: Do you have any suggestions on how the Between Two Worlds Event could be improved? (%)</b>	
Better/more music	16
Improve features/lighting	12
Comments about features not working and the need to ensure they do	11
More features	10
Expand it/Make it bigger	9
More lighting between features	9
More info about features (guides, storytelling)	6
Improve underfoot conditions/general safety	6

A number of suggestions on how to improve the event were provided. Better or more music was the most popular suggestion, particularly more Scottish type music. An improvement in the features was also a popular suggestion. On a few nights the event incurred some technical difficulties and this is reflected in some of the responses to this question with 11% making a comment about some of the features not working or being unavailable.

## 2.4 Business Survey Analysis

### 2.4.1 Introduction

A total of 13 local businesses were contacted, comprising a mix of accommodation providers, catering and retail businesses. In addition, the Aviemore Tourist Information Centre (TIC) was also interviewed. Only one of the 13 businesses contacted said that they were not aware of the Between Two Worlds event. One of the other businesses we contacted did not wish to complete the questionnaire because they said it was difficult to know if they had any visitors as a result of the event, as they do not ask guests what they are doing.

Therefore, a total of 11 businesses completed the full questionnaire process.

### 2.4.2 Awareness

The 11 businesses interviewed were asked how they became aware of the Between Two Worlds event. Over half (6) became aware of the event through word of mouth and two through local information/living locally. The other three became aware through the Visit Aviemore website, a leaflet, and a newspaper.

### 2.4.3 Services

The businesses were then asked if they undertook any changes in their daily operations as a result of the event taking place, and the results are shown in **Table 2.6** below.

<b>Table 2.6: Operational Changes</b>	
	Number
Extended opening hours	2
Opened on days normally closed	1
Offered additional services	2

Five of the 11 businesses had undertaken changes as a result of the event. Of the two businesses that extended their opening hours, one said that they had extended their opening hours but only did it for approximately a week due to a lack of business, the other business only extended opening hours for three days but also stopped because of no increase in business. A B&B was the only business that opened on days that they normally would have been closed.

Two of the businesses (both hotels) offered additional services. One hotel provided drying facilities and gave guests the option of having a packed

lunch. The other set up a package between the Event and the Forestry Commission which included a night at the hotel and two tickets for the event. Both of the hotels found that these services were beneficial to their business.

The businesses were also asked whether they undertook any promotional activity linked to the Between Two Worlds Event. Six undertook promotional activities linked to the event, the most commonly cited:

- telling guests about the event (3 businesses); and
- putting posters up/handing out fliers (2 businesses).

#### 2.4.4 Impact

Of the 11 businesses interviewed, five businesses noticed an impact on their business as a result of the event taking place. Three experienced a positive impact with two noting a negative impact (it is worth noting that is often difficult for businesses to identify whether there is an impact from specific events/activities, particularly larger businesses).

Of the three businesses that noticed a positive impact on their business one B&B said that their sales were up 5% compared to the same period in 2006; and one business said that they had two guests staying specifically for the event. These businesses said that these impacts occurred in a period of the year that is normally relatively quiet.

The businesses that noticed a negative impact on their business said that they had to pay out extra money in wages for longer opening hours but they did not attract any additional customers. Therefore, they did not make enough to cover the costs of hiring extra staff.

In addition, the Aviemore TIC noted a positive impact as they said that the number of inquiries they had was up 10% compared to the same period in 2006.

#### 2.4.5 Strengths and Weaknesses

The businesses were asked what they considered to be the main strengths and weaknesses of the event. Eight businesses gave their opinion on what they thought the strengths were and seven on weaknesses. The most commonly cited responses included:

##### **Strengths**

- brought more visitors to the area/raised the profile of the local area (4);
- good event (2); and
- benefits businesses in the local area (2).

##### **Weaknesses**

- it kept breaking down (2);
- environmental impact of the event (1);
- affected by bad weather (1);

- difficult to get out to the forest for the event (1); and
- safety aspect i.e. walking through the forest at night (1);

In addition the businesses were also asked if they could suggest any improvements that could be made to the event. Eight businesses provided a response:

- advertise the event more widely i.e. on TV, radio etc (5);
- better booking system (1);
- improve the quality of the event (1); and
- sell tickets in local shops and cafes (1).

Finally businesses were asked if they had any other comments, these included:

- well organised (1);
- would like a few more of these events, especially at the same time of year (1);
- board walk was great and it would be nice if it was kept as a permanent feature (1); and
- people really enjoyed it, worthwhile event (1).

#### 2.4.6 Summary

##### **Visitor Survey**

The majority of visitors were non-local (i.e. outwith Badenoch & Strathspey). Of the 28% of visitors staying overnight, 88% were spending at least one night in Badenoch & Strathspey. The most common way of finding out about the event was through posters/leaflets, followed by word of mouth and newspapers.

All aspects of the event were rated highly with staff and event organisation rated highest. The majority of visitors rated their overall event experience as very good/good (89%) whilst 88% said that they would be very likely/likely to visit an event like Between Two Worlds in the future.

The favourite feature most commonly cited was the 'Lochan Show' followed by the 'River of Light'. Suggestions for improvements included better/more music, improved features/lighting and ensuring that the features are working (the latter reflecting the fact that some of the features did not work on some of the nights).

### **Business Survey**

There was a very high level of awareness of the Between Two Worlds Event amongst local businesses. The most common way in which the businesses found out about the event was through word of mouth.

Some businesses undertook promotional activities directly linked to the event with the most common cited being telling guests about the event and handing out fliers/putting up posters.

Five businesses undertook changes as a result of the event taking place with two businesses extending their opening hours, one opening on days normally closed and two offering additional services. The businesses which offered additional services found these beneficial. The TIC also noted a positive impact as inquiries were up 10% compared to the same period in 2006.

However, the two businesses that extended their opening hours noticed a negative impact as a result of the event.

Improved advertising was the focus of suggestions for improvements to the event.



## 3. Economic Impact

### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an assessment of the economic impact of the event utilising data from the survey work and the event organisers. The economic impact has been assessed at two geographic levels:

- Badenoch & Strathspey; and
- Highlands & Islands.

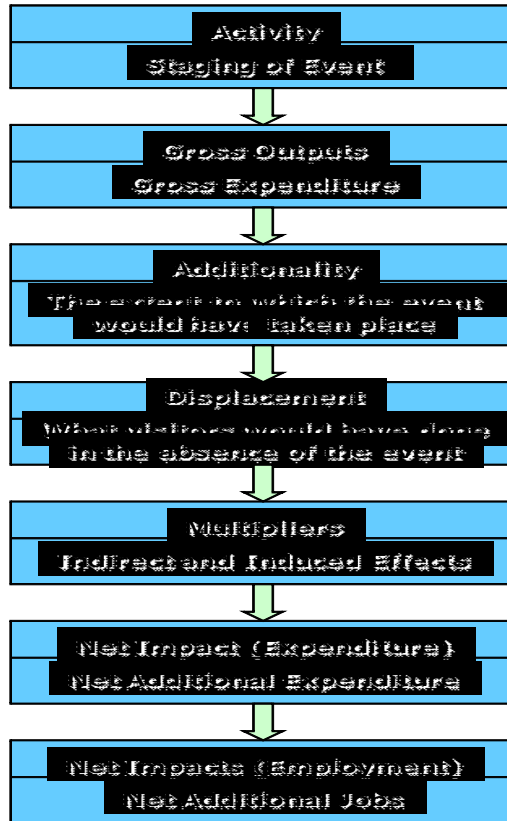
### 3.2 Economic Impact Assessment Method

Our approach to the economic impact assessment is given in **Figure 3.1**, below and is consistent with the Post Event Economic Impact Assessment Framework developed for EventScotland *et al* by EKOS<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> EKOS (2005) *Post Event Economic Impact Assessment Framework*  
*The framework was developed for a client group including EventScotland, VisitScotland, the Scottish Executive, Scottish Enterprise, Highlands and Islands Enterprise and representation from the Local Authorities.*

**Figure 5.1: Economic Impact Assessment Method**



### 3.3 Impact of Staging the Event

#### 3.3.1 Direct Expenditure

Expenditure by the organisers took place in order for the event to take place. The total costs were £200,000. The amounts which were spent in Badenoch & Strathspey and the highlands & Islands are set out in **Table 3.1**.

<b>Table 3.1: Organisers Expenditure</b>	
<b>Area</b>	<b>Expenditure</b>
Badenoch & Strathspey	£40,000
Highlands & Islands	£70,000

#### 3.3.2 Multipliers

The expenditure on staging the event will also have had two types of wider impact on the economy:

- supplier effect: an increase in sales in a business will require it to purchase more supplies than it would have otherwise. A proportion of this ‘knock-on’ effect will benefit suppliers in the local economy; and
- income effect: an increase in sales in a business will usually lead to either an increase in employment or an increase in incomes for those already employed. A proportion of these increased incomes will be re-spent in the local economy.

The Scottish Tourism Multiplier Study (STMS) provides standard supplier and income multipliers for the tourism sector<sup>2</sup>. This estimates that the combined supplier and income multiplier for a remote rural location is 1.24. A slightly higher multiplier of 1.32 has been used at the Highlands & Islands level.

#### 3.3.3 Net Additional Expenditure (Organiser’s Spend)

Applying the multipliers gives net additional expenditure from organiser’s expenditure of £49,600 and £92,400 at the Badenoch & Strathspey and Highlands & Islands areas, respectively.

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<sup>2</sup> The concept of the multiplier is based on recognition that the various sectors within an economy are interdependent. This means that each sector purchases goods and services produced by other sectors within the local economy.

## 3.4 Visitor Expenditure

### 3.4.1 Visitor Numbers and Origin

<b>Table 3.2: Type of Visitors</b>		
<b>Type of Visit</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>%</b>
Day Visitors	2,261	72
Overnight visitor	870	28
Total	3,131	100

A total of 3,131 individuals visited the event with 28% staying overnight.

The pattern of visitor behaviour varies by origin and type of visit i.e. day and overnight, therefore, these have been analysed separately in order to derive the economic impact. **Table 3.3** gives a breakdown of type of visitor by origin.

<b>Table 3.3: Visitor by Type and Origin (%)</b>		
	<b>Day</b>	<b>Overnight</b>
Badenoch & Strathspey	26	0
Elsewhere in Highlands & Islands	58	17
Elsewhere in Scotland	16	75
Elsewhere in UK	0	8
Total	100	100

### 3.4.2 Expenditure

The average daily expenditure for visitors is shown in **Table 3.4**.

<b>Table 3.4: Average Daily Expenditure</b>	
<b>Day</b>	
Badenoch & Strathspey	£13.05
Elsewhere in Highlands & Islands	£17.49
Elsewhere in Scotland	£24.87
<b>Overnight</b>	
Scotland	£57.87
Elsewhere in UK	£67.25

The average length of stay for Scottish overnight visitors was 1.7 nights in Badenoch and Strathspey and 1.8 nights in the Highlands and Islands. For overnight visitors from elsewhere in the UK the average length of stay was 5.8 nights for both areas.

Gross expenditure is calculated as follows:

$$GE = dv.ndv + ov.l.nov$$

Where GE gross expenditure  
 dv average daily expenditure of day visitors  
 ndv number of day visitors  
 ov average daily expenditure of overnight visitors  
 l average length of stay  
 nov number of overnight visitors

Applying the formula gives gross expenditure figures as detailed in **Table 3.5<sup>3</sup>**.

<b>Table 3.5: Gross Spend</b>		
	<b>Badenoch &amp; Strathspey</b>	<b>Highlands &amp; Islands</b>
Day	£39,517	£39,517
Overnight	£105,132	£109,779
Total	£144,649	£149,296

### 3.5 Gross to Net

To calculate the net impact of the event, which is the true measure of the economic benefit to Badenoch & Strathspey and the Highlands and Islands, it is necessary to take account of:

- additionality;
- displacement; and
- multiplier effects.

#### 3.5.1 Additionality

Additionality is a measure of the extent to which public sector funding was required for the event to take place. In this case without public

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<sup>3</sup> Visitors were disaggregated by visitor type before the formula was applied.

sector funding the event would not have gone ahead, therefore the level of additionality is 100%.

### 3.5.2 Displacement

Displacement is a measure of the extent to which the event has simply moved expenditure from one part of the local economy to another. Displacement levels have been assessed using information from the survey on:

- visitor origin;
- importance of the event in decision to visit the area; and
- counterfactual i.e. what visitors would have done in the absence of the event.

<b>Table 3.6: Displacement Levels</b>		
	<b>Badenoch &amp; Strathspey</b>	<b>Highlands &amp; Islands</b>
<b>Day</b>		
Badenoch & Strathspey	100	100
Elsewhere in Highlands &	5	100
Elsewhere in Scotland	0	5
<b>Overnight</b>		
Scotland	23	40
Elsewhere in UK	25	50

Taking account of displacement reduces the gross expenditure by £33,592 and £77,702 at the Badenoch & Strathspey and Highlands & Islands levels, respectively. This gives net direct additional expenditure of £111,057 at the Badenoch & Strathspey level and £71,594 at the Highlands & Islands levels level.

### 3.5.3 Multipliers

The economic activity as a result of visitor expenditure will also have had two types of wider impact on the economy in terms of the supplier and income multiplier effects (as discussed earlier in Section 3.3.2).

### 3.5.4 Net Additional expenditure (Visitor Expenditure)

Applying the multipliers gives net additional expenditure resulting from visitor expenditure as set out in **Table 3.7**.

<b>Table 3.7: Net Additional Visitor Expenditure</b>		
	<b>Badenoch &amp; Strathspey</b>	<b>Highlands &amp; Islands</b>

Gross spend	£144,649	£149,296
Additionality	100%	100%
Displacement	£33,592	£77,702
Net Direct	£111,057	£71,594
Multipliers	1.24	1.32
Net additional	£137,711	£94,504

### 3.6 Total Net Additional Expenditure

Combining the net additional expenditure from organiser's and visitor expenditure gives total net additional expenditure as set out in **Table 3.8**.

<b>Table 3.7: Net Additional Expenditure</b>		
	<b>Badenoch &amp; Strathspey</b>	<b>Highlands &amp; Islands</b>
Organiser's Spend	£49,600	£92,400
Visitor Expenditure	£137,711	£94,504
Total	£187,311	£186,904

### 3.7 Net Additional Employment

Due to the short-term nature of the Event it is unlikely that any employment impacts would meet HM Treasury<sup>4</sup> criteria of being full-time and of a 10 year duration.

It is, instead, likely that the employment impacts will be short-lived. We have, therefore, calculated annual equivalent jobs. We have applied output:employment factors derived from the STMS<sup>5</sup> of £45,700.

Applying the output:employment factor to the net additional expenditure figures gives an employment impact of 4.1 annual FTEs in Badenoch & Strathspey and 4.1 annual FTEs in the Highlands and Islands.

### 3.8 Cost Per Job

The total public sector cost of staging the event was £200,000. Based on annual FTEs of 4.1 this gives a cost per annual FTE of £48,796 and £48,902 at the Badenoch & Strathspey and Highlands and Islands levels, respectively. These costs per job figures are very high.

<sup>4</sup> "The Green Book", HM Treasury.

<sup>5</sup> An inflator has been applied to bring the figure up to 2007 value.

### 3.9 Summary

The event generated net additional expenditure of £187,311 in Badenoch & Strathspey and £186,904 in the Highlands & Islands. The cost per annual FTE is approximately £49,000 at both the Badenoch & Strathspey and Highlands and islands levels.



## 4. Conclusions

The feedback from visitors to the event was generally very positive reflected in the high ratings given for the various aspects of the event, with event organisation and the staff receiving the highest ratings. The majority of visitors also said that they would be very likely/likely to visit another event like Between Two Worlds in the future.

There were some technical difficulties on some nights of the event and this was reflected in suggestions for improvements from some of the visitors. However, the majority of visitors did not feel the need to suggest improvements for the event and the rating of their overall visitor experience at the event was high.

Some businesses were able to identify positive impacts (results from the visitor survey suggest that other local businesses also benefited, but it can be difficult for businesses to identify these impacts). However, some identified negative impacts, as a result of extending their operating hours but not receiving sufficient extra trade to cover the costs. The links to businesses and opportunities to benefit would be an area for improvement was a similar event to be staged in the future.

The number of visitors at just over 3,100 was approximately half the capacity of the event. The majority of visitors were non-local (i.e. from outwith Badenoch & Strathspey) and the event generated net additional expenditure of £190,000 and supported annual FTEs of 4.1 in Badenoch & Strathspey. However, the cost per job figures were high.

The quality of the event is not really the issue rather the main issue is that the economic impact was low in relation to the overall cost of staging the event. If a similar event was to be staged in the future then consideration would need to be given as to whether:

- the level of visitation could be increased to a point that would be sufficient to offset the costs of staging the event (whilst the level of visitation was below capacity for the event increasing visitation levels within this capacity would not be sufficient, the capacity would also need to be increased); and
- at the same time the quality of the event could be maintained.

## A1. Appendix

This appendix provides a comparison of visitor's opinions between those who visited on days where there were few or no hitches and those who visited on days where hitches caused a degree of disruption or in some cases cancelled events. For the purposes of comparison we have used data supplied by FCS which breaks the event performance into five categories. These were:

- More than 90% show fully working;
- Presentable show;
- Sub-standard show;
- Cancelled due to technical failures; and
- Cancelled due to weather.

Using the data provided we have selected five days (Nov 3<sup>rd</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup>) as days with hitches (W) and the remaining 12 days have been regarded as days without hitches (WO). November 10<sup>th</sup> was a mixed day with a quarter of the shows going through without a hitch but the remaining 7 events encountered difficulties so this day has been included in the with hitches sample. The sample sizes for the two groups are given below in **Table A1**.

<b>Table A1: Group Sizes</b>		
	No.	%
Days with hitches	47	22
Days without hitches	163	78

Over three quarters of attendees attended on days with no hitches. **Table A2** below compares how each group rated different aspects of the event

**Table A2: How would you rate the following aspects of the Between Two Worlds event? (%)**

	Very good		Good		Average		Poor		Very poor	
	WO	W	WO	W	WO	W	WO	W	WO	W
Event organisation	73	46	25	41	1	11	0	2	0	0
Music	52	16	34	53	12	13	2	11	0	7
Lighted features	62	24	28	40	8	18	1	9	1	9
Lochan Show	57	23	25	47	11	9	6	14	1	7
Staff	75	57	23	39	2	4	0	0	0	0
Overall visitor experience	64	41	28	33	5	11	2	11	1	4

The differences between the two groups are noticeable across the rating scale. Across all aspects the days without hitches have higher ratings than the days with hitches. The largest differences are in aspects such as music (86% against 69%, without and with hitches, respectively), lighted features (90% against 64%) and overall visitor experience (92% against 74%). On a positive note the differences in rating the staff is only 2% (98% against 96%) and event organisation is 9% (98% against 87%), (albeit that there were larger proportions in the good rather than very good rating on days with hitches). The hitches seemed to have had a more detrimental effect on the rating of the technical components of the event compared to the event organisation and staff.

**Table A3** shows how both groups responded in terms of likely visit to another event like Between Two Worlds.

**Table A3: Likely to return to Visit an Event like Between Two Worlds in Future (%)**

	WO	W
Very likely	69	51
Likely	23	26
Neither/nor	6	4
Unlikely	1	13
Very unlikely	2	4
Don't know	0	2

92% of those who were there on days without hitches stated they were very likely or likely to return compared to 77% of those visiting on days with hitches. Only 3% of those attending on days without hitches were unlikely to return with 17% of those attending on days with hitches unlikely to return.