



**Producing the Festival City: Place  
Myths and the Festivals of Adelaide  
and Edinburgh**

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Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the  
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

## Statement of Originality

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## Abstract

The Edinburgh International Festival (EIF) and the Adelaide Festival, and their associated Fringe Festivals, are large international multi-arts events that focus on artistic excellence and annually imbue their host cities with month-long festive atmospheres. They are also mobilised within tourism campaigns and urban governance strategies to promote these cities as great places to live, work, and visit. In an era of festivalisation, in which festivals have become a popular urban entrepreneurial strategy to promote economic growth, foster social cohesion and civic pride, and advertise positive images of the city, these festivals give Adelaide and Edinburgh a competitive advantage by underwriting their cultural, creative, and cosmopolitan credentials. I argue, however, that beyond a brand identity, these events provide the dominant 'set of core images' (Shields 1991, p. 60), or place myth, that is widely held and circulated about both places and characterises them as Festival Cities. This Festival City place myth has had important long-term cultural effects beyond its instrumentalisation within place promotion and creative cities discourses and is contested by different groups. This study therefore combines cultural geography and theatre and performance studies methodologies to explore how these festivals are necessarily shaped and produced by their host cities, and conversely, how the festivals materially and discursively produce the city in turn. By analysing the festivals of Adelaide and Edinburgh as theatrical events that can be read as performances of the city, I interrogate their conditions of production and reception in order to highlight the competing agendas involved and to contribute to understandings of place in performance. A detailed, comparative analysis of similar events in two diverse geographic, cultural, and socio-political locations, moreover, reveals how global trends intersect with local conditions and highlights the contribution of these events, which were once rare but are now ubiquitous, to the social, cultural, and political life of cities.

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## List of Abbreviations

ABC: Australian Broadcasting Corporation

ABS: Australian Bureau of Statistics

ACC: Adelaide City Council

ACGB: Arts Council of Great Britain

AETT: Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust

BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation

ALP: Australian Labor Party

CBD: Central Business District

CDA: Collaborative Doctoral Award

CDs: Census Collection Districts

CEC: City of Edinburgh Council

CEO: Chief Executive Officer

CS: Creative Scotland

*CTR: Contemporary Theatre Review*

EFS: Edinburgh Festival Society Limited

EIF: Edinburgh International Festival

FTE: Full Time Equivalent

GFC: Global Financial Crisis

MFI: Major Festivals Initiative

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation

NTS: National Theatre of Scotland

NTGB: National Theatre of Great Britain

PIAF: Perth International Arts Festival

RBS: Royal Bank of Scotland

RSL: Returned Services League

SA: South Australia

SAC: Scottish Arts Council

SATC: South Australian Tourism Commission

SBS: Special Broadcasting Service (Australia) / Scottish Broadcasting Service (Scotland)

SE: Scottish Enterprise

SNP: Scottish National Party

STCSA: State Theatre Company of South Australia, formerly SATC: South Australian Theatre Company

GFC: Global Financial Crisis

UAE: United Arab Emirates

UK: United Kingdom

US: United States

UNESCO: United Nations Economic, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation

WCTU: Woman's Christian Temperance Union

WWI: World War I

WWII: World War II

## Introduction: The Festival Cities of Adelaide and Edinburgh

The Edinburgh International Festival (EIF) and the Adelaide Festival, along with their associated Fringe Festivals, are large international arts festivals that deploy multiple venues, imbue their host cities with a festive atmosphere, and offer a concentrated number of events within a confined time and space to provide a heightened level of saturation for the festival participant. Throughout March in Adelaide, and the month of August in Edinburgh, the streets and venues of these cities host a multiplicity of arts events from around the world.<sup>1</sup> Despite being located on opposite sides of the globe, there are sufficient similarities between both the EIF and the Adelaide Festival, and their Fringes, to warrant bringing them into conversation. The Adelaide Festival was in fact modelled on and inspired by the EIF and shares the same multi-arts format with a focus on artistic excellence.<sup>2</sup> While these similarities form the basis for comparative study, Adelaide and Edinburgh also have unique histories and are located in different geographies, cultures, and socio-political positions within their nations. Comparing the two without accounting for these differences risks reinforcing colonial narratives in which a European cultural phenomenon is transplanted unaltered into a postcolonial setting.

Interrogating the relationship between the Edinburgh and Adelaide festivals (specifically the international arts and fringe festivals) and their host cities reveals that these long-running events have contributed to popular perceptions of these places for visitors and residents alike. I argue that in both cases these events have generated the dominant place myth that defines Adelaide and Edinburgh as Festival Cities. Sociologist Rob Shields

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<sup>1</sup> The Adelaide Festival of Arts, which began in 1960, has traditionally been held biennially but has been held annually since 2012. The Adelaide Fringe Festival, which also began in 1960 but was incorporated in 1975, has been held annually since 2007. The EIF and Edinburgh Festival Fringe both began in 1947, with the Edinburgh Festival Fringe Society formed in 1958.

<sup>2</sup> These are multi-arts festivals with the Adelaide Festival and EIF offering a range of dance, opera, theatre, music, film, and visual arts, and the Adelaide Fringe and Edinburgh Festival Fringe encompassing comedy, theatre, dance, cabaret, circus and physical theatre, film, music, and visual arts.

defines place-images and place myths as the meanings ascribed to certain places within discursive imagery that produce meaning through an interaction with the physical geography. As Shields argues, '[a] set of core images forms a widely disseminated and commonly held set of images of a place or space. These form a relatively stable group of ideas in currency, reinforced by their communication value as conventions circulating in a discursive economy'.<sup>3</sup> In the case of both Adelaide and Edinburgh, then, these festivals form the 'set of core images' that are widely held and circulated about these cities.

Geographer David Harvey suggests that in an era of globalisation the sale of place through image construction and advertising becomes important for cities seeking to gain a competitive advantage in attracting global capital.<sup>4</sup> The Festival City place myth has been used to promote both Adelaide and Edinburgh in their respective tourism and promotional campaigns as great places to live, work, and visit. The unique history, culture, and geography of these places, moreover, provides the festivals with their own unique identity that distinguishes these events both from each other and their many global competitors. As this study demonstrates, however, the Festival City place myth has also had important long-term effects on local culture and has directly impacted upon the material infrastructure of these locations. In order to investigate the complex relationship between festival and city that goes beyond the instrumentalisation of these events within place promotion and creative cities discourses, this study combines methodologies from cultural geography and from theatre and performance studies. Together these perspectives reveal how the festivals are necessarily shaped and produced

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<sup>3</sup> Rob Shields, *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity* (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 60-61.

<sup>4</sup> David Harvey, 'From Space to Place and Back Again', in *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1996), pp. 291-326. See also David Harvey, 'From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism', in *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001), pp. 345-68.

by their host cities, and conversely, how these festivals intervene within the social, political, and economic fabric of their cities. This balance of approaches, moreover, considers how place-bound cultural events become sites of contestation over how the city is defined and whose interests are prioritised. This thesis charts the rise and role and contemplates the possible fall of the Festival City place myth in both Adelaide and Edinburgh in order to investigate the function of cultural practices in producing the city both materially and discursively.

### **Festival Scholarship**

The number of city-based arts festivals has grown rapidly worldwide since the 1980s in a phenomenon known as ‘festivalisation’. A report on the competitiveness of Edinburgh’s festivals notes that ‘festivalisation’ refers not only to ‘an over crowded festival landscape’ due to the rapid increase in the number of such events, but also to ‘the seriousness with which cities are now actively competing to attract, sustain and expand their roles in hosting and promoting cultural events of all types’.<sup>5</sup> Festivals are seen as one way increasingly homogenised cities can define their unique identity within a globally competitive marketplace in order to compete for tourism, workers, and investment.<sup>6</sup> Despite this rapid growth of arts festivals and critical engagement with their role in place promotion, culture-led regeneration, cultural tourism, and the creative economy in the fields of cultural geography and urban studies literature, there has been comparatively little critical attention on arts festivals within theatre and performance studies. Going beyond the critical histories and reviews of artistic programming that dominate existing festival scholarship in this field, my approach positions these events as imbricated within the material conditions of cities in order to reveal the ways in which they participate in the ideological production of urban space. Here I review the major approaches to arts festivals in theatre

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<sup>5</sup> AEA Consulting, *Thundering Hooves: Maintaining the Global Competitive Edge of Edinburgh’s Festivals* (2006)

<<http://www.festivalisedinburgh.com/content/about-us>> [accessed 14 September] (p. 16).

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

and performance studies to highlight the need to expand the focus beyond the flagship European modernist events and to assert the value of a comparative approach that reveals how global trends are shaped by local concerns and conditions.

Edinburgh's festivals, reflecting their position as the world's leading events of their kind, have attracted the most critical attention to date and my project is informed by the lines of enquiry and cultural materialist methodologies employed within seminal articles by Ric Knowles and Jen Harvie that are further developed within chapters of their subsequent monographs. David Bradby and Maria M. Delgado note that Knowles's article for *Canadian Theatre Review* in 2000 'has decisively shaped the ways in which festival culture is now being analysed and interrogated'.<sup>7</sup> Knowles suggests that interrogations of the EIF, in particular, have primarily centred on the tension between the global and the local, and how the debate over the level of local content to be promoted at festival time has played out in the rub between the main festival and its offshoot or alternative: the Fringe. Knowles's review of the 1999 EIF and Fringe focuses on how these events function as international marketplaces trading in cultural capital.<sup>8</sup> His key criticism (developed in response to two Scottish plays performed at Toronto's DuMaurier World Stage Festival in 1996) is that the 'apparent placelessness' of international festivals decontextualises performance, turning it into a 'mere representation' of national culture in the process.<sup>9</sup> Knowles also notes that the programming of the main festival in 1999 privileged austere modernist pieces that focussed on the theatrical form, what he terms 'high modernist formalism', leaving the Fringe to cater to more populist audiences.<sup>10</sup> Building on Knowles's succinct observation that despite these festivals being international in scope, the nature of performance requires that they will always be *located* within their host

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<sup>7</sup> David Bradby and Maria M. Delgado, 'Editorial', *Contemporary Theatre Review*, 13.4 (2003), 1-4 (p. 1).

<sup>8</sup> Ric Knowles, 'The Edinburgh Festival and Fringe: Lessons for Canada?', *Canadian Theatre Review*.102 (2000), 88-96.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91.

cities and are therefore contingent on *space*, my project interrogates the relationship between festival and city in more detail and adopts the cultural materialist approach developed by Knowles in *Reading the Material Theatre* (see Chapter One).

Jen Harvie's article on the Edinburgh festivals for a special issue of *Contemporary Theatre Review (CTR)* also adopts a materialist approach in order to examine the uneasy relationship between the EIF and its host city. By exploring the 'characteristics and effects' of the founding of the Edinburgh Festival and drawing attention to 'some of the cultural practices and material resources' that have developed as a result,<sup>11</sup> Harvie problematises the binary between the Festival and the Fringe to suggest that they are more interrelated than traditionally viewed and to explore how these festivals have contributed to a year-round theatrical culture and infrastructure in Edinburgh.<sup>12</sup> This cultural materialist approach is developed further within *Staging the UK* that includes a chapter devoted to examining the cultural effects of Edinburgh's festivals in an era of globalisation. In this chapter Harvie asks of these events: 'Are they proliferating and democratising culture, or homogenising and limiting it?'<sup>13</sup> She observes that what is popularly known as 'the Edinburgh Festival' is actually a 'cultural bonanza' composed of multiple, individual festivals that are established in their own right, and should therefore be more accurately termed the 'Edinburgh Festivals' to acknowledge that 'many people experience Edinburgh in August as one large festival'.<sup>14</sup> This is also true of the conglomeration of events that are staged annually in Adelaide in what is known by locals as 'Mad March'. Edinburgh also generates more revenue than it invests in the festival – through monies spent by visitors on

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<sup>11</sup> Jen Harvie, 'Cultural Effects of the Edinburgh International Festival: Elitism, Identities, Industries', *Contemporary Theatre Review*, 13.4 (2003), 12-26 (p. 13).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>13</sup> Jen Harvie, *Staging the UK* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), p. 75.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77.



accommodation and food, as well as ticket sales<sup>15</sup> – and therefore the exchange between festival and city marketing requires further investigation. Finally, Harvie suggests that the city itself becomes a performance at festival time, one that is designed to show its best features to cultural tourists, and thus lends itself to performance analysis.

Building upon these approaches my project explores how the Edinburgh and Adelaide festivals are defined by their local geographical, socio-political, and cultural conditions on the one hand, and contribute to the long-term material and discursive constructions of these cities on the other. Taking Harvie's observation 'that the city itself is also systematically packaged during the festivals'<sup>16</sup> as a starting point, I interrogate the ways in which these festivals have contributed to the built environment of Edinburgh and Adelaide, their theatrical and transport infrastructures, accommodation provision, and restaurant culture, as well as their reputations and popular imagery. I argue that it is this total immersion experience – the effect of all of the festivals taking place simultaneously in the compressed time-space of Edinburgh in August and Adelaide in March – that sets these events apart and contributes to what Harvie describes as 'producing a profound, saturated sense of a "festival city"'.<sup>17</sup> Rather than analysing individual performances within these festivals, my project is concerned with the cultural and ideological work that these combined events perform and their long-term dialectical relationship with urban space. My project therefore builds upon the cultural materialist approaches of Knowles and Harvie to analyse the conditions of production and reception that frame Edinburgh's August festivals and Adelaide's Mad March as performances of the city.

In addition to these prominent works by single authors, two of the most significant contributions to festival scholarship within theatre and performance studies are large multi-authored pieces: a special festival issue

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 93.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 94.

of *Contemporary Theatre Review (CTR)*<sup>18</sup> from 2003 (of which Harvie's article is part) and the edited collection *Festivalising! Theatrical Events, Politics, and Culture* by the International Federation of Theatre Research's (IFTR) Theatrical Events working group.<sup>19</sup> Within their Editorial of the *CTR* special issue, Bradby and Delgado argue that 'there is a general consensus [among their contributors] that the festival as we think of it today has been shaped more powerfully than we might realise by the two great foundational post-war festivals – Edinburgh and Avignon'.<sup>20</sup> Both of these official festivals began in 1947 in the aftermath of World War II and, as Bradby and Delgado argue, were 'shaped by a modernist belief in the inestimable value of cultural activity' to aid in the recovery from the trauma of war.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, these festivals contributed to an expanded infrastructure in these cities and brought tourist revenue to their national economies. The beginning of the Adelaide Festival thirteen years later in 1960 was not driven by a need to rebuild after the ravages of war, but rather out of a desire to provide the people of South Australia and indeed the nation with access to models of artistic excellence from around the world. This desire to overcome the 'tyranny of distance' and bring the arts to the residents of this small city at the bottom of the continent also invokes a modernist drive, which is perhaps why both the Adelaide Festival and the Edinburgh Festival Fringe (known as 'Festival Adjuncts' at the time)<sup>22</sup> curiously included productions of T. S. Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral* in their opening programmes.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Although *Canadian Theatre Review* is also known by the acronym *CTR*, I use the acronym in reference to *Contemporary Theatre Review* only throughout.

<sup>19</sup> *Festivalising!: Theatrical Events, Politics and Culture*, ed. by Temple Hauptfleisch, Shulamith Lev-Aladgem, Jacqueline Martin and others (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007).

<sup>20</sup> Bradby and Delgado, 'Editorial', p. 2.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Iain Crawford, *Banquo on Thursdays: The Inside Story of 50 Years of the Edinburgh Festival* (Edinburgh: Globinshead, 1997), p. 16.

<sup>23</sup> The first Avignon Festival also nearly included a performance of *Murder in the Cathedral* with Jean Vilar invited to bring his successful Parisian production, but he proposed Shakespeare's *Richard II*, Paul Claudel's *Tobie*

Paradoxically, Adelaide's distance from the larger, more established cultural centres of Sydney and Melbourne is another point of similarity with its European counterparts of Edinburgh and Avignon. Bradby and Delgado observe that '[t]he histories of these two key festivals show that both acquired their energy partly because they were far from the metropolitan cultural centres of their day, and offered a new alternative to the traditional rituals of participation in cultural life'.<sup>24</sup> This is akin to Marvin Carlson characterising Bayreuth 'as a place of artistic pilgrimage' that has prompted other summer festival theatre pilgrimages around the world through its success.<sup>25</sup> Similarly, the necessity of audiences to travel beyond the cultural centres – whether Sydney, Melbourne, London, New York, or Paris – for a defined period of time each year lends the Edinburgh and Adelaide festivals the quality of a 'pilgrimage'. These festivals have since helped to transform both cities into cultural capitals in their own right and yet the temporal aspect of this pilgrimage remains.

Beyond Edinburgh and Avignon as the two foundational European festivals, Bradby and Delgado comment on the 'astonishing growth of festivals' around the world in recent decades.<sup>26</sup> Reflecting this, the special issue of *CTR* includes overviews of festivals within Africa (François Campana), the Arab world (Carlson), and Canada and the United States (Shawn Huffman), in addition to full articles devoted to Edinburgh (Harvie) and Avignon (Philippa Wehle).<sup>27</sup> This special issue, now more than a decade

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and Sara, and Maurice Clavel's *La Terrasse de Midi* instead. Philippa Wehle, 'A History of the Avignon Festival', *The Drama Review*, 28.1 (1984), 52-61 (pp. 52-53).

<sup>24</sup> Bradby and Delgado, 'Editorial', p. 2.

<sup>25</sup> Marvin Carlson, *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2001), pp. 157-58.

<sup>26</sup> Bradby and Delgado, 'Editorial', p. 3.

<sup>27</sup> François Campana, 'The Africa of Festivals: Bringing People Together', trans. by Joel Anderson, *Contemporary Theatre Review*, 13.4 (2003), 48-56. Marvin Carlson, 'Theatre Festivals in the Arab World', *Contemporary Theatre Review*, 13.4 (2003), 42-47. Shawn Huffman, 'On and Off: A Tour of Theatre Festivals in Canada and the United States', *Contemporary Theatre Review*, 13.4 (2003), 57-65. Harvie, 'Cultural Effects'. Philippa Wehle, 'Avignon, Everybody's Dream', *Contemporary Theatre Review*, 13.4 (2003), 27-41.

old, continues to provide a benchmark for the study of festivals within theatre and performance studies. As Denise Varney, Peter Eckersall, Chris Hudson, and Barbara Hatley observe in their transnational study of regional modernities in the global era, however, the Asia-Pacific region 'is now an important source of global arts and cultural production'.<sup>28</sup> That this special issue does not include an overview of the extensive number of festivals within Asia or the rest of the Americas, therefore, highlights the depth of work yet to be undertaken on festivals within the field.

*Festivalising!*, in contrast, does include contributions on a wider geographical spread and considers a broader range of festivals within its purview. This volume thus includes chapters on the Little Karoo National Arts festival in South Africa; Iranian, Israeli, and Swedish national events; Burning Man and the New Orleans Literary Festivals in the US; German community events; as well as religious and spiritual events in Japan, China, India, and Bangladesh, among others.<sup>29</sup> It also contains two contributions on Australian festivals: the Brisbane children's festival Out of the Box by Georgia Seffrin and the Adelaide Festival by Jacqueline Martin and Willmar Sauter. Not all of the case study events in this volume are arts festivals, or include a theatre and performance component. Nevertheless, the contributors' treatment of festivals as theatrical events and the theorisation of the festival frame within this volume contribute to my positioning of these international arts festivals and fringes as performances in their own right.

The myriad of different kinds of festivals surveyed within the *CTR* special issue and *Festivalising!* are located in diverse regional, national, and

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<sup>28</sup> Denise Varney, Peter Eckersall, Chris Hudson and Barbara Hatley, *Theatre and Performance in the Asia-Pacific: Regional Modernities in the Global Era* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 207.

<sup>29</sup> Georgia Seffrin, 'The out-of-the-Box Festival of Early Childhood: Fashioning the Boutique Festival for Children', in *Festivalising!: Theatrical Events, Politics and Culture*, ed. by Temple Hauptfleisch, et al., (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), pp. 67-78. Jacqueline Martin and Willmar Sauter, 'Playing Politics at the Adelaide Festival', in *Festivalising!: Theatrical Events, Politics and Culture*, ed. by Temple Hauptfleisch, et al., (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), pp. 97-118.

local contexts around the world and contribute to what remains an ad hoc picture of the global festival calendar, which is built upon formal and informal networks as well as standalone events. Despite the geographical reach of these collected essays, there is more work to be done on the many varied events held in diverse regions – particularly the Asia Pacific region, Africa, and South America – each year. As a further example of the exponential growth of a range of festivals – including theatre, music, visual arts, dance, books, film, and multi-art form events – across the globe, the AFRIFESTNET or African Festival Network began in 2012 in Ghana with 37 member events but has since grown to over 150 members across the continent.<sup>30</sup> Extending the focus beyond the traditional European modernist flagship festivals to take in a broader geographical reach would therefore enrich festival scholarship by revealing the local conditions, drivers, and traditions that these events operate within. Moreover, despite the burgeoning number of fringe festivals now held worldwide each year, there has been little scholarly attention paid to these events, their artistic aims, institutional structures, the local infrastructures that they operate within, and the cultural and socio-political work that they perform.<sup>31</sup>

In light of this, a comparative study of two similar events on opposite sides of the globe provides a starting point from which to develop a methodology for examining the cultural effects of arts festivals that is at once concerned with their embeddness in socio-political conditions and infrastructures *locally* and attentive to the effects of globalisation and transnational cultural flows *globally*. The festivals of Adelaide and Edinburgh are based on the same models and share a number of key characteristics that warrant a comparative study. Despite these links and similarities between the two cities and these four festivals, it is the

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<sup>30</sup> For further information see, Afrifestnet: African Festival Network, 'About', *Arterial Network* <<http://www.arterialnetwork.org/projects/afrifestnest>> [accessed 18 May 2015].

<sup>31</sup> As an indication of the number of events, the World Fringe Network lists 173 member fringe festivals across 31 countries and territories worldwide. World Fringe, *World Fringe Network* <<http://www.worldfringe.com/>> [accessed 15 January 2014].

differences and the juxtaposition of local variations that provide the most valuable insight into the relationship between festivals and their cities. In order to explore the impact of local conditions and global trends on the relationship between these festivals and their urban environments, I draw on literature and insights from cultural geography and urban studies.

### **Research Context and Methodology**

This is an interdisciplinary project between theatre and performance studies and cultural geography and is addressed at both readerships. It is located within the overlap between three bodies of research: on place-promotion, festivals, and the theorisation of space and place. The role of festivals and other large-scale events in place-promotion and marketing is well established within the disciplines of cultural geography and urban studies.<sup>32</sup> The rhetorical positioning of arts festivals within urban entrepreneurial strategies and the changing roles that they are expected to play in generating economic benefit, creating positive and dynamic marketing images, and fostering social cohesion has a direct impact on available funding and the artistic programming of these events. These factors influence these festivals' conditions of production and reception and therefore require critical analysis within festival scholarship. There is a tendency within the urban studies literature, as will be explored in further detail in Chapter One, to view arts festivals as carnival spectacles designed to mask urban disadvantage and inequality and to package simplified images of the city for tourist consumption. I argue that the cultural effects of these events are far more complex than this view allows and requires further investigation to understand the iterative relationship between festival and city. By bringing a theatre and performance studies perspective to bear on this literature, I seek to problematise assumptions around how

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<sup>32</sup> See for example, *The Entrepreneurial City: Geographies of Politics, Regime, and Representation*, ed. by Tim Hall and Phil Hubbard (Chichester: Wiley, 1998); Chris Philo and Gerry Kearns, *Selling Places: The City as Cultural Capital, Past and Present* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1993); Stephen V. Ward, *Selling Places: The Marketing and Promotion of Towns and Cities, 1850-2000* (London: E & FN Spon, 1998).

such cultural events are instrumentalised by the agendas of urban entrepreneurialism.

A study of multi-arts festivals and their relationship to their host cities can be approached from a range of perspectives. My project focuses on addressing specific research questions that aim to unpack the relationship between the festival and the city. In this study I seek to investigate how arts festivals shape cities both in terms of the built environment and popular imaginings of these urban spaces. I ask how Adelaide and Edinburgh have come to be associated with these events over time and how they are constructed as Festival Cities; how their festivals have been instrumentalised within the place promotion of these cities and what effect that this has on the cultural and ideological work that they perform; and finally how these festivals function as sites of cultural formation and contestation. In order to investigate these questions I read these festival seasons *as* performances of their cities. In doing so, I argue that these festivals are shaped and made unique by their urban environments and in turn they shape their cities materially and discursively.

This study thus focuses on the recent history of these festivals to understand how these urban agendas are shaping these cities and events now and in the immediate future. Analysing the festival as a performance meant that the duration of the research project (December 2011 – May 2015) dictated the period of study, with a particular emphasis on the fieldwork years of 2012 and 2013. As I am concerned with the relationship between the festival(s) and their host city and on these festivals' local cultural effects, I adopt a cultural materialist approach. A cultural materialist approach enables, in Harvie's words, the 'building [of] a useful critical and historical context in which to assess the work's [or in this case, festivals'] effects'.<sup>33</sup> The cultural materialist methodology employed within this project combined a three-pronged approach: undertaking historical research into the history of Adelaide and Edinburgh and these four festivals; reviewing current urban planning and cultural policy documents and reports

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<sup>33</sup> Harvie, *Staging*, p. 5.

(especially as they relate to place promotion); and conducting fieldwork by attending the events as a festival participant. While my project does not provide an in-depth comparative history of these four festivals, I do provide critical histories of the specific socio-political and historical contexts of how these festivals contributed to the Festival City place myth in both places. Due to the contemporary focus of this study, I supplement existing secondary literature on the history of these events with original primary research into more recent developments where necessary. The second prong of the methodology involved examining urban planning reports; cultural policy documents; the annual reports of the Festival and Fringe societies; the programmes of all four festivals in both 2012 and 2013; advice provided to fringe artists and major producers; and analysis of newspaper reports throughout the festivals to identify current trends and debates. As I am concerned with the rhetorical positioning of these festivals, I deliberately drew on publically available documents, newspapers, websites, press releases, and annual reports in order to analyse the public interaction between festival and city.

Attending the peak festival seasons in 2012 and 2013 was fundamental to my methodology that required that I experience the city as a festival participant. In order to account for the meta-level narratives emerging from the peak festival seasons in each city in 2012 and 2013, attention could not be given here to individual performance analyses (although I have published individual and festival performance reviews elsewhere).<sup>34</sup> As part of my fieldwork, however, I did attend individual performance events (particularly theatre but also other genres) at both the official and fringe festivals, as well as ancillary events like the Adelaide Writers' Week and the Edinburgh International Book Festival in order to guide my investigation. Attending these events enabled me to locate the hubs of festival activity; experience the spatial practices and atmosphere of

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<sup>34</sup> Sarah Thomasson, 'The "Jewel in the Crown"? The Place of the Adelaide Festival in the Australian Festival Ecology', *Performance Research*, 17.4 (2012), 145-48; and Sarah Thomasson, 'Review of *The James Plays* by Rona Munro', *Theatre Journal*, 67.2 (2015), 328-32.



the city during festival time; and analyse how the built environment through the use of both permanent and temporary venues shapes the artistic content of the festival. It also enabled me to identify performative moments within these festivals' dramaturgy to analyse as examples of cultural disputes. My project is therefore not historical in scope, nor is the focus on the artistic direction of the international arts festivals in specific years. Interviews with artists who have experienced these festivals in both cities (and increasingly between the Edinburgh Fringe and Adelaide Festival under David Sefton's artistic directorship) would yield interesting phenomenological data into the running of these festivals and the differences between them, but again is not the focus here. The range of possible approaches once again highlights the depth and breadth of future festival scholarship. My focus here is to analyse international arts festivals as a lens through which to unpack the cultural effects of large-scale events.

International arts festivals and their associated fringe festivals are particularly productive case studies because of the sustained relationship that they build with their host cities over time. Year-long events such as the European Capitals of Culture or mega-events such as the Cultural Olympiad or World Expos, which have received attention within the adjacent bodies of literature, offer a point of contrast to my case studies.<sup>35</sup> Unlike these kinds of events, international arts festivals are historically embedded and annually repeated within their local cultures and have had a cumulative and sustained impact on both the built environments of these cities and their broader cultural contexts. As such I argue that these events have generated what has become the dominant place myth in Adelaide and Edinburgh over time and have a more symbiotic relationship with their cities than the one-off mega events allow. The development of these place myths also predates the emergence of an urban entrepreneurial agenda in the 1980s, suggesting

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<sup>35</sup> See, for example, John Robert Gold and Margaret M. Gold, *Cities of Culture: Staging International Festivals and the Urban Agenda, 1851-2000* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005) or Jen Harvie and Keren Zaiontz, eds, Special Issue: 'The Cultural Politics of London 2012', *Contemporary Theatre Review*, 23.4 (2013), 473-621.

that they have a greater role to play than just place promotion. In spite of this, there has been relatively little critical attention paid to these four festivals to date, and particularly to the relationship between the official festivals and the fringes. While there is more available literature on Edinburgh's festivals than there is for Adelaide's festivals, this is still limited when taking into account their size, longevity, and cultural impact. Moreover, this is the first comparison of the festivals of Edinburgh and Adelaide, despite the many similarities and overlaps arising from the historical and ongoing links between them.

As an Australian based in London for this study, I was drawn to a comparison between these two Festival Cities as the Adelaide Festival (and Fringe) is understood within Australia to be the counterpart of the Edinburgh Festival (and Fringe) in the southern hemisphere. Although I have not lived in either Adelaide or Edinburgh, I was well positioned between the two to undertake fieldwork, access archival materials, and to research both the municipal and broader cultural contexts within which these festivals operate. The similarities that I have outlined above provide the justification for a comparative study, which enables key themes and the place myth of the Festival City to be interrogated. As I have suggested, however, these cities also have unique histories and are located in different geographies, cultures, and positions within their nations. These differences must be accounted for in order to avoid reinforcing Euro-centric narratives in which knowledge transfers are unidirectional: from North to South. Despite the direct lineage that the Adelaide Festival acknowledges of the EIF, Adelaide's festivals necessarily reflect their own local history, geography, and culture within the make-up and artistic programming of the festival and have evolved their own character and traditions.

### **Recuperating Comparativism**

Festival scholarship within theatre and performance studies has tended to privilege Edinburgh and Avignon as the foundational post-war European international arts festivals, which were shaped by modernist

ideals.<sup>36</sup> The proliferation of arts festivals around the globe in recent decades, however, necessitates that the whole range of different impetuses, traditions, and outcomes that inform a truly global festival network are considered beyond the dominant European and North American contexts. Existing studies also tend to focus on individual festival sites and while sensitivity to local contexts is important, comparative studies can ensure that smaller, less well-known festivals also contribute to understanding the growing festival phenomenon. One recent study that does chart a transnational approach for festival scholarship is Christina S. McMahon's *Recasting Transnationalism Through Performance: Theatre Festivals in Cape Verde, Mozambique, and Brazil*, which 'focuses on a specific transnational community – that of the Lusophone, or Portuguese-speaking group of nations – in order to bring a new, transnational, dimension to the discussions of global flows and local epistemologies dominating festival scholarship'.<sup>37</sup> In highlighting the marginalisation of Lusophone performances within the cornerstone European festivals and this region's neglect within festival scholarship, McMahon addresses one gap in the field while simultaneously highlighting many more. Discussing her own methodology, moreover, she points out that, '[t]he very concept of transnationalism demands a comparative perspective'.<sup>38</sup> In a similar vein, then, my project adopts a comparative methodology partly in order to draw greater attention to a lesser-known Festival City.

Geographer Jennifer Robinson believes 'that revitalizing the comparative gesture is an important requirement for an international and post-colonial approach to urban studies'.<sup>39</sup> While comparative studies have

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<sup>36</sup> Bradby and Delgado, 'Editorial', p. 2.

<sup>37</sup> Sarah Thomasson, 'Review of *Recasting Transnationalism through Performance: Theatre Festivals in Cape Verde, Mozambique and Brazil*, by Christina S. McMahon', *Theatre Survey*, 56.1 (2015), 124-26 (p. 125).

<sup>38</sup> Christina S. McMahon, *Recasting Transnationalism through Performance: Theatre Festivals in Cape Verde, Mozambique, and Brazil* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 18.

<sup>39</sup> Jennifer Robinson, 'Cities in a World of Cities: The Comparative Gesture', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 35.1 (2011), 1-23 (p. 2).

been viewed with suspicion for their universalising tendencies, Robinson believes that the modest approach of comparing two cities can internationalise theories of place by overcoming geographical blind spots, such as those identified within festival scholarship. Following her lead, I argue that transnational comparisons of urban-based arts festivals can open up new avenues for the study of festivals as well as contributing to our understanding of the relationship between culture and place. Such comparative studies also provide the foundation for future research into transnational networks located in diverse regions around the world. These networks are contextualised by both globalization and colonial legacies and as such studies of them must account for the flows of political, economic, and cultural power between festival sites, while also being attuned to the multidirectional circulations of influence and collaboration among them. Transnational comparisons therefore offer a way of mapping global networks among international arts festivals beyond a traditional focus on the well-known European post-war events and provide a way to tease out the complex interplay of global and local forces. In the rest of this section I provide a rationale for recuperating the comparative methodology before introducing the case study festivals of Adelaide and Edinburgh and their intertwined histories.

International arts festivals, like the Olympic and Paralympic Games, have also become emblematic of a tension between global processes and local agendas. As Knowles has highlighted, festivals like Edinburgh and Adelaide, 'however international, *take place* within local markets, and in doing so set up complex tensions between the local and the global that are not always so easily contained'.<sup>40</sup> An individualising comparative strategy, which pays close attention to the local cultural and material conditions that shape both festivals, can help to untangle these globalising and localising forces by bringing them into 'comparative relief'. Robinson notes that the individualising comparative method 'bring[s] the experiences of different case-study cities into careful conversation with one another in order to

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<sup>40</sup> Knowles, 'The Edinburgh Festival and Fringe', p. 92; original emphasis.

reflect critically on extant theory, to raise questions about one city through attending to related dynamics in other contexts, or to point to limitations or omissions in existing accounts'.<sup>41</sup> Comparing similar events across diverse locations reveals different local agendas and investments within globalising processes and highlights the ways in which these events become instrumentalised within broader political agendas and nation-building exercises. These two case studies are particularly fruitful for contrasting the relationship between cultural events and their host cities, with the Adelaide Festival being embraced by South Australia on the one hand, and the EIF continuing to be viewed with suspicion to some extent in Edinburgh.

Robinson believes that comparativism needs to be recuperated as a postcolonial research methodology in the social sciences in order to restore internationalism to urban studies theory that has privileged wealthy Western experience by instead focusing on what she terms 'ordinary cities'.<sup>42</sup> Comparative studies enable the experiences of smaller, poorer, (or, I would add, less prominent) cities to contribute to theoretical analysis and provide a platform to reach larger audiences. Knowles has described the EIF and Edinburgh Festival Fringe, which both began in 1947, as the 'ur-festivals for English language international festivals and fringes'.<sup>43</sup> Today, the EIF and the Edinburgh Festival Fringe remain the pre-eminent (as well as among the largest and longest running) multi-arts festivals in the world.<sup>44</sup> The Adelaide Festival of the Arts was founded in 1960 based on the Edinburgh model and

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<sup>41</sup> Robinson, 'Cities in a World of Cities', p. 6.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 2. See also Jennifer Robinson, *Ordinary Cities: Between Modernity and Development* (London: Routledge, 2006).

<sup>43</sup> Knowles, 'The Edinburgh Festival and Fringe', p. 88.

<sup>44</sup> The Festival d'Avignon is a close rival as it was also founded in 1947 and reached ticket sales of 135,800 for the 2012 Festival. Philippa Wehle, 'The Avignon Vision', *PAJ: A Journal of Performance and Art*, 35.1 (2013), 73-80 (p. 80). This is comparable to the EIF's 2012 ticket sales of 137,195. City of Edinburgh Council, *Summer Festivals 2012*, Culture and Leisure Committee Report No. 11 (Edinburgh: City of Edinburgh Council, 23 October 2012) <[www.edinburgh.gov.uk/download/.../item\\_11\\_-\\_summer\\_festivals\\_2012](http://www.edinburgh.gov.uk/download/.../item_11_-_summer_festivals_2012)> [accessed 14 February 2015], p. 5.

is generally recognised as the premier arts event in Australia.<sup>45</sup> The Adelaide Fringe, which began in the same year, was also inspired by the precedent of Edinburgh and maintains a commitment to the open-access policy that sets both the Edinburgh and Adelaide festivals apart from other large fringe festivals such as that in Edmonton, Alberta.<sup>46</sup> Today it is one of the largest and longest running open-access fringe festivals in the world, with over 900 events across 300 venues in 2013. The Adelaide Fringe has claimed to be the largest open-access multi-arts fringe festival in the southern hemisphere and second only in size to Edinburgh globally.<sup>47</sup>

A large part of the cultural contribution of the Adelaide Festival and the EIF therefore lies in triggering fringe events that began on the margins but have since surpassed the main events in terms of audience numbers and arguably rival them in terms of cultural significance. A 2001 report on Edinburgh's festivals found that '[t]he Edinburgh Fringe is, by a considerable margin, the largest event of its type in the world'.<sup>48</sup> The Adelaide Fringe is statistically smaller than Edinburgh's, but it is still sizable on a global scale. It is difficult to assess Adelaide Fringe's claim to be the world's second largest fringe festival but it is likely that this mantle statistically belongs to Avignon's alternative event. A statistical analysis of

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<sup>45</sup> See for example Helen Gilbert and Jacqueline Lo, *Performance and Cosmopolitics: Cross-Cultural Transactions in Australasia* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 112. While it is the most prestigious, it is not the longest running; the Perth International Arts Festival (PIAF) began in 1953.

<sup>46</sup> The Edmonton Fringe Festival is the largest event of its kind in North America and selects its artists via an 'unbiased lottery system', which is a different model to that of Adelaide and Edinburgh Fringes that can accommodate any artist or company who can arrange a venue to host it. Festival Seekers, *Edmonton Festival Fringe*, <<http://www.festivalseekers.com/edmonton/edmontonfringe>> [accessed 28 December 2013].

<sup>47</sup> See for example Jan Potter, Chairperson's Report, in Adelaide Fringe, *Annual Report 2011-12* (Adelaide: Adelaide Fringe Inc, 2012), p. 3.

<sup>48</sup> Graham Devlin Associates, *Festivals and the City: The Edinburgh Festivals Strategy* (Edinburgh: CEC, SAC, Scottish Enterprise Edinburgh and Lothian, 2001) <[www.efa-aef.eu/newpublic/upload/.../FestivalsStrategy%20edinburgh.pdf](http://www.efa-aef.eu/newpublic/upload/.../FestivalsStrategy%20edinburgh.pdf)> [accessed 14 September 2012], p. 26.

well-known international fringe festivals reveals that while the Adelaide Fringe had approximately one-third the number of registered events in 2013 that the Edinburgh Festival Fringe had, it is still comparable in size to other well-known international fringe festivals (see Appendix 1). With each fringe festival operating according to its own model, in different cultural and funding climates, it is difficult to define like 'kinds' among the extensive networks of fringe festivals globally and therefore to compare them on an equal footing or to measure their relative impact or cultural significance. Nevertheless, in terms of size, longevity, and its open access mandate, the Adelaide Fringe is on par with other events of its kinds on a global scale.

Adelaide as a city and its arts events are nevertheless less well known internationally and therefore the potential for comparison with Edinburgh is less apparent. This is perhaps, in part, because brand 'Australia' is promoted internationally by Tourism Australia, the official national tourism body, by its natural beauty and abundant outdoor pursuits rather than its cultural activities (although Aboriginal Australia does feature heavily in Tourism Australia's literature as the 'world's oldest living culture').<sup>49</sup> It can also be attributed to a relative lack of scholarly interest in Adelaide's festivals and a lack of desire to place them in dialogue with other comparable events globally.

The Adelaide Festival and Fringe have received little critical or scholarly attention, with only one sustained publication detailing the early history of both festivals. Derek Whitelock's *Festival! The Story of the Adelaide Festival of Arts* is the official history of the festival that began as an initiative of the South Australian Premier of the time, Donald Dunstan, but was self-

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<sup>49</sup> On Tourism Australia's homepage, for example, they feature '14 Australian Holiday Ideas' that focus on the country's unique natural landscapes such as Hayman Island on the Great Barrier Reef, Cape Leveque within the Kimberley region, and the Bungle Bungle Ranges, along with three cities – Canberra, Sydney, and Melbourne (the only city to be branded 'artistic') – that are featured for their historical importance (Canberra), spectacular views (Sydney Harbour) as much as their cultural offerings. Tourism Australia, 'Welcome to Australia's Office Tourism Website' <<http://www.australia.com/>> [accessed 28 December 2013].

published in 1980. This volume focuses on the first ten official Adelaide Festivals between 1960 and 1978 (the Adelaide Festival was a biennial event until 2013), and includes a very short three-page section on the Adelaide Fringe (which was called Focus at the time of publication).<sup>50</sup> In addition to this history (which ends in 1978), there have been a small number of scholarly articles and chapters that focus on the Adelaide Festival in specific years but are few given the longevity and cultural significance of this event within the Australian festival ecology.<sup>51</sup>

The Adelaide Fringe, in contrast, has received virtually no critical attention despite its size and longevity. Currently, the only written history of the Adelaide Fringe is an unpublished MA dissertation by Martin Christmas.<sup>52</sup> The *Fringe Vault* website provides detailed archival material dating back to the inaugural Fringe in 1960 that would underpin any future study. While there may be other articles and chapters on the Adelaide Festival and Fringe, particularly in other disciplines, these represent the major contributions within the field of theatre and performance studies. As a result, the material on Adelaide's festivals within this dissertation is derived principally from primary resources such as annual reports,

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<sup>50</sup> See Chapter 12, 'Fringe and Focus' in Derek Whitelock and Doug Loan, *Festival!: The Story of the Adelaide Festival of Arts* (Adelaide: Derek Whitelock, 1980), pp. 163-65.

<sup>51</sup> See, for example, Mary Ann Hunter, 'Utopia, Maps and Ecstasy: Configuring Space in Barrie Kosky's 1996 Adelaide Festival', *Australasian Drama Studies*, 44 (2004), 36-51; Martin and Sauter's chapter in *Festivalising!* that focuses on the scandal surrounding the resignation of Peter Sellars as artistic director of the 2002 Adelaide Festival: Martin and Sauter, 'Playing Politics'; Jo Caust's insightful and balanced article on the same scandal Jo Caust, 'A Festival in Disarray: The 2002 Adelaide Festival: A Debacle or Another Model of Arts Organization and Leadership', *Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, 34.2 (2004), 103-17; and Helen Gilbert and Jacqueline Lo's chapter examining 'the ways in which cultural difference has been framed within the panoramic logic of the festival' in Gilbert and Lo, *Performance and Cosmopolitics*, pp. 112-13.; see also chapters within Julie Holledge and Joanne Tompkins, *Women's Intercultural Performance* (London: Routledge, 2000) and Varney, Eckersall, Hudson and Hatley, *Theatre and Performance in the Asia-Pacific*.

<sup>52</sup> Martin Christmas, 'The Open Platform: From Fringe to Focus in Pursuit of the Adelaide Fringe Festival', MA Dissertation, Flinders University, 1999.



government policy statements, newspaper articles, festival websites, and fieldwork.

Unlike Adelaide, there are a number of official histories of the EIF, although not necessarily as many as its size, longevity, and cultural impact might anticipate. Eileen Miller offers a detailed year-by-year examination of the artistic programmes of the first eight Festival Directors, the socio-political climates they operated in, and the economic constraints and challenges that were grappled with in *The Edinburgh International Festival 1947-1996*.<sup>53</sup> While Miller's volume is the most comprehensive study, other histories also include Owen Dudley Edward's *City of a Thousand Worlds: Edinburgh in Festival* (1991),<sup>54</sup> and Iain Crawford's *Banquo on Thursdays: The Inside Story of 50 Years of the Edinburgh Festival* (1997), which covers the same period as Miller,<sup>55</sup> and George Bruce's *Festival in the North: The Story of the Edinburgh Festival* (1975).<sup>56</sup>

More recently, cultural historian Angela Bartie's *The Edinburgh Festivals: Culture and Society in Post-War Britain* published in 2013 by Edinburgh University Press is the first full-length critical history of the EIF and Fringe.<sup>57</sup> This monograph builds upon her earlier dissertation,<sup>58</sup> to provide a detailed study of the Edinburgh Festivals' early years (1945-1970), and follows Harvie in establishing the importance of Edinburgh's festivals to post-war Scottish culture despite popular claims to the contrary, while charting the evolution of cultural policy, theatrical censorship, and state subsidy of the arts in the UK through the early history of these

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<sup>53</sup> Eileen Miller, *The Edinburgh International Festival 1947-1996* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1996).

<sup>54</sup> Owen Dudley Edwards, *City of a Thousand Worlds : Edinburgh in Festival* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1991).

<sup>55</sup> Crawford, *Banquo on Thursdays*.

<sup>56</sup> George Bruce, *Festival in the North: The Story of the Edinburgh Festival* (London: Robert Hale, 1975).

<sup>57</sup> Angela Bartie, *The Edinburgh Festivals: Culture and Society in Post-War Britain* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013).

<sup>58</sup> Angela Bartie, 'Festival City: The Arts, Culture and Moral Conflict in Edinburgh 1947-1967', PhD Dissertation, University of Dundee, 2006, p. 3.

events.<sup>59</sup> Bartie confirms that the existing histories of both the EIF and Edinburgh Festival Fringe have 'largely been [written] from the personal perspectives of administrators, journalists and critics'.<sup>60</sup> Her history of the early festivals therefore provides a key critical contribution to festival scholarship and is drawn upon throughout this study.

Volumes that focus on the history of the Edinburgh Festival Fringe are similarly written from key contributors' personal perspectives. This includes *The Edinburgh Fringe* (1978), written by former Edinburgh Festival Fringe Society Administrator Alistair Moffat.<sup>61</sup> *The Traverse Theatre Story* by arts journalist Joyce McMillan recounts the first twenty-five years of the Traverse Theatre Club and provides a valuable insight into this important Edinburgh Fringe institution and thus the wider festival between 1965 and 1988.<sup>62</sup> In addition to these historical accounts of Edinburgh's festivals there are also a number of non-scholarly books that offer a 'survival guide' to potential fringe artists.<sup>63</sup>

These more popular accounts are supplemented by dissertation research by Xela Batchelder<sup>64</sup> and Jennifer Attala.<sup>65</sup> Batchelder's dissertation builds upon her ten years as a venue manager at the Edinburgh Festival Fringe to offer an in-depth account of the Fringe's unique structures and its

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<sup>59</sup> See Sarah Thomasson, 'Review of *the Edinburgh Festivals: Culture and Society in Post-War Britain*, by Angela Bartie', *Contemporary Theatre Review*, 24.3 (2014), 405-07.

<sup>60</sup> Bartie, *The Edinburgh Festivals*, p. 4.

<sup>61</sup> Alistair Moffat, *The Edinburgh Fringe* (London: Johnston and Bacon, 1978).

<sup>62</sup> Joyce McMillan, *The Traverse Theatre Story* (London: Methuen Drama, 1988).

<sup>63</sup> See for example Mark Fisher, *The Edinburgh Fringe Survival Guide: How to Make Your Show a Success* (York: Methuen Drama, 2012).

<sup>64</sup> Xela Batchelder, 'The World's Largest Arts Festival, the Edinburgh Festival Fringe: Mechanics, Myth and Management', PhD dissertation, The Ohio State University, 2006.

<sup>65</sup> Jennifer Attala, 'Performing the Festival – A Study of the Edinburgh International Festival in the Twenty-First Century', PhD dissertation, University of Glasgow, 2012.

entrepreneurial venues in particular.<sup>66</sup> Attala uses the EIF as a case study to examine the changing role of international arts festivals prompted by a creative industries rubric that has seen local authorities instrumentalising such cultural activities for their economic, social, and cultural advantage. Through a Collaborative Doctoral Award (CDA) with the EIF and the University of Glasgow, which granted her privileged access to the human and archival resources of this organisation, Attala was able to examine 'how the priorities and operational strategies adopted by a leading international arts festival have changed in response to a transformed competitive and policy context'.<sup>67</sup> Through interviews with senior staff members, including then EIF Director Jonathon Mills and Festivals Edinburgh Director Faith Liddell, Attala provides an invaluable study of how the EIF has responded to changing political agendas within UK cultural policy on the one hand and the renegotiation of the role of culture in post-devolution Scotland on the other in the early twenty-first century. Through this arrangement Attala was uniquely positioned to provide an insight into the two most recent EIF artistic directorships of Brian McMaster and Sir Jonathon Mills, not yet detailed in any other study.

This literature review demonstrates that the festivals of Adelaide and Edinburgh have received comparatively little critical attention in terms of their conditions of production and reception despite their long histories, size, and cultural impact within their own national settings. While Adelaide is not a poor city, it does tend to be marginalised even within an Australian context that favours the larger, better-known cities of Sydney and Melbourne, especially within arts promotion. Even Edinburgh, as host of the world's leading arts festivals,<sup>68</sup> is perceived by Bartie to be marginalised

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<sup>66</sup> Batchelder was venue manager of Venue 123 in 1996, which evolved into Rocket venues in 1999.

<sup>67</sup> Attala, 'Performing the Festival', p. 44.

<sup>68</sup> A report into the global competitiveness of Edinburgh's festivals found that '[t]here are 251 festival days per year. No city in the world appears to rival the breadth and extent of festival activity in Edinburgh in August'. See AEA Consulting, *Thundering Hooves*, p. 40.

within post-war cultural histories of the UK.<sup>69</sup> Critical attention to the recent past, moreover, highlights the increasing role of the arts and culture within a post-devolution Scotland and the rehabilitation of Edinburgh's festivals as providing a global stage for Scotland's cultural identity. Comparing the Adelaide Festival with the more prestigious and well-known Edinburgh Festival, moreover, offers an opportunity to redress a gap in festival scholarship and raise the profile of Adelaide's festivals outside of Australia. The locatedness of the Adelaide Festival and the distinct material and cultural conditions that shape it also speak back to festival scholarship, highlighting how the tension between global and local in this context is refracted through the nation's colonial legacy of dispossession and evolving relationship with its neighbours in the Asia-Pacific region.

### **The Festivals Today: Points of Comparison**

Adelaide and Edinburgh, although being two very different proud, mid-sized cities located on opposite sides of the globe, have more in common than it would seem, not least in that they host two major international arts festivals and their large open-access fringes. Both are capital cities (albeit at different orders of magnitude), with the former the state capital of South Australia and the latter the historic capital of the Scottish nation. Adelaide and Edinburgh are also both mid-sized cities – of 1.2 million and 500,000 respectively – that have historically held reputations as being religiously conservative and devoid of a local arts culture.<sup>70</sup> The claims that these festivals were parachuted into virtual cultural voids have been refuted, but they remain potent foundational myths of both the Adelaide Festival and EIF. Regardless, the Edinburgh and Adelaide festivals have helped to reform these cities' cultural images over the last half of the twentieth century. At one time, South Australian licence plates declared their drivers to be citizens of the 'Festival State', whereas

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<sup>69</sup> Bartie, *The Edinburgh Festivals*, p. 3.

<sup>70</sup> Adelaide's population statistics are collected for the Greater Adelaide region, which includes the surrounding suburbs. The population of the Adelaide Local Government Area by comparison is 22,000. Australian Bureau of Statistics, 'Data by Region,' *Australian Bureau of Statistics* <http://stat.abs.gov.au/itt/r.jsp?databyregion#/> [accessed 6 August 2015].

Edinburgh continues to be known globally as the 'Festival City'.<sup>71</sup>

Nevertheless, these cities hold very different positions in the social and political ecology of their nations.

Adelaide is the fifth largest city in Australia in terms of population, with each capital city now hosting their own arts festival and in most cases fringes.<sup>72</sup> Although Adelaide is still considered the most prestigious of these events, throughout the rest of the year, Adelaide itself is outstripped in terms of its cultural credentials by the larger (and longer established) cities of Melbourne and Sydney. Edinburgh, on the other hand, is the historical and current capital of Scotland and has housed the post-devolution Scottish Parliament since 1999. It has its own rivalry with the larger neighbouring central belt city of Glasgow, which hosts many of Scotland's large cultural institutions such as the Scottish Opera, Scottish Ballet, and the Royal Scottish National Orchestra. Glasgow draws its own cultural credentials from its successful rebranding as a European Capital of Culture in 1990 and hosted the Commonwealth Games in 2014. Within the United Kingdom (UK), Edinburgh, through its festivals and long established institutions such as the Traverse Theatre, is a key site for the development of new theatrical work in its own right but is positioned in opposition to the global metropolitan city

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<sup>71</sup> While I explore the interplay between the Festival City as a place myth and as a city branding moniker in Chapter Two, it is also a label that is recognised by local authorities. For example, the *Thundering Hooves* report – commissioned by the Scottish Arts Council, Festivals Edinburgh, City of Edinburgh Council, Scottish Executive, EventScotland, and Scottish Enterprise Edinburgh and Lothian – acknowledges that the Edinburgh festival 'has made the city a pre-eminent cultural destination' and has 'add[ed] significantly to the national and international profile of the City of Edinburgh and of Scotland'. AEA Consulting, *Thundering Hooves*, p. 3.

<sup>72</sup> According to the Australian Government, '[f]estivals have become ubiquitous in Australia, with hundreds held each year'. Its *Festivals in Australia* website notes that each capital city has a festival and lists the major festivals as: Sydney Festival (January); National Multicultural Festival, Canberra (February); Perth International Arts Festival (February-March); Adelaide Festival of Arts (March); Ten Days on the Island, Tasmania (March); Darwin Festival (August); Brisbane Festival (September); Melbourne International Arts Festival (October). Kathryn Wells, 'Festivals in Australia', *Australia.gov.uk*, 30 July 2013 <<http://australia.gov.au/about-australia/australian-story/festivals-in-australia>> [accessed 24 March 2014].

of London and its 'Theatreland'. Both politically and culturally, the relationship between Edinburgh and London (and that between Holyrood and Westminster) continues to evolve and came under increased scrutiny during the lead up to the referendum on Scottish independence in September 2014 and the UK general elections in May 2015. The intensified political debate over Scottish independence inevitably placed renewed pressure on ongoing tensions between the local and the global focus within the EIF and the Edinburgh Festival Fringe.

The Adelaide and Edinburgh festivals are also defined by their geographic locations, with the unique attributes of the urban environment defining these events. They are both compact and 'walkable' cities that are easily navigable by festival participants and tourists, which is said to contribute to the events' success. Adelaide's Central Business District (CBD) sits atop a one-square-mile grid and is surrounded by parkland and green space that is utilised by Fringe venues and large-scale, open-air Festival events. Kerry Goldsworthy captures the orderliness of Colonel William Light's original 1837 design of the city in her description of a fold-out tourist map: 'planning a route from A to B on the Adelaide map is an easy and pleasant thing, more like negotiating a small piece of tartan cloth'.<sup>73</sup>

Derek Whitelock, author of the only history of the Adelaide Festival to date, argues that 'the Adelaide Festival is deeply influenced by its distinctive social and geographical setting'.<sup>74</sup> He suggests that the founders of the Adelaide Festival were 'encouraged' by the cultural activity within the 'social and physical environment' of the city. He explains, '[i]t seems there is a "physical and chemical" connection between the Adelaide community and its landscape; a deep affinity between this landscape and the Festival'.<sup>75</sup> Within documents published by the South Australian Government, Adelaide's smallness is highlighted as an advantage: 'During major Festivals the "festival spirit" pervades the whole city in a way that is not possible in

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<sup>73</sup> Kerry Goldsworthy, *Adelaide* (Sydney: University of NSW Press, 2011), pp. 12-13.

<sup>74</sup> Whitelock and Loan, *Festival!*, p. 4.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

the larger cities of Melbourne and Sydney'.<sup>76</sup> While there are isolated Fringe venues located in Adelaide's suburbs, the majority of the Fringe's 900 venues are concentrated within the CBD area and this compact area allows the Fringe to make a larger visual impact than is possible in the other Australian capital cities. Today the Festival draws attention on its website to 'the "good living" tourism experience' that Adelaide has to offer, its 'elegance' and the preservation of its heritage, and its position as a gateway to South Australia's other tourist regions.<sup>77</sup>

Popular travel guide *Lonely Planet* describes Edinburgh as a 'city that begs to be explored'.<sup>78</sup> It is divided in two with the Old Town's jumble of wynds, courts, stairways, and vaults, separated by the Princes Street Gardens from the New Town's regular grid and 'neoclassical terraces'<sup>79</sup>. The Royal Mile, which stretches from Edinburgh castle down to the Palace of Holyroodhouse in the East, and is the focal point of Edinburgh's tourist trade and the target of fringe artists trying to attract potential audience members outside Fringe Central. Importantly for festival-goers, the city centre is built vertically and compressed, as Michael Fry describes it: 'The central area can still be crossed on foot in half an hour; anybody who does this is almost bound to meet an acquaintance. If a capital city, it often has the feel of a village'.<sup>80</sup> The jumble of Old Town especially offers numerous found spaces that are converted into temporary venues during Edinburgh's festivals, which take place in the summer holiday-season and allow audiences to partake in festivities from early in the morning until late at night.

The timing of Adelaide's main events in February/March is similarly chosen to take advantage of the best weather conditions. The Adelaide

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<sup>76</sup> Elizabeth Raupach, *Theatre Spaces and Venues Audit* (Adelaide: Arts SA, 2010), p. 8.

<sup>77</sup> Adelaide Festival, 'About Adelaide', *Adelaide Festival 2014* <[http://www.adelaidefestival.com.au/planner/about\\_adelaide](http://www.adelaidefestival.com.au/planner/about_adelaide)> [accessed 28 February 2014].

<sup>78</sup> Lonely Planet, *Lonely Planet Great Britain (Travel Guide)*, 10th edn (London: Lonely Planet, 2013), Loc. 32739.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., Loc. 33038

<sup>80</sup> Michael Fry, *Edinburgh: A History of the City* (London: Macmillan, 2009), p. 384.

Festival and Fringe are held on the cusp of autumn, still warm with long days but without the searing heat of summer. The majority of events are held in the evenings to cater for audiences who continue their ordinary work routines. The dry climate lends itself to major outdoor events like the opening Fringe parade each year, the Adelaide Writers' Week held in the Pioneer Women's Memorial Garden, and the de facto opening night concerts of the 2012 and 2013 Festival that were held in Elder Park near the Adelaide Festival Centre. Adelaide's festivals, in particular the Adelaide Fringe, are also used to create a sense of vibrancy in the city within the South Australian Tourism Commission's (SATC) campaigns.<sup>81</sup> The ubiquitous festival Spiegel tents are found in both cities, forming the key venues within Adelaide's Garden of Unearthly Delights, and littering Edinburgh's George Street, George Square, and Charlotte Square where one is an Edinburgh Book Festival venue.

Today these Festival Cities both host a plethora of events beyond their premier international arts festivals and fringes. There are currently twelve festivals held in Edinburgh annually (see Appendix 2). Similarly, there are at least ten city-specific festivals held in Adelaide each year, in addition to a number of large music festivals that tour nationally (see Appendix 3). The knowledge sharing between these cities has continued recently with both establishing umbrella organisations – Festivals Edinburgh and Festivals Adelaide – to represent all of these events. Festivals Adelaide (which began in 2011 and was incorporated in 2012) once again took its cue from Festivals Edinburgh (which was created in 2007) to act collectively on behalf of these individual events to guide their strategic development, maintain their global competitiveness, and better advocate for the importance of festivals to both cities' identities.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> South Australian Tourism Commission, 'About South Australia', *South Australia.com* <<http://www.southaustralia.com/about-south-australia.aspx>> [accessed 8 November 2014].

<sup>82</sup> Festivals Adelaide, 'About', *Festivals Adelaide*, <<http://www.festivalsadelaide.com.au/about/>> [accessed 28 December 2013]. Festivals Edinburgh, 'About Us', *Festivals Edinburgh*,



These events are spread throughout the annual calendar, partly due to seasonal appropriateness (such as the Scottish New Year celebration of Hogmanay) and partly due to local authorities' strategic decisions to maintain a festive atmosphere in the city year-round. As I argue throughout this thesis, it is the conglomeration of events that centre on the international arts festivals and fringes, but that include WOMADelaide and the Adelaide Writers' Week in Adelaide and the Edinburgh International Book Festival and the Royal Edinburgh Military Tattoo in Edinburgh, that make these Festival Cities culturally and economically competitive. As such, this study, which is positioned at the intersection between theatre and performance studies and cultural geography, is concerned particularly with the flagship events – the international arts festivals and fringes – and how they have developed and continue to maintain the reputation of Edinburgh and Adelaide as Festival Cities.

These festivals also maintain what is an historic and ongoing relationship. This is particularly evident between the Edinburgh Festival Fringe Society and Adelaide Fringe Inc, which continue to hold official information sessions annually at each other's events. In addition to this official relationship, there are a myriad of informal networks of staff, performers, producers, and artists who travel between the two each year (see Appendix 4). According to Adelaide Fringe Inc, '[e]very year across the pond, Edinburgh Festival Fringe becomes a roll call of Adelaide Fringe alumni. All the top Edinburgh Fringe venue promoters flock to Adelaide Fringe to discover the hottest new shows to take back to Edinburgh'.<sup>83</sup> This trend is apparent after attending both festivals for two years with many of the successful fringe acts working their way into the bigger and better advertised venues in both cities over time. There is also an extensive movement of staff between many of the major international arts festival

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<<http://www.festivalsedinburgh.com/content/about-us>> [accessed 18 September 2012].

<sup>83</sup> Adelaide Fringe, 'We Saw Them First!', *Adelaide Fringe*, (26 July 2013) <<http://www.adelaidefringe.com.au/media-news/we-saw-them-first>> [accessed 30 January 2013].

around the world. Analysis of this movement disrupts any notion that the knowledge transfer and circulation of ideas and innovations is a one-way transfer between Europe and Australia (see Appendix 5).

A number of themes beyond these crossovers also recur within the histories of these festivals that underwrite their construction as 'Festival Cities' and thus reveal the imperatives, influences, and consequences of this particular place myth. The divergences and dissimilarities between these festivals, which arise from the unique character of the city and local culture in which they are embedded, also provide fruitful analysis. A comparative study such as this provides the basis from which to interrogate claims that these international arts festivals are imposed on their local cultures by analysing what is inherent to the festival and how it is shaped by its local environment. By drawing comparisons and making connections between two different examples, I investigate how the Festival City place myth is constructed in diverse locations, reveal what is being displaced by these hegemonic images in each example, and therefore expose what is at stake in this displacement. This transnational (or trans-hemispheric) comparison therefore enables an analysis of the role of now ubiquitous cultural events in place promotion within the global market.

### **Institutional Histories: Adelaide Festival and the EIF**

The institutional histories of the Adelaide Festival and EIF reveal a number of overlapping themes and concerns that both inform the development of two very different Festival City place myths and highlight broader tensions in the relationship between mega events and their host cities. This section begins with an overview of the institutional histories of the Adelaide Festival and EIF organised around common themes in a comparative approach that is attuned to the similarities and differences in the emergence of the Festival City as a place myth that defines these two diverse locations. The ongoing and repeated nature of this festival performance has ensured that these events have been shaped by, and have contributed to the shaping of, their host cities and local culture (although this is contested) over the last 50 years. These international arts festivals

pre-date the emergence of urban entrepreneurialism in the 1980s and the widespread adoption of creative cities discourses in the 2000s, suggesting that they cannot be reduced to vehicles for tourism and for selling the liveability, vitality, and attractiveness of the city, although a potential for wider economic benefits was acknowledged from the beginning in both cases. A historicised account of these events, therefore, establishes the interlocking relationship between festival and city, informs the emergence of Festival City place myth, and demonstrates the value of a comparative approach for both festival scholarship and urban geography focusing on mega events.

### **Origins**

Within the histories of the Adelaide Festival and EIF significant overlapping themes both emerge and diverge as they become localised in each context. The EIF has had a long and turbulent relationship with the Scottish political and cultural landscape. The Edinburgh International Festival of Music and Drama, as it was first known, was conceived in the immediate post-war period as a cultural and spiritual balm to assist in the revitalisation of European culture and to prompt the recovery of the Scottish economy closer to home. Tellingly, there were no Scottish theatre productions included within the Festival's inaugural 1947 programme, which contributed to the perception that Edinburgh was to provide the backdrop rather than the content for this largely European event. As Harvie has written, at the time, Scotland's 'current cultural practice, including theatre, was to be understood implicitly as provincial and unworthy of a place amongst an international elite',<sup>84</sup> which has led to the EIF being accused of 'denigrat[ing] Scottish culture'.<sup>85</sup> She and Bartie both argue that despite these historical criticisms, the EIF has made a significant contribution to the local economy and has had profound cultural effects both directly and indirectly, not least of which is the Edinburgh Festival

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<sup>84</sup> Harvie, 'Cultural Effects', p. 17.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

Fringe.<sup>86</sup> Nevertheless, the place of Scottish drama within the EIF's programme, and therefore of the EIF within Scottish culture, remains an ongoing controversy, which once again became acute in the lead-up to Scotland's 2014 referendum on independence.

Edinburgh was not the first choice for hosting the festival that founder Rudolf Bing conceived of to re-establish his company the Glyndebourne Opera following World War II (WWII). Nevertheless, it was a logical site to stage an event designed to rejuvenate the arts and culture following the devastation of war. As EIF historian Eileen Miller explains:

The city had suffered little bomb damage, had great natural beauty, a colourful history and close proximity to the sea and the Scottish Highlands. It was also large enough to accommodate from 50 000 to 150 000 visitors, with hotels, theatres, concert halls and art galleries.<sup>87</sup>

The fortunes of Edinburgh were also tied to that of the Festival from the outset with John I. Falconer, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, declaring the city authorities' hopes in the Foreword to the first souvenir programme that the Festival will establish 'our fair city as one of the pre-eminent European Festival Centres'.<sup>88</sup> The Festival was formed by a coalition of public and private interests and despite Falconer's assertions that 'this Festival is not a commercial undertaking in any way',<sup>89</sup> it was expected to attract tourists and to produce economic benefits for Edinburgh and Scotland from the very beginning.<sup>90</sup> Such prototypical models for urban entrepreneurial

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<sup>86</sup> Harvie, 'Cultural Effects'; Bartie, *The Edinburgh Festivals*.

<sup>87</sup> Miller, *The Edinburgh International Festival 1947-1996*, p. 2.

<sup>88</sup> Falconer cited in Miller, *The Edinburgh International Festival 1947-1996*, p. vii.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> Miller notes that the Festival had 'been designed as a partnership between the Edinburgh Corporation [the local authority of the day], individuals interested in promoting the Festival and the commercial interests in the city, together with the British Council and the Arts Council of Great Britain'. Miller, *The Edinburgh International Festival 1947-1996*, p. 55.

governance – in which civic authorities work together with local business interests – are located within the origins of both Festivals,

The beginning of the Adelaide Festival for the Arts in 1960 was similarly established through cooperation between civic authorities inspired by the example set in Edinburgh and local business interests who invested in the nascent event in order to boost the tourism figures and civic prestige of the city. In illustration of this, the festival was conceived by John Bishop, a Professor of Music at the University of Adelaide and artistic director of the first three Festivals, in collaboration with Sir Lloyd Dumas, editor of the leading Adelaide daily paper *The Advertiser*, who provided the financial and managerial leadership to make the Festival a reality. The success of the Edinburgh Festival in not only improving the city's reputation but in bringing visitors and generating flow-on benefits for local business was cited by the Adelaide Festival's founders as reasons to support the event. In a pamphlet circulated to the business community and potential sponsors in December 1958, Lord Mayor Hardgrave and his fellow founders declared that, '[w]e have in mind something on the lines of the now world famous Edinburgh Festival, but on a more modest-scale'.<sup>91</sup> In addition to providing a format for the event, the Edinburgh Festival lent practical guidance via Ian Hunter, former Edinburgh Festival Artistic Director, who was invited to Adelaide to provide advice in setting up the festival. Despite these connections, the identity of the event has taken on a different form in Adelaide, where the founders aspired to bring performances of the highest international standards to the people of South Australia and the nation at large.

The original mandate of the Adelaide Festival was to bring the best of the world's performers to the city every two years, to overcome the 'tyranny of distance', and according to local Arts Editor Shirley Despoja, 'to make the arts more accessible to people of a parochially-minded and geographically disadvantaged area'.<sup>92</sup> More so than in Edinburgh, then, providing

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<sup>91</sup> Hardgrave et al cited in Whitelock and Loan, *Festival!*, p. 30.

<sup>92</sup> Despoja cited in Whitelock and Loan, *Festival!*, p. 29.

accessibility to the arts was a key motivating factor in establishing the Adelaide Festival. This difference in emphasis between rejuvenating European culture and providing access to the arts has had a profound impact on how each festival has been perceived in each location. While Edinburgh has historically had an antagonistic relationship with the EIF, Adelaide has embraced its festival – declaring itself the capital of the ‘Festival State’ – and, according to Whitelock, it has become ‘as much a part of the city’s consciousness and pride as Light’s city plan’.<sup>93</sup>

### **Festive Atmosphere**

The festive atmosphere that is now created by artists and arts-lovers ‘taking over the city’ for a month each year was not a foregone conclusion in either city at the inception of their international arts festivals. Post-war rationing in Edinburgh and the tyranny of distance in Adelaide caused opponents of both festivals to question whether these cities were capable of generating the necessary atmosphere to support such large-scale events. Miller notes that creating the right festive atmosphere was a particular concern for Rudolf Bing (who became the EIF’s first director), who was worried whether a ‘festive spirit’ could be created in post-war Edinburgh where food rationing continued, strict liquor licensing laws prevailed, and hotels were not yet de-requisitioned.<sup>94</sup> Similarly, Adelaide in 1960 seemed an unlikely host for a successful international arts event. Commentator I. I. Kavan, writing for the June 1960 edition of the *Australian Quarterly*, felt that ‘the archaic laws and customs which prevail in South Australia’ detracted from the success of the first Adelaide Festival that year. He continued: ‘The dead Sundays, the 6 o’clock closing time on weekdays, the comparatively poor gastronomic achievements and notable shortage of good hotels, restaurants and night clubs, makes the visitor’s life at the Festival difficult, and, at times, tedious’.<sup>95</sup> Today, both cities hold a number of events – including the Fringes, the Edinburgh Book Festival and the Adelaide Writers’

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid., p. 175.

<sup>94</sup> Miller, *The Edinburgh International Festival 1947-1996*, p. 8.

<sup>95</sup> Cited in Derek Whitelock, *Adelaide: A Sense of Difference*, 3rd edn (Kew, Vic.: Australian Scholarly Publications, 2000), pp. 290-91.

Festival – at the same time as the official festivals in order to enhance this ‘festive spirit’.

### **Conservatism**

Compounding these criticisms historically were the conservative, religious-inflected reputations that Edinburgh and Adelaide had prior to the start of these festivals. Bartie observes that ‘[Edinburgh] is a city that has often been associated with the “great grey hand” of Presbyterianism and moral conservatism’.<sup>96</sup> Edinburgh was the site of the Scottish Reformation and the Kirk is one of the four pillars of Scottish society; sectarianism, also, is still a significant cultural issue in Scotland, not least in its football league. Bartie contends that ‘[r]eligion was pervasive in Scottish society in the 1950s and most adults in Scotland remained affiliated to the Church’.<sup>97</sup> The relationship between the EIF and the Kirk is therefore a major theme running throughout her monograph. She demonstrates that in the immediate post-war period the two institutions shared similar values – with the Kirk actively involved in the Festivals through initiatives like the Gateway Theatre and hiring their halls to Fringe artists – but during the cultural upheavals now associated with the 1960s, these interests began to diverge.<sup>98</sup>

Adelaide, too, was known as a religiously conservative town. South Australia is proud of its non-Conformist heritage in which settlers from outside of the dominant Anglican religion could seek social advancement without the bounds of religious discrimination. Whether or not this case is overstated and played out in actuality, Goldsworthy cites this popular myth of Adelaide to counter the received opinion ‘about the piety and rectitude of churchgoing Adelaideans’. She argues that this view ignores ‘the fact that churches, when built, are dedicated to particular denominations, and the number of them in Adelaide attests not so much to a blanket piety as to the heterogeneity of worship and religious freedom that has been a feature of

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<sup>96</sup> Bartie, *The Edinburgh Festivals*, p. 13.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 176.

the city from its earliest days'.<sup>99</sup> In any case, a corollary of this perceived religious piety in Edinburgh and Adelaide were strict liquor licensing laws and a consequent lack of restaurant culture that threatened to further undermine the desired festive atmospheres in the earlier years of both festivals.

### **Local Arts Cultures**

The inhibiting impact of such religious conservatism on the local arts cultures in both places had perhaps a more profound and immediate impact on the EIF and Adelaide Festival. A persistent and pervasive (and well-documented) myth surrounding both of these international arts festivals is that they were parachuted into barren cultural wastelands. Recent scholarship contests this reading and acknowledges the wealth of local artistic activity in both Scotland and South Australia that pre-dates both of these festivals. Notably, the contributors to *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Drama* assert from the opening line of editor Ian Brown's introduction 'how important and constant has been the Scottish love affair with drama'.<sup>100</sup> They seek to remedy the view that the Scottish Reformation prevented the nation from developing a theatrical tradition by demonstrating how the Kirk, far from abolishing drama, 'sought to shape it to its own ends' by creating its own scripts and performances, which complemented a folk drama tradition that 'flourished, despite the Kirk's undoubted wish to suppress it'.<sup>101</sup>

Similarly, the key mandate of the Adelaide Festival was to bring the highest quality international arts to the state with hopes that it would inspire a local arts scene that could be sustained year round. Indeed, the Adelaide Festival pre-dated the establishment of South Australian Theatre

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<sup>99</sup> Goldsworthy, *Adelaide*, p. 4.

<sup>100</sup> Ian Brown, 'A Lively Tradition and Creative Amnesia', in *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Drama*, ed. by Ian Brown (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), pp. 1-5 (p. 1).

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.



Company (SATC) in 1965.<sup>102</sup> Nevertheless, as Geoffrey Milne has noted, while it took the intervention of the Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust (AETT), which was established in 1954, to build a 'network of subsidised, non-commercial professional theatre companies' by campaigning for government subsidy for the arts and for nurturing a nascent professional theatre sector, there was a healthy commercial sector dominated by J. C. Williamson Ltd and a prolific amateur theatre scene well established in Australia before the 1950s.<sup>103</sup> This highlights that an established theatre industry did exist both in Australia and South Australia prior to the 1950s, and that it was these companies, as well as the thriving commercial scene, that laid the foundation for what Milne defines as a 'first wave' of change that occurred in Australian theatre from the 1950s instigated by the AETT.

As can be seen from this discussion, each Festival, although held for only three-weeks annually, is also required to promote a year-round arts tradition for its city. This speaks to the other major tension that both the EIF and Adelaide Festival have had to negotiate throughout their histories: the place of local culture within these international events. Each Festival was expected to contribute to the culture of their cities (and by extension their state and/or nation) in an iterative way: by drawing on local culture, enriching it through comparisons with the best of international artistic endeavour, developing an audience appreciative of the arts, and reinvesting this into the local arts infrastructure to sustain permanent local companies year round. The key tension in the early years of the EIF was the feeling that local theatrical work was not of an international standard to warrant its inclusion in the Festival.

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<sup>102</sup> The SATC would become the official South Australian flagship company in 1972 and was known as State Theatre Company of South Australia (STCSA) from 1980.

<sup>103</sup> Milne notes that 'Repertory' Clubs or 'Little Theatres' preceded the establishment of professional companies in most Australian capitals. In Adelaide, these included the Adelaide Repertory Theatre established in 1908 (originally known as Bryceson Treharne's Class), the Adelaide University Theatre Guild formed in 1938, and the Adelaide Theatre Group in 1946. Geoffrey Milne, *Theatre Australia (Un)Limited: Australian Theatre since the 1950s* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), p. 5.

Whitelock notes that the Adelaide Festival has also attracted broader criticism throughout its history in a manner similar to Edinburgh's experience. He observes, '[t]he programme itself, whatever it offered, was criticised from various quarters as being too international or too regional, too costly or too parsimonious, too elitist or too popular'.<sup>104</sup> Similar to the Edinburgh Festival Fringe, the Adelaide Fringe has also traditionally alleviated some of the tensions over the official festival's perceived elitism. The Adelaide Festival's reputation was damaged in its infant years when the Board of Governors rejected three plays now recognised as seminal Australian works: Alan Seymour's *The One Day of the Year* in 1960, and Nobel laureate Patrick White's *The Ham Funeral* in 1962 and *Night on Bald Mountain* in 1964.<sup>105</sup> Thanks to local amateur groups, however, these plays did receive Adelaide productions and the Adelaide Fringe was born partly in response to this shortsighted and conservative decision by the Adelaide Festival's Board of Governors.<sup>106</sup> Rather than being born in response to a lack of local representation, then, the Adelaide Fringe began spontaneously to combat a deeply conservative agenda being played out within the Adelaide Festival's programming.

In Adelaide, the inclusion of local performances and the perceived elitism of the festival programming has also been a recurring criticism throughout its history, but without the same heightened investment in the debate as in Edinburgh. Although a number of Scottish companies such as the Scottish Opera and the Scottish Chamber Orchestra were included within the EIF's programming of 2013, for example, only one of these – Grid Iron Theatre Company – represents Scottish drama, which has been the

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<sup>104</sup> Whitelock and Loan, *Festival!*, p. 7.

<sup>105</sup> Milne, *Theatre Australia*, p. 91.

<sup>106</sup> The semi-professional Adelaide University Theatre premiered *The Ham Funeral* in 1961 (just prior to the 1962 Festival), and this was followed by two more Adelaidean premières of White's plays, all directed by John Tasker: *The Season at Sarsaparilla* in 1962 and *Night on Bald Mountain* in 1964. In 2012, the STCSA marked the anniversary of this controversy by staging *The Ham Funeral* as their contribution to that year's Festival programme, signalling a posthumous recuperation of the playwright (who is better known for his novels) by this organisation.

particular source of cultural anxiety. Analysis of the Adelaide Festival programme between 2012-14, however, reveals that forty percent of the theatre programming is Australian content.<sup>107</sup> Moreover, within this Australian content, local South Australian and Adelaide-based companies, including the State Theatre Company of South Australia (STCSA) and Windmill Theatre, feature prominently each year, alongside a number of large co-productions with other Australian flagship companies and festivals from interstate. Despite the risk that Geoffrey Milne highlights of ‘many a new Australian drama [production being] overshadowed by or unfavourably compared with tried and tested headline acts from the northern hemisphere festival circuit’,<sup>108</sup> this balance between local and international theatrical work within the Adelaide Festival’s programming perhaps encourages more local participation and a sense of ownership over the event. Indeed as Warren McCann argues, the support of the local community provides Adelaide’s festivals with a major competitive advantage.<sup>109</sup> This does not mean that the Adelaide Festival has wholly managed to escape controversy; however, with its programming becoming a site for broader debates over Australia’s evolving national identity, particularly the growing prominence and recognition of Indigenous cultures and the assertion of a new regional identity, at key points in its recent history.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> This is perhaps reflected by the comparatively larger size of the Australian population and the high cost of travel for international artists, but, more importantly, it reflects a desire of programmers to include local content.

<sup>108</sup> Milne, *Theatre Australia*, p. 380.

<sup>109</sup> Warren McCann, *Light Years Ahead: Review of Adelaide’s Status as a Festival City* (Adelaide: Government of South Australia, August 2013) <<http://dpc.sa.gov.au/sites/default/files/pubimages/documents/ICSG/Light%20Years%20Ahead%20-%20Review%20of%20Adelaide%27s%20Status%20as%20a%20Festival%20City.pdf>> [accessed 20 March 2015], p. 14.

<sup>110</sup> See particularly discussions of Peter Sellars’s controversial resignation as artistic director of 2002 Adelaide Festival of the arts in Gilbert and Lo, *Performance and Cosmopolitics* and Caust, ‘A Festival in Disarray’.

## Venues

A final theme shared by the Adelaide and Edinburgh festivals is the impact that they have had on the built environments of their respective cities. Today Edinburgh and Adelaide both have permanent dedicated venues that function year round but are named for their primary purpose: the Edinburgh Festival Theatre and the Adelaide Festival Centre. Prior to the construction of these theatres, however, a lack of suitable venues in which to host world-class, technologically sophisticated productions, especially for theatre, was a key controversy in both cities. The building of the Adelaide Festival Centre (see Figure 1) in Elder Park was inspired by the need for an appropriate venue to hold performances (especially drama) during the Adelaide Festival of the Arts.



**Figure 1 Adelaide Festival Centre. Photograph by author.**

Labor Premier Don Dunstan spearheaded the building of this multi-purpose arts venue that opened on 2 June 1973 and today houses three theatre spaces, as well as provision for rehearsal space, workshops, administration offices and storage space for resident drama company the STCSA. The

Centre, like the Festival itself, is therefore a source of civic pride in Adelaide and was built in time for the eighth biennial Festival in 1974.

The EIF, on the other hand, did not receive a dedicated space for 47 years after its inaugural event. Before the new state of the art opera house eventually opened in 1994, international companies performing at the Festival would have to adapt any large productions to the small scale and technologically limited capabilities of the King's Theatre. In 1991 the Edinburgh District Council agreed to purchase the Empire Theatre for £2.6 million and the further £11 million needed to refurbish it was raised through a combination of public and private funds. As a result, almost 50 years after the beginning of the Festival, an appropriately sized and technological advanced venue, the Festival Theatre (see Figure 2), was opened in June 1994.



**Figure 2** Edinburgh Festival Theatre. Photograph by author.

This brief comparison of the Adelaide and Edinburgh festivals demonstrates the dual globalising and localising factors that shape these events. Despite sharing common histories, the multi-arts format, a focus on artistic excellence, and a place within the global festival circuit, the Adelaide

and Edinburgh Festivals are also necessarily shaped by the material conditions of their respective host cities. The diverse weather and geographical conditions dictate the kinds of events that are held and type of spaces used, with Adelaide able to utilise many more outdoor facilities and Edinburgh offering diverse temporary venues with palimpsestic histories. Their different commitment to local performance and Adelaide's emphasis on providing access to the arts, however, has meant that the Adelaide Festival has been embraced locally while the EIF continues to be viewed as an imposition.<sup>111</sup> Although this current study focuses on comparing two case-study cities, this methodology could also be expanded to include other Festival Cities such as Edmonton, Canada; Grahamstown, South Africa; and Avignon, France. The comparative approach, therefore, enables smaller, lesser known cities and events to contribute our understanding of the festival phenomenon and to broaden analysis of globalising processes by incorporating diverse regions. Having outlined the histories of these festivals here, I focus on each city, and the integral role that these events have played in defining both the symbolic elements and material-spatial practices of their urban environment in the subsequent chapters.

### **Thesis Structure**

The structure of this thesis charts the rise, role, and possible demise of the Festival City place myth in each city. Having positioned my project in relation to theatre and performance studies in this Introduction, in Chapter One I draw on cultural geography and urban studies literatures to situate the Edinburgh and Adelaide festivals within the broader global trends of place promotion, culture-led regeneration, and urban entrepreneurialism. Here I outline the theoretical underpinning for my research that is based upon Henri Lefebvre's conception of the production space and builds upon previous work on space and place within theatre and performance

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<sup>111</sup> The historical context for why Edinburgh's festivals are considered an imposition is outlined in Chapter Two. The perceived failure of the 2013 Edinburgh festivals to participate in the Scottish referendum debate and therefore in the Scottish social and political landscape is a contemporary example that is discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

scholarship. My project also develops concepts proposed by Marxist geographer David Harvey. His key thesis that place is materially and discursively constructed, especially, underwrites my investigation of the relationship between these festivals and their host cities.<sup>112</sup> In Chapter One, I provide a rationale for my interdisciplinary approach by demonstrating the value of bringing these two bodies of scholarship together. I also identify key themes and research questions within the literature that are then investigated within an empirical study of Edinburgh and Adelaide throughout the rest of the thesis. By building upon existing research within cultural geography and urban studies I aim to reveal the stakes involved for proponents of the Festival City and to explore how cultural events operate in a global marketplace in an era of urban entrepreneurialism and the creative class.

Having outlined my theoretical and methodological approach in Chapter One, the chapters that follow explore these themes through the local material conditions of Adelaide and Edinburgh. While a discussion of the institutional histories of the festivals in the Introduction was structured as a 'compare and contrast' around key topics, the analyses of these festivals within subsequent chapters embeds them within their local cultural and material contexts by focussing on each city in separate sections. I have varied the order of Adelaide and Edinburgh in each section so as to avoid to setting up either as the model city or festival. In Chapter Two, I provide a critical history of these cities since the beginning of the EIF and Adelaide Festival and explore popular images of both these cities within the urban imagination in order to establish how the Festival City has come to dominate our understanding of both places. In this chapter I draw on Rob Shields's conception of place images and myths to argue that the relationship between festival and city is entrenched within the institutional and affective life of these cities. In order to reveal the power relations behind and stakes involved in the promotion of the Festival City place myth, I explore alternative conceptions of Adelaide, which is known variously as the 'City of

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<sup>112</sup> Harvey, 'From Space to Place and Back Again', p. 306.

Churches' and the 'City of Corpses', and ongoing tensions over the place of local culture within Edinburgh's festivals, to investigate what is being displaced and ignored by this image. In analysing how the Festival City place myth operates in both of these case studies, I demonstrate how this imaginative or symbolic layering of space can be used to support (but also to reveal) the operations of power exercised by local stakeholders.

In Chapter Three, I explore the rhetorical positioning of the Adelaide and Edinburgh festivals with the cultural and urban policies of their local (and in the case of Adelaide, state) governments. Here I ask how these particular events have been mobilised within place promotion and urban entrepreneurial strategies and demonstrate how the specific socio-political and economic concerns and conditions of these cities can speak back to the global popularity and proliferation of Richard Florida's creative class thesis. As I argue throughout, these arts festivals cannot fully be contained within urban governance strategies and their instrumentalisation within these discourses is problematised by the multiple agendas and stakeholders they are required to serve. National cultural policy contexts and funding infrastructures play a vital role in circumscribing the cultural work that these events perform. In Chapter Four, I examine the position of these urban-based arts festivals within the cultural policies, national arts funding infrastructures, and institutional arrangements of Scotland and Australia in order to argue that these festivals are complex sites for the formation and exploration of national cultural identity.

I then explore how this cultural formation is contested and fought over between different groups within the festival dramaturgy of these events in Chapter Five. In this final chapter I consider the possible demise, or at least future directions, of these Festival Cities through an analysis of performative moments that took place during my fieldwork years of 2012 and 2013 to investigate how these cultural clashes may undermine these festivals' claims to promote social cohesion. I argue in this final chapter that where these festivals have traditionally defined and differentiated Edinburgh and Adelaide as cultural capitals within the world arts market,



increased competition from festivalisation combined with these internal cultural disputes may undermine the source of monopoly rent that they traditionally provide. I end this chapter with a consideration of recent reports into the competitiveness of these festivals in order to assess whether it is likely that Edinburgh and Adelaide will continue to invest in and maintain their reputations as Festival Cities. To begin this study, then, I turn to the broader literature on the role of arts festivals in urban governance in the first chapter.

## Chapter One: The Geography of Performance: An Interdisciplinary Approach

The rapid growth in the number of arts festivals worldwide is a phenomenon that has drawn the attention of both theatre and performance studies and cultural geography scholars and yet the approach taken in each discipline tends to focus on different priorities and to pursue different lines of enquiry. Bernadette Quinn believes that there is a lack of dialogue between those theorising arts festivals from within theatre and performance and those working in the field of urban planning. In her view:

Central ideas in the arts literature of festivals include: that festivals be 'artistically responsible' [...]; that they respond to specific artistic needs genuinely felt within their place; that they be conscious of the need to add to the regular supply of arts provisions existing on a year-round basis; that they dialogue with their diverse constituents and reflect on their social and cultural functions.<sup>1</sup>

As was established in the Introduction, however, there is precedent for a materialist approach to festivals within theatre and performance studies through Jen Harvie's and Ric Knowles's examination of the cultural work of Edinburgh's festivals. This study expands upon their approaches outlined below by drawing on the cultural geography literature to ground an analysis of arts festival as shaped by and contributing to the production of urban space.

Cultural materialist methodologies are common to both disciplines and my interdisciplinary approach is built upon the overlapping influences of cultural studies and socio-spatial theories that understand space and place to be both materially and discursively produced. Within theatre and performance studies, space and place are considered important for understanding the conditions of production and reception of performance.

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<sup>1</sup> Bernadette Quinn, 'Arts Festivals and the City', *Urban Studies*, 42.5-6 (2005), 927-43 (p. 939).

As Knowles argues ‘space itself exerts its influence, silently inscribing or disrupting specific (and ideologically coded) ways of working’.<sup>2</sup> This applies as much to festival performances within the urban landscape as to the specific venue of a theatrical production. Knowles further argues that ‘[t]he geography of performance is both produced by and produces the landscape and the social organization of the space in which it “takes place”’.<sup>3</sup> Rather than focussing on individual performances within arts festivals, this thesis seeks to develop a methodology for examining the meta-level festival event – or in the case of Edinburgh and Adelaide combined festival seasons – as a performance of the city. In order to interrogate how festivals are produced by urban space and in turn produce their host cities, I also draw on cultural geography in order to explore the ‘geography of performance’ and to interrogate the stakes involved in the cultural work of these events.

Arts festivals tend to be viewed with suspicion within urban geography and urban studies literature that sees them as commodified cultural spectacles that divert attention away from the social inequalities and real differences within urban space. For Kirstie Jamieson, for example, ‘behind the animated street scenes, the [festival] gaze is influenced by stakeholders, institutions of local government, and an expanding service economy, which benefit from the promotion of the festivals’ playfulness and liminality’.<sup>4</sup> There is a broad tendency within this literature, as will be demonstrated below, to focus on the way in which festivals have been instrumentalised by urban governance for place promotion. These are important factors that contribute to the conditions of production and reception of the festival and necessarily influence any reading of it. Nevertheless, I argue that the festival performance cannot be reduced to these globalising trends and propose that a theatre and performance lens brings nuance to this debate by paying close attention to the cultural work

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<sup>2</sup> Ric Knowles, *Reading the Material Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 62-63.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> Kirstie Jamieson, ‘Edinburgh: The Festival Gaze and Its Boundaries’, *Space and Culture*, 7 (2004), 64-75 (p. 65).

performed by the festival within their local environments. Festivals are sites of cultural formation and contestation that do not merely showcase or reflect local artistic traditions but actively contribute to and shape them. Therefore, this study approaches festivals as performances by unpacking their conditions of production and reception that includes their histories, funding structures, local and national infrastructures, and their positioning within cultural policy, combined with a reading of their festival dramaturgy constructed from field work and discursive debates within the media. Drawing on insights from cultural geography, I critically analyse the history of the cities and map the local terrain as important to the reading of these festivals and understanding how and why they have developed in these particular places. In addition, the conditions of production of festivals are informed by the growing festival phenomenon, which can be interrogated through literature that critiques the use of festivals as tools for place promotion and in culture-led regeneration.

By taking seriously both the cultural work that the festival performs, the insights into the 'geography of performance', and how this shapes the conditions of production and reception of the meta-event, I analyse the festival as a theatrical event in and of itself and how it can be read as a performance of the city. This demonstrates the complex and in-depth relationship between the two that cannot simply be dismissed as urban governance strategy on the one hand, or be considered as an art object free from these influences on the other. In combining these two literatures and bringing this methodology to bear on a detailed empirical analysis of two Festival Cities, I interrogate these global trends by demonstrating how they are shaped through local conditions and how both festival and city are materially and discursively produced. Doreen Massey argues that '[c]onceptually, it is important to recognise that the global is as much locally produced as vice versa'.<sup>5</sup> She observes that there is a popular view that the local is seen 'as the hearth of authenticity, real lives, cultural richness, and so

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<sup>5</sup> Doreen Massey, *World City* (Cambridge, UK; Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2007), p. 10.

forth, while the global is imagined as some kind of place-less realm (a “nowhere”) which, by contrast, is powerful, inauthentic, somehow abstract’.<sup>6</sup> In this view, the local is constructed as a ‘victim of the global’, but as Massey reveals, ‘[s]ome local places are the seat of global forces’.<sup>7</sup> A detailed empirical analysis of festivals within their local conditions can therefore also reveal how global trends are materially produced within particular Festival Cities.

### **The Basis for an Interdisciplinary Approach**

In combining cultural geography and theatre and performance approaches, this study adopts a cultural materialist perspective that is common to both. In tracing the emergence of a ‘new cultural geography’ in the 1980s, Don Mitchell reveals the influence of the burgeoning cultural studies field in post-war Britain (particularly the Birmingham School) on the discipline. He argues that the key figures in the nascent field turned to cultural studies to better understand the social and cultural changes of the period but that they ‘sought also to explicitly “spatialize” these studies, by showing how space and place are central to the “maps of meaning” that constitute cultural experience’.<sup>8</sup> Cultural materialism – as advanced by Raymond Williams and Stuart Hall – is a derivative and transformation of Marxist historical materialism that sees ““culture” as a *mediation* which is always and everywhere an active and integral part of the social condition of existence’.<sup>9</sup> Cultural materialism has also become an influential methodology within theatre and performance studies and in this dissertation I build upon these approaches in order to develop a cultural materialist methodology for the study of festivals as theatrical events through the lens of space and place and to contribute to the theorisation of space in performance.

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Don Mitchell, *Cultural Geography: A Critical Introduction* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2000), p. 42. The phrase ‘maps of meaning’ is the title of the influential book, Peter Jackson, *Maps of Meaning: An Introduction to Cultural Geography* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989).

<sup>9</sup> Mitchell, *Cultural Geography*, p. 45; original emphasis.

Knowles's 'materialist semiotics' as outlined within his seminal text *Reading the Material Theatre* has formed the basis of a key approach to the study of festivals within theatre and performance studies. Within this book Knowles 'develop[s] a mode of performance analysis that takes into account the immediate conditions, both cultural and theatrical, in and through which theatrical performances are produced, on the one hand, and received, on the other'.<sup>10</sup> By amalgamating cultural materialism with semiotic analysis, Knowles's goal is to develop 'a method for achieving a more precise and more fully contextualized and politicized understanding of how meaning is produced in the theatre'.<sup>11</sup> Importantly, Knowles extends the scope of the cultural materialist methodology, which was originally developed to analyse historical productions, to encompass contemporary productions by 'historicizing' the present.<sup>12</sup> In a similar way, this study historicises the present in terms of the years when fieldwork was conducted – 2012 and 2013 – in order to analyse the relationship between festival and city at this moment in time.

In his analysis of contemporary performance, Knowles is concerned with how the process of meaning making in the theatre is mediated through the material conditions of its production and reception. To evaluate this complex relationship he proposes an analytic triangle formed of the performance text, the conditions of reception, and the conditions of production.<sup>13</sup> This is built upon an underlying assumption within cultural studies that meaning within cultural production is produced. As Knowles explains, 'cultural productions neither *contain* meaning nor unidimensionally shape behavior and belief; rather they *produce* meaning through the discursive work of an interpretative community and through the lived, everyday relationships of people with texts and performances'.<sup>14</sup> The focus of this analytical framework on the interplay between discursive

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<sup>10</sup> Knowles, *Reading the Material Theatre*, p. 3.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17; original emphasis.

construction, the role of interpretative communities, and the importance of lived experience also lends itself well to a reading of place-images and myths. Furthermore, this materialist methodology is one of the ways in which theatre and performance studies scholars have engaged with the politics of space within performance analysis. Ultimately, Knowles's project is concerned with developing 'a method that brings the analysis of the material conditions for the production of meaning to bear on the close reading of specific performances in the contemporary theatre'.<sup>15</sup> While his methodology is fundamental to this study, the object of analysis must be extended beyond the performance text in order to be applicable to festivals.

Jen Harvie extends the object of (performance) analysis beyond 'dramatic texts and performance events', to examine 'a broader range of cultural practices related to performance' in *Staging the UK*.<sup>16</sup> In order to explore how national identities are produced through performance, Harvie employs an analytical approach that is informed by materialism, historicism, and the theorisation of ephemerality. Within her project, she examines 'government cultural policy, funding patterns, theatre institutions and companies, major events such as festivals, and particular performance practices including site-specific theatre, physical theatre, and installation art' in order to 'situate these practices in their social contexts'.<sup>17</sup> This approach, developed within *Staging the UK*, is also employed within the more recent *Fair Play* to explore the social effects of the recent proliferation of socially engaged art and performance practices in London. In the later book, Harvie argues once again 'that in order to properly answer questions about the art and performance practices' social effects, it cannot treat these practices in isolation, as though unattached to or unaffected by broader social and material contexts'.<sup>18</sup> Therefore while Harvie adopts Knowles's method to analyse the impact of the material conditions of production and

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>16</sup> Harvie, *Staging*, p. 5.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Jen Harvie, *Fair Play: Art, Performance and Neoliberalism* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 4.

reception, she extends the frame to apply this working methodology to reveal the cultural work of a broader range of cultural practices.

This thesis builds upon these approaches in turn in order to elucidate the cultural work of arts festivals through their relationship with their host cities. Rather than focusing on individual case study performances, I read the festivals – including the press coverage, their position within cultural policy, their histories, and performative moments within their dramaturgy – as performances of the city that contribute to the material and discursive production of place. Just as cultural materialism shifted away from textual analysis to a ‘reading’ of the performance text, I shift the object of analysis from the individual performance to the meta-narrative and myths that are generated about these cities through their festivals.

### **Festival Dramaturgy**

Theatrical metaphors are often adopted to describe festivals as ‘staged’ events. John Gold and Margaret Gold, for example, argue that *[s]taging* is the key word. It expresses production, intentionality and, to a large extent, theatre – the conscious creation of a scripted, dramatic spectacle to elicit a favourable response from an audience that is increasingly global.<sup>19</sup> In order to develop an approach for analysing festivals as performances, I draw on theatre and performance studies methodologies including dramaturgy. In seeking to define what they admit remains a ‘slippery, elastic and inclusive term’, Cathy Turner and Synne K. Behrndt argue that dramaturgy involves a process of analysis of a ‘dynamic event’ that goes beyond decoding a set of signifiers to recognise the ways in which it ‘involves and implicates the spectator’s responses’.<sup>20</sup> They quote Adam Versényi’s definition of dramaturgy as ‘the architecture of the theatrical event, involved in the confluence of components in a work and how they are constructed to generate meaning for the audience’.<sup>21</sup> For Turner and

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<sup>19</sup> Gold and Gold, *Cities of Culture*, p. 6; original emphasis.

<sup>20</sup> Cathy Turner and Synne K. Behrndt, *Dramaturgy and Performance* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 18.

<sup>21</sup> Versényi cited in Turner and Behrndt, *Dramaturgy and Performance*, p. 18.



Behrndt, then, '[d]ramaturgical analysis implies a process of interpretation, of looking at the ways in which levels of meaning are orchestrated. Yet, [they note,] by describing the work as a "theatrical event", Versényi also makes it clear that the object of analysis extends beyond the performance itself, to include the context, the audience and the various ways in which the work is framed'.<sup>22</sup> It is this framing that I am specifically concerned with in this dissertation as I consider how Edinburgh's August festivals and Adelaide's Mad March events constitute theatrical events and can therefore be subject to a dramaturgical analysis.

The Theatrical Event Working Group of IFTR have theorised festivals as theatrical events in their edited collection *Festivalising!* As part of this volume, Temple Hauptfleisch has argued that 'the festival [can be understood] as a *cultural event* which in its own way *eventifies* elements and issues of the particular society in which it is taking place'.<sup>23</sup> In this way, festivals can be read 'as *performances* or as *theatrical events* in their own right'.<sup>24</sup> For Hauptfleisch, 'by viewing them as *performances* in their own right rather than merely as markets for a series of specific cultural events, some festivals may be seen as celebrating particular (historical or life) events or particular ideologies and ideas. They do so by framing the events/ideas in a *theatrical way*, in exactly the same way a play might do'.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, festivals differ from plays in that they are comprised of many single events; they are what Henri Schoenmakers terms a 'meta-event' and this has implications for how they are read and understood. As Schoenmakers outlines:

The single theatrical events are organised and presented within the bigger structure of the festival according to thematic (e.g. Shakespeare festival, intercultural festival), discipline or genre-based

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Temple Hauptfleisch, 'Festivals as Eventifying Systems', in *Festivalising! Theatrical Events, Politics and Culture*, ed. by Temple Hauptfleisch, et al. (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), pp. 39-47 (p. 39); original emphasis.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.; original emphasis.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., pp. 39-40; original emphasis.

(e.g. opera festival, festival of silent film) or other principles (e.g. cultural capital of Europe). Such an integrating principle is of great help to evoke the feeling that we are dealing with a recognisable identity at the level of the festival as 'meta-event'.<sup>26</sup>

Festival dramaturgy as a methodology is concerned with analysing the programming, structuring, and ordering of the festival as a theatrical event on the one hand and also the unscripted moments that contribute to the audience's experience of the space and their meaning making on the other.

Dramaturgy is both a theory and a practice. In developing a 'deep dramaturgy' for site-specific theatre, Heidi Taylor argues that:

When a performance is created specifically for a site, it resonates because of the way it places observing and performing bodies in relationship. It creates not a world but a universe, with its orbits and gravitational pull, constant movement, explosions and black holes. Other worlds exist in a universe.<sup>27</sup>

Similarly, the festival frame can be understood as the universe within which the many worlds of individual performances are created. This festival frame adds another layer of meaning through which these performances can be read. As Schoenmakers argues, theatrical events are read differently whether they are within a festival framework or outside of it. He explains, '[t]he *festival participant*, who is *theatregoer* and *spectator* as well, is not only able to judge the performance as a piece of art made by the theatre makers, but he [*sic*] is able too to judge the performance as an act of selection and programming of the festival organisers'.<sup>28</sup> The case studies of Edinburgh and Adelaide also require that the theatrical frame be extended

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<sup>26</sup> Henri Schoenmakers, 'Festivals, Theatrical Events and Communicative Interactions', in *Festivalising!: Theatrical Events, Politics and Culture*, ed. by Temple Hauptfleisch, et al., (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), pp. 27-37 (p. 28).

<sup>27</sup> Heidi Taylor, 'Deep Dramaturgy: Excavating the Architecture of the Site-Specific Performance'. *Canadian Theatre Review* 119 (2004), 16-19 (p. 17).

<sup>28</sup> Schoenmakers, 'Festivals, Theatrical Events and Communicative Interactions', p. 30; original emphasis.

to account for the multiple festivals that are staged at overlapping intervals throughout Edinburgh in August and Adelaide in March.

As discussed in the Introduction, Edinburgh stages 12 major international festivals annually, six of which are held in August, whereas Adelaide stages 10 major festivals annually, three of which are in March (see Appendices 2 & 3). During the main festival season, festival participants have the option of attending events across the EIF, Edinburgh Festival Fringe, and the Edinburgh Book Festival or the Adelaide Festival (including the Adelaide Writers' Week), Adelaide Fringe, or WOMADelaide, making it necessary to consider the intersections created by staging them at the same time and in the same place.

Taken together these annual site-specific festival performances create their own performance universes in which multiple worlds co-exist and impact upon each other. Taylor calls attention to how both the deliberate and random occurrences contribute to the dramaturgy of the piece when she argues that: 'The unscripted *texts* (the sounds of the traffic, the industrial equipment, the shoppers) demand dramaturgy, or their implicit cultural significance will drown out the scripted elements of the play'.<sup>29</sup> Dramaturgy in this context, then, requires '[n]ot necessarily a cool outside eye; more, perhaps, an attention to the structural and metaphorical web being spun by the creators in their chosen space'.<sup>30</sup> In this way, festivals can be understood as site-specific performances that create particular relationships between 'observing and performing bodies' within the performance space of their host city but they also differ in a number of crucial respects.

Firstly, there are a number of agents involved in *producing* the festival season as a theatrical event. As this thesis demonstrates, meaning making within these festivals is *produced* as much by civic authorities, national governments, local residents, and the local and national press, as by

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid.; original emphasis.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

festival management and companies of artists. The mainstage international arts festival in both Adelaide and Edinburgh is a curated multi-arts festival that is programmed each year by an artistic director and is therefore designed along specific structural and thematic principles. Nevertheless, its size and magnitude ensure that the meanings that are produced by the festival performance cannot be fully contained or directed by its producers (as detailed in Chapter Five). The Fringe is ‘an open-access arts event that accommodates anyone with a story to tell and a venue willing to host them’ (and the money to pay for it).<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, certain themes and linkages do emerge within both the Edinburgh Festival Fringe and Adelaide Fringe programmes and therefore the fringes also have their own dramaturgy, despite the fact that their content is not pre-selected.

Secondly, these festivals are not ephemeral one-off events; rather they are repeated theatrical events that have built up a long-established relationship with their performance sites over time. For this reason, the annual festival performance must be read through the lens of its history. The debates and dialogues circling these case study festivals are not confined to discrete festival seasons but rather they are ‘ghosted’ by festivals past in the sense that they build upon, refer and circle back to, and are constituted by historical concerns.

I argue that a festival dramaturgy that includes the events, debates, and dialogues occurring during, in, and around these festival seasons, is necessary to interrogate the cultural work that such festivals perform and the impact that they have had historically and continue to have on the production of space within the city and how this has been influenced by their role in place promotion. Rather than analysing the artistic programming of these individual festivals, I consider how the collective framing of these festivals can be read as a performance of the city. In order to reveal this ‘structural and metaphorical web’, festival dramaturgy as a

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<sup>31</sup> Edinburgh Festival Fringe Society, ‘About Us: The Edinburgh Festival Fringe Society’, *Edinburgh Festival Fringe* (2014) <<https://www.edfringe.com/about-us/fringe-society>> [accessed 9 April 2014].

methodology requires the researcher to attend the festival and to experience it as a festival participant.

### **Fieldwork**

For this project I conducted extensive fieldwork by attending both the Edinburgh and Adelaide festivals for over three weeks in 2012 and 2013, which was necessary in order to reveal both the scripted and unscripted elements of the festival dramaturgy. In March 2012 and 2013, I travelled to Adelaide, South Australia, to attend the Adelaide Festival and Adelaide Fringe, and to conduct archival research within the State Library of South Australia. In August 2012 and 2013, I travelled to Edinburgh to attend the Edinburgh festivals and use resources in the National Library of Scotland. Conducting fieldwork at these festivals – which involved attending individual performances and festival events, positioning the festival within its socio-political and cultural context, and experiencing the city as a festival participant – was vital to my materialist approach that focuses on the cultural work of the contemporary festival. By attending these festivals over the period of my project, I was able to interrogate the relationship between these festivals and their host cities, offer a reading of how the festival and the city frame performance, and explore how the festivals uphold, resist, or negotiate the dominant narrative or place myth of the city.

My methodology for exploring the festival dramaturgy of these events in 2012 and 2013 is here outlined through a brief discussion of my fieldwork in each city. In order to experience Adelaide as a festival participant, I stayed in Adelaide for almost the whole duration of the festival in both years (as much as time and funding allowed). Although this is not an ethnographic study and I did not seek to place myself within the research, I documented the process of my fieldwork through photography and by keeping a Festival diary, in which I kept detailed performance analyses of the events that I attended. As part of my methodology, I attended individual performance events (particularly theatre but also other genres) at both the official and fringe festivals, as well as ancillary events such as the Adelaide Writers' Week. This allowed me to locate the hubs of festival activity;

experience the spatial practices and atmosphere of the city during festival time; and to analyse how the built environment – through the use of both permanent and temporary venues – shapes the artistic content of the festival.

The festival hubs in Adelaide differ for the main stage festival and fringe. The majority of the Adelaide Festival performances take place at the Adelaide Festival Centre, which is located in the centre of North Terrace next to Elder Park, where the de facto opening night concerts were held in both years. The Adelaide Writers' Week is located across the road from the Adelaide Festival Centre at the Pioneer Women's Memorial Garden. This geographical proximity makes it physically easy to attend both events (although Festival events tend to be in the evening and the free Writers' Week programme is scheduled during the day) and suggests that they seek to attract an audience crossover. The Fringe on the other hand is primarily based in Adelaide's 'East End' where Fringe attendees can make the most of the cafes and restaurants that are situated along Rundle Street leading up to Rundle Park on East Terrace, which is the site of the Garden of Unearthly Delights. Moving between Festival performances at the Festival Centre and Fringe performances in the East End requires a brisk 20-minute walk or relying on buses as the tram network does not extend this far east but rather bisects the city along King William Street.

Although the CBD is only one square mile and the majority of Fringe venues are spread throughout this area, there is a significant centring of festival activity and atmosphere around the East End, which leads many a casual festivalgoer to associate the Fringe exclusively with the Garden of Unearthly Delights. In order to combat this and to facilitate Fringe attendees to move beyond the East End to explore Fringe venues in the rest of the city, the Adelaide Fringe Inc offered a Fringe Free Bus in 2012 and 2013. In 2012, there were 265 Fringe Venues listed in the back of the Fringe Guide. In 2013, there were 277 venues listed. Although there were 1.59 million attendances

of the Fringe in 2012,<sup>32</sup> smaller, suburban, or less established venues had to fight to attract audiences away from Rundle Park and the adjacent Rymill Park. (See Figure 3 for a distribution of venues in the CBD.)

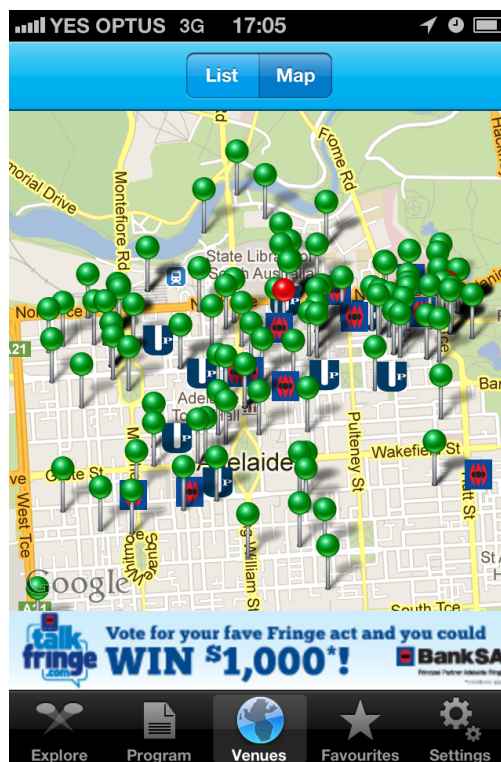


Figure 3 Screen Shot of Venues Map in Adelaide Fringe 2013 App.<sup>33</sup>

Introduced in 2012 as the 'Tour of the Unexpected' and returning as the 'Fringe Free Bus' in 2013, this initiative, as its name suggests, was a free service that conveyed audience members around the city after 6pm to designated bus stops located near Fringe hub sites (see Figure 4).<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Adelaide Fringe, 'Economic Impact Hits \$48.2 Million', *Adelaide Fringe* (2012) <<http://www.adelaidefringe.com.au/media-news/economic-impact-2012>> [accessed 17 April 2013].

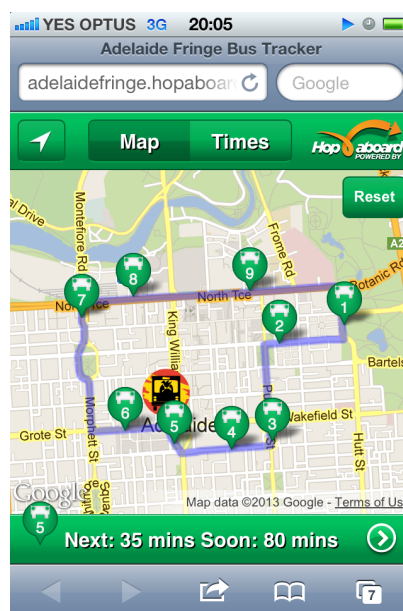
<sup>33</sup> The Adelaide Fringe App is available for download from the Apple App Store. It is designed by AppMajik and is updated annually.

<sup>34</sup> In 2013, the bus ran from 6PM – 11PM Sunday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and 6PM – midnight on Friday and Saturday nights during the Fringe. Adelaide Fringe, *Adelaide Fringe Programme: 15 February – 17 March 2013* (Adelaide: Adelaide Fringe Inc, 2013), p. 7.



**Figure 4 Bus Stop 9, North Terrace, 2013. Photograph by author.**

A tour guide (or a Fringe Artist masquerading as a conductor) entertained the audience throughout their journey, often soliciting recommendations for shows from other Fringe goers, and announcing the main venues near each of the stops. People wanting to catch the bus could follow its progress within the 'bus tracker' feature of the Adelaide Fringe 2013 app (see Figure 5).



**Figure 5 Screen Shot of Bus Tracker, Adelaide Fringe 2013 App.**

As the map in Figure 5 shows, this free bus was on a circuit of the northeast segment of the CBD, where the concentration of venues is located. It did not include the suburban venues (such as Holden Street Theatres, for example),



with audience members (and performers) at these venues having to rely on the city's public transport infrastructure – bus or tram – or on private transport.

Another factor contributing to the centring of Fringe activity in the East End is the prominence of signage along Rundle Street. Companies and promoters are required to produce and print their own posters and flyers, and often have to pay for them to be distributed through a private company. MaD Promo is one such company who manage distribution outlets around Adelaide including those within cafes, pubs, hotels, venues, retail outlets, and other public spaces, such as this poster display attached to a telegraph pole in Rundle Street (see Figure 6).<sup>35</sup>



Figure 6 Poster Display managed by MaD Promo. Photograph by author.

For audience members arriving in Adelaide during the day, this signage is one of the main indicators that it is festival season. The majority of activity within Adelaide's festivals occurs at night, leaving festival participants (and performers) free to explore South Australia's other tourist attractions during the day. These attractions include taking the tram to Glenelg Beach;

<sup>35</sup> MaD Promo, "About Mad", *MaD Promo* (Adelaide: MaD Promo, 2012) <<http://www.madpromo.com.au/>> [accessed 19 April 2013].

visiting the German village of Hahndorf in the Adelaide Hills; or taking a wine tour in the nearby famous wine regions of McLaren Vale, Clare Valley, or Barossa Valley.

In order to understand the festivals in their local context, I also attended public discussions and debates staged as part of the Adelaide Writers' Week, as well as seminars hosted by the Adelaide Fringe Society, including the 'Honey Pot' networking sessions that bring together Fringe artists and promoters, and an information session run by the Edinburgh Festival Fringe Society. Through these events I was able to make contact with Society staff (from both Adelaide and Edinburgh) and a number of artists who informally informed the research. The local newspaper was also a vital source of information, not only for performance reviews, but also for upcoming public events, local responses to the festivals and the other major events held in Adelaide in March, as well as the local political climate. One major event that occurred during the 2013 Festival was the launch of the new logo for the state of South Australia.

I employed the same methodology when undertaking fieldwork in Edinburgh in August 2012 and 2013. In both of these years, the EIF ran for a week after the Fringe had finished. This provided me with an opportunity to witness the city transition out of festival mode and called attention to the way in which 'festival time' takes place at a faster pace and a greater intensity due to the vast numbers of people in what is a small urban space. The impact of the festival phenomenon on the visitor's experience of Edinburgh is felt from the moment of planning the trip. The high cost of accommodation (three times what I was paying in London for the month in 2013), which is clearly inflated for the festival season, is the first signal to the festivalgoer of what they are in for. Although not all festival spectators expect to stay for the month-long event (although I did meet some who made Edinburgh's August festivals an annual pilgrimage), the high-cost of accommodation in the city during this period has an immediate impact upon self-funded Fringe performers.

Unlike in Adelaide, a visitor to Edinburgh during August will be immediately aware that they have arrived during the festivals at whatever time of the day or night they arrive. The overwhelming human traffic that greets you at Waverley station and continues for the length of Princes Street is an immediate indicator (the Royal Mile, with its myriad fringe show promoters, is generally avoided by residents and seasoned festival goers alike). In both 2012 and 2013 I stayed in New Town and was able to walk to almost any venue (briskly) in 20-30 minutes, including to the Traverse Theatre on Cambridge Street near the Castle or over to the new Fringe hub of Summerhall on the other (east) side of the Meadows. Although there were plenty of buses available, once I had taken the bus in from the airport or arrived via train at Waverley Station, I found that transport was not necessary (or was slower than walking due to road traffic congestion and closed routes, such as along the Royal Mile daily).

The major festival hubs of Edinburgh are well documented elsewhere.<sup>36</sup> The Fringe still tends to be dominated by the 'big four' venues of the Pleasance, Assembly Theatre, Underbelly, and the Gilded Balloon. Partly due to the sheer volume of performances that they produce, many commentators have noted that they have come, in James Seabright's words, to 'dominate the attentions of audiences and media alike'.<sup>37</sup> This is also reflected geographically, with Mark Fisher noting in his 2012 *Survival Guide* to the Fringe, that '[i]n recent years, there has been a shift [in the festival hub] towards the south of the city, in particular the university-owned area around Bristo Square where [...the big four] all have major operations'.<sup>38</sup> In 2008, these four venues came together to collectively self-brand as the Edinburgh Comedy Festival. Under the alliance, these venues produced a joint brochure, ran a 'linked computerised ticketing system' and coordinated

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<sup>36</sup> See Knowles, *Reading*, pp. 76-88.

<sup>37</sup> Cited in Mark Fisher, *The Edinburgh Fringe Survival Guide: How to Make Your Show a Success* (York: Methuen Drama, 2012), p. 111.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

their publicity and marketing campaigns.<sup>39</sup> These big four producers that specialise in comedy largely continue to dominate the Edinburgh Festival Fringe. Nevertheless, in recent years experimental theatre and performance has found new homes within Summerhall (formerly the Royal School of Veterinary Studies) – located at the east end of the Meadows – and Forest Fringe, now located in the Out of the Blue Drill Hall in Leith at Edinburgh’s north-easterly extremity. These venues are outliers that are pushing the bounds of the Edinburgh Festival Fringe both geographically in terms of location and artistically in terms of experimental performance practices that are now becoming known as the ‘Fringe of the Fringe’ or the ‘Real Fringe’.

The EIF venues are dotted around the city and do not tend to have any geographical coherence. The Hub at St Giles Cathedral is the most centrally located Festival Venue at the top of the Royal Mile near the entrance to the Parade Grounds. This venue houses the box office and hosts talks and small performances and is the most visible to the casual festivalgoer and visitor. Other major venues include the Edinburgh Festival Theatre on Nicholson Street, although this is used mostly for opera and large-scale musical productions rather than theatre. The main theatre venues are the Lyceum Theatre behind Usher Hall on Cambridge Street and around the corner from the Traverse Theatre; the newly refurbished Kings Theatre further away near the west end of the Meadows, in a poor-ish area otherwise poorly served for theatre-going ancillary activities such as dining; and the Edinburgh Playhouse on the opposite side of town, near the top of Leith Walk. Getting between these venues, or between these venues and fringe venues (except for the Traverse Theatre if you are at the Lyceum) is perhaps the most challenging. The Edinburgh International Book Festival, too, is discretely located in New Town in Charlotte Square at the west end of George Street. While the majority of Fringe activity is centrally located within major hubs, then, the geography of Edinburgh’s theatre venues undermines any spatial coherency for the EIF and makes it more difficult for

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<sup>39</sup> Gilded Balloon, *Performers' Information* (Edinburgh: Gilded Balloon, 2013) <[www.gildedballoon.co.uk/wp.../performer-info-pack-2013-FINAL.pdf](http://www.gildedballoon.co.uk/wp.../performer-info-pack-2013-FINAL.pdf)> [accessed 4 February 2013], p. 5.

uninitiated festival visitors to attend. This is one example of the ways in which the spatiality of each festival event cultivates different audiences.

A major disruption (even as a pedestrian) and recurring discussion during the Edinburgh 2012 and 2013 festivals was the great tram saga. The reinstallation of a tram network in both Adelaide and Edinburgh is one example of a strategy to upgrade the physical urban environment that has played out differently (and in the case of Edinburgh, controversially) due to local conditions. Trams returned to Adelaide in 2006 as a major part its public transport system after they were removed in the 1950s. In 2005, Mike Rann's South Australian Labor Party (ALP) government announced funding to extend the one remaining tramline from the beach suburb of Glenelg 1.2 kilometres through the city to the Adelaide Railway station. As part of this revitalisation, the SA government invested AU\$72 million in replacing the 1929-historical trams with new German-built Flexity Classic trams, which began operation in January 2006.<sup>40</sup> In 2008, a new-term Rann government announced a ten-year public transport revitalisation programme.<sup>41</sup> This led to a further upgrade of the fleet with the introduction of six French-built Alstom Citadis trams (brought from Madrid to better cope with the South Australian summer heat) in December 2009 and an extension of the track from the Adelaide Railway station to the Adelaide Entertainment Centre in early 2010.<sup>42</sup> Plans to extend the tram network to Semaphore and the Port Adelaide, as part of broader regeneration of the Port area, were scrapped in the 2012 state budget.<sup>43</sup> The Adelaide Airport, however, announced its support for an extension of the tram network from

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<sup>40</sup> Chris Milne, 'Rann Puts Trams Back on Adelaide Map', *Australian Financial Review*, 14 September 2005, p. 8.

<sup>41</sup> Lisa Maksimovic, 'Public Transport Revival Pledged in SA Budget', *Australian Broadcasting Corporation*, 5 June 2008, n.p.

<sup>42</sup> Tom Zed, 'Adelaide Commuters Board the First of Six New Trams Today', *Advertiser*, 30 December 2009, p. 15.

<sup>43</sup> Tim Williams, *Port, Semaphore Tramline Derailed in State Budget*, (Adelaide Now, 31 May 2012) <<http://www.adelaidenow.com.au/news/south-australia/port-semaphore-tramline-derailed-in-state-budget/story-e6frea83-1226377277925>> [accessed 9 November 2014].

the city to the Airport in October 2014 as part of its 30-year AU\$2 billion expansion plan.<sup>44</sup> Despite initial opposition from the Australian Democrats who accused Rann's plans as being 'piecemeal transport planning',<sup>45</sup> concerns over the adequacy of the air-conditioning, these budget cuts, and a crackdown on fare evasion in 2014,<sup>46</sup> the reintroduction of Adelaide's tram network has been relatively uncontroversial in stark contrast to the case in Edinburgh.

After a 50-year absence, trams also returned to Edinburgh in May 2014 following what one journalist termed the 'Edinburgh trams saga'.<sup>47</sup> As Steven Brocklehurst summarises: 'in the decade since the first money was allocated to the project, the price has doubled, the network has halved and it has taken twice as long to build as was first thought'.<sup>48</sup> The tram network running 14 kilometres from the Edinburgh Airport to York Place in the city centre opened to the public on 31 May 2014 after much disruption and political interference.<sup>49</sup> The Scottish Labour Executive under Jack McConnell first committed GB£375 million to link Edinburgh Airport and the waterfront at Leith to the city centre via tram routes by 2009. In the end the project was five years behind schedule with costs ballooning to GB£776 million for a reduced network after the Granton-Newhaven and Edinburgh airport-Newbridge sections were scrapped in 2005, followed by the Leith route in 2010. The entire project was almost abandoned in 2007 when the SNP formed a minority government just before construction was due to

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<sup>44</sup> Maksimovic, 'Public Transport Revival Pledged in SA Budget'.

<sup>45</sup> Milne, 'Rann Puts Trams Back on Adelaide Map', p. 8.

<sup>46</sup> ABC News, 'Adelaide Commuters Targeted in Fare Evasion Crackdown', *ABC News*, 21 July 2014 <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-07-21/big-increase-in-fines-for-bad-behaviour-on-public-transport-net/5611688>> [accessed 9 November 2014].

<sup>47</sup> Steven Brocklehurst, 'Going Off the Rails: The Edinburgh Tram Saga', *BBC News Edinburgh*, 30 May 2014 <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-edinburgh-east-fife-27159614>> [accessed 10 July 2014].

<sup>48</sup> Brocklehurst, 'Going Off the Rails'.

<sup>49</sup> British Broadcasting Corporation, 'Edinburgh's Trams Roll into Action', *BBC News Edinburgh*, 2014 <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-27602618>> [accessed 9 November 2014]. The Scottish Executive became known as the Scottish Government in August 2007.

start, but was maintained by the majority at Holyrood. The project was again delayed in 2010 when a dispute between Transport Edinburgh Ltd and the main contractor Bilfinger Berger temporarily stopped construction.<sup>50</sup>

In the meantime, the construction itself (exacerbated by these delays) caused major disruption and consternation to Edinburgh locals. As Brocklehurst explains, '[a]dd to all this the fact that vital roads in Edinburgh city centre and Leith were dug up for the best part of seven years, causing congestion, inconvenience and financial harm to businesses'.<sup>51</sup> The trams saga was commented upon at the Edinburgh Festival Fringe by stand-up comedians and featured as a running aside within *50 Plays for Edinburgh*, the staged readings of the Traverse Theatre's short playwriting competition, in 2013. The trams continued to cause controversy past their official opening with the SNP-government announcing in November 2014 statutory powers for the official inquiry into the 'fiasco'.<sup>52</sup> The need to upgrade the public transport infrastructure to cater for the high-level of visitors at festival time is one motivating factor for the reintroduction of trams in both cities and points to the way in which these major events contribute to the material construction of these cities. While attempting to resolve transport issues caused by these events, local authorities also exacerbated the festivals' inconvenience to residents and risked undermining local support.

Of particular interest to this study, was the use of various temporary and purpose-built spaces by the Festival and Fringe. In Adelaide in 2013, Artistic Director David Sefton made use of a number of 'found' or formerly Fringe spaces including the German Club, Thebarton Theatre, and the Queen's Theatre. Similarly, in 2012, EIF director, Jonathon Mills, shifted the focus away from the city centre by programming three large-scale

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<sup>50</sup> Brocklehurst, 'Going Off the Rails'.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> British Broadcasting Corporation, 'Edinburgh Trams Inquiry Given Increased Powers', *BBC News Edinburgh, Fife and East Scotland*, 7 November 2014 <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-edinburgh-east-fife-29949858>> [accessed 9 November 2014].

productions within a converted venue on the Royal Highland showgrounds. Travelling to this venue, which is located near the airport, required the festival attendee to make a pilgrimage via bus (or private car) to a purposely-converted performance venue well outside of the city and away from the rest of the festival activity. This drew attention to the ways in which urban planners in both cities and the artistic directors of both festivals are grappling with a need to reinvest in the built infrastructure in order to maintain the dominance and prestige of these events, which informs my analysis in Chapters Four and Five. In addition, the Fringe festivals in both cities have always made use of unconventional spaces, with temporary spaces now giving rise to permanent venues and leading to urban regeneration. These are some examples of how an analysis of the festivals' dramaturgy reveals the ways in which the Festival City place myth has materially shaped the spatial infrastructure of these cities that was informed by my fieldwork.

### **Space and Place in Performance**

A 'spatial turn' is evident within theatre and performance studies with discussions of space and place receiving increasing attention within the discipline especially in relation to site-specific performance. Knowles outlines three key approaches that theatre and performance studies scholars have taken to this topic: theatre architecture; geography and neighbourhood; and nomadic and touring theatre. Theatre architecture encompasses the spaces of production and reception, as well as the configuration of the stage-auditorium and the impact that this has on the performer-audience dynamic. These various theatre spaces have been productively mapped by Gay McAuley within her *Space in Performance* in which she develops a taxonomy of theatre spaces as well as by David Wiles within *A Short History of Western Performance Spaces*.<sup>53</sup> Iain Mackintosh specifically considers the role of the theatre building itself within

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<sup>53</sup> Gay McAuley, *Space in Performance: Making Meaning in the Theatre* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1999); David Wiles, *A Short History of Western Performance Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).



*Architecture, Actor and Audience* in which he outlines the specific considerations that purpose-built venues pose for architects.<sup>54</sup>

Marvin Carlson first showed how the geographical position of theatre buildings within the urban environment has reflected their broader social and cultural position throughout history in *Places of Performance*. In this volume he developed a semiotic framework for understanding 'how the space of performance may contribute to the meaning of the total theatrical experience'.<sup>55</sup> For example, in England during the Renaissance when public theatres were prevented from being built within city limits, Carlson argues that these theatres 'were clearly socially "marginal", and this marginality was expressed consistently in their physical location'.<sup>56</sup> Knowles extends this analysis within his case study of Edinburgh's Traverse Theatre, which has had three different iterations over its fifty-year history and three different geographical locations as a result. These shifts in the urban environment both reflect and contribute to the Traverse's evolving position from obscure fringe venue to one of the UK's premier theatres for new writing.<sup>57</sup> For Knowles, '[t]he geographical location of theatres is significant both for the ways in which it is "read" and for the experience of the spectator in getting there'.<sup>58</sup> Michael McKinnie's *City Stages* applies a similar approach to unpacking the role of Toronto's entertainment district within the urban space and the broader implications for its evolving role in the local economy.<sup>59</sup> Urban and city space has also been the subject of recent scholarship in the field that has specifically considered the relationship between performance and the city (see especially Harvie's, *Theatre & the City*; the collection of essays within *Performance and the City* edited by D. J.

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<sup>54</sup> Iain Mackintosh, *Architecture, Actor and Audience* (London: Routledge, 1993).

<sup>55</sup> Marvin Carlson, *Places of Performances: The Semiotics of Theatre Architecture* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), p. 13.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

<sup>57</sup> Knowles, *Reading the Material Theatre*, pp. 79-88.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>59</sup> Michael McKinnie, *City Stages: Theatre and Urban Space in a Global City* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007).

Hopkins, Shelley Orr, and Kim Solga; and the more recent edition *Performance and Global City* edited by Hopkins and Solga).<sup>60</sup>

As an example of the third trend of nomadism or touring, Knowles also highlights the ‘dangers of displacement and loss of cultural specificity’ on the ‘festival circuit’ and the impact that this has on the cultural work of such theatre companies.<sup>61</sup> To these three areas identified by Knowles, can be added more recent approaches of theatre and performance scholars to notions of space and place. These include Joanne Tompkins’s exploration of Australia’s colonial history on the spatial imaginary within performance in her *Unsettling Space*;<sup>62</sup> Carlson’s consideration of the past connotations of space, or haunting, on the reading of present productions within *The Haunted Space*;<sup>63</sup> and Tompkins’s 2014 publication *Theatre’s Heterotopias* in which she extends Kevin Hetherington’s formulation of heterotopia to a strategy for uncovering the spatial, as well as socio-political, potential of theatre and performance.<sup>64</sup> Other avenues of exploration include a focus on site-specific performance, which has become particularly popular within the arts festival context in recent decades, particularly within *Performing Site-Specific Theatre*<sup>65</sup> and the 2012 special issue of *Contemporary Theatre Review* on ‘Site-Specificity and Mobility’, both co-edited by Tompkins and Anna Birch.<sup>66</sup> Related critiques on site-specific art are also made within Miwon Kwon’s *One Place after Another: Site-Specific Art and Locational Identity* and Nick Kaye’s *Site-Specific Art: Performance, Place and*

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<sup>60</sup> Jen Harvie, *Theatre & the City* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); *Performance and the City*, ed. by D. J. Hopkins, Shelley Orr, and Kim Solga (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); *Performance and the Global City*, ed. by D. J. Hopkins and Kim Solga (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

<sup>61</sup> Knowles, *Reading the Material Theatre*, p. 89.

<sup>62</sup> Joanne Tompkins, *Unsettling Space: Contestations in Contemporary Australian Theatre* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

<sup>63</sup> Carlson, *Haunted Stage*.

<sup>64</sup> Joanne Tompkins, *Theatre’s Heterotopias: Performance and the Cultural Politics of Space* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

<sup>65</sup> *Performing Site-Specific Theatre: Politics, Place, Practice*, ed. by Anna Birch and Joanne Tompkins (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

<sup>66</sup> Anna Birch, ‘Editorial’, Special Issue ‘Site-Specificity and Mobility’, *Contemporary Theatre Review*, 22.2 (2012), 199-202.

*Documentation*.<sup>67</sup> This study therefore sits within this body of literature, which extends beyond this brief and selective overview and is informed by these approaches. I now want to turn to work on socio-spatiality within cultural geography in order to reveal how arts festivals contribute to the production of space of their cities.

### **Production of Space**

This study builds upon understandings of ‘festival’ and ‘city’ as constructs *produced* through discursive positionings and material realities and seeks to further theorisations of space and place in performance. As David Pinder explains, cities ‘are understood not as “things” reducible to their buildings and physical forms, but as spaces that are socially produced and that are dynamic, open and interconnected’.<sup>68</sup> This insight is aligned with the view that ‘[p]laces expressive of distinctive beliefs, values, imaginaries, and socio-institutional practices’, in Harvey’s words, ‘have long been constructed both materially and discursively’.<sup>69</sup> My approach is theoretically informed by Henri Lefebvre’s conception of the ‘production of space’ and is aligned with Harvey’s understanding of the relationship between *place* and *space* as being dialectical in character.<sup>70</sup> While some spatial theorists and geographers who are informed by phenomenology, notably Edward Casey, tend to prioritise place over space, this study adopts a materialist understanding of the relationship between the two, namely that, in Harvey’s words, ‘[t]he production of space, [...] proceeds alongside of, as well as *through*, the production of places’.<sup>71</sup> From this perspective, ‘[p]laces are’, according to Harvey, ‘always contingent on the relational processes that create, sustain, and dissolve them. The coexistence of

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<sup>67</sup> Miwon Kwon, *One Place after Another: Site-Specific Art and Locational Identity* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002); Nick Kaye, *Site-Specific Art: Performance, Place and Documentation* (London: Routledge, 2000).

<sup>68</sup> David Pinder, *Visions of the City: Utopianism, Power and Politics in Twentieth-Century Urbanism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), p. viii.

<sup>69</sup> Harvey, ‘From Space to Place and Back Again’, p. 306.

<sup>70</sup> David Harvey, *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), p. 191.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*; original emphasis.

“multiple spatialities” in places undermines any simple, unitary sense of place’.<sup>72</sup> Harvey views space as absolute, relative, as well as relational and therefore place is formulated as a ‘bounded entity’ with a ‘distinctive shape, form, and internal ordering’.<sup>73</sup> This distinction of place is important in defining the parameters within which to read a festival performance but this study is nevertheless informed by socio-spatial theories that see space as produced. In the rest of this section I draw on Lefebvre’s conception of the production of space as an analytical model through which to analyse how the cultural performance of a festival is imbricated within this process and to further develop a cultural materialist position that is rooted in the politics of space.

Lefebvre’s seminal work *The Production of Space*, which was first published in French in 1974 but not translated into English until 1991, is an ambitious theoretical project that brings together ‘physical, mental and social’ conceptions of space into one ‘unitary theory’.<sup>74</sup> In doing so, Lefebvre is concerned with history and practice as much as with a theory or science of space that ‘represents the political (in the case of the West, the “neocapitalist” [or, today the “neoliberal capitalist”]) use of knowledge’ and the ‘ideology designed to conceal that use’.<sup>75</sup> This unitary theory seeks to overcome the gaps in knowledge that arise at the interstices between disciplinary fields. Lefebvre also shares Michel Foucault’s concern with the relationship between power and knowledge. Drawing on Gramsci’s concept of hegemony, Lefebvre argues that hegemony ‘is exercised over society as a whole, culture and knowledge included, and generally via human mediation: policies, political leaders, parties, as also a good many intellectuals and experts. It is exercised, therefore, over both institutions and ideas’.<sup>76</sup> If this is the case, space, therefore, cannot be viewed as passive or left untouched

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p. 190.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*. trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1991), p. 21.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., pp. 8, 9.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

by the ‘exercise of hegemony’.<sup>77</sup> This understanding informs Lefebvre’s desire to ‘demonstrate the active – the operational or instrumental – role of space, as knowledge and action, in the existing mode of production. I shall show’, he asserts, ‘how space serves, and how hegemony makes use of it, in the establishment, on the basis of an underlying logic and with the help of knowledge and technical expertise, of a “system”’.<sup>78</sup> This imperative, then, informs the basis of Lefebvre’s search for a unitary theory of space.

Lefebvre’s key proposition within *The Production of Space* is that ‘([s]ocial space is a (social) product’.<sup>79</sup> His central thesis is that ‘space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and action; that in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power; yet that, as such, it escapes in part from those who would make use of it’.<sup>80</sup> The nature of space as a social product is concealed by a ‘double illusion’ of transparency – in which space appears neutral, ‘innocent’, and legible – and opacity – or the view that space is natural, simplistic, and substantial.<sup>81</sup> Each illusion ‘nourishes’ the other and there is a constant oscillation between the two. In order to shatter these illusions Lefebvre brings together physical, mental, and social understandings of space in a unitary theory that encompasses ‘logico-epistemological space, the space of social practice, the space occupied by sensory phenomena, including products of the imagination such as projects and projections, symbols and utopias’.<sup>82</sup> Moreover, everyday terms such as ‘room’, ‘market’, and ‘street’ ‘correspond to a specific use of that space, and hence to a spatial practice that they express and constitute. Their interrelationships are ordered in a specific way’.<sup>83</sup> Rather than seeking to ‘decode’ or ‘read’ the

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., p. 26; original emphasis.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., pp. 27-29.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., pp. 11-12.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

spatial codes within language, however, Lefebvre seeks to 'expose the actual production of space' through his unitary theory.<sup>84</sup>

Lefebvre's unitary theory seeks to analyse social spaces in order to reveal how they are constructed. 'If indeed spatial codes have existed', he argues, 'each characterizing a particular spatial/social practice, and if these codifications have been *produced* along with the space corresponding to them, then the job of theory is to elucidate their rise, their role, and their demise'.<sup>85</sup> Therefore, Lefebvre proposes a 'shift' in 'analytical orientation' from a focus on the 'formal aspect of codes' to their 'dialectical character'.<sup>86</sup> This, then, heralds his shift, apropos of space, from a focus on *products* to the processes of the *production* of space 'as a tool for the analysis of society'.<sup>87</sup> Throughout this thesis, therefore, I analyse the production of the space of two different Festival Cities through the rise of this place myth in two different locales (Chapter 2), its role within urban and national governances (Chapters 3 & 4), and contemplate its possible demise (Chapter 5) in order to interrogate the broader agendas and ideologies that lead to the staging of arts festivals.

Lefebvre proposes a conceptual triad to analyse the production of space: spatial practices, representations of space, and representational space (otherwise translated as spaces of representation). Firstly, spatial practice,

embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation. Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. In terms of social space, and of each member of a given society's relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of *competence* and a specific level of *performance*.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., p. 17; original emphasis.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., pp. 17-18.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., p. 33; original emphasis.

The terms 'competence' and 'performance' are credited to Noam Chomsky within the text but also lend themselves to readings of Pierre Bourdieu's *'habitus'* as adopted by Rob Shields (see Chapter 2), or to a broad performance studies lens. If certain activities are assigned to certain places, spatial practices are the behaviours that are associated with or condoned within that certain place. These behaviours are learned as part of socialisation and therefore cannot be considered natural. Thus for Lefebvre,

The spatial practice of a society secretes that society's space; it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction; it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it. For the analytical standpoint, the spatial practice of a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space.<sup>89</sup>

In this way spatial practice – or daily routine – is closely related to representations of space – or urban reality, 'the routes and networks which link up the places set aside for work, "private" life and leisure'.<sup>90</sup> This suggests that analysing daily routines and how they are shaped by urban reality can reveal how space is produced within that society. Large-scale arts festivals, however, tend to disrupt the daily routines of residents and designate the city a leisure zone for the duration of the event, which in Edinburgh and Adelaide is a month long. This inversion of spatial practices is part of the carnivalesque appeal of fringe festivals in particular.

Secondly, representations of space are the 'dominant space in any society'.<sup>91</sup> They are 'conceptualized space, the space of scientists, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, as of a certain type of artist with a scientific bent – all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived'.<sup>92</sup> In other words, representations of space are how space is conceived, of zoning and of town planning, how space is set aside for industry, for living (the suburbs), for the financial

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid., p. 38.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., p. 38.

districts, for leisure (parks or entertainment districts), and the routes and networks that connect them. 'The space of today's planners, whose system of localization assigns an exact spot to each activity' combines 'ideology and knowledge with a (social-spatial) practice'.<sup>93</sup> This is the realm that arts festivals most clearly intervene within the production of space in their host cities through their role in place promotion and culture-led regeneration. As is revealed within the cultural geography literature below, arts festivals are employed by urban entrepreneurs to shape the material and discursive aspects of place in order to attract tourists, investors, and mobile capital to the city. I build upon these critiques to explore how the festivals of Edinburgh and Adelaide are invoked and positioned within urban cultural policy and strategy documents to serve specific agendas within the representation of space of each city.

Although representations of space are abstract, 'they also play a part in social and political practice'<sup>94</sup> and therefore have a material impact on the city. Lefebvre expands on this by arguing that,

We may be sure that representations of space have a practical impact, that they intervene in and modify spatial *textures* which are informed by effective knowledge and ideology. Representations of space must therefore have a substantial role and a specific influence in the production of space.<sup>95</sup>

This calls attention to the way in which arts festival have had a material affect on their host cities – most notably through the building of theatre venues – but also in the need to continually upgrade transport, accommodation, restaurants, and other events infrastructure to accommodate the influx of visitors at festival time. Thus, as Lefebvre reveals, the intervention of representations of space occurs through construction and architecture, not of a particular building, 'but rather as a project embedded in a spatial context and a texture which call for "representations"

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid., p. 45.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., p. 42; original emphasis.



that will not vanish into the symbolic or imaginary realms'.<sup>96</sup> The cultural work of arts festivals therefore needs to be understood in conjunction to their role in the representation of space.

Thirdly, the category of representational spaces (spaces of representation) refers to 'space as directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of "inhabitants" and "users"'.<sup>97</sup> They are not necessarily consistent or cohesive, but are rather '[r]edolent with imaginary and symbolic elements' that have their source in the history of the individual and to the society to which they belong.<sup>98</sup> As well as contributing to the material life of the city, these festivals are shown throughout this study to contribute to the symbolic imagery that has come to be associated with these cities and therefore to directly impact the lived experience of residents. According to Lefebvre, representational space 'is the dominated – and hence passively experienced – space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects'.<sup>99</sup> How these festivals contribute to the urban imaginary and how this interacts with physical space to encapsulate the 'geography of performance' is therefore of equal importance within this study. Moreover, as Lefebvre reveals '[r]epresentational space is alive: it speaks. It has an affective kernel or centre: Ego, bed, bedroom, dwelling, house; or: square, church, graveyard. It embraces the loci of passion, of action and of lived situations, and thus immediately implies time'.<sup>100</sup> The affective experience created by the conglomeration of festival events within a defined time and space cannot be dismissed and will be explored further below in relation to the carnivalesque.

Lefebvre concludes the section on the conceptual triad by observing that '[i]t is reasonable to assume that spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces contribute in different ways to the

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., p. 39; original emphasis.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., p. 42.

production of space according to their qualities and attributes, according to the society or mode of production in question, and according to the historical period'.<sup>101</sup> This project examines the role that these international arts festivals and their fringes have played in the production of space in their host cities by charting the rise, role, and possible demise of the Festival City place myth throughout the post-war histories of Adelaide and Edinburgh. This analysis therefore contributes to understanding of how festivals shape and are shaped by space. In uniting theatre and performance and cultural geography approaches under the umbrella of cultural materialism, my study seeks to articulate a methodology for examining how these festivals are produced by their urban environments and how they, in turn, can provide an interpretative lens for unpacking and revealing the spatial practices of everyday life, the representations of space within urban planning, and representational space of symbolic imagery associated with these places. Lefebvre's spatial triad provides an analytical model for bringing different aspects of the relationship between festival and city into focus that can then be assessed through empirical, cultural materialist analysis. In the next section I develop this materialist methodology further by investigating how the festival-city relationship in both places has evolved alongside global changes to the political economy that has seen the rise of urban entrepreneurialism and the popularity of urban-based arts festivals as a major strategy within it. By analysing how these particular festivals have contributed to the production of space in these particular locations, I explore how the global is locally produced but also how local conditions speak to understandings of global trends.

### **The Role of Arts Festivals in Place Promotion**

Festivals have become an increasingly popular strategy within urban governance for promoting the cultural attributes of a city in order to attract visitors, foster social cohesion, and generate tourism revenue. The popularity and growth of these events is symptomatic of broader changes within the global political economy and urban governance that has led to

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid., p. 46.

greater inter-place competition and a desire for cities to promote their uniqueness and authenticity based on local culture on the one hand and the popularity of Richard Florida's creative cities thesis on the other. David Harvey argues that since the 1970s the global political economy has entered a phase of 'spatial reorganization' that has produced 'insecurity within and between places' due to a tension between mobile capital on the one hand and what he terms 'place-bound fixity' on the other.<sup>102</sup> In order to compete for multinational capital, therefore, places such as Adelaide and Edinburgh are forced to become more attractive to potential investors, visitors, and residents. This has led to a greater emphasis on place construction as government and private stakeholders promote attractive images of their urban environments in order to gain or maintain a competitive advantage, in addition to offering appealing infrastructure and regulatory environments. As a result of this process, Harvey explains, 'the selling of place, using all the artifices of advertising and image construction that can be mustered, has become of considerable importance'.<sup>103</sup> The impulse that requires city governances to compete for capital investment, therefore, also encourages authorities and populations to differentiate their cities, usually by promoting the unique or authentic aspects of the local social, built, and physical environments. Hosting an international arts festival is one strategy of 'urban entrepreneurialism'<sup>104</sup> for defining and differentiating the city.

As mentioned earlier the explosion in the number of arts festivals all around the world is largely attributed to the rise of urban entrepreneurial strategies for culture-led urban regeneration within the cultural geography and urban studies literature. The popularity and growth of such large cultural events is fuelled by a range of factors and trends that include their instrumentalisation within place promotion, place marketing, and cultural tourism; the privileging of arts and culture within both the 'experience' economy and the creative economy; and the easy alignment of urban arts

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<sup>102</sup> Harvey, 'From Space to Place and Back Again', p. 296.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 297-98.

<sup>104</sup> This is a key concept of Harvey's that is advanced primarily within Harvey, 'From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism'.

festivals with the prevailing neoliberal agenda. Irina Van Aalst and Rianne van Melik note that there is increasing competition among cities over their provision of arts and culture so that

Decision-makers feel they need to mount a festival to be able to compete with other cities – preferably an international festival that attracts media attention and a wide audience. Most local authorities are convinced that festivals can improve a city’s image, create place distinctiveness and draw visitors and tourists – all in order to generate economic benefits.<sup>105</sup>

Richard Prentice and Vivien Andersen, moreover, identify a range of ‘supply factors (such as cultural planning, tourism development, and civic re-positioning)’ on the one hand and a number of ‘demand factors (such as serious leisure, lifestyle sampling, socialization needs, and the desire for creative and “authentic” experiences by some market segments)’ on the other.<sup>106</sup> Throughout the rest of this section I contextualise the rise of festivalisation before systematically addressing critical positions on the phenomenon and identifying the lines of enquiry that they suggest.

### **Urban Entrepreneurialism**

Festivalisation and the expectation that cultural events will play a role in selling and promoting their urban environments has been shaped by the growth of urban entrepreneurialism since the 1970s. Stephen Ward observes that ‘place selling is not simply a specific area of urban policy or action’, instead he argues that ‘[i]t is rather a broad entrepreneurial ethos or ideology which, at specific times, has permeated the common affairs of particular places’.<sup>107</sup> Urban entrepreneurialism, for Ward, ‘refers to cities throughout the world deliberately adopting policies, amongst them explicit place marketing, intended primarily to enhance and demonstrate their

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<sup>105</sup> Irina Van Aalst and Rianne van Melik, ‘City Festivals and Urban Development: Does Place Matter?’, *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 19.2 (2012), 195-206 (pp. 195-96).

<sup>106</sup> Richard Prentice and Vivien Andersen, ‘Festival as Creative Destination’, *Annals of Tourism Research*, 30.1 (2003), 7-30 (p. 8).

<sup>107</sup> Ward, *Selling Places*, p. 2.

attractiveness to mobile investment and consumption'.<sup>108</sup> Although Ward's project establishes a much longer lineage for place promotion dating from the end of the nineteenth century, his definition builds upon a seminal 1989 essay of David Harvey's that first charted the shift from 'managerialism' to 'entrepreneurialism' in urban governance.<sup>109</sup> For Harvey, this phenomenon in which cities began to take 'an entrepreneurial stance to economic development'<sup>110</sup> dates from the 1973 recession in advanced capitalist economies that ended the post-war boom and was accompanied by a climate of deindustrialisation, 'structural' unemployment, fiscal austerity, a turn to neoconservatism that led to the ascendancy of market rationality and privatisation, and the seeming decline of the nation state in the face of globalisation in the 1970s.<sup>111</sup>

Competition between places was further encouraged during this period by technological innovations that reduced transport and telecommunication costs and therefore undermined the traditional 'natural' monopolies that local industry once enjoyed.<sup>112</sup> According to Harvey, as 'spatial barriers to the movement of goods, people, money and information' have been reduced and 'locational decisions' for multinational firms are less influenced by proximity to markets and raw materials, inter-urban competition to attract flows of multinational capital (in the form of investment, tourism, employment, for example) becomes more acute.<sup>113</sup> Therefore, for Harvey, 'urban entrepreneurialism (in the broadest sense) is embedded in a framework of zero-sum inter-urban competition for resources, jobs, and capital'.<sup>114</sup> For Phil Hubbard and Tim Hall, urban entrepreneurialism has two characteristics: 'firstly, a political prioritisation of pro-growth local economic development and, secondly, an associated organisational and institutional shift from urban government to urban

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> David Harvey, 'From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism', pp. 347.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid. p. 348.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., p. 358.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., p. 349.

*governance*'.<sup>115</sup> It is within this context that local coalitions between public and private interests seek to promote the unique qualities of place in order to attract investment, employees, and tourists to their cities.

The rise of urban entrepreneurialism has altered both the built environment and urban institutions.<sup>116</sup> Cities are not 'active agents' but rather people within them are and therefore, urbanisation, according to Harvey, should 'be regarded as a spatially grounded social process in which a wide range of different actors with quite different objectives and agendas interact through a particular configuration of interlocking spatial practices'.<sup>117</sup> Due to these diverse actors and objectives, Harvey argues that the term 'governance' is more appropriate than 'government' to describe the coalition of diverse social actors responsible for shaping urban processes in which 'urban government and administration have only a facilitative and coordinating role to play'.<sup>118</sup> Therefore, urban entrepreneurialism can be defined as:

that pattern of behavior within urban governance that mixes together state powers (local, metropolitan, regional, national or supranational) and a wide array of organizational forms in civil society (chambers of commerce, unions, churches, educational and research institutions, community groups, NGOs, and the like) and private interests (corporate and individual) to form coalitions to promote or manage urban/regional development of some sort or other.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Phil Hubbard and Tim Hall, "The Entrepreneurial City and the "New Urban Politics"", in *The Entrepreneurial City: Geographies of Politics, Regime and Representation*, ed. by Tim Hall and Phil Hubbard (Chichester: John Wiley, 1998), pp. 1-23 (p. 4); original emphasis.

<sup>116</sup> Harvey, 'From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism', p. 350.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 349.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 351.

<sup>119</sup> David Harvey, "The Art of Rent: Globalization and the Commodification of Culture", in *Spaces of Capital* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001), pp. 394-411 (pp. 402-03).

In the context of heightened intra-place competition, Harvey sees the ‘task of urban governance’, as ‘to lure highly mobile and flexible production, financial, and consumption flows into its space’.<sup>120</sup> It is speculative and entrepreneurial because no development package is guaranteed to succeed.

The alignment of public and private interests at a local government or municipal level has also led to a shift of focus from welfare provision to what Hubbard and Hall perceive as ‘more outward-orientated policies designed to foster and encourage local growth and economic development’.<sup>121</sup> Like Ward, Hubbard and Hall also believe that while urban entrepreneurialism has encompassed some major shifts, it is not completely distinct from earlier forms of government and place promotion.<sup>122</sup> Nevertheless, in their view, ‘co-operation with the private sector has seen local government imbued with characteristics once distinctive to businesses – risk-taking, inventiveness, promotion and profit motivation – leading many commentators to refer to the emergence of *entrepreneurial cities*’.<sup>123</sup> While urban entrepreneurialism has been heralded in some quarters for fostering local cooperation, pride, and the identity of place, it is also aligned with broader neoliberal ideals that prioritise private sector interests over social welfare, and ‘the demands of a globalised capitalist economy’ over the needs of the local population.<sup>124</sup> As Hall and Hubbard highlight, these policies have ultimately failed to deliver on their promise and have in fact been detrimental: ‘The failure of urban entrepreneurialism to alleviate the social and economic problems of many cities, and in particular its neglect of issues of social equity in favour of the prosperity of certain elite groups, has therefore been argued to have exacerbated social and territorial disparities in the city’.<sup>125</sup> Moreover, as Harvey asserts urban entrepreneurialism focuses on ‘the political economy of place rather than territory’, which means that the goal is often to improve the overall image of the city rather

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<sup>120</sup> Harvey, ‘From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism’, p. 359.

<sup>121</sup> Hubbard and Hall, ‘The Entrepreneurial City’, p. 2.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2; original emphasis.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

than the material conditions of disadvantaged areas within it.<sup>126</sup> Much like neoliberal policies in general, any economic growth and prosperity resulting from urban entrepreneurialism tends to be concentrated with those who have the economic, social, and cultural capital along with political power to capitalise upon it, to the detriment of a more equitable distribution of wealth and diverse cultural expression. The festivals of Adelaide and Edinburgh are directly implicated in the 'speculative construction of place'<sup>127</sup> and therefore must be critiqued for how they contribute to urban governance and entrepreneurialism and reflect the tensions within it.

### **Urban Regeneration**

Both Adelaide and Edinburgh heavily promote their urban arts and cultural scene and the natural beauty of their surrounds within their tourism campaigns in order to lure consumers to their local regions. This is part of a trend within urban entrepreneurialism identified by Harvey in which '[t]he urban region can also seek to improve its competitive position with respect to the spatial division of consumption'.<sup>128</sup> As capital cities (albeit on different orders of magnitude), both Adelaide and Edinburgh feature prominently within the tourism campaigns of their regions. The South Australian Tourism Commission (SATC) bases their campaign around art, culture, and lifestyle on the one hand, and eco tourism on the other, as encapsulated within their introductory blurb: 'South Australia is home to long summers, stunning beaches and award-winning wine, events and festivals. It's the gateway to the Barossa, Flinders Ranges and Outback and Kangaroo Island'.<sup>129</sup> The SATC further singles out food and wine; music and festivals; and the beaches of the Fleurieu Peninsula to promote within short promotional videos on its website. Similarly, Edinburgh's culture and the natural beauty of its surrounding countryside is also a key promotional strategy of Visit Scotland:

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<sup>126</sup> Harvey, 'From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism', p. 353.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 354.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 355.

<sup>129</sup> South Australian Tourism Commission, 'About South Australia'.



Welcome to Edinburgh, the inspiring capital of Scotland, where centuries of history meet a vibrant, cosmopolitan city in an unforgettable setting. Discover stunning scenery, striking architecture and fine food, and beautiful coast and countryside in the nearby Lothians. From the world's festival capital and a UNESCO World Heritage Site to world-class visitor attractions and exhilarating outdoor pursuits, Edinburgh & The Lothians is a must-visit on anyone's list.<sup>130</sup>

This appeal to quality of life features as seen within these two blurbs is part of a broader trend to promote consumption as a strategy of urban regeneration. Other 'prominent facets of strategies for urban regeneration' identified by Harvey include '[g]entrification, cultural innovation, and physical up-grading of the urban environment', alongside consumer attractions and entertainment.<sup>131</sup> The conditions of production and reception of arts festivals are therefore shaped, in part, by their role in these broader urban processes. Having outlined these broader processes, I turn now to specific critiques that have been made about the role of culture, and specifically festivals, in these urban entrepreneurial agendas.

### **Culture-Led Regeneration**

Festivalisation can thus be seen as one strategy within urban regeneration that has been replicated around the globe. 'Since the dawn of recorded history', according to John Gold and Margaret Gold, 'festivals, fairs, plays, masques, processions and tournaments have all harnessed spectacle to enhance the staging of cultural attractions'.<sup>132</sup> 'Spectacle', according to Gold and Gold, 'has been identified as a defining feature of the contemporary city'.<sup>133</sup> They define spectacle as 'any form of public display put on for the entertainment and benefit of a large crowd of spectators. It is created by

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<sup>130</sup> Visit Scotland, 'Edinburgh and the Lothians', *Visit Scotland* <<http://www.visitscotland.com/destinations-maps/edinburgh-lothians/>> [accessed 8 November 2014].

<sup>131</sup> Harvey, 'From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism', p. 355.

<sup>132</sup> Gold and Gold, *Cities of Culture*, p. xi.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

consciously manipulating space, landscape or objects to produce displays that draw a powerful emotional response from an audience of spectators'.<sup>134</sup> Arts festivals are highly stage-managed events held within public space that perform the positive aspects of the city.

From the 1980s, there has been an increased focus on staging festivals as a means of regenerating city economies. Gold and Gold note that '[t]he rapid growth of what is now termed the "cultural sector" has been accompanied by a marked increase in the number of music and arts festivals vying for audiences, with founders working overtime to locate the germs of tradition on which to base new events'.<sup>135</sup> They locate a shift in responsibility for initiating festivals as an international trend attributed in part to the festivalisation phenomenon:

What was once left to groups of enthusiasts in different countries cooperating over festival arrangements and raising money by subscriptions is now an enterprise that can only be attempted with the support of the public purse or powerful public-private collaborations. Culture has become an increasingly contested sector.<sup>136</sup>

International festivals today are expected to generate benefits through 'inward investment, urban regeneration, infrastructural improvement' and to promote the host city's international reputation.<sup>137</sup> As Gold and Gold observe, while some festivals have been incredibly successful, there are others that have 'experienced adversity on a scale ranging from disappointment to complete disaster'.<sup>138</sup> In contrast, the Edinburgh and Adelaide festivals are highly successful events. In the chapters that follow I investigate what has contributed to their success; how they have assisted

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<sup>134</sup> Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., p. xi.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

the economic development of their cities; and what these stage-managed spectacles might be obscuring within the urban environment.

### Place Promotion

In addition to culture-led regeneration, the staging of spectacular urban displays has become a key strategy in selling positive images of the city to visitors, investors, and residents. Festival displays also serve as advertisements – literally as they are incorporated into tourism and promotional campaigns and metaphorically by promoting the cultural credentials – of their host cities. Spectacle and festival are drawn upon for what Bernadette Quinn terms their ‘connotations of sociability, playfulness, joviality and community’ that ‘provides a ready-made set of positive images’ for use within city branding.<sup>139</sup> For these reasons arts festivals have become a key strategy of place promotion, which Gold and Gold argue ‘refers to the activity of consciously communicating selectively chosen and positive images of specific geographical localities or areas to a target audience’.<sup>140</sup> As Kirstie Jamieson reveals, however, ‘[f]estivals and spectacular events serve discourses of “city branding” and the “creative industries” in a competitive global context where “culture” provides the discursive linchpin linking creative practices, formerly regarded as “the arts”, with economic-led, postindustrial, globalized urban repertoires’.<sup>141</sup> This can have potentially negative effects if particular images are censored and voices silenced and if the complexity and multiplicity of the city is not represented within the festival performance.

Ward highlights the side effects and risks of place promotion when he comments that ‘[t]he place is packaged and sold as a commodity. Its multiple social and cultural meanings are selectively appropriated and re-packaged to create a more attractive place image in which any problems are played down’.<sup>142</sup> Quinn notes that the overwhelming view within the

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<sup>139</sup> Quinn, ‘Arts Festivals and the City’, p. 932.

<sup>140</sup> Gold and Gold, *Cities of Culture*, p. 10.

<sup>141</sup> Jamieson, ‘Edinburgh’, p. 65.

<sup>142</sup> Ward, *Selling Places*, p. 1.

literature is that ‘what is often consumed and experienced in festival settings in an idealised, sanitised version of the city’ rather than actual engagement with local culture and has the effect of sidelining the ‘multiple realities of the place, for both local and visiting populations’.<sup>143</sup> Quinn argues that by definition urban promotional campaigns ‘are duty bound to emphasise the attractive elements of place while simultaneously down-playing or diverting attention from less salubrious features’.<sup>144</sup> Marjana Johansson and Jerzy Kociatkiewicz, too, point to the ‘sanitizing aspects of the city’ that are presented as ‘vibrant and multivocal’ but are ‘at the same time being directed and staged in particular ways, which allow for the city to be compared with other cities’.<sup>145</sup> Cultural materialist critiques are particularly well suited for assessing how arts festivals and culture more generally are instrumentalised or perhaps resist these broader urban processes.

Hall and Hubbard argue that culture should be considered an important ‘part of the political arena’ and should be analysed alongside and in conjunction with political and economic processes. They suggest that in order to understand the role and evolution of entrepreneurial policies and their support or contestation in particular locales requires an understanding of local culture. They argue that ‘to understand the evolution, maintenance or even abandonment of entrepreneurial policy, there is a need to appreciate how such policies are supported or disrupted by cultures, both élite and popular’.<sup>146</sup> A cultural materialist analysis of international arts festivals that are held in conjunction with popular fringe festivals therefore enables investigation of the extent to which and the reasons why festival managements may adopt or subvert these agendas in different contexts. Analysing the agendas of place promotion and regeneration as part of the festival performance’s conditions of their production is also vital for understanding how these events are received and read in their local

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<sup>143</sup> Quinn, ‘Arts Festivals and the City’, p. 936.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., p. 932.

<sup>145</sup> Marjana Johansson and Jerzy Kociatkiewicz, ‘City Festivals: Creativity and Control in Staged Urban Experience’, *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 18.4 (2011), 392-405 (p. 396).

<sup>146</sup> Hubbard and Hall, ‘The Entrepreneurial City’, p. 22.

cultures. Finally, reading festival performances through this lens allows further exploration of how they contribute to the spatialisation of the city both materially and discursively.

Local culture that is embedded within place and society has become particularly important in selling cities, as unlike infrastructure projects culture cannot be easily copied, and therefore it can present a positive urban image in which residents can invest while distinguishing the city within a global market. Hall and Hubbard highlight the role of culture within urban entrepreneurial policies when they note that '[a]s a component of local economic development, cultural regeneration is thus designed to assert the unique identity of the city and stress its comparative advantages' with mega-events such as the Olympic Games (but also international arts festivals) 'providing a locus for the anticipated investment'.<sup>147</sup> In addition to heritage, in the case of Edinburgh, and the natural environment, in the case of Adelaide, their long-running and prestigious festivals feature heavily within the marketing strategies and tourism campaigns of these cities allowing them to assert a competitive advantage with respect to consumption activities and the experience economy.

Festivals and the tourism markets that they promote epitomise a kind of 'experience economy' that promotes individualism and is particularly appealing to twenty-first century hipsters.<sup>148</sup> What Johansson and Kociatkiewicz identify as the 'experience economy' arose during the 1990s and 'denote[s] a socioeconomic system where aesthetic experiences, rather than goods or services, form the basis for generating value'.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>148</sup> In a *Guardian* UK article from March 2015 on the economic impact of the hipster or 'flat white' economy (in reference to Douglas McWilliams's monograph on the topic, *The Flat White Economy*), journalist Ed Cumming outlines the appearance of the 'hipster': 'Beards, plaid, tattoos, thick glasses, fixed-gear bicycles, artisanal breads (artisanal anything, really), Apple products, cold-pressed juices... these are some of the outward signs'. Ed Cumming, "Can Hipsters Save the World?". *Guardian* <<http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/mar/08/can-hipsters-save-the-world>> [6 August 2015].

<sup>149</sup> Johansson and Kociatkiewicz, 'City Festivals', p. 392.

Intangible cultural experiences such as attending an arts festival are seen to offer unique encounters for tourists and festival participants and thus further distinguish the host city. 'The experience economy', is thus 'about differentiation and engagement' according to Johansson and Kociatkiewicz.<sup>150</sup> They note that within its operating logic the 'experience dimension that has the potential to engage the consumer beyond merely purchasing a product or service'.<sup>151</sup> Moreover, it is seen to be participatory and enables consumers to navigate their own festival journey and to build their own personal programme by selecting from the thousands of events on offer.

Despite the rhetoric of the 'experience economy', however, there is a risk that arts festivals, like other urban regeneration projects, can tend towards homogenisation. In a 2009 survey-based study of 117 combined UK arts festivals, Rebecca Finkel found that 'a homogeneous combined arts festival "type" can be seen to be developing and replicating across the country'.<sup>152</sup> Finkel argues that a similarity in festival format and 'safe' programming choices by professionalised artistic organisations can be attributed to the greater competition posed by the festivalisation phenomenon. She suggests, 'that one of the main reasons for the increasing formulaic approach to festival programming and design is the increasing competition for funding as public and private funding sources expect combined arts festivals to achieve socio-economic targets and become more sustainable from one year to the next'.<sup>153</sup> The other risk for city managers desiring to invest in festivals as part of the experience economy is that the performances of both artists and audiences alike cannot fully be contained or stage-managed. As Johansson and Kociatkiewicz argue, 'the contradictory space that is the city does not easily lend itself to unambiguous presentation. The tension between the managed and the subversive becomes an essential

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<sup>150</sup> Ibid., p. 393.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., pp. 393-94.

<sup>152</sup> Rebecca Finkel, 'A Picture of the Contemporary Combined Arts Festival Landscape', *Cultural Trends*, 18.1 (2009), 3-21 (pp. 3-4).

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

factor that shapes urban experience-based projects'.<sup>154</sup> The political and cultural work of artists and comedians performing on the fringes, as well as the international festivals, offer potential counter-points to the official, desired image that urban entrepreneurs wish to promote.

In their study of international festivals within the context of urban agendas, Gold and Gold focus on extraordinary large-scale events such as expositions, Olympic Games, and European Cities of Culture rather than recurrent arts festivals that they consider to be 'routine occurrences in the life of the city'.<sup>155</sup> Harvey notes that investing in bids to host this kind of mega-event is highly speculative; the longevity and reputation of the festivals of Adelaide and Edinburgh, however, can be seen to partly mitigate the risk. Regular arts festivals also have a different relationship with their host cities, built upon many layers of sediment accumulated over the decades, and physically shape the city more slowly but in no less fundamental ways. Although they are temporally and spatially bound events they are also expected to foster a year-round local cultural scene and now maintain a permanent staff that nevertheless balloons in the peak festival season. While mega-events are receiving an increasing amount of attention within the literature,<sup>156</sup> I argue that looking at long-established arts festivals that 'take over' small cities for a month-long performance each year is particularly productive to assess the contribution of cultural events to the cultural, political, and economic life of the city over the long term. It is their very 'routine occurrence' that makes them so important to the production of urban space. As long-established Festival Cities that combine the prestige of the international arts festival with large open-access fringes with seemingly endless potential for growth on an annual basis, Edinburgh and Adelaide are well positioned to reap the benefits of their natural advantage in this area.

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<sup>154</sup> Johansson and Kociatkiewicz, 'City Festivals', p. 393.

<sup>155</sup> Gold and Gold, *Cities of Culture*, p. 7.

<sup>156</sup> See particularly, Harvie and Zaiontz, Special Issue: 'The Cultural Politics of London 2012'.

### **Conditioning Reception: The Impact on Artistic Goals**

Although many urban arts festivals have seemingly embraced their role in urban governance – even aligning themselves strategically with these agendas in order to secure public and private investment – their artistic and cultural work cannot be completely reduced to or contained within them. While festivals do participate in these governance strategies and can present a sanitised, coherent image of the city that denies ‘ambivalence and multivocality’,<sup>157</sup> this is not their only purpose or agenda. The EIF and Adelaide Festival were established to promote particular ideas of the value of culture and they remain beholden to these ideals today in ways that may conflict with entrepreneurial agendas. They, along with the Fringes and the other festivals of Edinburgh and Adelaide, have always pursued their own cultural and artistic agendas albeit appealing to a certain proportion of the population with high levels of cultural capital. This elitism was immediately undermined in both Adelaide and Edinburgh with the spontaneous beginnings of fringe festivals in both cities. These events arose so that local artists could offset their lack of representation in Edinburgh and conservative programming choices in Adelaide.

To view these events solely as agents of urban entrepreneurialism is to deny the other – positive and negative – impacts that they have on the local cultural and artistic scene. The international arts festivals pursue artistic and humanising aims and participate in wider debates about arts and culture, while the fringes, as enormous open-access events, are spaces of divergent voices and narratives. It is important to ask how the fringes in both cities are just as implicated within these urban regeneration agendas, however, and to explore how they foster neo-liberal agendas when they expect individual artists to carry financial risk for the benefit of the city. It is also important to understand how such instrumentalisation is disrupted and contested within individual performances and even at the level of the festival as festival management and city authorities cannot control the

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<sup>157</sup> Johansson and Kociatkiewicz, ‘City Festivals’, p. 403.



political and cultural debates and conversations that occur within the festival dramaturgy.

The increasing role of arts festivals within these urban entrepreneurial strategies is also seen as creating tension with their primary artistic aims. Quinn reminds us that 'while contemporary arts festivals may fulfil a plethora of diverse roles and deliver an array of beneficial outcomes', primarily, 'arts festivals exist for artistic reasons'.<sup>158</sup> She argues that the 'repositioning of arts festivals has heightened a series of tensions between the policy domains that arts festivals increasingly straddle'.<sup>159</sup> Festival organisations, which are becoming increasingly professionalised, must 'strive to achieve their artistic objectives while remaining competitive, maintaining the support of key stakeholders and attracting sufficient numbers of local and visiting audiences, producers, artists, directors, critics and all the important media attention'.<sup>160</sup> Jennifer Attala, too, draws attention to the way in which festivals are required to 'play new roles in delivering political agendas' by examining how 'the EIF's role and sense of purpose has been influenced and re-shaped by newly emerging political and cultural expectations'.<sup>161</sup> There is therefore a need to not only understand the impact of the festival on a city's reputation and spatiality but also to critically analyse the effect of urban entrepreneurialism on the artistic aims and cultural work of the festivals.

The requirement of arts festivals to serve as image-makers for the city has come to dominate their framing within cultural policy documents and urban governance strategies and has had a direct impact upon the artistic goals of these festivals. As Quinn notes 'city management's need to construct them as key elements of the city's place-marketing strategies predominates. Raising the city's international profile and attracting visitors

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<sup>158</sup> Bernadette Quinn, 'Arts Festivals, Urban Tourism and Cultural Policy', *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events*, 2.3 (2010), 264-79 (p. 269).

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 266.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>161</sup> Attala, 'Performing the Festival', p. 12.

seems to have become the *raison d'être* of the city festival'.<sup>162</sup> There is a tendency within the literature to dismiss the artistic goals of the festival as elitist and to reduce their carnivalesque potential to a mask that favours display over engagement and conceals social inequalities for commercial ends. Angela Bartie acknowledges that the early EIF 'was underpinned by "high culture", and aimed to present the very best in music and drama performed by the very best the world had to offer'.<sup>163</sup> Here the arts and culture was seen as 'a means of spiritual refreshment, a way of reasserting moral values, of rebuilding relationships between nations', and of revitalising Europe in the aftermath of World War II (WWII).<sup>164</sup> In doing so, Kirstie Jamieson argues, the EIF provided legitimacy to the leisure pursuits of the city's cultural elite: 'The first program of high cultural performances codified cultural alliances and affinities of taste that symbolically transcended the geographies of war'.<sup>165</sup> Jamieson is particularly scathing when she comments that '[f]estival culture paraded elite pleasures and a humanizing body of values along city center streets and in the fashionable tearooms of the time'.<sup>166</sup> However, as Bartie's project demonstrates, the EIF was also an important site for cultural change within the period of her study, 1945-70, and 'provides an effective lens through which to explore critical debates over culture in the post-war world, changing practices in the arts, and broader social change'.<sup>167</sup> International arts festivals are therefore viewed with suspicion for their championing of 'high' culture that remains today under the guise of 'artistic excellence'. The picture is more complicated and nuanced than this, however, as while accusations of elitism haunt the histories of both the EIF and Adelaide Festival, they are also sites of cultural contestation and both reflect and participate in broader debates around the role of arts and culture in society.

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<sup>162</sup> Quinn, 'Arts Festivals and the City', p. 932.

<sup>163</sup> Bartie, *The Edinburgh Festivals*, p. 2.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>165</sup> Jamieson, 'Edinburgh', p. 66.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>167</sup> Bartie, *The Edinburgh Festivals*, p. 2.

The popular and open-access Edinburgh Festival Fringe and Adelaide Fringe have been seen as antidotes to the high cultural pursuits of the main stage events. This is partly due to how they evolved as counter performances to the official festivals that developed spontaneously in opposition to the programming of the main events (due to a lack of local representation in Edinburgh and conservatism and censorship in Adelaide). Jamieson acknowledges that Edinburgh's festivals were a site of contestation where '[t]he seriousness of the official festival culture was soon challenged by the young, playful, and irreverent "Edinburgh Festival Fringe"'.<sup>168</sup> The playful opposition represented by artists on the fringe is sometimes attributed to a contemporary expression of the 'carnavalesque' spirit. In Rob Shields's conception, '[t]he carnivalesque as a ritual inversion of the norms of "high" culture is underscored by the celebration of the corpulent excesses and flows of the grotesque body and the "lower bodily strata" as opposed to the controlled, disciplined body of propriety and authority'.<sup>169</sup> Expressions of excess and the celebration of grotesque bodies can be witnessed within the large-scale displays of 'flyering' and street performance on Edinburgh's Royal Mile and the Adelaide Fringe's large opening night street parade, as well as in more intimate settings such as the popular circus-cabaret acts that take place in the Spiegel tents littered across both cities at festival time.

The concept of the carnivalesque is derived from Mikhail Bakhtin's work on Medieval and Renaissance folk culture, which he develops within *Rabelais and His World*. Through his literary criticism of the work of French Renaissance writer Rabelais, Bakhtin asserts the centrality of medieval folk culture and humour to the literary work of the period. Bakhtin contends that Europeans led a second, or unofficial life, through their participation in 'forms of protocol and ritual based on laughter and consecrated by tradition' that existed outside of political and ecclesiastical control.<sup>170</sup> It is this folk

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<sup>168</sup> Jamieson, 'Edinburgh', p. 67.

<sup>169</sup> Shields, *Places on the Margin*, p. 92.

<sup>170</sup> Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*. trans. by Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1984), p. 5.

culture, in which great laughter overcomes great fear, that provides the key to understanding the texts of Rabelais and other Renaissance writers, including Shakespeare. Bakhtin identifies this folk humour within '*[r]itual spectacles*' such as carnival pageants, '*[c]omic verbal compositions*', and '*[v]arious genres of billingsgate*' (named for the London fish market) such as curses.<sup>171</sup> Once ubiquitous within the marketplace, Bakhtin argues that this folk humour has evolved over time, was contained to certain days, and lost its restorative and rejuvenating qualities. The true carnival spirit resisted and overturned existing norms and celebrated the cyclical nature of life in which death allowed for rejuvenation and new life, just as winter precedes spring, as Bakhtin explains:

As opposed to the official feast, one might say that carnival celebrated temporary liberation from the prevailing truth and from the established order; it marked the suspension of all hierarchical rank, privileges, norms, and prohibitions. Carnival was the true feast of the time, the feast of becoming, change, and renewal.<sup>172</sup>

Bakhtin argues that while the carnival spirit was increasingly restricted by the state and the once public festivities were brought into the private sphere of the home, nevertheless 'the popular-festive carnival spirit was indestructible'.<sup>173</sup> The contemporary version or remnant of the carnival spirit that celebrates grotesques bodies and upturns and inverts social norms survives in some fringe venues and performances today.

The growing commercialism of the fringe and the prominent place that these events occupy within place promotional strategies, however, means that they are viewed with suspicion as sanctioned periods of misrule that are temporally and spatially prescribed and act as social pressure valves that ultimately reinforce the status quo. As Don Mitchell warns in relation to European carnivals, they 'substituted a temporary spectacle of inversion for a more permanent revolution in the social order. Carnival was

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<sup>171</sup> Ibid.; original emphasis.

<sup>172</sup> Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, p. 10.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., p. 33.

– and is – a means of letting off steam'.<sup>174</sup> Thus Jamieson argues that '[w]hen licensed, as most events are today, the festival is bounded to a specific time and space where spontaneity and bodily encounters are guided by bureaucratic structures that are believed to disempower the *disordering* and *reordering* potential of the carnivalesque spirit'.<sup>175</sup> She believes that Edinburgh's festivals have become a celebration of both 'cultural expression and commercial enterprise, and they are much more concerned with display than inversion and revolt'.<sup>176</sup> For Jamieson, therefore, cultural expression and the carnival spirit are circumscribed within the commercial aims and the urban governance agendas that the contemporary arts festival is required to fulfil. Shields, however, who identifies carnivalesque elements within the evolving place myth of Brighton Beach, warns against this 'social control' argument and argues that it would 'be wrong to simply dismiss these as "safety valves" for developing capitalist societies'.<sup>177</sup> In his study of the liminal and carnivalesque spatialisation of Brighton as a seaside resort, he argues that '[i]f the mass-holiday seashore ever represented a "safety valve", site of a capitalistic pseudo-liminality which replaced personal transformation with momentary gratification, it did not last long. The beaches were quickly taken over by the older, and more subversive, tradition of the carnival'.<sup>178</sup> Similar arguments can be made for fringe festivals and in this thesis I explore the extent to which these events provide subversive moments in which political commentary surrounding the festival runs counter to these agendas.

There is also a risk that high profile and visible events like arts festivals receive a larger proportion of the funding pie to the detriment of other local arts organisations. Quinn warns that a dichotomy may arise in which festivals are 'more likely to prosper through a variety of public funding, public-private ventures and private sponsorship arrangements,

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<sup>174</sup> Mitchell, *Cultural Geography*, p. 162.

<sup>175</sup> Jamieson, 'Edinburgh', p. 66; original emphasis.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>177</sup> Shields, *Places on the Margin*, p. 90.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.

than other cultural organisations with less potential for spectacle'.<sup>179</sup> The prominence and success of Edinburgh's summer festivals and Adelaide's Mad March events could in fact 'mask difficulties facing arts activities more generally',<sup>180</sup> especially in an era of economic austerity and cuts to arts funding budgets. The hosting of an international arts festival has required both Adelaide and Edinburgh to invest in material infrastructure such as state of the art theatre venues. This presents a particular challenge for the artistic directors of these venues to find product and audiences for these venues all year round in order to justify the public investment. Arts festivals therefore have a complicated relationship with the local arts culture both enabling it and potentially limiting its growth.

### Place Dependency

The success or otherwise of arts festivals is often judged on how well they are aligned with their local culture and with place. As Gerry Kearns and Chris Philo argue, the 'manipulation of culture depends upon promoting traditions, lifestyles and arts that are supposed to be *locally* rooted' in order to lend the place image an 'authentic quality'.<sup>181</sup> More than a manipulation, arts festivals are often created by local 'enthusiasts' to serve particular artistic aims and community functions – from a shared love of particular forms of music to a shared celebration of particular neighbourhoods – that are then capitalised upon for urban governance especially when they need the support of local councils in order to expand. Thus Quinn argues that '[e]ven today, while some arts festivals achieve very high profile, international status, they are often deeply embedded in place, committed through a long-term framework to achieving a defined set of artistic, cultural and societal goals'.<sup>182</sup> Nevertheless, she notes that critiques tend to be 'rooted in the extent to which cultural strategies fail to connect with the

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<sup>179</sup> Quinn, 'Arts Festivals, Urban Tourism and Cultural Policy', p. 264.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 274.

<sup>181</sup> Gerry Kearns and Chris Philo, 'Culture, History, Capital: A Critical Introduction to the Selling of Places', in *Selling Places: The City as Cultural Capital, Past and Present*, ed. by Gerry Kearns and Chris Philo (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1993), pp. 1-32 (p. 3); original emphasis.

<sup>182</sup> Quinn, 'Arts Festivals, Urban Tourism and Cultural Policy', p. 269.

specificities of the places within which they are located'.<sup>183</sup> Van Aalst and van Melik believe that '[i]ndividual festivals differ in their degree of "place dependency"'.<sup>184</sup> They suggest that '[s]ome are closely connected to the cultural infrastructure, whereas others have hardly any relationship with facilities, activities or events occurring the city'.<sup>185</sup> While the EIF and Adelaide Festival as elitist international arts festivals may appear to be disconnected from their local environments, this cultural materialist analysis draws on detailed empirical data and a close analysis of the festival performances to ask: how and in what ways are all festivals imbricated within the place in which they are produced and performed? In line with Van Aalst and van Melik, this study is concerned with 'the reciprocal relationship between place and festival'.<sup>186</sup> A comparative approach that focuses on the over 50-year affiliation between festival and case study city reveals the complexity and symbiotic nature of this relationship that is not one directional.

### **Manufacturing Consensus**

The instrumentalisation of arts festivals within urban governance strategies may not only have a negative effect on the artistic aims of the festival, but it may also cause the festival to have a negative effect on the city by masking urban tensions and inequalities. Selling places through their cultural resources produces both economic and social outcomes that include manufacturing consensus among local residents. Kearns and Philo have drawn attention to the 'intangible phenomenon whereby culture resources are mobilised by urban managers in an attempt to engineer consensus amongst the residents of their localities, a sense that beyond the daily difficulties of urban life which many of them might experience the city is basically "doing alright" by its citizens'.<sup>187</sup> Beyond the economic goals of

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<sup>183</sup> Ibid., p. 272.

<sup>184</sup> Van Aalst and van Melik, 'City Festivals and Urban Development', p. 195.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., p. 196.

<sup>187</sup> Gerry Kearns and Chris Philo, 'Preface', in *Selling Places: The City as Cultural Capital, Past and Present*, ed. by Gerry Kearns and Chris Philo (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1993), pp. ix-x (p. ix).

economic growth, job creation, and ‘*local economic (re)generation*’ established above, Kearns and Philo further argue that ‘there is also a more social logic at work’.<sup>188</sup> In addition to providing a marketing brand for external consumers, urban imagery also counters alienation by giving residents something to invest in. Thus Kearns and Philo suggest that ‘the self-promotion of places may be operating as a subtle form of *socialisation* designed to convince local people, many of whom will be disadvantaged and potentially disaffected that they are important cogs in a successful community’.<sup>189</sup> I explore how this logic informs the positioning of these festivals within the strategic plans and reviews of the local councils in both Edinburgh and Adelaide but also how this process is complex and cannot be wholly reduced to manipulation from above. The role of cultural events such as festivals in place marketing requires further scrutiny in terms of its impact upon artistic goals; its contribution to urban regeneration programmes that commodify and homogenise local culture; and the silencing of divergent voices and interests that occurs as a result.

Mobilising local culture for urban entrepreneurial agendas also creates tension between different groups with a vested interest in the self-promotion of the city. Gold and Gold attribute this conflict in part to the way in which these processes tend to reflect and further the interests of those with political power and cultural capital: “Place promotion” is primarily an expression of the interests of groups who have power in a city, region or nation’.<sup>190</sup> Therefore, as Kearns and Philo observe, ‘it is possible to see how the manipulation of culture can give rise to tensions and potential conflict, then, given that many people within a place may feel that the cultural materials drawn upon by the “place marketeers” are inappropriate’.<sup>191</sup> Moreover, different groups may be invested in ‘different visions of local culture’ and I explore how this plays out within the Adelaide and Edinburgh

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<sup>188</sup> Ibid., p. 3; original emphasis.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid.; original emphasis.

<sup>190</sup> Gold and Gold, *Cities of Culture*, p. 10.

<sup>191</sup> Kearns and Philo, ‘Culture, History, Capital’, p. 3.



festivals.<sup>192</sup> The use of locally-specific histories as resources within place marketing can also be contested when ‘the culture of a place, however this might be understood, is intimately bound up with the history of that place and with the histories (which may *not* always be locally-rooted) of the peoples who have ended up living in that place’ leading to different interpretations of local events.<sup>193</sup> In analysing the way in which these international arts festivals and their fringes have been mobilised within the place promotion of the city therefore, this study also draws attention to alternative and competing images of the city and highlights the tensions between festival and local culture contained within the festival dramaturgy. This approach also informs my study that draws attention to the role of festivals in promoting particular understandings of place and highlights the need to analyse the particular material and discursive practices that support this construction in each local context.

While these urban-based arts festivals and this literature focus on city environments (and the urban centres at that), trends in urban governance and the constructions of cities also have implications for their broader regions. Both Doreen Massey and David Harvey recognise that ‘[s]pace is relational’.<sup>194</sup> For Massey, regions do not have coherent and autonomous identities but rather ‘the character of a region, or the economy of a place, is a product not only of internal interactions but also of relations with elsewhere’.<sup>195</sup> For Kearns and Philo, the city ‘is a focus of power exerted by an urban elite over the peoples of surrounding territories, and in this sense we are talking chiefly about power radiating out *beyond* the city to shape the activities of those not actually in the city’.<sup>196</sup> This is particularly important in Adelaide, as a state capital, and Edinburgh, as a national capital, with the marketing of these festivals impacting upon the broader definition of the state of South Australia and the Scottish nation. Thus South Australia

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<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid., p. 4; original emphasis.

<sup>194</sup> Massey, *World City*, p. 21.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>196</sup> Kearns and Philo, ‘Culture, History, Capital’, p. 11; original emphasis.

has become known as the 'Festival State' and promotes its 'liveability' in distinction to the larger, dominant Australian cities on the east coast. Similarly, a devolved Scotland is able to assert its unique cultural identity both within the UK and abroad partly due to the reputation and international platform provided by Edinburgh's famous festivals.

As this discussion has shown, the dominant view within the cultural geography and urban studies literature is that festivals are commodified cultural products that easily fit within the agendas of urban entrepreneurialism and place promotion in order to attractively package the city for sale to visitors and residents alike. The glossy tourism photographs and rapid-cut promotional videos set to catchy pop songs are seen as deliberately disguising less desirable elements in the urban environment and obscuring social disadvantage within the city. Today, most urban festivals are expected to serve multiple agendas within overlapping policy areas. For the international arts festival, in particular, this has also been accompanied by a shift in focus from primarily celebrating global (more commonly interpreted as European modernist) artistic excellence to a mandate to also promote local (and national) culture within a global arena in order to justify public subsidy and urban resource allocation. The impact of this strategic positioning of cultural events on the artistic goals of these festivals and how they have been obscured, shaped, promoted, or hindered by these broader agendas has received less attention within this literature. By taking seriously the mandate, history, and promotion of these specific festivals therefore, I critique how they have been instrumentalised while also demonstrating that the cultural work that they perform cannot be fully contained and dictated by city managers.

## **Conclusion**

The cultural geography and urban studies literature brings valuable insight into how arts festivals have become implicated within urban governance strategies in recent decades. The growth of these events worldwide is therefore influenced by the festivalisation phenomenon that can also detract from the artistic aims of the artists involved. Ward observes

that due to the influence of cultural studies on this literature, 'the critical fire is mainly directed at the way place marketing supposedly "commodifies" places', which disallows recognition the 'cultural depth and complexity' of place.<sup>197</sup> While these limitations and influences are important to understand, festivals also have more cultural depth than the literature allows and are beholden to a number of different stakeholders not least of which are the participating artists and audience members. While Jamieson defines the relationship of Edinburgh with its festivals as 'the city's hottest tourist attraction',<sup>198</sup> I want to investigate whether it is more nuanced and complex than that by taking seriously the festival as an artistic entity. This study therefore explores the way in which these festivals have to work within urban governance systems in order to survive while drawing attention to the genuine ways in which they contribute to urban life and are also sites of contestation over broader debates such as the instrumental versus intrinsic value of culture and the arts within society.

As this chapter has shown, theatre and performance analyses can benefit from paying greater attention to the agendas of urban governance and how the role of arts festivals in place promotion impacts upon the conditions of production and reception of the festival but also individual performances within it. Cultural geography analyses, on the other hand, would benefit from exploring the expression of local (and national) culture that occurs within the fringe and flagship festivals and paying more attention to the political debate and discussion within artistic programming and festival dramaturgy. There is therefore value in bringing together these literatures and taking an interdisciplinary approach in order to critically analyse and give equal weight to both terms when considering the relationship between arts festivals and their host cities. By taking seriously the cultural work of the festivals, I demonstrate that they cannot be contained within the strictures of the above literature. They are more than just the carnival mask that glosses over social inequalities and more than an

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<sup>197</sup> Ward, *Selling Places*, p. 5.

<sup>198</sup> Jamieson, 'Edinburgh', p. 67.

authorised period of unruly and subversion that ultimately reinforces the dominant power relations in each place. Just as there are competing interests and groups within the city, there are competing interests and agendas within the festival, not least of which is at a national level.

A combined geographical and theatre and performance studies approach can therefore shed new light on the relationship between international arts festivals, official and fringe, and their host cities, as well as the broader role of cultural practices in shaping the urban environment. In the chapters that follow I investigate the research questions raised in the broader literature above in relation to the empirical case studies of Edinburgh and Adelaide. As shown in the Introduction, the EIF and Adelaide Festival were conceived of for artistic purposes but their founders quickly sought a coalition with government officials, university professors, and local business and press interests in order to bring them into being and were therefore aligned with the interests of their respective civic authorities from the very beginning. In Chapter Two, I analyse the Festival City as a place myth that grounds the festival frame within the specific urban environment as well as placing it within the global cultural economy. I explore the rise of the Festival City place myth in both Adelaide and Edinburgh; identify the stakeholders involved and the means through which it is maintained; and investigate the voices that it suppresses. Chapter Three then interrogates the role of this place myth in selling the cities of Adelaide and Edinburgh and how this is tied to public funding for these events. As will be demonstrated, both the Adelaide City Council (ACC) and the City of Edinburgh Council (CEC) see their cities as having a competitive advantage when it comes to staging festival events based largely on the longevity, prestige, and size of the Adelaide Festival, EIF, and the Fringes. Partly due to the recent paucity of arts funding in both Australia and the UK, both festival managements have had to become more adept at obtaining public investment from local and foreign governments while simultaneously seeking alternative sources through private sponsorship and philanthropy.

While these festivals potentially combine ‘a search for local identity’ with ‘mechanisms for social control’,<sup>199</sup> as Harvey warns, I argue the creative energy and political potential of these festivals cannot be fully contained within this narrow discourse of inter-urban competition. In order to prove this, I examine other factors that influence the conditions of production that is generally not accounted for in the urban studies literature, namely national cultural policy and funding structures (Chapter Four). Although fringe festivals are just as imbricated within urban governance strategies, provide the key promotional images for place promotion, and can be seen to promote neoliberal values through their ‘survival of the fittest’ mentality, I also seek to show how large, open-access fringe festivals cannot prevent political commentary or fully suppress subversive elements. Therefore, I analyse performative moments within the dramaturgy of these festivals that also challenge the easy instrumentalisation of arts festivals within place promotion (Chapter Five). A deeper understanding of how the festival operates as a theatrical event addresses the peculiar nature of this place myth that arises from a particular cultural practice and has been reproduced around the world. My comparative analysis of the conditions of production and reception of two similar groups of festivals in two diverse environments also seeks to provide a more nuanced understanding of the evolution of urban entrepreneurialism globally.

These two different disciplines complement each other through their desire to understand the social and historical realms and how people operating under specific conditions make meaning collectively. They both employ historicized readings in order to understand contemporary realities and seek to understand the discursive and non-discursive elements that produce space in an overlapping political project. Knowles reiterates Alan Sinfield and Jonathon Dollimore’s argument that a cultural materialist approach involves ‘a *political commitment*, which, for the cultural materialist, is necessarily a commitment to the transformation of the social

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<sup>199</sup> Harvey, ‘From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism’, p. 364.

order'.<sup>200</sup> This is aligned with Shields's search for alternative geographies, in which the margins can challenge the centre and therefore deconstruct and remap 'the universalised and homogenous spatialisation of Western Modernity'.<sup>201</sup> Ultimately, this combined approach draws on Lefebvre's call '[t]o change life, however, we must first change space!'.<sup>202</sup> The analysis of the festivals of Adelaide and Edinburgh that follows focuses on how and why these cities are being constructed as Festival Cities; the role of local authorities in this form of place promotion; how place-images and myths contribute to this; and what former and/or alternative perceptions they are replacing, displacing, or suppressing.

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<sup>200</sup> Knowles, *Reading the Material Theatre*, p. 14; original emphasis.

<sup>201</sup> Shields, *Places on the Margin*, p. 278.

<sup>202</sup> Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 190.

## Chapter Two: The Place Myth of the Festival City

The festivals of Adelaide and Edinburgh hold a pride of place within their locales and afford them a sense of identity as Festival Cities. As established in the Introduction, these festivals are shaped by their locales while also contributing to the material and discursive production of urban space. Marjana Johansson and Jerzy Kociatkiewicz argue in relation to Edinburgh that the relationship between festival and city is iterative: 'City space, always rife with accrued significance, imbues the festival with meaning, but the process is reciprocal because the festival provides new meanings for the city it inhabits'.<sup>1</sup> In this chapter, I investigate how these festivals are embedded within the self-representation of these cities and therefore how their role in providing a glossy veneer for place promotion is only one of their functions. In both cases, it is the combination of events – headlined by a prestigious international arts festival and a large and exuberant open-access fringe – within a peak festival season that has provided the 'set of core images'<sup>2</sup> that have come to be associated with these cities. By drawing on Rob Shields's conception of place myths I reveal how Adelaide and Edinburgh have come to be associated with these events over time. Shields theorises place myths as socially constructed meanings that are ascribed to places and are formed through a layering of meaning that interacts with the physical geography of the city. The Festival City is thus a place myth that operates at both sites, albeit with different impetuses and different outcomes.

This chapter provides an overview of dominant historical narratives and popular understandings of these two cities in order to chart the rise of the Festival City place myth in both places. In Adelaide, local authorities have sought to replace popular understandings of Adelaide as the 'City of Churches' or the 'City of Corpses' by actively promoting the Festival State moniker. Edinburgh's reputation as the world's leading Festival City, in contrast, raises the international profile of the Scottish capital while

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<sup>1</sup> Johansson and Kociatkiewicz, 'City Festivals', p. 395.

<sup>2</sup> Shields, *Places on the Margin*, p. 60.

underwriting its cultural credentials based on the nation's enlightenment tradition. Analysing this history through the theoretical lens of place images and myths further reveals this process to be both constructed and contested. As Shields argues '[p]lace images, and our views of them, are produced historically, and are actively contested'.<sup>3</sup> This analysis therefore also considers alternative constructions of Edinburgh and Adelaide in order to reveal what the popular and officially sanctioned Festival City place myth is obscuring or displacing as a result.

Don Mitchell argues that culture is 'a struggled-over set of social relations, relations shot through with structures of power, structures of dominance and subordination'.<sup>4</sup> A place myth that is actively promoted by local government authorities, therefore, is likely to aim to create 'a smooth surface, a mute representation, a clear view that is little clouded by considerations of inequality, power, coercion, or resistance'.<sup>5</sup> Throughout this dissertation I am concerned with the moments of rupture in the smooth surface of these representations, and in this chapter I investigate the alternative cultural constructions that suggest opposition to and internal contradictions within this dominant discourse. I begin by providing a theoretical basis for place myths before turning to each case study in order to reveal how these multi-format arts festivals have become not only a major part of their local cultural ecologies but have also contributed to the social, cultural, political, and economic processes within these places over time. In the case of the Festival City, however, investment in the creative, leisure economy in the urban centre obscures social disadvantage at the periphery. By investigating the role that cultural events play in mythologising and promoting place, these case studies offer a model for interrogating economic and social inequality through the lens of the urban imagination in order to reveal the power relations behind the production of space.

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<sup>3</sup> Shields, *Places on the Margin*, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Mitchell, *Cultural Geography*, p. xv.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 113.



### Place Myths: A Theoretical Basis

Rob Shields develops a theoretical approach to examining what he terms the 'social spatialisation' of culturally (and geographically) marginalised places to help 'expose the central role of "spatialisation" to cultures and nation-states' in *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity*.<sup>6</sup> He argues that marginality, although it may have a geographical component, is also socially defined, with his case studies of Brighton, Niagara Falls, the Canadian True North, and the English North-South divide drawing attention to those places located 'on the periphery of cultural systems of space in which places are ranked relative to each other'.<sup>7</sup> His strategy is to focus on marginal places or spaces to reveal the processes of spatialisation that classify them as such and therefore to also expose the dominant or hegemonic spaces of the centre that sets them apart in the first place. As he explains, marginal places and spaces are located on the social as well as geographical periphery: 'They all carry the image, and stigma, of their marginality which becomes indistinguishable from any basic empirical identity they might once have had'.<sup>8</sup> As outlined in the Introduction, Adelaide and Edinburgh were once considered (by many) to be located on the cultural periphery, defined in opposition to the centres of Sydney and Melbourne or London. As they are also located at the political centre as the state capital of South Australia and the national capital of Scotland and home of Scotland's pre-Union and restored parliaments, however, they cannot be considered marginal in the same way.

While Shields's study is concerned with alternative or marginal places, his conceptualisation of a 'social spatialisation' has broader implications for how space is conceptualised. For Shields, this 'order of space' or ranking of different places is socially constructed and thus he proposes the term '*social spatialisation* [...] to designate this social construction of the spatial which is a formation of both discursive and non-

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<sup>6</sup> Shields, *Places on the Margin*, p. 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

discursive elements, practices, and processes'.<sup>9</sup> His exploration of place and space myths is therefore part of a project to reveal and examine the processes of social spatialisation, which he explains is 'the ongoing social construction of the spatial at the level of the social imaginary (collective mythologies, presuppositions) as well as interventions in the landscape (for example, the built environment)'.<sup>10</sup> By positioning space as socially constructed, Shields's builds on Lefebvre's theorisation of the production of space to establish an 'object of study which encompasses both the cultural logic of the spatial and its expression and elaboration in language and more concrete actions, constructions and institutional arrangements'.<sup>11</sup> Lefebvre is one of the three key theorists (alongside Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu) who inform Shields's theoretical approach, which tries to 'effect a synthesis between the study of social meaning and geographical perception'.<sup>12</sup> Shields's conception of place myths provides a model for analysing the production of space through the cultural discourses and popular imagery of the Festival City. In this vein, I explore the 'geography of performance' of arts festivals by examining their role in the cultural policy, institutional structures, as well as the material infrastructures of cities.

Lefebvre's and Shields's approaches to space are rooted in material practices, the social imaginary, and in everyday life. Lefebvre's influence is apparent in Shields's assertion that '[u]nderstandings and concepts of space cannot be divorced from the real fabric of how people live their lives'.<sup>13</sup> Shields prefers the term 'spatialisation' to 'space', however, as he warns against fetishising space and attributing it with causal effect. 'Rather than "a cause"', Shields argues, 'the spatial is *causative*'.<sup>14</sup> Only human agents can have a causal effect, whereas spatialisation plays a 'mediating' role as 'the contingent juxtaposition of social and economic forces, forms of social

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 7; original emphasis.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 57; original emphasis.

organisation, and constraints of the natural world'.<sup>15</sup> According to Shields, his aim is not to establish 'a new discourse about space and place' but rather to examine 'pre-constructed cultural discourses about sites'.<sup>16</sup> As Lefebvre observes, '[o]bviously, a city does not present itself in the same way as a flower, ignorant of its own beauty. It has, after all, been "composed" by people, by well-defined groups'.<sup>17</sup> As will be shown below the Festival City place moniker is one that has been self-consciously crafted by governmental authorities with the support of local business in both Edinburgh and Adelaide. By examining cultural discourses about places and how they are 'composed', Shields seeks to determine the 'relations established between sites' but also 'how they came into those relationships and under what authority, and by which groups, raising questions of power that lie behind conventions'.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, an examination of how Festival Cities are composed is therefore also concerned with the power relations and agendas behind the construction.

Alongside Lefebvre's spatial triad Shields draws together Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* to describe spatial performances and Foucault's insights into power relations within his articulation of social spatialisation. In doing so, he highlights how perceptions of space inform their cultural representations and dictate the activities that are appropriate within them. As Shields explains, '[s]patial suppositions will be argued to ground a cultural edifice of perceptions and prejudices, images of places and regions, and to establish performative codes which relate practices and modes of social interaction to appropriate settings'.<sup>19</sup> Place-images, Shields contends, are constructed through over-simplification, stereotyping, and labelling.<sup>20</sup> They can be defined as 'the various discrete meanings associated with real places or regions regardless of their character in reality'.<sup>21</sup> Moreover,

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>17</sup> Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 74.

<sup>18</sup> Shields, *Places on the Margin*, p. 31.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 46.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 60.

'[i]mages being partial and often either exaggerated or understated, may be accurate or inaccurate' and can arise through stereotyping and from prejudices held against residents of a place.<sup>22</sup> Collectively, these sets of place-images form a place myth such as in Shields's case studies of Brighton Beach and Niagara Falls or my own Festival City examples of Adelaide and Edinburgh. In theorising the development of place myths, Shields contends that

A set of core images forms a widely disseminated and commonly held set of images of a place or space. These form a relatively stable group of ideas in currency, reinforced by their communication value as conventions circulating in a discursive economy.<sup>23</sup>

A collection of place images and myths, in turn, form the space myths of broader regions including Shields's studies of Canada's 'True North' and England's North-South Divide.

The relationship between places and their representations are co-dependent and impact upon each other in an iterative way. For Shields, '[p]laces and spaces are hypostatized from the world of real space relations to the symbolic realm of cultural significations'.<sup>24</sup> Traces of these place-images are therefore contained within popular culture, which for Shields includes 'postcards, advertising images, song lyrics and in the setting of novels'.<sup>25</sup> As will be shown below, Edinburgh has been characterised as having a split personality along the lines of Robert Louis Stevenson's the *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886) and Adelaide has an alternative construction as the 'City of Corpses' from real life events that have also been portrayed on film. According to Shields, representations such as this in literature (and other cultural artefacts such as film and theatrical performance) perpetuate and reinforce place myths: 'These images connected with a place may even come to be held as signifiers of its essential

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., pp. 60-61.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

character. Such a label further impacts on material activities and may be clung to despite changes in the “real” nature of the site’.<sup>26</sup> The Festival City, which has appeared on advertisements, tourism brochures, and in government documents in both Edinburgh and Adelaide, forms another set of images that has come to define the ‘essential character’ of these cities and will endure in the popular imagination even if abandoned as a cultural and economic planning strategy.

Place myths can change and evolve over time and in the case of Adelaide and Edinburgh, the Festival City place myth has been harnessed to re-write Adelaide’s former undesirable representations and to revitalize Edinburgh in the post-war era and to reinvent its contemporary identity as a European cultural centre. Shields argues that the model of place and space myths shifts and evolves ‘as the core images change slowly over time, are displaced by radical changes in the nature of a place, and as various images simply lose their connotative power, becoming “dead metaphors”, while others are invented, disseminated, and become accepted in common parlance’.<sup>27</sup> As will be discussed below, the Adelaide Festival is acknowledged for its role in reforming a parochial and conservative ‘City of Churches’ into the more appealing capital of the ‘Festival State’. In the case of Edinburgh, Jen Harvie has revealed that in addition to the material contributions made to the post-war ‘re-articulation and potential regeneration of European culture’ and the ‘post-war revival of Edinburgh itself’,<sup>28</sup> the EIF has nurtured Scottish drama and theatre throughout its history and has functioned ‘as an important site for the articulation of Scottish cultural strength and autonomy’.<sup>29</sup> The discussion of the recent histories of Adelaide and Edinburgh below charts how the international arts festival and fringe in each city gradually came to dominate the set of core images circulated about them and highlights alternative or competing constructions in order to analyse what the Festival City place myth may be

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 61.

<sup>28</sup> Harvie, ‘Cultural Effects’, pp. 14-15.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 18.

covering or replacing. In order to interrogate the 'pre-constructed cultural discourses' surrounding Festival Cities, as Shields proposes, I bring a theatre and performance studies lens to bear on a reading of these cultural productions in order to examine their cultural and ideological work and how they contribute to the social spatialisation of Adelaide and Edinburgh.

The Festival City is a peculiar manifestation of a place myth in that it is not unique to one city. By examining two examples of a Festival City in detail, I identify the common characteristics of this place myth as well as highlighting the ways in which it has been necessarily shaped and remade in both contexts in order to respond to local needs and cultures. Moreover, as this particular myth is grounded in the cultural practices of international arts festivals, it allows for a specific interrogation of the ways in which cultural practices participate in and contribute to the negotiation and contestation of place-images and myths. Beyond the local engagement and impact of one-off sporting events like the FIFA World Cup or the mega-events of the Olympic and Paralympic Games on the one hand, and the year-long European Capital of Culture programme on the other, these recurring, annual festivals sited repeatedly in a single city are shaped by the particularities of their local environments and in return are expected to play an ongoing role in promoting and developing their local cultures. Charting the rise, role, and possible demise of the Festival City place myth in Edinburgh and Adelaide therefore enables a broader examination of how cultural events contribute to the production of space and participate within broader urban processes.

### **Churches to Corpses: Behind the Myth of Adelaide's Festival City**

The Adelaide Festival, as the premier arts event in the nation, is popularly accredited with reforming the cultural image of the state of South Australia. Where Adelaide was once defined by its moral conservatism, beholden to the temperance league and strict liquor licensing laws that enforced six o'clock closing times, the Adelaide Festival has been instrumental in reinventing the 'City of Churches' into the self-styled capital of the 'Festival State' since the 1970s. In helping to transform the city's

reputation from conservative to cosmopolitan, the Adelaide Festival, in particular, has served as an aspirational event from which residents of South Australia have derived a sense of pride and identity. More recently, the Adelaide Fringe has grown to eclipse the 'official' event (both in terms of size and running length) and is charged with imbuing the city with a festive atmosphere for the duration of what is known locally as 'Mad March'. I argue, then, that the Adelaide Festival and Fringe form the 'set of core images'<sup>30</sup> that are widely held and used to promote the city and therefore can be characterised as a place myth. In promoting the city's cultural credentials, the South Australian government also seeks to evade Adelaide's alternative moniker of the 'City of Corpses', a label which alludes to a number of high profile serial killings in and around the city over the past fifty years. This dystopian city narrative highlights a darker underbelly of the urban imagination, pointing to the social disadvantage in Adelaide's outer suburbs and exposing tensions within the construction of this Festival City place myth.

Adelaide's festivals contribute to the state's political economy, the city's place promotion and its material-spatial practices, and have helped to shape the built environment as discussed above. In this section, however, I focus on the discursive construction of the Festival City as a place myth and explore alternative imaginings of Adelaide – from one related to Churches to one focusing on Corpses – in order to reveal the stakes involved in promoting one place myth over another. In the case of Adelaide, investment in the creative, leisure economy in the urban centre obscures social disadvantage at the periphery. As outlined in Chapter One, the festival hubs of both the main stage Festival and Fringe are located in the CBD, although there are some Fringe venues located in the suburbs. This has the material effect of privileging spending on cultural venues, transport infrastructure, and other forms of investment in the centre of the city. It also has the effects of privileging visitors' and residents' attention on the CBD, and distracting public discourse away from socially deprived areas in the outer suburbs. By

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<sup>30</sup> Shields, *Places on the Margin*, p. 60.

investigating the role that cultural events play in mythologising and promoting place, this case study offers a model for interrogating power relations behind competing representations in the urban imagination. Through the brief historical account that follows, I outline the origins of Adelaide's reputation as the City of Churches and demonstrate how the Festival City came to replace it as the dominant discursive construction or place myth, before examining the events behind the 'City of Corpses' tag in more detail.

### **Developing the Myth: From Conservatism to Cosmopolitanism**

Adelaide, named for the Queen consort of William IV in 1836, self identifies as a small but proud city on the coast of southern Australia. With a population of over 1.2 million in the Greater Adelaide Region, Adelaide is the capital of South Australia, which is the second smallest state in Australia ahead of Tasmania in terms of population but third largest in terms of geographical size.<sup>31</sup> Established on the traditional lands of the Kaurna people and designed by the celebrated surveyor-general Colonel William Light, the Adelaide of today retains the gridiron pattern of Light's original plan, intersected by the River Torrens. The city has a warm, dry climate that is often described as 'Mediterranean' within its promotional material and is celebrated for its many gardens and squares that, along with the street names, commemorate the founding fathers of its European settlement in 1836. Lacking the historical prestige of the older states of New South Wales, Victoria, and Tasmania, and the economic prosperity of the large mining states of Western Australia and Queensland, South Australia defines itself through its 'sense of difference'.<sup>32</sup> According to local historian Derek Whitelock, the state derives its unique identity from its historical

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<sup>31</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics, *National Regional Profile: Adelaide (Statistical Division)*

<<http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@nrp.nsf/Latestproducts/405Population/People12006-2010?opendocument&tabname=Summary&prodno=405&issue=2006-2010>> [accessed 9 January 2012].

<sup>32</sup> This is the theme, and indeed the subtitle, of Derek Whitelock's history of Adelaide. Whitelock, *Adelaide*.



superiority as a planned community of morally upright settlers, free of convicts, and founded on Edward Gibbon Wakefield's principles of 'systematic colonization' in which land sales were set at a 'sufficient price' in order to attract industrious and experienced settlers with appropriate capital.<sup>33</sup>

Place-images, according to Shields, are meanings associated with places that may not reflect reality but rather 'develop through oversimplification and labelling, the stereotyping of places or their inhabitants, and prejudices towards them'.<sup>34</sup> Before the founding of the Festival, Adelaide was known as a religiously and morally conservative city. South Australia was designed as a model colony that would be profitable and beneficial to Great Britain by easing overcrowding through the removal of 'surplus population', preventing the colonisation of Australia by the French, and an American-style rebellion by granting self-rule. A strict immigration criterion that controlled for piety and prohibited convicts from settling in the state was coupled with the strong influence of Methodism and the temperance movement to grant Adelaide a reputation as 'a city of churches and morality'.<sup>35</sup> In fact, 'freedom in matters of religion'<sup>36</sup> was one of the principles upon which South Australia was founded and as Whitelock notes, the early settlement attracted members of the 'Free Churches' such as Methodists, Congregationalists, and Baptists. South Australia is therefore proud of its non-Conformist heritage in which settlers from outside of the dominant Anglican religion could seek social advancement free from the bounds of religious discrimination that they had suffered in Great Britain. Related to this perceived religious conservatism was a perception of the city as deeply morally conservative.

The temperance (or 'wowsers') movement, which lobbied for strict liquor licensing laws, dominated Adelaide throughout the first half of the twentieth century and contributed to the city's conservative image.

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>34</sup> Shields, *Places on the Margin*, p. 60.

<sup>35</sup> Whitelock, *Adelaide*, p. 75.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 100.

According to Stuart Macintyre, ‘wowsers was an expressive local term for those who sought to stamp out alcohol, tobacco and all other pleasures’.<sup>37</sup> The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), formed in 1886, spearheaded both the women’s suffrage movement in Australia (with women achieving the vote in South Australia in 1894)<sup>38</sup> as well as the wowsers movement. According to Macintyre,

The movement sought to advance women and reform society by purifying domestic and public life of masculine excess. It thus pursued a range of measures – temperance, laws against gambling, control of prostitution, an increase in the age of consent, prevention of domestic violence – to protect women from predatory men.<sup>39</sup>

As a pressure group campaigning against the sins of alcohol and gambling, the WCTU exerted ‘an extraordinarily strong influence upon the Adelaide lifestyle for the next four or five decades’ after its formation.<sup>40</sup> Whitelock notes that wowsers held sway in Adelaide throughout the first half of the twentieth century, succeeding in maintaining strict liquor licensing laws (despite a tradition of heavy drinking in the state dating from the colonial period) but also limiting its cultural development: ‘From 1915 to 1967 Adelaide’s drinking habits were distorted by 6 o’clock closing and the infamous “6 o’clock swill”. During this period wowsers’ respectability prevailed and Adelaide acquired its teetotal, stuffy and hypocritical image’.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Stuart Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, 3rd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 133.

<sup>38</sup> The Australian Government website lists 1895 as the year that women achieved the vote in South Australia. Australian Government, *Australian Suggragettes* <<http://australia.gov.au/about-australia/australian-story/austn-suffragettes>> [accessed 12 January].

<sup>39</sup> Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, p. 134.

<sup>40</sup> Whitelock, *Adelaide*, p. 286.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 283. South Australia was the first state to introduce six o’clock closing times for public houses on 27 March 1916, following a referendum in 1915. According to Walter Phillips, ‘[t]he campaign in South Australia revived the early closing movement throughout Australia’, with similar legislation introduced in New South Wales, Tasmania, and Victoria by the end of 1916. Walter Phillips, “Six O’clock Swill”: The Introduction of Early Closing of Hotel Bars in Australia’, *Historical Studies*, 19.75 (1980), 250-66

Adelaide's 'sense of difference' arising from self-styled snobbery and claims of social superiority also inevitably gave rise to accusations of conservatism, provincialism, and cultural philistinism from the other states. This image of Adelaide as a 'City of Churches' is an example of a set of place-images that collectively form a place myth.

This conservative image, however, placed limitations on the first Adelaide Festival in 1960, particularly in terms of the liquor licensing laws, weekend closing times, and lack of restaurant culture, with the beginning of the biennial Festival providing an impetus for and means of reforming this now undesirable image. Whitelock attributes Don Dunstan, Labor South Australian Premier between 1971 and 1979, with reforming the state's image from one of conservatism (South Australia had been dominated by Sir Thomas Playford's conservative government 1938-65) to one with more progressive ideals. In an obituary written for the UK's *Independent* in 1999, Robert Milliken describes how Dunstan 'put that state on the map with a series of groundbreaking social reforms' during his premiership, which became known as the 'Dunstan decade'. Milliken describes how '[h]is was the first government in Australia to introduce land rights for Aborigines, decriminalise homosexual acts, appoint a woman judge and introduce anti-discrimination legislation'.<sup>42</sup> As such, Whitelock characterises Don Dunstan as 'both [the] architect and leader of Adelaide's social and moral revolution

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(p. 258). (Closing times were 9 o'clock in Western Australia and 8 o'clock in Queensland after 1923). This legislation also endured the longest in South Australia – where it was finally repealed in 1967 – after Tasmania (1937), New South Wales (1954), and Victoria (1966). Robin Room, 'The Long Reaction against the Wowser: The Prehistory of Alcohol Deregulation in Australia', *Health Sociology Review*, 19.2 (2010), 151-63. Both South Australia and Victoria had conservative images at this time owing to their long-serving Liberal Premiers Thomas Playford in South Australia 1938-65, and Henry Bolte in Victoria (1955-72). According to Stuart Macintyre, '[b]oth men joined an insistent cult of development to moral conservatism: strict censorship, six o'clock closing of hostels and capital punishment were among their hallmarks'. Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, p. 209.

<sup>42</sup> Robert Milliken, 'Obituary: Don Dunstan', *Independent*, 17 February 1999 <<http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/obituary-don-dunstan-1071332.html>> [accessed 12 January 2012].

in the 1970s'.<sup>43</sup> This of course needs to be placed in the context of the wider social reforms taking place in the nation as a whole during this period (and perhaps even a more global perspective on social preoccupations in the 1970s), most notably the Federal reforming Labor government led by Gough Whitlam (1972-75). Nevertheless, as an example of how place myths can change and evolve over time, in the case of Adelaide, the Festival City place myth has been harnessed to re-write Adelaide's former representations and reputations at an official level once they became obstacles to modernisation and economic development. This process in which Shields sees the model of place and space myths evolving over time is dialectical in nature with changes in cultural representations and material processes and forms informing each other in an iterative way.<sup>44</sup> From the 1970s, then, against the backdrop of an international shift towards urban entrepreneurialism and the growing popularity of urban spectacles, the Adelaide Festival began to be harnessed by local authorities to play a key role in reforming Adelaide's image, transforming it from the austere 'city of churches' into the capital of the proud multicultural and cosmopolitan 'Festival State'.

The Adelaide Festival for the Arts, as it was once known, was founded as a biennial festival in 1960 and remained so until 2012 when the South Australian government announced that it would be contributing additional funding to enable the event to be staged annually.<sup>45</sup> While each Australian state capital now hosts its own international arts festival, Adelaide's is recognised as the premier event. With over 900 performances staged over four weeks in February and March, the Adelaide Fringe, which has been an annual event since 2007, is one of the largest and longest running open-access fringe festivals in the world. As outlined in the Introduction, the original mandate of the Festival was to bring the best of the world's performers to the city every two years, to overcome the 'tyranny of

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<sup>43</sup> Whitelock, *Adelaide*, p. 148.

<sup>44</sup> Shields, *Places on the Margin*, p. 61.

<sup>45</sup> Matthew Westwood, 'Festival a Bottom-Line Pleasure', *The Australian*, 19 March 2012 <<http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/arts/festival-a-bottom-line-pleasure/story-fncihiro-1226303278643>> [accessed 27 March 2012].

distance', and the civic and economic advantages for the city were recognised and used to attract sponsors from the very beginning. Unlike Edinburgh, the Adelaide Festival, according to Mary Ann Hunter, is both formed and supported by its city: 'the Adelaide Festival claims foremost to be embraced by its local city constituency. It is widely considered to be *Adelaide's* art festival: a festival sited within the city, which has also helped shape and define the city'.<sup>46</sup> As will be shown in Chapter Three, the local support for Adelaide's festivals are seen as a source of competitive advantage over other events, including Edinburgh.

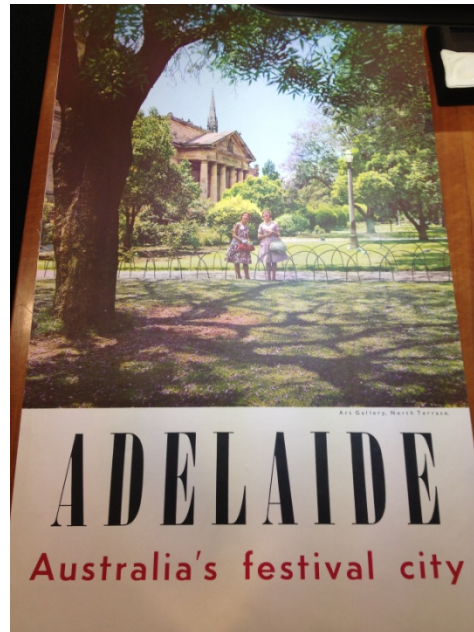
Drawing once again on the dialectical relationship between spatial practices, representations of space, and spaces of representation, Shields's theorisation of place myths demonstrates the way in which physical urban forms and their cultural representations are co-dependent and impact upon each other.<sup>47</sup> As was seen in the place promotion literature in Chapter One, arts festivals are drawn on to provide popular images of the city in order to attract further visitors and investment. Analysing place-images that are contained within popular culture, which for Shields includes advertising images, also reveals the material processes and institutional structures that support such constructions. Figure 7 is a poster published by the South Australian Government Tourism Bureau in 1965,<sup>48</sup> which demonstrates that the image of Adelaide as the Festival City is long established and has been harnessed by local authorities at various times since its inception.

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<sup>46</sup> Hunter, 'Utopia, Maps and Ecstasy', p. 36; original emphasis.

<sup>47</sup> Shields, *Places on the Margin*, p. 47.

<sup>48</sup> H. J Wells, 'Adelaide: Australia's Festival City' [poster colour illustration 85 x 51.5 cm], issued by the South Australian Government Tourist Bureau, State Library of South Australia, call number ZPL 0227.



**Figure 7 'Adelaide: Australia's Festival City' poster, South Australian Government Tourist Bureau, c1965**

The fashioning of Adelaide as the capital of the 'Festival State' is therefore a self-conscious exercise on behalf of government officials that is illustrated most aptly by the moniker that adorned South Australian licence plates between 1981 and 2008 (see Figure 8).<sup>49</sup> Images such as these are both derived from and reinforce this place myth of Adelaide. As late as 2011, the South Australian government continued to declare that 'We are the Festival State' within their strategic plan, but this does not form an overarching strategy but rather is subsumed within a vision of South Australian communities as 'vibrant places to live, work, play and visit'.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> John Merriman reports that "The "Festival State" was the mandatory plate introduced in 1981 with the exception of personalised or custom number plates' but that in 1998 the Liberal State Government introduced five new slogans to choose from: 'Creative State, Defence State, Gateway to the Outback, Rose State and Wine State'. John Merriman, 'Outback Tops the Number Plate Slogans', *Sunday Mail*, 29 December 2002, p. 20. All slogans were removed from South Australian number plates in 2008 in favour of a seven character alpha-numeric code beginning with 'S' in order to eliminate duplication across the nation. Helene Sobolewski, 'Bye Bye to Festival State Plates', *Advertiser*, 30 September 2008, p. 15.

<sup>50</sup> Government of South Australia, *In a Great State: South Australia's Strategic Plan*, (Adelaide: SA State Government, 2011), p. 27.



**Figure 8 Image of South Australian Licence Plate. Photograph taken by author during fieldwork in 2012.**

While the South Australian government does not have an official 'Festival City' strategy for tourism and economic development in the same way that Edinburgh has had and the 'Festival State' moniker is no longer being added to new license plates, Adelaide's festivals continue to contribute to the state's branding and tourism initiatives.

The South Australian Tourism Commission (SATC) was established in 1993-94 and in its first Marketing Plan for South Australia for the period 1994 to 1997, it defines the South Australian brand identity as 'based on the State's (Adelaide's) sense of difference'.<sup>51</sup> The document continues to define this difference:

That is, its: gracious character; heritage ambience; mediterranean [*sic*] climate and lifestyle, and: access to the Australian outdoors. The core themes we will highlight will include food, wine, festivals, and South Australia's unspoilt natural environment.<sup>52</sup>

This brand identity has shifted slightly in the most recent Tourism Plan (2009-14). In this document, the SATC defines the 'core attributes of South Australia upon which the brand is being built' as: 'its enterprising tradition of creativity and innovation; being the home of exceptional wine and produce; its beautiful city and a festive spirit; and experiences of unspoilt

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<sup>51</sup> South Australian Tourism Commission, *Taking Tourism to 2000: South Australian Tourism Commission Marketing Plan* (Adelaide: SATC, September 1994), p. 11.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

nature at close proximity. These attributes can deliver both rational and emotive benefits to the visitor'.<sup>53</sup> Adelaide's festivals, then, indirectly inform and enhance the city's claims to a 'tradition of creativity' and its 'festive spirit', which is also used on the SATC's website to attract potential visitors to the state.<sup>54</sup>

The Festival City, which has appeared on advertisements, tourism brochures, and in government documents in Adelaide, has therefore come to form a set of images that has come to define the 'essential character' of this city. It has formed a place myth that endures in the popular imagination even after having been removed from the state's number plates. Don Mitchell argues, however, culture is contested and is shaped by power structures that can lead to domination and subordination.<sup>55</sup> Mark Billinge suggests that beyond selling existing place images the role of place marketers is to reform these images. He explains, '[t]he primary goal of the place marketer is to construct a new image of the place to replace either vague or negative images previously held by current or potential residents, investors or visitors'.<sup>56</sup> As established above, a place myth that is actively promoted by local government in this way is likely to create what Mitchell terms 'a smooth surface, a mute representation',<sup>57</sup> or in the case of arts festivals, a vibrant and attractive spectacle. I turn now to alternative constructions of Adelaide to investigate what this self-styled official image obscures and at what cost.

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<sup>53</sup> South Australian Tourism Commission, *South Australian Tourism Plan 2009-2014* (Adelaide: SATC, January 2009)

<[http://www.tourism.sa.gov.au/assets/documents/Tourism\\_Plan\\_09-14.pdf](http://www.tourism.sa.gov.au/assets/documents/Tourism_Plan_09-14.pdf)> [accessed 14 March 2014], p. 46.

<sup>54</sup> See South Australian Tourism Commission, *Events in South Australia*, <<http://www.southaustralia.com/events.aspx>> [accessed 13 June 2014].

<sup>55</sup> Mitchell, *Cultural Geography*, p. xv.

<sup>56</sup> Mark Billinge, 'Trading History, Reclaiming the Past: The Crystal Palace as Icon', in *Selling Places: The City as Cultural Capital, Past and Present*, ed. by Gerry Kearns and Chris Philo (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1993), pp. 103-31 (p. 133).

<sup>57</sup> Mitchell, *Cultural Geography*, p. 113.



### Alternative Constructions

Place myths are also a site of contestation between different groups and these social divisions are organised spatially. As Shields argues, 'we also organise our lives around spatial routines and around spatial and territorial divisions. These surface as the carriers of central social myths which underwrite ideological divisions between classes, groups and regions'.<sup>58</sup> This suggests that competing place-images can reveal social divisions and therefore a desire to overwrite or replace a place myth at an official level. Shields uses the example of the difference between French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians' conceptions of Canada's Far North when he points out that '[o]pposed groups may succeed in generating antithetical place-myths (as opposed to just variations in place-images) reflecting different class experiences or the cultural remembrance of a defeat where conquerors see only glory'.<sup>59</sup> This dispute over place myths is also pertinent to other settler colonial contexts where land and history continue to be contested. Adelaide has a number of memorials celebrating its colonial past in its public spaces such as the Pioneer Memorial to the city's founders and pioneers at the landing point of the first South Australian settlers at Glenelg Beach (see Figure 9).

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<sup>58</sup> Shields, *Places on the Margin*, p. 47.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.



**Figure 9 Pioneer Memorial on Glenelg Beach. Photograph by author.<sup>60</sup>**

Such monuments reinforce myths around European settlement – that the land was uninhabited – by celebrating the courage and endurance of pioneers, while denying the struggle and displacement of Aboriginal people. That this monument celebrates settlement rather than commemorating an invasion demonstrates the power and endurance of place myths and how they are maintained.

Mainstream or ‘authoritative’ histories and narratives of cities and regions, such as those explored here, both reflect popular understandings of these places but also help to create them and may deliberately obscure alternative readings or histories. In Whitelock’s officially sanctioned history of Adelaide, which was written at the invitation of the Adelaide City Council and later updated for the city’s 150<sup>th</sup> Jubilee, he acknowledges the racist attitudes of the colonial administration and population towards the local Indigenous people and details how the Kurna people, in particular, were driven from their land and forced to live on reserves and missions. The

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<sup>60</sup> The Pioneer Memorial was erected in 1936 to commemorate the four most important South Australia colonists. The HMS Buffalo, upon which Captain Hindmarsh arrived in 1836, sits atop the monument. Wallcann, ‘History’, *Glenelg SA* <<http://glenelgsa.com.au/history>> [accessed 28 March 2014].

decimation of their population by European-introduced disease and the attitude that '[t]he gradual disappearance of the Aborigines was a fact of colonial life noted by most nineteenth-century observers' is also highlighted.<sup>61</sup> Despite the establishment of the Office of Protector of Aborigines and lip service to respecting the rights of Indigenous people in South Australia, Whitelock acknowledges that,

Racial prejudice was strong from the beginning, accentuated here by the defenceless nature of the Aborigines. Had they been warlike, like the Maoris or the Zulus, the Aborigines may have achieved more respect and better conditions. As it was, demoralized by the cultural confrontations, decimated by imported diseases like smallpox, syphilis and measles, they went to the wall.<sup>62</sup>

This is a popular belief perpetuated by many narratives of Australian history despite the contradiction of defining Aborigines of the period as passive and 'defenceless' while also documenting the murders and massacres that took place on the side of both Aborigines and white settlers.<sup>63</sup> The text provides some redress through Tom Gara's contribution 'Adelaide Had an Aboriginal History Too!', included in the second half of the book. Gara notes that while '[m]ost studies would have us believe that the Kurna were extinct by the middle of last [nineteenth] century, and that Adelaide has no Aboriginal history', the Kurna have an ongoing presence in Adelaide with the survivors playing an increasingly active role in protecting their heritage

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<sup>61</sup> Whitelock, *Adelaide*, p. 76.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

<sup>63</sup> Prominent Australian historian Henry Reynolds has undertaken extensive research to challenge the myth that Aborigines were passive and defenceless in the dispossession of their land, and to demonstrate that the British colonialists practiced genocide against Aborigines, especially in Tasmania. Reynolds's claims have been refuted by Keith Windschuttle and Geoffrey Blainey and the debate between the two sides is known as the 'history wars'. See Stuart Macintyre and Anna Clark, *The History Wars* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2003).

today.<sup>64</sup> Gara describes that although the Kurna were dispossessed of their land, subjected to colonial attempts to ‘civilize’ and ‘Christianize’ them, and their numbers were reduced by disease, they nevertheless survived by intermarrying with other Aboriginal groups such as the Ngarrindjeri and Narungga. In selling an officially sanctioned narrative of Adelaide’s history, therefore, the Festival City place-myth may participate in the obfuscation of this conflicted and problematic colonial history.

Alternative histories and images also serve to highlight the power relations behind popular constructions. Gerry Kearns and Chris Philo observe the ways in which history is used to sell places and the tensions and conflicts that this produces when different groups interpret these events in contrasting ways. Specifically, they note

the use of “heroic” imagery surrounding specific historical processes as a level for money-making and persuasion in the present, and we are thinking at this point about how the heroism – a highly contentious heroism – of the people involved in processes such as revolution or colonisation is more or less consciously mobilised to cast a favourable light upon processes occurring today.<sup>65</sup>

These monuments to Adelaide’s colonial past are examples of how mainstream historical narratives continue to serve contemporary agendas and promote the political descendents of these colonial ‘heroes’ in the present over the land claims and interests of past injustices to the Kurna people. As Mark Billinge notes, in place promotion ‘[t]he only past that matters is the packaged past of the heritage industry’.<sup>66</sup> Therefore, I turn to alternative popular place myths about Adelaide in order to highlight the way in which the Festival City also attempts at obscuring social disadvantage in the city’s outer suburbs.

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<sup>64</sup> Tom Gara, ‘Adelaide Had an Aboriginal History Too’, in *Adelaide: A Sense of Difference*, ed. by Derek Whitelock, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn (Kew, VIC: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2000), pp. 205-08 (p. 205).

<sup>65</sup> Kearns and Philo, ‘Culture, History, Capital’, p. 6.

<sup>66</sup> Billinge, ‘Trading History, Reclaiming the Past’, p. 141.

### Adelaide: The City of Corpses

Whitelock concludes his history of the first ten Adelaide Festivals with the observation that, '[t]he underlying questions remain: what purpose does the Festival serve, and for whom is it intended?'<sup>67</sup> He posed these questions in regards to the tension, which is perhaps inherent to international arts festivals, between striving for artistic excellence by showcasing the best acts from around the globe and being tasked with contributing to and promoting local artists and local culture. Nevertheless, these rhetorical questions point to a tension within the Festival City of who is not benefiting from or participating in the month-long party each March. As I have shown the Festival City place myth reinforces a brand identity of South Australia as a vibrant and creative place to live and visit, upon which tourism campaigns can be built. Mitchell reminds us, however, that landscapes are also 'way[s] of carefully selecting and representing the world so as to give it a particular meaning';<sup>68</sup> the same could be said of place myths. He calls, therefore, for an examination of the relations of power behind such constructions, arguing that what is at stake is the relative levels of power that various competing groups have with which to, in his words, 'instantiate their own image of the world on the ground'.<sup>69</sup> Similarly, place myths are also a site of contestation between different groups and in Adelaide the Festival City focuses attention on the urban centre while ignoring the disadvantaged residents of the city's outer suburbs. If landscapes (and place myths) 'are made to actively *represent* who has power, [...] but also to *reinforce* that power by creating a constant and unrelenting symbol of it' as Mitchell argues, examining alternative constructions can highlight competing interests.<sup>70</sup>

Adelaide is also known colloquially as 'Weird Adelaide',<sup>71</sup> the 'Cruel City',<sup>72</sup> or the 'City of Corpses'<sup>73</sup> owing to a number of high-profile

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<sup>67</sup> Whitelock and Loan, *Festival!*, p. 174.

<sup>68</sup> Mitchell, *Cultural Geography*, p. 100.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*; original emphasis.

<sup>71</sup> Goldsworthy, *Adelaide*, p. 3.

disappearances, rumoured paedophile rings, and macabre serial killings that have taken place in and around the city over the past fifty years. Salman Rushdie has likened Adelaide to Amityville, or Salem, a place where things 'go bump in the night'.<sup>74</sup> In town for the 1984 Writers' Week, Rushdie was commenting on the trial of Bevan Spencer von Einem, convicted for the rape and murder of a fifteen-year-old boy and suspected of killing four others in a similar manner. As journalist and author of the true crime novel *The Cruel City: Is Adelaide the Murder Capital of Australia?*, Stephen Orr attests 'South Australia, and the city of Adelaide in particular, has often been cast (mostly by a media in search of a quick headline) as some sort of macabre killing field, with deranged, inbred perverts filling their days dismembering innocent children and depositing their limbs in barrels'.<sup>75</sup> A far cry from the vibrant and welcoming city that features in the SATC promotional videos. Adelaide first developed its reputation as the home of 'weird sex murderers', to quote comedian Ross Noble,<sup>76</sup> in 1966 when the three Beaumont children – aged 4, 7, and 9 – disappeared off Glenelg beach on Australia Day. This was followed by the disappearance of Joanne Ratcliffe (aged 11) and new friend Kirste Gordon (aged 4) from the Adelaide Oval during a football match in August 1973. No bodies have been recovered and these disappearances remain unsolved today.

What Orr identifies as a Gothic, or grotesque, underbelly to Adelaide cuts across class boundaries. Orr notes that the grotesque in Adelaide does not just refer to what he describes as 'dysfunctional families existing on welfare, living in state housing on the northern and southern fringes' of the city, but also to 'respectable Adelaide', as he explains, '[t]he well-heeled

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<sup>72</sup> This is the title of journalist Stephen Orr's true crime book: Stephen Orr, *The Cruel City: Is Adelaide the Murder Capital of Australia?* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 2011).

<sup>73</sup> Orr, *The Cruel City*, p. 186.

<sup>74</sup> Cited in Goldsworthy, *Adelaide*, p. 162.

<sup>75</sup> Orr, *The Cruel City*, p. xiii.

<sup>76</sup> Ross Noble, 'Nonsensory Overload', Thebarton Town Hall, Torrensville, Adelaide, Saturday 17 March 2012, 8PM.

eastern suburbs have always been the domain of old money, old names'.<sup>77</sup> Individual arrests such as that of von Einem and Magistrate Peter Liddy – who was convicted for child molestation in 2001 – are rumoured to be part of larger networks of lawyers, judges, and senior police officers involved in paedophile rings similar to von Einem's group of associates known as the 'Family'. The suspicious circumstances surrounding the murder of criminal lawyer Derrance Stevenson, whose body was found stuffed into his household freezer in 1979, also suggests links between Adelaide's elite and the criminal underworld. Police too have been implicated in these bizarre happenings. In 1972 three to four members of the local Vice Squad killed university law lecturer George Duncan when they visited a well-known local beat one night and tossed whomsoever they found there into the nearby Torrens River. The perpetrators of this crime were not revealed until 1986, although public outcry in the meantime ensured that South Australia was the first state to decriminalise homosexuality in 1972.

These ominous and unexplainable disappearances and the cruel and sadistic serial killings, which were often of a violent and sexual nature – including the seven young women who were raped and murdered by James William Miller in 1976-77 before he was killed in a car crash – seem to culminate in the notorious Snowtown murders of the 1990s. On 20 May 1999, police discovered the dismembered remains of eight victims in six barrels filled with hydrochloric acid in a disused bank vault in a small town 145 kilometres north of Adelaide. The subsequent investigation revealed a further four victims – all killed between 1992 and 1999 – along with evidence of torture and even cannibalism. The 'bodies in barrels' case, as it would become known, shocked the nation and reinforced 'Adelaide's reputation as a murder capital, a "city of corpses"'.<sup>78</sup> These events have also been made into the film *Snowtown* (2011), increasing its circulation in the popular imaginary. In reviewing the film, critic Peter Bradshaw provides an insight into the deeply unsettling nature of these murders. In his view,

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<sup>77</sup> Orr, *The Cruel City*, p. xvi.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186.

This is a well made but gruesome and often unwatchably violent film, made the more disturbing by its deferred and indirect revelations about the killer's [John Bunting's] modus operandi, his intimate social embeddedness with his victims, his ambiguous motivation, and the way he makes those closest to the victims complicit in the crimes.<sup>79</sup>

Such events would seem to vindicate Rushdie's observation that,

Adelaide is an ideal setting for a Stephen King novel, or horror film. You know why those films and books are always set in sleepy, conservative towns? Because sleepy, conservative towns are where those things happen.<sup>80</sup>

According to Shields, cultural representations such as films or this famous quote from Rushdie perpetuate and reinforce place myths and can come to define its 'essential character'<sup>81</sup> and endure in the imagination despite material changes. A desire to deter such a representation, then, may also lie behind the South Australian government's active promotion of the more desirable 'Festival City' nickname.

Images do not necessarily need to be accurate, as Shields's reveals, they can be partial, 'exaggerated or understated'.<sup>82</sup> And as any local would be quick to point out these extreme examples do not translate into a higher than average crime rate in South Australia (although, perhaps unsurprisingly, it is perceived to be). Through a Crime and Safety Survey conducted in 2005, the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) was able to measure perception of personal safety against actual incidence of personal crime in the nation and found that '[d]espite the perception held by South Australians that they are more unsafe than the nation as a whole, actual

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<sup>79</sup> Peter Bradshaw, 'Snowtown – Review', *Guardian*, 2011 <<http://www.theguardian.com/film/2011/nov/17/snowtown-film-review>> [accessed 14 March 2014].

<sup>80</sup> Rushdie cited in Goldsworthy, *Adelaide*, p. 162.

<sup>81</sup> Shields, *Places on the Margin*, p. 47.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.



personal crime victimisation rates in South Australia are relatively low compared to those for other states and the country'.<sup>83</sup> What is perhaps more telling about the Snowtown murders, however, is that all of the victims, along with the perpetrators, lived in what Kerry Goldsworthy terms 'the ghettos of social disadvantage that bad planning and the vagaries of economic history have created in Adelaide's outer northern suburbs'.<sup>84</sup>

To investigate the power relations behind the construction of Adelaide as the 'City of Corpses' is to shift the attention from the privilege and order of Light's city centre to the economic and social disadvantage in its sprawling suburbs. Gail Mason notes that the victims were forced to make voice recordings, which were used to convince relatives that they were still alive, and to reveal their bank account and social security details, enabling the perpetrators to accumulate between \$70,000 and \$80,000 from six murders. In Mason's words,

The relatively meagre nature of this benefit is partly explained by the fact that the victims, like the perpetrators, came from poor and welfare-dependent backgrounds. Most were also disadvantaged or socially marginal in other ways. For example, some victims had intellectual disabilities or suffered from mental illness. Several were gay. A number had addictions. Trial evidence suggests that some had sexually abused children. All were known, either casually or intimately, to the perpetrators.<sup>85</sup>

Beyond the financial benefit and pleasure that John Bunting and Robert Wagner derived from their crimes, these murders were motivated by hatred and a conflation of homosexuality with paedophilia. Writing for the

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<sup>83</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics, 'Crime and Safety', *Australian Bureau of Statistics* <<http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Lookup/1345.4Feature%20Article1Nov%202009>> [accessed 9 February 2012].

<sup>84</sup> Goldsworthy, *Adelaide*, pp. 162-63.

<sup>85</sup> Gail Mason, 'Hate Crime as a Moral Category: Lessons from the Snowtown Case', *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 40.3 (2007), 249-71 (p. 250).

*Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, Mason argues that the public representation of the Snowtown case 'is dominated by a media cocktail of serial killing, social security fraud, deviant sexuality, dismemberment and the pathology of Adelaide's underclass', which has prevented these murders from being publically constructed as a form of 'hate crime'.<sup>86</sup> This is despite Justice Martin emphasising the theme of hatred in sentencing John Bunting: 'For many years you Mr Bunting harboured an intense hatred for persons that you perceived were paedophiles and of homosexual orientation. You became obsessed with the topic and made very little distinction, if any, between persons you regarded as homosexuals and those you believed were paedophiles'.<sup>87</sup> The class background and position of the victims and perpetrators of these crimes on the periphery of Adelaide society has coloured their presentation within the local and national media.

Orr notes that 'mega-suburbs' such as Elizabeth, where Bunting lived for a period, were built in the 1950s under the Playford government as a 'workers' paradise' but became depressed after the loss of their manufacturing base in the 1970s and 1980s and thus home to many disenfranchised people.<sup>88</sup> This perception is confirmed by an ABS report published in 2008 that found a bifurcation of advantage and disadvantage within Adelaide's population. The report uses census data and the Index of Relative Socio-economic Advantage and Disadvantage to map relative advantage and disadvantage across Adelaide's Census Collection Districts (or CDs). The ABS here 'defines relative socio-economic advantage and disadvantage in terms of people's access to material and social resources, and their ability to participate in society' and it is based on 21 indicators including income, occupation, education, and Internet access. The report found that, 'the Adelaide region appears to have had an over-representation of CDs in the most disadvantaged decile (283 CDs) and an under-

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Justice Martin cited in Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Orr, *The Cruel City*, p. 188.

representation of CDs in the most advantaged decile (83 CDs)<sup>89</sup>. The report further reveals that

there is a distinct clustering of advantaged CDs located in the south-eastern parts of Adelaide, indicating that these areas are among the most advantaged suburbs in Australia. [...] It also shows clusters of disadvantaged CDs in some parts of Adelaide including the outer northern suburbs such as Elizabeth South, the outer southern suburbs such as Hackham West and also the north-western suburbs of Adelaide such as Mansfield Park. These suburbs are among the most disadvantaged in Australia.<sup>90</sup>

While I am not trying to suggest a link between the Snowtown murders and ‘the pathology of Adelaide’s underclass’<sup>91</sup> as the media have, what the filmed depiction of these events reinforces is that a level of social neglect in these outer suburbs enabled the Snowtown murderers to prey on some of the most disadvantaged and vulnerable in society for seven years without detection. Orr puts it aptly when he describes these murders as ‘the endgame of unemployment, poor education and housing, and the feeling that people are surplus to society’s needs’.<sup>92</sup> Needless to say, this aspect of Adelaide stands in stark contrast to both the morally superior image of its past and the cultural capital that it aspires to be in the future. In fact it is this contrast with, in Goldsworthy’s words, ‘the ideals of its founders, its “City of Churches” tag, its bragging about its convict-free origins, and the generally goody-goody aspect of its reputation’ that has drawn so much attention to the localised nature of these crimes.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics, ‘Adelaide’s Advantaged and Disadvantaged Suburbs’, *Australian Bureau of Statistics* <<http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Lookup/1345.4Feature%20Article1Sep%202008>> [accessed 9 February 2012].

<sup>90</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Suburbs*.

<sup>91</sup> Mason, ‘Hate Crime as a Moral Category’, p. 250.

<sup>92</sup> Orr, *The Cruel City*, pp. 185-86.

<sup>93</sup> Goldsworthy, *Adelaide*, p. 167.

Lefebvre's spatial triad informs my reading of how these festivals contribute to the production of space in their cities. In this section I have considered the ways in which these festivals create representational spaces by providing the dominant place myth of the city, here understood as a discursive construction within the urban imagination. The Festival City place myth as a representational space is held in dialectical tension with the ways in which these festivals have shaped the built environment through urban planning (representations of space), as well as the ways in which festival participants navigate the city (spatial practices) and how this differs in pace and intensity outside of the festival season. This construction of the Festival City place myth is geographically bound for the festival visitor by the limits of the CBD and Colonel Light's one-square mile but stands in for the whole Greater Region of Adelaide within the popular imagination. This has follow-on effects for where public and private investment and political and social resources are directed and who benefits. Other representational spaces – such as the place myth of the City of Corpses – also reveal their own representations of space (such as the concentration of disadvantage within Adelaide's outer suburbs and the demise of the suburb of Elizabeth as a former 'workers' paradise'), and spatial practices (the daily routines of residents). I have argued that on a discursive level (rather than the individual practices of the festival, their lack of social engagement with deprivation, or a failure to explore these crime stories artistically), the Festival City place myth privileges the interests of some groups over others and the centre over the periphery (both socially and geographically).

Place-images and place myths are suggestive of a population's aspiration and identity, but also darker undercurrents within the urban imagination. This case study of Adelaide has shown that the harnessing of cultural events such as arts festivals for the place promotion of the city can be a deliberate attempt by local authorities to promote a desirable image and to displace alternative representations. Nevertheless, despite government policies and tourism campaigns, competing images and understandings of the city endure in the minds of the state's residents and in

the nation more broadly. Interrogating alternative cultural constructions that are not promoted by local authorities and with which they would not want the city to become associated has revealed a level of social and economic inequality at the periphery of the city and a discrepancy of power held by those residents. In this case, the image of Adelaide as the capital of the Festival State seeks to obfuscate the social, cultural, and economic disadvantage at the fringes of the city. This has served as a model to explore material disadvantage through the discursive constructions of popular place-images and myths and has highlighted the role that vibrant festival images plays in obscuring urban inequality and disadvantage. I now apply this model to Edinburgh in the next section.

### ***Towards a New Enlightenment?: Edinburgh Festival City***

Edinburgh's summer festivals are well established as the leading events of their kind, establishing Edinburgh as *the* global Festival City. On the basis of this international reputation, the EIF and Edinburgh Festival Fringe, in particular, provide the dominant set of images that are popularly associated with the city and are used in tourism campaigns. In 1999, the City of Edinburgh Council (CEC) adopted a cultural policy entitled *Towards a New Enlightenment* that was quickly followed by the *Edinburgh Festivals Strategy* in 2001.<sup>94</sup> Jennifer Attala thus believes that 'the Festival City concept is essentially a marketing initiative' that led to the creation of the strategic umbrella organisation, Festivals Edinburgh, following the 2006 *Thundering Hooves* report into the global competitiveness of Edinburgh's festivals.<sup>95</sup> In Attala's view, 'Edinburgh Festival City' is therefore a 'specific brand designation'.<sup>96</sup> These policies and strategies that collectively represent the mobilisation of Edinburgh's festivals within place promotion will be analysed in Chapter Three. In this section I analyse the Festival City

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<sup>94</sup> City of Edinburgh Council, *Towards the New Enlightenment: A Cultural Policy for the City of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: City of Edinburgh, 1999), 52 <[http://www.edinburgh.gov.uk/downloads/file/11101/cultural\\_policy](http://www.edinburgh.gov.uk/downloads/file/11101/cultural_policy)> [accessed 14 April 2014], Graham Devlin Associates, *Edinburgh Festivals Strategy*.

<sup>95</sup> Attala, 'Performing the Festival', p. 214.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137.

as a place myth that is embedded within the post-war history of Edinburgh and thus has a longer lineage and a deeper cultural significance than merely a brand identity.

Unlike in Adelaide, the Festival City place myth in Edinburgh is not necessarily embraced or invested in by local residents. The EIF has historically been seen as a cultural imposition on the Scottish nation and continues to function as a summer-holiday destination for the London theatre elite, British and American university students, as well as established and emerging artists from across the world. The role of the EIF in promoting Scottish culture and engaging with local socio-political debates and events has been contentious throughout its history. As outlined in the Introduction, a failure to include Scottish drama within the inaugural 1947 Festival programme sparked accusations of elitism and denigration of Scottish culture – charges that endure to this day and inspired Scottish theatre companies to perform, unsolicited, around the edges of the official programme. The Fringe was directly provoked by this lack of Scottish representation in the first Festival programme and is seen as a foil to the elitism and international focus of the EIF.<sup>97</sup> Recent scholarship, particularly by Jen Harvie and Angela Bartie, has demonstrated that the EIF and Edinburgh Festival Fringe, which they view as deeply intertwined, have made a significant contribution to the local economy but have also had profound cultural effects both directly and indirectly.<sup>98</sup> In this section, I situate the emergence of the Festival City as a prominent place myth among many possible alternatives that local residents may choose to identify with. While these different representations of Edinburgh are not necessarily at odds with the Festival City place myth and are in fact all drawn into aspiring ‘towards a new enlightenment’, their existence dilutes support for the Festival City as the dominant and overriding place myth.

In order to reveal the agendas behind the Festival City place myth in Edinburgh, I survey the key themes within a historiography of Edinburgh

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<sup>97</sup> Harvie, ‘Cultural Effects’, p. 13.

<sup>98</sup> Harvie, ‘Cultural Effects’; Bartie, *The Edinburgh Festivals*.

that is drawn from dominant accounts to identify potential alternative place myths – some of which operate concurrently with the Festival City, and others that conflict with it. This is necessarily a biased and well-trodden narrative that serves to reveal the dominant discourses about Edinburgh that may homogenise and serve to obscure other views and experiences of the city. Nevertheless, by drawing on dominant accounts I am able to draw attention to the dialectical relationship between socio-material conditions and changing cultural representations of the city throughout its history. Unlike in Adelaide, there is no clear narrative evolution from one identity to the next but rather these competing ideas of Edinburgh sit alongside and inform each other. Therefore, throughout this section I ask: if the EIF and the Festival City place myth are seen as impositions on Edinburgh, what other dominant narratives and images could form an alternative ‘set of core images’ about the city, and what do these reveal about material disadvantage in the city?

Edinburgh’s self-conscious discursive representations range from its eighteenth-century reputation as the Athens of the North to the ancient and modern capital of the Scottish nation. Some of these constructions pre-date the Festival City and continue to influence the city’s material processes and forms. I argue, therefore, that the Festival City place myth is actively promoted within urban governance strategies to offer a contemporary image of Edinburgh as the site of a ‘new enlightenment’ that updates the city’s heritage-based reputation for greater circulation within a creative economy. As the historic capital of Scotland, Edinburgh has also traditionally been an important site for maintaining Scotland’s national identity as distinct from the rest of the UK and today its festivals provide an important platform for celebrating contemporary Scottish culture on a world stage. As Kirstie Jamieson argues, the ‘global appeal’ of festival culture also ‘elevates the significance of this national capital city to one of international

importance'.<sup>99</sup> This history therefore needs to be understood within the context of the global themes outlined in Chapter One.

### **Foundation Myths**

The modern city of Edinburgh is built upon the settlement of Din Eidyn – Din meaning ‘fort’ – which was captured by the Normans in 638 and subsequently renamed Edineburg – ‘burg’ an Anglo-Saxon term for stronghold or town.<sup>100</sup> This nomenclature as a ‘fortress on the hill’ also gives some insight into its origins and purpose as ‘the most defensible position of any among the heights rising out of the coastal plains of the Lothians’.<sup>101</sup> It is fitting, then, that Edinburgh Castle perched above an extinct volcano continues to dominate the city’s skyline. Once the site of the royal hall of the sixth-century Gododdin settlement, immortalised in poetry, Castle Rock has housed a military base since the seventeenth century and its expansive parade ground today plays host to the annual Edinburgh Military Tattoo. Following the oft-travelled route from the Castle Esplanade down along the ‘Royal Mile’, visitors to the city encounter other famous Edinburgh landmarks including the EIF’s headquarters at the Hub and St Giles’s Cathedral, as they pass through the throng of Fringe artists who swamp the High Street at festival time, past John Knox’s house and the Scottish Storytelling Centre, to reach the new Scottish Parliament and the royal residence at the Palace of Holyrood, nestled at the foot of Arthur’s Seat. This is the historic setting for Edinburgh’s August Festivals, with different parts of the city – Old and New – converted into permanent and temporary venues each year. As well as providing the stage and backdrop for these international arts events, these festivals owe their identity to this proud capital of the Scottish nation and, in turn, they define the place myth of Edinburgh as the world’s Festival City.

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<sup>99</sup> Jamieson, ‘Edinburgh’, p. 72.

<sup>100</sup> Robert Crawford, *On Glasgow and Edinburgh* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2013), p. 9.

<sup>101</sup> Fry, *Edinburgh: A History of the City*, p. 25.



### **Auld Reikie**

Far from the gentile city of the twenty-first century, eighteenth-century Edinburgh was a place of squalor and social unrest. Historically, Edinburgh has also been known as ‘Auld Reikie’ (‘Old Smoky’) after the poem of this name by Robert Fergusson (1750-1774) and was described as ‘a place of human excrement’ by eighteenth-century historian David Dalrymple.<sup>102</sup> Robert Crawford notes that the nickname may have referred to chimney smoke on the horizon but it also references the stench of a poorly sanitised Old Town. Edinburgh at this time had a reputation of being a dirty, filthy city as a result of open sewers and little access to a fresh water supply running through the city centre. Before pipes were installed between 1672 and 1675, townsfolk were accustomed to hearing ‘cries of “Gardieloo!” (a Scots version of *Gardez l’eau!* —“Watch out for the water!”) shouted by residents of tall “lands”, or tenements, as they emptied the contents of their chamber pots from an upper storey onto the roadway below’.<sup>103</sup> The Nor’ Loch (originally flooded by James III in the fifteenth century to improve the Castle’s defences) was also a source of the infamous Edinburgh stench having become a deposit for its sewage. The draining of the Nor’ Loch in 1759 – creating what would become Princes St Gardens and the Mound (where excess detritus from the loch was amassed) in the process – and the construction of the North Bridge in 1772 enabled new building developments to take place and marked the expansion of and improved sanitation within the city.

Edinburgh was transformed in the late eighteenth century with the division between the Old Town and new areas of development, which became known as New Town. Having won the competition to design the New Town in 1766, James Craig’s plans were announced for the first New Town and construction began, although in a modified form, the following year. A second New Town was subsequently built in the 1820s. This altered the socio-economic dynamic within Edinburgh, with the more affluent

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<sup>102</sup> Cited in Crawford, *On Glasgow and Edinburgh*, p. 17.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

segments of the population moving to the suburban New Town areas, leaving the Old Town to fall into greater degradation and poverty until it underwent a process of improvement in the nineteenth century. The Old Town did not receive proper sanitation until the end of the nineteenth century when a toilet was installed in each house over a period of thirty years.<sup>104</sup> Fry labels the development of New Town 'revolutionary' claiming that it 'changed lives', with different social classes no longer living 'cheek by jowl'.<sup>105</sup> According to Paul Knox, however, '[t]he development of the New Town and its extensions had already initiated the process of sociospatial segregation' that would become more acute in the Victorian era.<sup>106</sup>

### **Jekyll and Hyde**

The 'socio-spatial' segregation of Edinburgh that is physically represented by the divide between Old and New Towns has also given rise to a characterisation of the city as having a darker underbelly that is thinly veiled by a veneer of respectability. Edinburgh is often personified as having a split personality in the vein of Robert Louis Stevenson's infamous character within the *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886). Michael Fry is one author who attributes the construction of Edinburgh's New Town, for creating a 'city of paradox' reminiscent of Stevenson's character (although he points out that this novella by one of Edinburgh's most famous authors is actually set in London). In contrast to the squalor of Old Town, New Town is said to reflect the Enlightenment ideas of 'progress, prosperity, order and elegance',<sup>107</sup> or an imposition of a new rational order emphasising cleanliness and symmetry. The development surrounding Charlotte Square, which was designed by Robert Adam, perhaps best represents this ideal and is today the focal point of the Edinburgh International Book Festival each August. While New Town imposed a new rational order that emphasised cleanliness and symmetry the Old Town fell into disrepair so that the two

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<sup>104</sup> Fry, *Edinburgh: A History of the City*, p. 321.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 227.

<sup>106</sup> Paul L. Knox, 'Edinburgh', *Cities*, 1.4 (1984), 328-34 (p. 330).

<sup>107</sup> Knox, 'Edinburgh', p. 328.

parts of the city represented sharp contrasts to one another.<sup>108</sup> Despite the restoration of Old Town, the social and spatial divide between Edinburgh's two halves continues to inform cultural representations of the city today.

### City of Literature

The duality of the Scottish capital as encapsulated within the juxtaposing natures of its Old and New Towns has also inspired a longstanding literary tradition that led to Edinburgh being awarded the title of UNESCO's first City of Literature in 2004 'in recognition of the city's literary heritage, vibrant contemporary scene and aspirations for the future'.<sup>109</sup> From the longstanding Scottish greats Robert Burns (1759-1796), Walter Scott (1771-1832), Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-1894), Arthur Conan Doyle (1859-1930), and Muriel Spark (1918-2006), to contemporary writers Ian Rankin, Irvine Welsh, Alexander McCall Smith, Val McDermid, and J. K. Rowling, Edinburgh's landmarks and mythologies have fuelled the literary imagination and in turn provide a fictionalised second life of the city. While Conan Doyle is said to have based Sherlock Holmes on surgeon Joseph Bell, whom he encountered while a medical student at the University of Edinburgh, Stevenson was inspired by Edinburgh's most notorious crime stories. The misdeeds of Deacon William Brodie – the town councillor-cabinetmaker-cum-bank robbing-philanderer – who embodies the duality between 'dark and light, respectability and scandal',<sup>110</sup> is said to have inspired Stevenson's novella *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886). So too, the notorious crimes of serial killers William Hare and William Burke – who murdered sixteen Old Town residents in 1826-27 and sold their bodies to the Royal College of Surgeons Fellow Dr Robert Knox for dissection – inspired Stevenson's short story 'The Body Snatcher' (1884). Thus while Stevenson may have been inspired by real life events in Edinburgh, his famous novella today is used to describe the social

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<sup>108</sup> Fry, *Edinburgh: A History of the City*, p. 322.

<sup>109</sup> City of Literature Trust, 'Creative Cities Network', *Edinburgh City of Literature*  
<http://www.cityofliterature.com/ecol.aspx?sec=8&pid=37&item=1>  
 [accessed 12 April 2014].

<sup>110</sup> Crawford, *On Glasgow and Edinburgh*, p. 78.

characteristics of the city in an illustrative example of how the 'real' and 'fictional' inform each other.

Edinburgh has also become a site of pilgrimage for literature fanatics through its monuments and walking tours. George Meikle Kemp's Victorian Gothic Scott Monument on Princes Street was inaugurated in 1846 and at sixty-one metres high is the world's largest monument to a writer. In stark contrast, a small unassuming memorial to Robert Louis Stevenson commissioned in 1987 is carved into a low-set stone nearby. These two, along with Robert Burns, are also celebrated through a dedicated Writers' Museum set in a former private residence dating from 1622, and located in Lady Stair's Close between the Mound and the Lawnmarket. The nearby Makars' Court also commemorates Edinburgh literary notables with their names and famous quotes carved into the stone pathway.

Edinburgh's contemporary writers have similarly inspired sites of pilgrimage and popular walking tours that enable fans to retrace the steps of their favourite characters. The Rebus Tours, which take in the fictional crime scenes and very real landmarks of Rankin's Inspector Rebus novels, are the most well known of these. Launched in 2000 in consultation with Rankin and his publishers, they promise fans the opportunity to discover an "alternative" side to Edinburgh that lies behind the normal tourist haunts'.<sup>111</sup> In an interview with Jennifer Byrne for the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), Ian Rankin explained that he appreciates the popularity of the Rebus walking tours in Edinburgh and confirms that he does incorporate the real city into his books: 'No, I mean, it's very flattering, I think, isn't it? That you've created a city that they believe in, you've created characters that they believe in to such an extent that they feel they can walk in their footsteps, and of course I used the real Edinburgh in the books to

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<sup>111</sup> Colin Brown, *Rebus Tours* <<http://www.rebustours.com/>> [accessed 12 April 2014].

facilitate that'.<sup>112</sup> Even today, then, the real and fictional spaces of Edinburgh are intertwined and develop along side each other.

Welsh's *Trainspotting* (1993) also receives this treatment with Tim Bell's *Leith Walks* incorporating settings from both the book and film (1996).<sup>113</sup> The port city of Leith, traditionally considered 'more edgy than central Edinburgh',<sup>114</sup> is certainly 'off' the usual tourist and festival maps. As Crawford notes, '[s]imply because of the story's gritty subject, people sometimes mistakenly assume that the internationally acclaimed film of Welsh's distinctively Edinburgh-centred, heroin-fuelled *Trainspotting* must be set in the badlands of Glasgow'.<sup>115</sup> Perhaps the Edinburgh location that is most inundated with fans each year is the Elephant House on George IV Bridge where Rowling is rumoured to have written her early novels. The café's spacious backroom has large windows that frame a view of Edinburgh Castle in the background, which on an overcast Edinburgh day readily conjures Hogwarts in the imagination. The homes and haunts of writers, their fictional characters, and the real life personalities who inspired them are all depicted on an interactive map, along with the sites of Edinburgh publishing houses and literary monuments, provided on the *Edinburgh City of Literature* website.<sup>116</sup> The 'setting of novels',<sup>117</sup> is one of the ways that Shields identifies as a means by which place-images are constructed and transmitted within popular culture. As this discussion of Edinburgh's literary tradition highlights, material aspects of the city and real life events inform cultural representations which in turn feed back into popular characterisations and understandings of the city that are then monumentalised in physical form.

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<sup>112</sup> Ian Rankin in ABC, 'Transcript of *Jennifer Byrne Presents Ian Rankin*', ABC, 21 May 2013 <<http://www.abc.net.au/tv/firsttuesday/s3763878.htm>> [accessed 28 February 2014].

<sup>113</sup> See Tim Bell, *Leith Walks* <Leith Walks> [accessed 12 April 2014].

<sup>114</sup> Crawford, *On Glasgow and Edinburgh*, p. 145.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>116</sup> See City of Literature Trust, 'The Literary City', *Edinburgh City of Literature* <<http://www.cityofliterature.com/flash/literary-map.aspx?sec=3&pid=8>> [accessed 12 April 2014].

<sup>117</sup> Shields, *Places on the Margin*, p. 47.

### Athens of the North

Edinburgh's proud enlightenment tradition and its historical moniker as the 'Athens of the North' defined its identity as a capital city and informed expressions of Scottish national identity. Paul L. Knox notes that in the early nineteenth century extensions were made to the north, east, and west of New Town with 'an ambitious phase of civic development, with public buildings, monuments and statuary' from 1800 'earning Edinburgh the title "Athens of the North", as one of the major centres of the international Greek revival'.<sup>118</sup> This again reveals how a particular discursive construction of Edinburgh was informed by material conditions and institutional practices throughout its history that not only relate to contemporary local socio-economic realities within the city but also inform popular expressions of national identity. Michael Fry, writing on the history of Edinburgh, highlights a number of nationalist themes including the continued importance of the Kirk, the law, and the University (and the broader education system) to the Scottish national identity. He describes these institutions as the 'pillars' of Scottish civil society and comments that '[t]he new civil society would grow robust enough to outlast Scotland's statehood and preserve her [sic] nationhood down to the present'.<sup>119</sup> Edinburgh, as the capital of the Scottish nation, a major site for the Scottish Reformation in the sixteenth century, and the Scottish Enlightenment in the eighteenth century has therefore been fundamental to the continued assertion of a distinct Scottish national identity.

The City of Edinburgh has a reputation as an intellectual city through its long association with the professions of law and medicine, as well as publishing, banking, and finance. Printing and publishing were established as key local industries by the nineteenth century. Crawford has claimed that 'literary learning, as much as anything else, won Edinburgh its soubriquet "the Athens of the North"', which first appeared in 1792.<sup>120</sup> In addition to this, the University of Edinburgh was a major site of the Scottish

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<sup>118</sup> Knox, 'Edinburgh', p. 329.

<sup>119</sup> Fry, *Edinburgh: A History of the City*, p. 131.

<sup>120</sup> Crawford, *On Glasgow and Edinburgh*, p. 6.

Enlightenment. Key Enlightenment thinkers with links to Edinburgh University (many of whom also have Glaswegian links, as Robert Crawford points out)<sup>121</sup> include the economist and author of *The Wealth of Nations* Adam Smith; the atheist philosopher David Hume; the geologist James Hutton; the chemist Joseph Black; and the neurologist Charles Bell. The contributions of these famous Scottish pioneers to scientific knowledge have imprinted Edinburgh with a reputation as an intellectual and genteel city that it continues to draw on today.

A belief in an egalitarian education system is one of the institutions through which Scotland distinguishes itself from the rest of the UK. According to Ewen A. Cameron, Scotland's 'progressive and meritocratic' education system based on impressive rates of 'popular literacy and university entrance',<sup>122</sup> plays into 'Scotland's image of itself' as a 'democratic egalitarian nation' with greater social mobility than in England.<sup>123</sup> Edinburgh maintains its reputation as an educated society today with the latest Census data reporting that 41.1 percent of City of Edinburgh residents held a Census Level 4 (university degree) qualification or above in 2011 compared to 26.1 percent in Scotland overall. Edinburgh also had the lowest proportion of the population with no qualifications (17.1 %, compared to 26.8% nationally).<sup>124</sup> This belief in educational equality, moreover, continues to influence Scottish identity, and indeed policy, with the Scottish Parliament deciding in 2003 not to levy the 'top-up fees' for university tuition in the country introduced by Westminster.<sup>125</sup> This is another example of the way in which place images and narratives of the city build on a historical reputation and continues to influence material conditions today. Edinburgh's reputation as an intellectual city that became a financial centre

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<sup>121</sup> See *Ibid.*, p. 157.

<sup>122</sup> Ewen A. Cameron, *Impaled Upon a Thistle: Scotland since 1880* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), p. 29.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 218.

<sup>124</sup> National Records of Scotland, 'City of Edinburgh Area Profile', *Scotland's Census 2011* <<http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/>> [accessed 28 February 2014].

<sup>125</sup> Cameron, *Impaled Upon a Thistle*, p. 364.

and thus managed to avoid being 'tarnished' by the Industrial Revolution is drawn upon today to give it a competitive advantage in place promotion and continues to inform its competitive relationship with Glasgow.

### **A Tale of Two Cities**

Edinburgh and Glasgow, which is Scotland's largest city in terms of population, have had a historical rivalry that continues today. Edinburgh's prestige as the capital of Scotland declined after the relocation of the monarchy to England following the Union of the Crowns in 1603 and the subsequent loss of its Parliament after the Treaty of the Union in 1707. During the industrial era, the larger west coast city and Edinburgh's greatest rival, Glasgow, dominated. In a 2013 publication on these two great (if modestly sized) Scottish cities and the centuries-old enmity between them, Crawford repeats David Daiches's claim that the rivalry began in 1656 over baking standards. Whatever its origins, Crawford observes that 'since at least the early eighteenth century, a sense of sparring and sometimes outright competition between the country's two largest cities has been a defining aspect of the nation'.<sup>126</sup> This rivalry between Edinburgh and Glasgow intensified as each city developed their own spatial and economic specialism, which has had a direct impact on their physical infrastructure and discursive construction.

Following the Treaty of the Union, industrial Glasgow was able to expand its trade into the Americas and the West Indies making it a centre of trade and manufacturing and earning it the title as the 'second city of the Empire'.<sup>127</sup> Edinburgh, by contrast, distinguished itself as a centre of commerce with the foundation of the Bank of Scotland in 1695, followed by the Royal Bank of Scotland in 1727 'trumpet[ing] the capital city's economic dominance'.<sup>128</sup> Today Edinburgh remains the UK's most important financial centre outside of London despite the Scottish banking crisis that

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<sup>126</sup> Crawford, *On Glasgow and Edinburgh*, p. 4.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.



accompanied the Global Financial Crisis of 2008.<sup>129</sup> Reporting on the ‘catastrophic failure’ of the Royal Bank of Scotland and the Halifax Bank of Scotland and their ‘collapse into government ownership’ in October 2008, the *Scotsman* contended that ‘[t]hough modern society tends to think of banks as a necessary evil, they are deeply interwoven with the history, character and economy of Scottish society and have shaped the nation in more profound ways than is often appreciated’.<sup>130</sup> The article cited Scottish thriftiness and a number of Scottish banking innovations as part of these intertwined histories. Edinburgh is therefore well established as a financial centre and the reconvening of the Scottish Parliament in 1999 has further restored the control and command functions of the Scottish nation to its capital. These command functions, especially of the financial centre, however, came under threat in the lead-up to the 2014 independence referendum with large Edinburgh-based banks and businesses (including the Royal Bank of Scotland (RBS) and the insurance firm Standard Life) threatening to relocate their headquarters to London in the event of a yes vote.<sup>131</sup>

Despite this recent turbulence, the dominance of the professional class in Edinburgh and the almost lack of an industrial revolution is attributed with easing the city’s transition to a post-industrial society in the twentieth century. According to Ewen Cameron, unlike the other major Scottish cities of Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Dundee, ‘Edinburgh had carefully built its image as a non-industrial city free from the disfigurements of factories, slum housing and urban squalor’.<sup>132</sup> Cameron also points out that Edinburgh did have ‘a diverse industrial economy in the city’, however, which was based around the railways and Union Canal and was ‘dominated

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<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>130</sup> Anonymous, ‘The Downfall of Scottish Banks’, *Scotsman*, 14 October 2008 <<http://www.scotsman.com/news/the-downfall-of-the-scottish-banks-1-1136961>> [accessed 11 April 2014].

<sup>131</sup> British Broadcasting Corporation, ‘Scottish Independence: RBS Confirms London HQ Move If Scotland Votes “Yes”’, *BBC News*, 11 September 2014 <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-29151798>> [accessed 9 November 2014].

<sup>132</sup> Cameron, *Impaled Upon a Thistle*, p. 44.

by large-scale works such as breweries, distilleries and rubber factories.<sup>133</sup> Writing in 1984, Paul Knox estimated that while twenty percent of Edinburgh's population were employed in the manufacturing sector and seventy-five percent were working in the service industry, of which tourism already played a major part.<sup>134</sup> The professional classes in Edinburgh still dominate today according to the 2011 Census, accounting for the employment of 25.6 percent of all persons aged between 16 and 74 in Edinburgh compared to 16.8 percent nationally.<sup>135</sup> These characterisations of a gentile city that escaped 'the ravages of the Industrial Revolution',<sup>136</sup> however, belie a history of religious and social unrest that once again points to the darker underbelly that continues to inspire its many writers today.

Despite the differences between Edinburgh and its rival Glasgow, which is seen as a more radical and yet more hospitable city, they have both experienced 'social and spatial stratification – affluence and hardship existing side by side' despite relative economic growth that both have experienced at the beginning of the twenty-first century.<sup>137</sup> The 'Edinburgh – Count Me In' slogan of the 1980s launched in response to the 'Glasgow's Miles Better' campaign is a more recent example of the ongoing rivalry of these cities. This has perhaps been exacerbated as Glasgow has sought to reduce its reliance on traditional industries by expanding its economic base into tradable services in recent decades. Ivan Turok and Nick Bailey note that while Glasgow's social problems are a legacy of deindustrialisation, the city was able to transform its image through its designation in 1990 as a European City of Culture. Edinburgh, on the other hand, experienced accelerated growth (with the by-products of housing inflation and congestion) and renewed prosperity following the return of the Scottish Parliament in 1999. According to Turok and Bailey, however, 'sections of the

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<sup>133</sup> Ibid., p. 45.

<sup>134</sup> Knox, 'Edinburgh', p. 330.

<sup>135</sup> National Records of Scotland, 'City of Edinburgh Area Profile'.

<sup>136</sup> Fry, *Edinburgh: A History of the City*, p. 283.

<sup>137</sup> Ivan Turok and Nick Bailey, 'Twin Track Cities? Competitiveness and Cohesion in Glasgow and Edinburgh', *Progress in Planning*, 62.3 (2004), 135-204 (p. 141).

population continue to have trouble gaining access to housing, jobs, leisure facilities and even bank accounts and home insurance'.<sup>138</sup> The famous rivalry between Edinburgh and Glasgow therefore reveals spatial tensions within Scotland – most recently playing out with Edinburgh voting 'No' and Glasgow voting 'Yes' in the independence referendum – while distracting from social stratification that is shared by both cities.

Edinburgh, as the capital of Scotland, has been the site of major events and the seat of power of many of Scotland's key institutions that have helped the nation to maintain a distinct identity despite its loss of its statehood. According to Crawford, 'Edinburgh remained Scotland's cultural centre, a self-conscious capital of art' despite the loss of its parliamentary and monastic capital city functions in the eighteenth century.<sup>139</sup> In the postindustrial era this small European capital, has built upon its long cultural and intellectual tradition combined with the fame and vibrancy of its postwar international arts festival to reassert itself as a capital city. The priorities of a heritage versus cosmopolitan image are not necessarily at odds, moreover, within the context of Edinburgh's festivals that draw on the former while promoting the latter. I turn now to a discussion of Edinburgh's more recent history of urban development and place promotion in order to focus on the role of festivals more directly.

### **Conservation to Cosmopolitanism**

The confluence of these multiple traditions and different cultural representations outlined above are all brought to bear on an understanding of the place myth of Edinburgh Festival City. Angela Bartie notes that as a result of this history, Edinburgh has been associated with religious and moral conservatism but, as in Adelaide, the festivals have played a major role in modernising a city that is 'now known as cosmopolitan'.<sup>140</sup> While Edinburgh has historically had an uneasy relationship with its festivals, Edinburgh Festival City has become the dominant place myth in an era of

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<sup>138</sup> Ibid., p. 139.

<sup>139</sup> Crawford, *On Glasgow and Edinburgh*, p. 5.

<sup>140</sup> Bartie, *The Edinburgh Festivals*, p. 13.

place promotion and the creative economy despite these competing identities. Richard Prentice and Vivien Andersen argue that Edinburgh's festivals are positioned within a history of 'innovation' directly linked to the Scottish Enlightenment of the eighteenth century and are indicative of a change in focus from conservation to cosmopolitanism as a strategy for urban governance. Prentice and Andersen suggest that Edinburgh combines 'historical ambience', heritage, and creativity to provide a unique setting for its festivals.<sup>141</sup> Edinburgh is more than the historic backdrop of the international arts festival and fringe; the history, characterisations, demographics, and physical features of the city all inform and shape the identity of these festivals. Moreover, the Edinburgh of today is defined through an interaction between its world-class festivals and its long and proud enlightenment heritage that has physically and discursively shaped its urban development in the post-war period. Within urban governance, however, Edinburgh's festivals have been harnessed to modernise the city's image and have replaced a strategy based on conservation and heritage.

The conservation of Edinburgh's architectural heritage and character has been a policy priority for local officials throughout the twentieth century, culminating in Edinburgh's Old and New Towns being declared a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1995. Edinburgh rapidly expanded in the late nineteenth century and with the advent of public transport (with railways from the 1840s and horse-drawn trams from 1871), the middle classes moved to villas in the south and west of the city, abandoning the High Street, while working class tenements designed by John Steel were built to the north and west of the city. Following World War I, private investment and public housing projects prompted the further decentralisation of the city, which grew to envelop the villages of Forth, Portobello, Leith, Granton, and Newhaven.<sup>142</sup> Urban development continued along this template for the next thirty years, with a pattern of population redistribution from the city centre to the outer fringes continuing into the

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<sup>141</sup> Prentice and Andersen, 'Festival as Creative Destination', p. 8.

<sup>142</sup> Knox, 'Edinburgh', p. 330.

1980s. After a period of out-migration during the 1960s and 1970s, Edinburgh's population stabilised at just less than half a million by 1981, where it has roughly remained. Today Edinburgh is a relatively small capital city with a population of 476,626 out of a total Scottish population of 5,295,403 counted in the 2011 Census.<sup>143</sup>

Conservation has long been understood in Edinburgh as a key dimension of the city's attractiveness as a tourist destination. Writing in 1984, Knox notes that '[t]he city's architectural heritage is not only an important cultural legacy but also a vital component of the tourist industry'.<sup>144</sup> Tourism played an increasing role in Edinburgh's economy from the 1990s, with Graham Parlett, John Fletcher, and Chris Cooper writing in 1995 that '[t]ourism in Scotland is undergoing a process of change and restructuring'.<sup>145</sup> Drawing attention to the importance of Edinburgh, and especially its Old Town, to Scotland's tourism industry, the authors argue that 'Edinburgh plays an important role in the refocusing of Scotland's tourism, particularly in terms of the attention being placed upon reducing seasonality and the upgrading and representation of heritage attractions'.<sup>146</sup> In a cultural policy document written in 1999, the City of Edinburgh Council (CEC) asserts the importance of heritage to Edinburgh's identity: 'To people throughout the world, Edinburgh and heritage are synonymous. The city possesses an almost unrivalled wealth of assets, in its built and natural heritage, its museums, galleries and archives'.<sup>147</sup> More recently, however, the balance between conservation and development has tipped the other way, with Edinburgh's Festivals playing a major role in promoting an alternative, forward-looking image of the city. The shift from heritage to a

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<sup>143</sup> All statistics taken from 'City of Edinburgh Area Profile' on *Scotland's Census 2011* website. See National records of Scotland, *Scotland's Census 2011* <<http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/ods-web/area.html#!>> [accessed 12 April 2014].

<sup>144</sup> Knox, 'Edinburgh', p. 333.

<sup>145</sup> Graham Parlett, John Fletcher, and Chris Cooper, 'The Impact of Tourism on the Old Town of Edinburgh', *Tourism Management*, 16.5 (1995), 355-60 (p. 355).

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>147</sup> City of Edinburgh Council, *Towards the New Enlightenment*, p. 37.

focus on creativity and culture as encapsulated by Edinburgh's festival can also be read against the broader international trends that saw the rise of cultural tourism and culture-led regeneration.

Prentice and Andersen argue that Edinburgh draws on its Enlightenment tradition, its 'historical ambience', and a festival tradition to seek 'worldwide to position itself as "the Festival City", rather than solely as Scotland's capital, offering a unique selling point of creativity as well as heritage'.<sup>148</sup> In a study combining qualitative and quantitative surveying techniques, the authors sought to assess the effectiveness of repositioning the basis of Scotland's attraction as a tourist destination away from the heritage-based 'Highland-plus-tartan imagery' in favour of 'present[ing] a contemporary cultural vibrancy' by marketing the nation as an arts destination.<sup>149</sup> Through their study, Prentice and Andersen found that despite conducting their surveys in August in Edinburgh, perceptions of Scotland as traditional over contemporary and rural over urban endured and that in 2003, 'the Festival [was] not associated with mainstream Scottish culture'.<sup>150</sup> They argue that the 'historic townscape of the city' provides the 'aesthetic component' of the setting for the festival(s).<sup>151</sup> In this way the city is cast as the two-dimensional backdrop of the festival rather than there being a dynamic and iterative relationship between the two. Edinburgh is more than a 'historical city' with one overarching and defining narrative as the above analysis of different characterisations and aspects of the city has shown. The local culture is living, dynamic, and contested and Edinburgh's festivals have both developed within and have contributed back to this culture over a period of almost 70 years. I turn now to a brief consideration of the beginnings of animosity between festival and city and the importance of the summer festivals in defining the identity and contributing to the life of the city nevertheless.

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<sup>148</sup> Prentice and Andersen, 'Festival as Creative Destination', p. 8.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

### Edinburgh Festival City

The relationship between festival and city has historically been one of suspicion and animosity. Michael Fry, at the end of his history of Edinburgh, is less than enthusiastic about the relationship of Edinburgh's International Festival to its local residents, noting that they are often 'unimpressed' if not 'irritated' by the annual event.<sup>152</sup> In a backhanded compliment, he attributes Edinburgh's gradual reconciliation with the Festival to a decline of Calvinism and rise of hedonism in the city.<sup>153</sup> The primary cause of local discontent with the EIF, as expressed by Fry, is its concern with high art as opposed to Scottish culture and an assumption that Edinburgh was supposed to look on rather than participate in the event. For this reason, Fry identifies the Fringe and the Book Festival as more popular events among the local community. Of the Fringe, he notes that it 'brings a greater variety of culture, indeed a market in culture geared to pleasing audiences rather than gathering subsidies'.<sup>154</sup> Of the Book Festival, he argues that Edinburgh has a strong literary tradition (explored as the basis for an alternative place myth above). Harvie also notes that the Festival has been criticised for its limited inclusion of Scottish cultural artefacts and for its elitism, or 'its implicit validation of certain arts over others'.<sup>155</sup> In order to evaluate these two key themes, Harvie examines both the conditions that first influenced the creation of the EIF in 1947 and that 'the cultural practices and material resources' that the EIF has engaged with ('provoked' but not necessarily 'produced').<sup>156</sup> I briefly revisit the original controversy to demonstrate how it has coloured local perception of the event and therefore the development of this place myth.

The foundation of the EIF just two years after the end of WWII is situated within the European context as it was seen as a way of rejuvenating the European cultural and arts scene and the economy of the city at this

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<sup>152</sup> Fry, *Edinburgh: A History of the City*, p. 380.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 381.

<sup>155</sup> Harvie, 'Cultural Effects', p. 12.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

time. Tellingly, there were no Scottish theatre productions included within the inaugural programme of the Festival, which has contributed to the perception that Edinburgh was to provide the backdrop rather than the content for this modernist event. According to EIF historian Eileen Miller this lack of Scottish representation was raised as an issue from the very beginning in 1947. She notes, 'the most serious criticism came from a number of prominent Scots who felt that there should have been far greater emphasis on Scottish music and drama'.<sup>157</sup> A Scottish play had in fact been commissioned for the first Festival with James Bridie being invited to write a new play based in the time of Mary, Queen of Scots. It was to be directed by Tyrone Guthrie, produced by the Old Vic, and presented in repertory with *Richard II*. Unfortunately, relations broke down between Bridie and Guthrie and the new play was replaced two months before it was due to premiere by *The Taming of the Shrew*.<sup>158</sup>

In response to this criticism of the first programme a more concerted effort to include Scottish music and drama was made in 1948.<sup>159</sup> Local playwright Robert Kemp was commissioned to provide a modern adaption of the sixteenth-century play *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaites* by Sir David Lyndsay, which was directed by Guthrie on his famous apron stage within the Assembly Halls in 1948 and revived the following year. The success of this one Scottish play obviously could not resolve the problem and throughout the history of the Festival the Directors have at various times asserted their commitment to presenting the best of Scottish culture.

As both Harvie and Bartie note this exclusion was partly redressed by the Fringe movement, which is seen to have a wider popular appeal.<sup>160</sup> Indeed, Knowles remarks that '[t]he Edinburgh Fringe has long since surpassed its parent in numbers of productions, artists/participants and audiences, as well as in economic importance to the city'.<sup>161</sup> The issue was

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<sup>157</sup> Miller, *The Edinburgh International Festival 1947-1996*, p. 13.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13

<sup>160</sup> Harvie, 'Cultural Effects', p. 21.

<sup>161</sup> Knowles, 'The Edinburgh Festival and Fringe', p. 91.



not completely resolved, however, with Edinburgh Festival Fringe historian Alistair Moffat recounting how criticisms over a lack of Scottish representation came to a head again in 1955. In this year, Duncan McRae, a local playwright who had successfully staged a number of popular, professional productions at the Palladium Theatre on the Fringe, publically criticised then Festival Director Ian Hunter for excluding Scottish drama from the official programme. Writing in the *Scotsman* on 3 September of that year, McRae asserted,

They aren't ashamed of Scotch Whisky or Arthur's Seat, but they seem to be of Scottish Drama. They almost pretend it doesn't exist...One of the main criticisms levelled against Scottish plays is that no-one goes to see them anyway. I have tried to make that particular criticism invalid.<sup>162</sup>

According to Moffat, Hunter's reply to the criticism was that 'the Festival had not been offered any Scottish play which was good enough to be included in the Festival programme', although it was good enough for the Fringe.<sup>163</sup> This tension between being sensitive and responsive to local culture while at the same time upholding an international standard of excellence, not to mention the implicit value judgement on Scottish culture within the assumption that these two prerequisites are diametrically opposed, remain sensitive issues that continue to be negotiated by Festival Directors within their annual programmes.

The EIF has thus traditionally been seen as an annual invasion of foreign artistic product promoted to tourists and visitors to the city rather than locals. As this discussion has shown, the origins of this debate lie in the mandate of the Festival to promote the highest artistic standards from around the globe and the implication in its early years that Scottish drama did not meet the benchmark for inclusion. Harvie argues that in addition to the fringe movement, the August festivals have also supported Scottish

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<sup>162</sup> Moffat, *The Edinburgh Fringe*, p. 22.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*

theatre by helping to build a theatrical infrastructure and festival culture that supports the arts all year round.<sup>164</sup> The analysis in the following chapters continues to explore the economic and social impact of Edinburgh's festivals on the city. This specific case study is also symptomatic of a broader tension between the local and the global within such international arts events that have a responsibility to the local cultures that support them through government subsidy on top of their mandate to act as purveyors of fine goods on the global arts market. Although not their first choice of location for this post-war European modernist festival, the organisers of the early festivals recognised its qualities to provide the 'ideal surroundings'<sup>165</sup> for the new venture. Today, the Festival is defined by the city as much as it contributes to the definition of the city.

Despite these underlying tensions, then, Edinburgh has ultimately and 'successfully branded itself as "The Festival City" in the twenty-first century with twelve international festivals contributing to its economy and cultural policy'.<sup>166</sup> The place myth of Edinburgh as a Global Festival City has developed alongside other popular and enduring characterisations of the city over the last 70 years. This place myth is not necessarily at odds with these alternative constructions, unlike in Adelaide, with Edinburgh's heritage as a city of literature, the Athens of the North, and the Scottish capital all drawn upon to establish a long lineage of creativity, innovation, and cultural prestige within the city. As this analysis has shown, there is a dialectical relationship between cultural representations of urban space in the form of competing place images and place myths and physical urban forms. Nevertheless, these official constructions obscure social inequality and alternative histories that could be told about the city. It also belies the uneasy relationship that Edinburgh has had with its festivals, which are still seen as 'impositions' or 'placeless' despite this ongoing relationship that is physically manifest within the various theatre venues that are now part of

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<sup>164</sup> Harvie, 'Cultural Effects', p. 23.

<sup>165</sup> Lord Provost John I. Falconer cited in Miller, *The Edinburgh International Festival 1947-1996*, p. vii.

<sup>166</sup> Attala, 'Performing the Festival', p. 4.

the local infrastructure and the transformation of Edinburgh from a 'provincial'<sup>167</sup> city into an international capital of culture as a result of these events. As will be demonstrated in Chapter Three, the success and dominance of the Festival City place myth as an official strategy in Edinburgh's case is perhaps best attributed to its role in place promotion and within a creative economy. This official role does not, however, undermine the importance of Edinburgh's festivals to the social, cultural, and political life of the city and by extension the nation.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter has proposed that the complex relationship between festival and city can be interrogated through Shields's conception of a place myth. Rather than viewing these cities as the backdrop of these international arts festivals and fringes that merely provide local colour and investment from the public purse, this analysis has considered the histories of city and festival alongside and intersecting each other. The purpose of this analysis has been to demonstrate that the relationship between festival and city – in both Adelaide and Edinburgh – is one of depth and complexity that cannot simply be attributed to their role in place promotion and urban entrepreneurialism. In both cases, the Festival City place myth pre-dates the global trend of creating arts festivals for the purpose of selling place and these events have played both direct and indirect roles in shaping the physical infrastructure, socio-political, economic, and cultural processes of these cities. Despite the rhetoric of arts festivals contributing to social cohesion, this comparative analysis has revealed a different level of local investment and engagement that can be attributed to the specific local evolution of these events. By exploring a number of competing discursive constructions of Adelaide and Edinburgh within the urban imagination, moreover, I have sought to reveal the power relations and agendas behind their constructions as Festival Cities.

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<sup>167</sup> McMillan, *The Traverse Theatre Story*, p. 87.

The Festival City place myth has contributed to the production of space within both Adelaide and Edinburgh. Recognition of the ways in which arts festivals construct cities, materially and discursively, provides a basis for future intervention and the creation of alternative constructions. Shields argues that by 'remembering that the spatial is more than the historically and spatially specific ontological arrangements through which we live our lives',<sup>168</sup> we can make interventions by imagining spaces functioning in different ways. This has particular implications for politically engaged cultural practices that seek to imagine and enact alternative social realities. Shields continues by arguing that 'by paying attention to the specific technologies of manipulation and formation of everyday spatial notions and practices, we can build a base in theory from which to criticise these arrangements and to imagine other arrangements, other worlds and, even, different experiences of the lived body'.<sup>169</sup> As I have demonstrated throughout this chapter, the power relations and agendas that shape the production of space can be explored through an analysis of popular constructions within the urban imagination. The Festival City place myth is a symbolic image that has grown out of the international reputation of these cultural events but more recently it has been harnessed within place promotion to serve particular agendas. The effects of this instrumentalisation for tourism and urban planning will be explored further in the next chapter.

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<sup>168</sup> Shields, *Places on the Margin*, p. 8.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*

## **Chapter Three: Thundering Hooves or Light Years Ahead?: Creating Competitive Advantage within the Urban Environment**

Since their inception the EIF and the Adelaide Festival and their associated Fringes have shaped their host cities materially and discursively. Marjana Johansson and Jerzy Kociatkiewicz argue that '[t]he city does not just serve as a backdrop for the festival; the festival also transforms the city, both by altering its spatial constitution and by conferring a particular identity on the city'.<sup>1</sup> Hosting an international arts festival requires the requisite high-tech theatre and performance venues to stage cutting-edge international work; suitable accommodation to house the influx of visitors to the city and enough variety in restaurants and cuisine to satisfy them; appropriate transport infrastructure and policing capabilities; flexible licensing arrangements and approval procedures for temporary venues and pop-up bars; and institutional support from local government to stage these large-scale month-long events each year. In return the festivals create a party atmosphere or buzz in the city for the duration of the event; attract intense media attention from the national and international press; raise revenue through ticket sales; and bring tourists to the city. Most of all the historical prestige of the festivals and their long-term relationship with their host cities brands both Edinburgh and Adelaide as Festival Cities that are vibrant and attractive places to live, work, and visit.

The primary responsibility of these international arts festivals was once to present the world's leading artists to cultural connoisseurs and to promote 'excellence' across a variety of art forms. More recently, however, the emphasis is increasingly placed upon fulfilling more local priorities: generating income for and a positive image of their cities, providing a platform for local culture, and fostering social inclusion and civic pride. The increasing demand for such arts festivals to strike the right balance between

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<sup>1</sup> Johansson and Kociatkiewicz, 'City Festivals', p. 394.

artistic and commercial interests, and an internal versus international outlook has arisen alongside and in response to the strategic positioning of cultural events to meet a range of urban challenges. Bernadette Quinn is one author among many who notes that '[i]n the last 20 years, countless arts festivals have been staged in the interest of invigorating urban economies, regenerating entire cities or city districts, and introducing or repositioning cities on the ever-more competitive global stage'.<sup>2</sup> As a result, she argues that '[a]rts festivals, framed within an array of neo-liberal, culture-led urban regeneration strategies, are now a mainstay of urban tourism and urban policy-making'.<sup>3</sup> In this chapter, I demonstrate how the Festival City place myth has been instrumentalised within the place promotion of both Edinburgh and Adelaide to cement their cultural credentials and how this functions within broader agendas of urban entrepreneurialism, place promotion, and the creative economy. While the flagship festivals of Adelaide and Edinburgh predate the rise of the Creative Class, they lend themselves to marketing the creative energy and lifestyle amenities of their host cities.

The role of arts festivals within place promotion is well established within the cultural geography and urban studies literature as outlined in Chapter One. This chapter focuses on how the festivals of Edinburgh and Adelaide are positioned within their local policy documents to further identify and critique the overlapping agendas that they are now expected to fulfil at a city-wide level. Specifically, I demonstrate how these festivals are instrumentalised by their respective city councils to serve the rhetoric of Richard Florida's creative cities thesis. On the one hand, festival management may benefit from these strategic programmes in order to secure sources of public and private funding and to broaden the socio-political reach of the organisation. On the other hand, these urban entrepreneurial agendas may contradict the artistic aims of the festival – especially to support local culture – if spectacular festival events secure this

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<sup>2</sup> Quinn, 'Arts Festivals, Urban Tourism and Cultural Policy', p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 264.

funding at the expense of other local arts and cultural organisations. The role that arts festivals play in such urban entrepreneurial schemes not only informs their conditions of production and reception but also circumscribes how they contribute to the discursive and material production of space in their host cities. If the global is locally produced, moreover, then an in-depth analysis of how these festivals are positioned within the policy documents of their local councils and the specific material conditions and socio-political concerns of Adelaide and Edinburgh can also speak back to this literature and provide insight into the evolution of these global trends.

### **Creative Cities**

The Festival City place myth has played a key role in promoting Adelaide and Edinburgh to the Creative Class. The Creative Class and the Creative Economy have been expounded and popularised by Richard Florida and have become so popular within urban governance worldwide that they are directly cited within policy documents, including that of the Adelaide City Council (ACC) and City of Edinburgh Council (CEC). Florida's main thesis within his 2002 publication *The Rise of the Creative Class* and the 2005 'prequel' *Cities and the Creative Class* is that 'creativity is the driving force of economic growth' and therefore the Creative Class 'has become the dominant class in society'.<sup>4</sup> Although these events are bound temporally, city planners try to capitalise upon these events to create a festive environment in Adelaide and Edinburgh all year round. I argue that reducing these festivals to the rhetoric employed within these policy documents underestimates the power and endurance of the Festival City myth and the cultural work that these festivals perform. These festivals provide a space in which local and national aspirations are both projected and fought over within and surrounding their programming and within which cultural priorities are negotiated by different groups (which will be explored further in Chapters Four and Five). The cultural work that they

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<sup>4</sup> Richard L. Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), p. ix; Richard L. Florida, *Cities and the Creative Class* (New York: Routledge, 2005).

perform is more nuanced and sophisticated and goes beyond promoting a 'thin cosmopolitanism' that underlines Florida's 3T's of tolerance, talent, and technology – his recipe to attract the fickle, mobile, and privileged hipster Creative Class. By demonstrating how these international arts festivals have been mobilised for this current trend in place promotion and yet cannot be reduced to these agendas, I also offer a critique of Florida's Creative Class.

Members of the Creative Class, according to Florida, 'engage in work whose function is to *create meaningful new forms*'.<sup>5</sup> Within this new class, who account for thirty percent of the employed American population, Florida distinguishes between the 'super-creative core' – that 'include people in science and engineering, architecture and design, education, arts, music and entertainment, whose economic function is to create new ideas, new technology and/or new creative content'<sup>6</sup> – and a broader group of highly educated 'creative professionals' – made up of those 'who work in a wide range of knowledge-intensive industries such as high-tech sectors, financial services, the legal and healthcare professions and business management'<sup>7</sup> who exercise their own judgement but for whom innovation is not part of their job description. Ultimately, '[t]he Creative Class consists of people who add economic value through their creativity'.<sup>8</sup> Fundamentally, for Florida, the Creative Class are the new norm-setting class and they represent a shift in values and attitudes towards individualism, meritocracy, diversity and openness, that places and societies must also adopt and outwardly perform in order to appeal to these new economic drivers.<sup>9</sup>

Place is as important for Florida as it is for Harvey: as he argues, '[p]lace has become the central organizing unit of our time, taking on many of the functions that used to be played by firms and other organizations'.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Florida, *Cities and the Creative Class*, p. 34; original emphasis.

<sup>6</sup> Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, p. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Florida, *Cities and the Creative Class*, p. 34.

<sup>8</sup> Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, p. 68.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.



Rather than corporations locating themselves next to natural resources and infrastructure as in the industrial age, and employees in turn choosing to live close to these corporations, in the Creative Economy the situation is reversed with '[a]ccess to creative and talented people' dictating 'where companies will choose to locate and grow, and this in turn changes the ways cities must compete'.<sup>11</sup> According to Florida, '[c]reative people, in turn, don't just cluster where the jobs are. They cluster in places that are centers of creativity and also where they like to live'.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, the Creative Economy is characterised by 'hypermobility' in which employees move 'laterally from company to company' rather than seeking vertical promotion within one firm.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, cities must become attractive centres of creativity in order to appeal to and retain the talented and creative people that are driving the Creative Economy. This is seen as particularly important for a state with a small population such as South Australia that is seeking to increase its population to 2 million by 2027.<sup>14</sup>

Under this logic places must compete for talented, creative people by providing the right social milieu that appeals to their values. Rather than physical attractions – such as stadiums, museums, and opera houses – Florida believes that the Creative Class seeks 'abundant high-quality amenities and experiences, an openness to diversity of all kinds, and above all else the opportunity to validate their identities as creative people'.<sup>15</sup> This leads Florida to try to identify the factors that influence the location decisions of the Creative Class. Florida doesn't name festivals, but fringe festivals, in particular, embody many of the 'dynamic and participatory'<sup>16</sup> qualities that he calls for. Fringe festivals are seen as vibrant, open (especially the open-access fringes of Edinburgh and Adelaide), and offer an experiential quality that is said to foster choice, create a dynamic atmosphere, and take place at street-level. For proponents of the Creative

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, p. 7.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 104.

<sup>14</sup> Government of South Australia, *In a Great State*, p. 40.

<sup>15</sup> Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, p. 218.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 232.

Class theory, supporting initiatives such as fringe festivals becomes even more important in an age where the 'Geography of Creativity'<sup>17</sup> determines the competitive advantage of cities and regions and their potential for long-term economic growth.

Key to Florida's argument is that the 3T's – '*Technology, Talent and Tolerance*' – are the best predictors of economic growth and regions must provide all three if they are to succeed.<sup>18</sup> Accordingly, '[t]here is much to gain economically from being an open, inclusive and diverse community'.<sup>19</sup> By open, Florida is referring to weaker ties of social capital or community that enable outsiders to become quickly absorbed within the social structure (appealing to mobile hipsters who are continually seeking the next 'cool' creative centre).<sup>20</sup> While openness, inclusivity, and diversity are positive attributes within themselves, Florida's mobilisation of the terms within an economic rationalist argument is cynical and reductive. His statistical modelling, which is based solely on American data, attempts to quantify large, amorphous categories such as diversity through the so-called 'Gay Index', to which he adds a 'Bohemian Index' or the number of artists, musicians, and writers in a particular place to the mix. According to Florida, Gay and Lesbian communities are the '*canaries of the creative economy*' or the 'harbingers of redevelopment and gentrification'.<sup>21</sup> Talent, too, is defined by the 'proxy' of those with a Bachelor's degree or above, which although comparatively quantifiable, is less distinguishable from the human capital theory from which Florida seeks to differentiate his own theory of creative capital.

Employment in a creative industry or profession, moreover, does not account for the demographic differences within this so-called class. Even Florida admits that '[w]hile the Creative Class favors openness and diversity,

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<sup>17</sup> This is the title of Florida's thirteenth chapter in Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*.

<sup>18</sup> Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, p. 249; original emphasis.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 266.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 269; original emphasis.

<sup>21</sup> Florida, *Cities and the Creative Class*, p. 131.

to some degree it is a diversity of elites, limited to highly educated, creative people' and finds it disturbing the low participation rates of African Americans in these Creative Class sectors.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, the kind of diversity promoted by Florida can be seen as a form of 'thin cosmopolitanism' that Helen Gilbert and Jacqueline Lo have outlined. Gilbert and Lo define cultural cosmopolitanism 'as an attitude or disposition characterized by openness to divergent cultural influences'.<sup>23</sup> When Florida comments that: 'A person's circle of closest friends may not resemble the Rainbow Coalition – in fact it usually does not – but he or she wants the rainbow to be available',<sup>24</sup> he reveals his conception of diversity to be a kind of populist cosmopolitanism. According to Gilbert and Lo, this kind of 'thin' cosmopolitanism 'lacks due consideration of either the hierarchies of power subtending cross-cultural engagement or the economic and material conditions that enable it',<sup>25</sup> and it certainly does not involve any critique of such hierarchies. This outward appearance of diversity, which is easily aligned with official policies of multiculturalism in an Australian, Canadian, or UK context, is here more important than genuine exchange between or the increasing levels of inequality amongst different groups.

In the follow-up edition, *Cities and the Creative Class*, Florida expands the reach of his Creative Class theory beyond the US to a more 'global' perspective and focuses more specifically on the role of cities. Thus, whereas in the first volume he argues that the Creative Class accounts for a third of the American workforce, in the 2005 publication this has been extended to 'a third of the workers in advanced industrial nations' globally.<sup>26</sup> Addressing his critics, Florida admits that inequality has been exacerbated by the creative economy but claims that 'creativity is the great leveler'<sup>27</sup> and therefore cannot be labelled 'elitist and exclusionary'.<sup>28</sup> With cities

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<sup>22</sup> Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, p. 79.

<sup>23</sup> Gilbert and Lo, *Performance and Cosmopolitics*, p. 8.

<sup>24</sup> Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, p. 227.

<sup>25</sup> Gilbert and Lo, *Performance and Cosmopolitics*, p. 9.

<sup>26</sup> Florida, *Cities and the Creative Class*, p. 3.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

worldwide adopting Florida's prescriptions to pander to the lifestyle habits and preferences of the Creative Class, however, the voices and opinions of the two-thirds majority of workers (let alone those outside of employment) remain unheard. In his conclusion to this volume, Florida also acknowledges that the creative economy has had a number of deleterious effects – including negative impacts on housing affordability, uneven regional development, sprawl and ecological decay, stress and anxiety on individuals, and political and social polarization – which he characterises as 'externalities'.<sup>29</sup> For Jamie Peck, a major critic of Florida, the appeal of the creative cities theories for economic development lies in their distinctiveness and deliverability. 'No less significantly, though', Peck continues, 'they also work quietly with the grain of extant "neoliberal" development agendas, framed around interurban competition, gentrification, middle-class consumption and place-marketing'.<sup>30</sup> The role of arts festivals in implicitly reinforcing urban inequality by supporting these agendas therefore requires critique.

Despite the limitations of the Creative Class thesis Peck observes that it 'has proved to be a hugely seductive one for civic leaders around the world'.<sup>31</sup> Peck notes that a number of 'hipsterization strategies' espoused by Florida have become popular amongst city planners and consultants, which include: "authentic" historical buildings, converted lofts, walkable streets, plenty of coffeeshops, art and live-music spaces, "organic and indigenous street culture", and a range of other typical features of gentrifying, mixed-use, inner-urban neighborhoods'.<sup>32</sup> Within policy documents and commissioned reports across different levels of government, the festivals of Edinburgh and Adelaide (particularly the Fringes) are called upon to provide a vibrant and fun party atmosphere, thereby enhancing this 'organic

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 172.

<sup>30</sup> Jamie Peck, 'Struggling with the Creative Class', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 29.4 (2005), 740-70 (pp. 740-41).

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 740.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., pp. 745-47.

and indigenous street culture'<sup>33</sup> and satiating the hipster's need for experiential activities. For example, the ACC directly reference Florida's creative city thesis and incorporate his rhetoric into their *Arts and Culture Strategy 2010-14*. The introduction of this strategy is entitled 'A Culturally Vibrant Capital for South Australia' and justifies its approach through reference to Florida:

A vibrant cultural life is part of Adelaide's appeal and is essential to the City's ambitions to attract and retain the skilled, innovative and creative people who will sustain economic growth through the challenges of the future. Research by such experts as Charles Landry and Richard Florida has highlighted the importance of creative people and a supportive cultural environment to establish the conditions for prosperity.<sup>34</sup>

On this basis, the report's authors list Adelaide's key strengths in this area with its festivals listed in first position: 'A world-wide reputation as a City for the arts established through the Adelaide Festival and Fringe'.<sup>35</sup> Other strengths also overlap with the key characteristics that define these festivals and include: a good climate for outdoor events such as the Clipsal 500 V8 Supercar race (see Chapter Five); compact and accessible Central Business District (CBD) with strong events management expertise; Aboriginal and Kaurna Heritage and cultural institutions; a large student population; outstanding local food and wine culture; and '[a] history of tolerance, welcoming migrants of diverse cultural backgrounds from all around the world'.<sup>36</sup> Here, the report's authors take Florida's argument as proven and

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 745.

<sup>34</sup> Adelaide City Council, *Arts and Culture Strategy 2010-2014*, (2010) <<http://www.adelaidecitycouncil.com/community/arts-culture/>> [accessed 21 March 2012], p. 1. Charles Landry claims to have invented the term 'Creative City' in the 1980s and is best known for Charles Landry, *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators*, 2nd edn (London: Earthscan, 2008), the first edition of which was published in 2000.

<sup>35</sup> Adelaide City Council, *Arts and Culture Strategy 2010-2014*, p. 1.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

use it as a basis for justifying investment in cultural activities including festivals.

Similarly, a 2004-05 Economic Impact Study of Edinburgh's festivals by consultants SQW and TNS Travel and Tourism on behalf of the CEC, Scottish Enterprise Edinburgh and Lothian, EventScotland, and VisitScotland also directly cites Richard Florida's creative class thesis in arguing that new indicators should be developed to measure the wider impact of the festivals on economic and social development within Edinburgh and Scotland. 'The Edinburgh Festivals undoubtedly contribute to' economic development, the report's authors argue, 'but measuring their effect on the creativity and innovation of the city's residents or the contribution to attracting people to live and work in Edinburgh and Scotland would be extremely valuable. The Festivals are one of Scotland's most high profile cultural exports'.<sup>37</sup> In measuring these more 'holistic' benefits, the report's authors attempt to make a case for greater investment in these events.<sup>38</sup> Again reflecting the language of Florida, they conclude that '[t]he link between the Festivals, image and inward investment or the role in attracting people to live and work could help understand other benefits and help inform policymakers decisions in allocating resources'.<sup>39</sup> This Economic Impact Study, along with other reports and policy documents discussed below, are indicative of the ways in which arts festivals can champion their role in the creative economy to assert their significance and importance to the city in order to secure greater resource allocation. As these examples from two geographically diverse cities show, Florida's creative class thesis is widely circulated and even directly cited within

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<sup>37</sup> SQW Economic Development Consultants and TNS Travel and Tourism, *Edinburgh's Year Round Festivals 2004-05 Final Report* (Edinburgh: CEC, Scottish Enterprise Edinburgh and Lothian, EventScotland, VisitScotland, 2005) <[http://www.efa-aef.eu/newpublic/upload/efadoc/11/festivals\\_exec\\_summary\\_final\\_%20edinburgh%2004-05.pdf](http://www.efa-aef.eu/newpublic/upload/efadoc/11/festivals_exec_summary_final_%20edinburgh%2004-05.pdf)> [accessed 14 September 2012], 72.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

official government reports and policy documents in relation to these flagship festivals.

Although the rhetoric of the creative class is built on authenticity and local specificity, the adoption of Florida's prescriptions by diverse cities worldwide ultimately has a homogenising effect. Writing in the 1990s, Mark Billinge characterises this normalizing tendency as a postmodern international aesthetic. As he argues, '[t]he city is rebuilt to conform to this increasingly international aesthetic so that, although the beer is better in Glasgow, the Chablis and the spider plants are indistinguishable from those in both Cleveland and Pittsburgh'.<sup>40</sup> Today, this postmodern aesthetic has evolved into a hipster aesthetic, in which Chablis and spider plants are replaced by pop-up bars (preferably serving craft beer) and cycle paths dominated by fixed gear bikes and is directly shaped by and aimed at members of the Creative Class. The Festival City strap line within advertisements of Adelaide and Edinburgh, therefore, is situated within this creative class discourse and contributes to shaping these cities in a particular image. As is shown through an analysis of local policy documents below, the way in which local authorities choose to present Adelaide and Edinburgh adhere to Florida's prescriptions. From a diverse restaurant culture to a cosmopolitan and friendly population, the marketing material of the Adelaide and Edinburgh festivals draw on their specific locational advantages (Adelaide's open-air venues and warm weather; Edinburgh's heritage industry and literature attractions) within this framework of a decontextualised, international hipster aesthetic. The increased global competition from other Festival Cities adopting similar strategies, however, also brings into question the long-term sustainability of this place myth as the basis for continued marketing efforts.

### **Creating Vibrant Places to Live, Work, and Visit**

The festivals of Adelaide and Edinburgh are expected to serve a number of complementary agendas that are at once representative of the

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<sup>40</sup> Billinge, 'Trading History', p. 142.

literature outlined in Chapter One but are also shaped by local priorities and conditions. Firstly, these festivals are shown to have a significant economic impact through ticket sales and visitor numbers, while generating flow-on effects to restaurants, hotels, and services industries. Secondly, by promoting their cities as vibrant and attractive places to live, work and visit these events serve a creative cities agenda. Thirdly, they foster social cohesion, bring local communities together, and are a source of civic pride. As revealed in the critique of the Creative Class above, these are specific agendas that serve particular interests within an urban entrepreneurial framework. Moreover, they operate at the level of rhetoric and the extent to which the festivals succeed in providing these social and economic outcomes cannot be taken for granted. In the analysis that follows I map the position of these festivals within their local infrastructure, cultural policy documents, and the political economy of the city in order to highlight the material and discursive impacts of the Festival City place myth and to reveal the multiple interests invested in maintaining it. In Adelaide, the festivals are expected to produce a 'vibrant city' and are part of a state-wide plan to encourage population growth and to promote cultural tourism to offset the impending loss of the car manufacturing industry. In Edinburgh, the CEC seeks to maintain the city's position as one of the world's leading cultural capitals (a reputation built primarily upon being the first UNESCO City of Literature) and the pre-eminence of its festivals. Specifically, the Council seeks 'to improve quality of life, attract interest in the city from investors and tourists, and reflect the importance of Edinburgh as a capital city' through its events strategy.<sup>41</sup> While the positioning of these festivals within the cultural policies and strategic plans of local authorities reflects the rhetoric and trends of the broader literature, I argue that an individualising comparative analysis of the two reveals local nuances and priorities that disrupt these overriding narratives and is attentive to the cultural work performed by these festivals.

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<sup>41</sup> Corporate Policy and Strategy Committee, 'Review of Events Governance', *City of Edinburgh Council* <[www.edinburgh.gov.uk/download/meetings/id/39956/item\\_no\\_7\\_4-review\\_of\\_events\\_governance](http://www.edinburgh.gov.uk/download/meetings/id/39956/item_no_7_4-review_of_events_governance)> [accessed 22 April 2015], p. 3.



### **Adelaide Vibrant City**

Adelaide's festivals support the city's historical claims as a cultural capital and the annual performance of its vibrancy in order to attract visitors and residents to the state. In language reminiscent of Florida, the government asserts that, 'Adelaide is consistently rated as one of the world's most liveable cities. It is recognised internationally for its arts, festivals, fine foods and wine', is multicultural and welcoming, and has world-class universities.<sup>42</sup> The styling of South Australia as the 'Festival State' therefore capitalises on the artistic and cultural heritage of the capital – primarily derived from the Adelaide Festival's prestigious status – to promote the distinctiveness and advantages of the city. The favourable climate, its attractiveness and abundance of green spaces, and the small CBD with a concentration of venues (located within one square mile), recur in advertisements of Adelaide and the Festival alike. In this way the urban space of Adelaide is used to define the unique attributes of the Festival, which in turn lends itself to the marketing of the city. Policy documents suggest that the Adelaide Festival (along with the Adelaide Fringe) continues to play a key role in the place construction of the city materially, through the direct benefits of tourist revenue, as well as discursively, by promoting a particular image of Adelaide as a cultural capital. There is a concerted effort across a range of policy documents at both the state and local level of governments, therefore, to build upon the reputation and prestige of Adelaide's festivals to recast Adelaide as a 'vibrant city', which can be read as synonymous with a 'creative city'.

### ***In a Great State: South Australia's Strategic Plan***

The South Australian Government asserts within its *Seven Strategic Priorities* that Adelaide, as the capital, must be seen as thriving and vibrant in order to compete nationally and internationally. Adelaide's festivals are therefore required to contribute to South Australia's strategic goal of promoting Adelaide as a vibrant and liveable city. The key vision that the

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<sup>42</sup> Government of South Australia, *Seven Strategic Priorities* <<http://www.priorities.sa.gov.au/>> [accessed 13 March 2015].

South Australian Government lays out for the state within *In a Great State: South Australia's Strategic Plan* (2011) implicitly evokes Florida's creative cities discourse when it declares that '[o]ur Communities are vibrant places to live, work, play and visit'.<sup>43</sup> In declaring their desire to foster creativity and innovation, the South Australian government acknowledges the Adelaide Festival as evidence of the state's cultural credentials before moving on quickly to investment in scientific research and innovation: 'South Australia has a proud heritage in arts and creativity. Since 1960, we have held one of the world's premier arts festivals and the South Australian Film Corporation was the first state film corporation established in Australia'.<sup>44</sup> This Strategic Plan is aspirational in asserting South Australia's social and environmental strengths on the one hand, and beholden to more pragmatic and immediate concerns such as maintaining the state's AAA credit rating in the wake of the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) and increasing the state's population on the other. As the South Australian Labor government has been in power since 2002 (with Jay Weatherill succeeding Mike Rann as Premier in 2011 and winning the 2014 election), the policy priorities outlined in this strategic plan have been in place for over a decade. Under this overarching strategic plan, Adelaide's festivals are mobilised within various policy documents to sell an image of the city as a vibrant place to 'live, work, play and visit'.

South Australia is one of the least populous of the Australian States and Territories with most of the population (76.76%) residing in the Greater Adelaide Region.<sup>45</sup> Approximately 1,596,570 people, accounting for only 7.4% of Australia's total population of 21,507,717 lived in South Australia at the time of the 2011 Census, which represents only a 5.4% increase since the 2006 Census, compared to the national average of 8.3%. Population growth is therefore seen as a necessity to maintain the wellbeing

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<sup>43</sup> Government of South Australia, *In a Great State*, p. 26.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>45</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics, 'Data and Analysis', *Australian Bureau of Statistics*  
 <<http://abs.gov.au/websitedbs/censushome.nsf/home/data?opendocument#from-banner=LN>> [accessed 19 March 2015].

of quality of life of the state's residents, with a target of 2 million residents set for 2027: 'Population growth is important to our economic prosperity; it ensures we have the labour resources in place to provide essential services like nursing and policing'.<sup>46</sup> Population loss, however, is still attributed to the city's conservative reputation. The South Australian Government acknowledges that Adelaide 'has a reputation for being conservative and staid. Many of our young people are still leaving our state. If we want people to stay here we must show that we can accommodate more lifestyle and career choices'.<sup>47</sup> South Australia has therefore embraced Florida's creative class thesis and his prescriptions for enhancing a city's appeal within the creative economy in order to achieve its strategic goal of increasing the state's population.

Despite the popularity of the service and experience economies in advanced economies, South Australia's Strategic Plan maintains a commitment to agriculture and mining as its key economic strengths. The website dedicated to the Strategic Plan lists South Australia's updated priorities in response to global and national economic changes since its publication in 2011. This update lists agriculture (food and wine) and mining as the major growth industries in South Australia, and asserts the need to maintain advanced manufacturing capabilities in the state. According to the State Government, '[t]he South Australian food and wine industry is worth over AU\$14 billion and accounts for 36% of South Australia's total merchandise exports' and as demand for food is predicted to grow by 70% worldwide by 2050, this will remain a growth industry.<sup>48</sup> A national mining boom and a high Australian dollar are also factors that underline these priorities. Although South Australia has natural resources that are currently in high demand (including uranium), the state government recognises that expanding mining activities will not automatically benefit the state as revenue may be repatriated overseas and workers may choose to fly in and out of interstate cities rather than live

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<sup>46</sup> Government of South Australia, *In a Great State*, p. 40.

<sup>47</sup> Government of South Australia, *Seven Strategic Priorities*.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

locally. The government therefore aims to ensure that benefits of the mining boom are realised by all.

The imminent demise of the local car manufacturing industry in Australia is the most acute challenge to the South Australian economy since the 2011 Strategic Plan was published. In May 2013, Ford Australia announced that it would be closing operations by October 2016. Holden followed this announcement in December of the same year advising that it too would be withdrawing by 2017, which was quickly followed by Toyota with a similar timetable the following February. According to journalists Chris Uhlmann and Emma Griffiths, these companies 'blam[e] the then-high Australian dollar, high costs of manufacturing and low economies of scale for their decision'.<sup>49</sup> These announcements from industry gave Tony Abbott's federal government (2013-) the impetus to scrap the Automotive Transformation Scheme and end the public subsidy of car manufacturing in Australia, a move that was supported by the Productivity Commission despite predictions that 40,000 jobs will be lost.<sup>50</sup> According to Griffith University's Tom Conley, successive federal governments had been managing the decline of the Australian automotive industry since the 1980s.<sup>51</sup> Although the industry picked up during the early 2000s, it was hit again by the resources boom, which forced the first Kevin Rudd ALP Government (2007-10) to establish a co-investment scheme. Described as a 'depleted assistance regime', the Rudd Government's scheme failed to achieve the industry's self-sustainability and ultimately failed to prevent

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<sup>49</sup> Chris Uhlmann and Emma Griffiths, 'Car Industry Funding: Abbott Government Aware Only \$100 Million of \$900 Million Budget Backdown to Flow to Industry', *ABC News*, 10 March 2015  
<<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-03-10/government-reinstating-car-industry-funding/6292868>> [accessed 13 March 2013].

<sup>50</sup> ABC News, 'Productivity Commission Recommends End to Taxpayers' Support for Local Car Industry', *ABC News*, 26 August 2014  
<<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-08-26/productivity-commission-car-industry-assistance-final-report/5697812>> [accessed 13 March 2015].

<sup>51</sup> Tom Conley, 'Managed Decline to Rapid Demise: Abbott's Car Industry Gamble', *The Conversation*, 13 February 2014  
<<http://theconversation.com/managed-decline-to-rapid-demise-abbotts-car-industry-gamble-23124>> [accessed 13 March 2015].

Mitsubishi from closing in 2008. For Conley, the failure of the incoming Abbott Government to 'engage with Holden and Toyota to create a new plan was a gamble that significant sunk costs would mean a continuation of existing production schedules' and ultimately led to Holden and Toyota's decisions to close operations.<sup>52</sup>

South Australia and Victoria will be the worst affected states, with Adelaide's northern suburb of Elizabeth alone set to lose 3000 jobs when Holden's plant closes. Associate Professor John Spoehr, from Adelaide University, predicts that many more local jobs will be at risk, however, with the outcome of his Workplace Futures Survey revealing that South Australia's unemployment rate could rise from 6 to 10% in coming years as a result.<sup>53</sup> Spoehr argues that the consequences of Holden's plant closure will reverberate across the already disadvantaged northern region: 'We've got to remember this isn't just about business pressure and business closure, it's about the terrible social impact in an area that's already facing quite a lot of issues around poverty, crime, drug use, youth suicide'.<sup>54</sup> The rapid demise of the Australian car manufacturing industry will therefore adversely and disproportionately affect South Australia's economy. The state government's desire to grow the advanced manufacturing sector can therefore be read in response to this decision by industry, which was in turn prompted by the federal government's withdrawal of public support to manage the slow decline of the car industry. The South Australian Government recognises that '[w]ithout a strong manufacturing base, South Australia's economy would be less diversified, more subject to the volatility of commodity markets and would lose skills and technology that will be costly and time consuming to replace' and yet it faces many challenges in the twenty-first century.<sup>55</sup> Agriculture and mining therefore remain South

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Cited in Natalie Whiting, 'Holden Closure Impact Studied in Northern Adelaide, with Bleak Jobs Finding', *ABC News*, 4 March 2015 <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-09-30/holden-closure-impact-studied-in-northern-adelaide/5778238>> [accessed 13 March 2015].

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Government of South Australia, *Seven Strategic Priorities*.

Australia's economic priorities while the government admits that manufacturing is in decline and seeks to ways to diversify the economy.<sup>56</sup>

### **Economic Benefits**

Adelaide's festivals contribute to this economic diversification directly through their modest economic impact and more importantly indirectly through the promotion of a vibrant cultural city. Under the section 'Our Communities', of South Australia's Strategic Plan, the third goal (of six) declares: 'We are The Festival State; our festivals, cultural venues and events create a vibrant and energetic atmosphere, generating excitement!'<sup>57</sup> Associated with this goal is the target to increase attendance at selected arts activities by 150% by 2020 in order to improve the cultural vibrancy of the state.<sup>58</sup> There is a gap, however, between rhetoric and material commitment to the arts and culture both within South Australian, but also Australian, strategic policy. Commensurate with its population statistics, the South Australian Government spent AU\$262.1 million on culture in the 2011-12 period, which represents approximately 8% of total cultural expenditure by State and Territory governments nation-wide and represents per person expenditure of only \$159.20. This figure has decreased from 12% since cultural expenditure peaked in South Australia at \$296.3m in 2010-11.<sup>59</sup> The importance that festivals and culture are afforded rhetorically within policy documents, therefore, does not necessarily translate into financial commitment or greater material support for the arts.

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<sup>56</sup> Government of South Australia, *The 30-Year Plan for Greater Adelaide: A Volume of the South Australian Planning Strategy*, (February 2010) <[http://www.dpti.sa.gov.au/planning/30\\_year\\_plan](http://www.dpti.sa.gov.au/planning/30_year_plan)> [accessed 13 March 2015], p. 10.

<sup>57</sup> Government of South Australia, *In a Great State*, p. 27.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67.

<sup>59</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics, 'Cultural Funding by Government: A South Australian Perspective', *Arts SA*, November 2013 <<http://arts.sa.gov.au/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/SA-Cultural-Funding-by-Government.pdf>> [accessed 26 February 2015], p. 2.

The Adelaide Festival, nevertheless, is considered to be a 'destination festival'<sup>60</sup> and has always been promoted as a way to attract interstate visitors with added benefits for local business. Festivals Adelaide is the strategic umbrella organisation representing the ten events hosted by the city throughout the year. According to this organisation, these ten festivals attracted 3.9 million audience members and generated an economic impact of AU\$62.5 million between them in the 2013-14 period.<sup>61</sup> Derek Whitelock acknowledges that from the very beginning, the founders of the Adelaide Festival and the civic leaders of the day recognised and promoted the additional economic benefits that could be reaped from the Festival in order to attract initial sponsors. He explains,

Even in 1958 it was generally known that an arts festival, while it ran considerable surface financial risks, could generate all kinds of good things for its host city. It could fill the hotels, increase the shoppers, raise civic prestige, act as a stimulus for profitable conventions, 'put the city on the map'. Edinburgh had proved all this. Adelaide was to prove it.<sup>62</sup>

Today, the arts, and the Adelaide Festival and Fringe more specifically, are still promoted as ways in which to attract tourists to South Australia. Rather than contributing significantly to the state's political economy through direct economic benefits, the primary importance of Adelaide's festivals are the indirect benefits to the state by presenting a positive image of the city and contributing to cultural tourism.

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<sup>60</sup> Kate Gould cited in Patrick McDonald, 'Victorians Target the Festival Month', *The Advertiser*, 19 November 2011, p. 1.

<sup>61</sup> Festivals Adelaide, 'Media Release: Adelaide's Arts Study Reveals Wide Popular Support for Festivals', *Festivals Adelaide*, 2 December 2013 <<http://www.festivalsadelaide.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/Adelaide-Festivals-wide-popular-support-study-Media-Release-.pdf>> [accessed 14 March 2014].

<sup>62</sup> Whitelock and Loan, *Festival!*, p. 29.

## Cultural Tourism

Events and Festivals are seen as a major strength of South Australia in attracting visitors to the state. During the 2013 Adelaide Festival, Premier Jay Weatherill launched a new brand identity for South Australia at a public event in Elder Park. It was unveiled as part of a seven-minute audio and visual display that was projected onto the sails of the Adelaide Festival Centre and repeated three times an evening over the nights that followed.<sup>63</sup> The new logo is designed to represent an open door (see Figure 10).



Figure 10 Brand South Australia Logo<sup>64</sup>

According to the Brand South Australia website, '[o]ur new logo clearly demonstrates we are the central doorway to the whole of the country. South Australia is the south of Australia. The pivotal state. The hub. The only one that touches every other mainland state'.<sup>65</sup> Although festivals are only one among many attractions listed within the bi-line of the South Australia brand – 'South Australia, home to stunning landscapes, award-winning wines, events and festivals' – festivals and the arts remain part of the state government's current tourism plan.

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<sup>63</sup> Designed by Ken Cato after a public consultation of 3500 residents, the design and launch of the new brand cost the government AU\$1.34 million. Lauren Novak, 'Hopes New Brand Will Open Many Doors', *Advertiser*, 7 March 2013, pp. 6-7 (p. 6).

<sup>64</sup> Brand South Australia, 'The Brand', *Brand South Australia*, 2013 <<http://www.brandsouthaustralia.com.au/>> [accessed 14 March 2014].

<sup>65</sup> Brand South Australia, 'The Brand'.



In the past, the South Australian Tourism Commission (SATC) in collaboration with Arts SA adopted the theme 'South Australia: Heart of the Arts' to attract both international and interstate visitors.<sup>66</sup> *The South Australian Tourism Plan 2020* is part of an Australia-wide plan *Tourism 2020* and was launched in mid-2014. Within this plan tourism is identified as one of the major growth sectors in the Australian economy following the mining boom and is seen as particularly important in South Australia as it transitioned away from a manufacturing base.<sup>67</sup> The plan outlines an ambitious target of increasing South Australia's tourism revenue to \$8 billion per annum by 2020. As of December 2013, this industry contributed \$5.1 billion to the State's economy across 18,000 businesses that provided 31,000 jobs (three times as many as mining).<sup>68</sup> Importantly, while only 23% of South Australians live outside of Adelaide, the regions attracted 44% of the tourism revenue.<sup>69</sup>

Festivals and events are seen as playing an important role across each of the five areas of the SATC's *Tourism Plan*, which calls for them to be treated in a coordinated manner.<sup>70</sup> Their role is most explicit in the final priority area, however, where the plan's authors acknowledge South Australia's strength in this area and that many visitors already time their trips to coincide with major events. The plan states:

High profile events and festivals help grow awareness of South Australia as a diverse and attractive place to visit. [...] South Australia

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<sup>66</sup> Government of South Australia, 'The Heart of South Australia: Government and the Arts and Cultural Sector Working Together', *Arts Industry Council of Australia*, December 2003  
<[http://www.aicsa.net.au/issues/artFramework\\_03.pdf](http://www.aicsa.net.au/issues/artFramework_03.pdf)> [accessed 26 February 2015].

<sup>67</sup> South Australian Tourism Commission, *South Australian Tourism Plan 2020*, 2014  
<<http://tourism.sa.gov.au/assets/documents/About%20SATC/satc-sa-tourism-plan-2014.pdf>> [accessed 13 March 2015], p. 4.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4; 6.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16

is well known for its active events and festivals calendar, and so we are well positioned to further leverage off this established strength.<sup>71</sup>

In similar language to cultural policy documents, the plan also details the need to raise the profile of tourism and to publicise its importance to the state's economy in order to justify public expenditure and to encourage residents to act as ambassadors. This highlights the importance of the local acceptance of and investment within the Festival City place myth as necessary for its success.

### **Adelaide Creative City**

Adelaide's festivals also give the city a competitive advantage by branding it as a creative city that appeals to residents as well as visitors. According to the ACC, Adelaide boasts '[a] world-wide reputation as a City for the arts established through the Adelaide Festival and Fringe'.<sup>72</sup> Warren McCann observes that '[t]he mutual interest of the ACC and the festivals is demonstrated by their long and ongoing alliance. The Adelaide City Council is a key sponsor or civic partner for each of the Festival Adelaide members, contributing AU\$1.568 million towards these events in 2013, and recognising the contribution that they make to 'Adelaide as a prosperous, liveable and successful city'.<sup>73</sup> In the ACC's *Arts and Culture Strategy 2010-14* cited above, the ACC proclaims Adelaide's creative city credentials by championing the role of these festivals and other major events. Here the report's authors declare that 'Adelaide has earned a strong reputation as a "Festival City" through the well established success of such diverse events as the Adelaide Festival of Arts, Fringe, Womadelaide, Clipsal 500, Tour Down Under, Tasting SA, Cabaret Festival and the Festival of Ideas'.<sup>74</sup> This suggests that while the Adelaide Festival and Fringe are the historical source of prestige, Adelaide is building its contemporary reputation for hosting major events through a combination of sporting and cultural spectacles.

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<sup>71</sup> South Australian Tourism Commission, *South Australian Tourism Plan 2020*, p. 16.

<sup>72</sup> Adelaide City Council, *Arts and Culture Strategy 2010-2014*, p. 1.

<sup>73</sup> McCann, *Light Years Ahead*, p. 22.

<sup>74</sup> Adelaide City Council, *Arts and Culture Strategy 2010-2014*, p. 4.

The ACC, just like the CEC, also recognises that Adelaide faces intense competition from other Festival Cities. This report acknowledges, that '[w]hile Adelaide's diverse program of successful festivals and events is a key strength in its visitor appeal, attracting thousands of interstate and overseas visitors each year, it faces intense competition from other cities'.<sup>75</sup> In response to this competition, the document calls for more 'formal, active, cooperative, "partnership" approaches' to be introduced between public and private interests.<sup>76</sup> As an example of this, they specifically cite cooperation with the Adelaide Fringe to introduce measures to reduce red tape in order to establish temporary venues. Local attendance of festivals and events also becomes an instrument for measuring a '[a] city that encourages cultural expression and engagement' under this Culture strategy with the ACC committing to support and fund 'a diverse program of festivals and major events throughout the year' in order to entertain residents and enable them to 'enjoy the best of artistic and creative talent'.<sup>77</sup> In the ACC's *Culture Strategy*, therefore, Adelaide's festivals and the arts are positioned as key strengths in attracting talented and creative workers, visitors, and residents to the city.

Through these policy documents it is clear that the ACC and the South Australian state government take an active role in place making and place-promotion. The Festival City place myth is a key example of this and there have been various rebrandings of both the state and the city since then. The current theme that the ACC is actively promoting at the time of writing in May 2015 is 'One City, Many Places', and this tagline has an entire *Placemaking Strategy* devoted to it. According to this document, a Placemaking Strategy is needed in order to 'enhance Adelaide's reputation as one of the world's great small cities'.<sup>78</sup> The report's authors argue that the

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>78</sup> Adelaide City Council, *City of Adelaide: Placemaking Strategy Stage 1 – 2013-14 & 2014-15*

<<http://www.adelaidecitycouncil.com/assets/STRATEGY-placemaking-2013-15.pdf>> [accessed 19 March 2015], p. 3.

best small cities have a unique and individual character and that the people who use the city's places should have a say in planning and resource allocation.<sup>79</sup> This strategy fits with other policy documents to improve the vibrancy of Adelaide. The purpose and aims of the strategy are defined as what residents would want: 'People want Adelaide to become more vibrant, a place where more people want to spend more time'.<sup>80</sup> This strategy advocates an urban governance regime in which the Council 'will lead, partner, facilitate, enable and co-create with the community, businesses and individuals to deliver these outcomes'.<sup>81</sup> This strategy represents the latest deliberate intervention within the discursive and material place-making of Adelaide and in this iteration it exemplifies and illustrates the pervasive influence of Richard Florida's creative cities discourse. In order to promote population growth and to diversify its economic base, the South Australian government, in conjunction with the ACC and a range of public and private interests, seeks to transform Adelaide's CBD into a bustling hub, drawing on its unique qualities by promoting its gardens and green space on the one hand, and employing familiar strategies to appeal to the current hipster market through laneway pop-up bars and venues on the other.

In order to achieve this goal, the South Australian government initiated the 'Vibrant City' programme in 2012 led by Renewal SA. Renewal SA is another urban governance regime that is guided by Adelaide's 30-Year-Plan and led by government but works to create opportunities for private-sector development. *The 30-Year Plan for Greater Adelaide*, outlines how the Government of South Australia proposes to respond to and plan for projected demographic and economic changes in the region that accounts for almost 80% of the state's total population. The 30-Year Plan is the spatial apparatus designed to realise the Strategic Plan through 'achievable policies and targets to manage the forecast changes that will confront Greater

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

Adelaide during the next 30 years'.<sup>82</sup> According to the report's authors, '[t]he main aim of the Plan is to outline how the South Australian Government proposes to balance population and economic growth with the need to preserve the environment and protect the heritage, history and character of Greater Adelaide'.<sup>83</sup> This 30-Year Plan is designed to operate in conjunction with a range of specialist planning documents and is concerned with more pragmatic goals than the Strategic Plan.

Governed by both the 30-Year Plan and the Strategic Plan, then, Renewal SA is an urban revitalisation programme that claims to 'develop connected, accessible places which enhance South Australia's distinctive lifestyle through meaningful partnerships with communities, industries and organisations to generate lasting progress'.<sup>84</sup> Vibrant City is one of their projects, which 'is geared toward creating a city where more people want to live, work and spend time because there is always something to do'.<sup>85</sup> Their projects aim to create liveable cities for *communities*, reducing barriers to *investment and economic investment*, supporting *businesses* to grow, strengthening the diversity of *creative artists*, providing infrastructure for *entrepreneurs*, and filling the small spaces with people and vibrant activity in the *public realm*. Projects include streamlining application processes for liquor licences for small venues, which have enabled 28 new bars to open in the CBD; creating a new 'eat street' on Peel Street; introducing free Wi-Fi in outdoor public spaces across the CBD; and creating the Blue Hive event space on the Riverbank Promenade. The aim of these projects is change the perception of the state capital – internally and externally – under the moniker 'Adelaide, the heart of the vibrant state' and the state government is already claiming success since the Vibrant City programme began.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Government of South Australia, *The 30-Year Plan for Greater Adelaide*, p. 24.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>84</sup> Renewal SA, *Vibrant City* <<https://renewalsa.sa.gov.au/projects/vibrant-city/>> [accessed 13 March 2015].

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> Renewal SA, 'Economic Priorities: Adelaide, Heart of the Vibrant City', *Renewal SA* <<https://renewalsa.sa.gov.au/renewalsa/cms/wp->

Adelaide's festivals thus establish the city's credentials as a vibrant and cultural capital in order to reinforce its 'sense of difference' within place promotion. This sense of difference, however, may be undermined by the rise of the festivalisation phenomenon and increased competition from other international arts festivals nationally and internationally.

### ***Light Years Ahead***

The continued competitiveness of Adelaide's reputation as a Festival City and the public investment required to maintain its position is subject to review by the government stakeholders who have a vested interest in this place myth. *Light Years Ahead: Review of Adelaide's Status as a Festival City* was prepared by consultant Warren McCann in August 2013 in order to 'identify the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of Adelaide's current status as Festival City, and to specify actions and strategies required to maximise the competitive position and the benefits, for Adelaide and the state of South Australia, of Adelaide's major arts and cultural festivals'.<sup>87</sup> In the Executive Summary of the report, McCann argues that Adelaide's festivals have a competitive advantage even within a climate of increased competition from interstate and overseas:

Its natural attractions including its climate, its compactness, the availability of a wide choice of venues, parks and open spaces in close proximity to one another together with the support and engagement of all elements of the South Australian community, give it a comparative advantage that many other cities do not enjoy.<sup>88</sup>

The phenomenon of festivalisation and the shifting landscape produced by of 'new and pervasive digital technologies',<sup>89</sup> however, presents serious challenges to the future of Adelaide's events.

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content/uploads/2014/09/Economic-Priorities-Priority8.pdf> [accessed 13 March 2015].

<sup>87</sup> McCann, *Light Years Ahead*, p. 7.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.* Here McCann claims not to just be interested in 'the impact of technology on the way that festivals are organised, produced and marketed'

McCann argues throughout for the maintenance of government grants to the sector – based on an acknowledgement of the important economic benefits, as well as social cohesion and community engagement that the festivals contribute to – while suggesting that a natural limit to government subsidy means that Festivals Adelaide should seek further partnerships with the private sector. McCann argues that ‘regional governments in Australia and overseas have spent large sums on festival infrastructure over the past decade. Given South Australia’s relative size, it will become increasingly difficult to match these levels of investment in the future’.<sup>90</sup> In his view, it is therefore important that Adelaide capitalise on its reputation and use its existing infrastructure more productively. The report therefore makes 71 recommendations that range from greater collaboration between the festivals, inclusion of a festival representative in various government committees (similar to Edinburgh’s festivals and events champion), the creation of a South Australian innovation lab (also modelled on Edinburgh), and for Adelaide to become a training ground and educational provider for festival staff. Moreover, it argues that the marketing strategies of Adelaide’s festivals should reflect two broad trends: firstly, ‘the importance of the special character of a place; its traditions and values and the need for a narrative to give life to these unique characteristics’; and secondly, the tendency for cultural tourists to seek experiential or interactive experiences.<sup>91</sup> Here, McCann draws on the arts festival literature and further consolidates this view by actively promoting these ideas within a report to government.

McCann also argues that the festivals can play a key role in achieving the SA state government’s Vibrant City objectives and therefore highlights a way in which festival managements could leverage this strategic goal. ‘Not only do they contribute directly to the notion of vibrancy and excitement

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but also on the rapidly changing artistic landscape and the ways in which ‘nodes and networks of digital culture – festivals included – can connect, bridge, create energy and inspire new ideas at a pace and scale hitherto unknown’. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

during the March period in a way that probably no other activity can match, but they have a critical impact upon Adelaide's reputation – an impact that endures well beyond the summer season'.<sup>92</sup> This highlights the importance of the Festival City place myth to the branding of Adelaide and South Australia beyond the immediate economic impact of these events: 'through the portrayal of Adelaide as a culturally sophisticated and engaged city, a place of excitement and fun, the festivals are also an important component of Brand SA which underpins all of the State's promotional efforts'.<sup>93</sup> According to respondents to McCann's research, however, there is a broad consensus that the festivals are not being leveraged to their full potential within the State's latest branding exercise. Therefore, McCann asserts this importance within the report: 'In addition to the direct benefit the festivals offer, the proposition advanced here is that – through the sense of excitement and fun and creative energy the festivals generate – they have a part to play in the broader image that South Australia seeks to convey to the world'.<sup>94</sup> McCann's report is indicative of the way in which festival managements and other interested parties are attempting to leverage the discursive use of festivals within place promotion to secure urban resource allocation for these events.

### **Theatre Spaces Audit**

The Festival State also requires the continual maintenance and upgrading of the city's material infrastructure as well as the reputation of excellence within its programming. The need to provide adequate venues for international touring artists at festival time as well as affordable spaces for local, especially independent, companies is a theme running throughout the history of the Adelaide and Edinburgh festivals. Between December 2009 and January 2010, Elizabeth Raupach conducted a *Theatre Spaces and Venues Audit* on behalf of Arts SA, which invited all organisations listed in the 2009/10 Arts SA Arts Directory to either be interviewed or to provide feedback via a survey. The brief of this audit was 'to conduct a review of the

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid., p. 25; original emphasis.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., p. 43.



current and likely future capacity of performing arts spaces and venues in South Australia – with particular focus on those based in the CBD and inner metropolitan areas – and how they meet community requirements’.<sup>95</sup> The main finding of the audit was that Adelaide has an insufficient number of suitable spaces ‘to house international artists during Adelaide Festival and Fringe periods’ but also a lack of affordable spaces to meet the needs of the local theatre community.<sup>96</sup> Raupach reported that there was a concern among respondents that South Australia was losing the competitive edge of its festivals because of competition from other states that are heavily investing in the arts. Thus in her Executive Summary Raupach reported that ‘[m]ost respondents to this audit believe Adelaide is now suffering from a lack of investment in arts infrastructure and that this has a negative impact on the State’s reputation as a cultural leader and preferred destination for arts events’.<sup>97</sup> The respondents of course have a vested interest in making a case for public investment in the arts but nevertheless this highlights a concern for maintaining the preeminent position of Adelaide’s festivals by upgrading its physical spaces.

The audit identified a number of factors that contributed to ‘South Australia’s venues [being] inadequate, outdated, run down and past their prime: The lack of rehearsal space; Outdated technical equipment; Lack of on-going maintenance funds; [and] Inadequate disabled access’.<sup>98</sup> Based on these observations, the reports made a number of recommendations to ‘help restore SA as the pre-eminent Festival State’.<sup>99</sup> Among these recommendations was the need to foster collaboration and information sharing; to invest in existing infrastructure; to simplify the regulations governing temporary theatre venues (especially for the Fringe); and to make existing venues more available to independent companies through rental subsidy schemes. Chief on the ‘wish list’ of respondents to this audit

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<sup>95</sup> Raupach, *Theatre Spaces and Venues Audit*, p. 1.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

was the development of a new 'black box' space within Adelaide's CBD in which to house experimental, professional, local and international work both during the festival and all year round. While this has not come to fruition, the second best option of refurbishing the historic Queen's Theatre has taken place with the Adelaide Festival staging events there since 2013.

### **Festivals Adelaide**

Festival managements are now cooperating with each other to assert the significance of these events to the political economy and social life of the city in order to secure further investment and expand their role. Festivals Adelaide was established in 2011 and is the strategic umbrella organisation representing all ten of Adelaide's major festivals. According to McCann, the ten member organisations of Festivals Adelaide 'are all festivals with the core intent of delivering arts and cultural experiences, have a significant national or international profile, garner large audiences and are supported with funding from the State Government of South Australia'.<sup>100</sup> Festivals Adelaide was modelled on Festivals Edinburgh and established with the support of the ACC and Arts SA with the purpose to: 'act as a collective voice for this very important sector in South Australia's reputation and economy'.<sup>101</sup> Part of Festivals Adelaide's mandate is to undertake research to account for the economic, as well as the social and cultural impact of these events on the state. According to their mission statement: 'Festivals Adelaide has been established as the peak industry body representing Adelaide's 10 major arts and cultural festivals to establish Adelaide as the festival capital of Australia'.<sup>102</sup> In order to achieve this, the organisation focuses on the strategic priorities of: marketing, programme development, strategic planning, and infrastructure. Part of this involves advocating the importance of the festivals to both government and local residents; collaborating with government to contribute to its Vibrant City goals;

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<sup>100</sup> McCann, *Light Years Ahead*, p. 8.

<sup>101</sup> Festivals Adelaide, 'About', [accessed 26 March 2015].

<sup>102</sup> Festivals Adelaide, 'Mission Statement', *Festivals Adelaide*, <<http://www.festivalsadelaide.com.au/mission-statement/>> [accessed 26 March 2015].

working with key stakeholders to develop social, economic, and cultural impact indicators; and working strategically to raise the national and international profile of these events.

### **Future Directions**

The *Lights Years Ahead* report operates from the basis that Adelaide's festivals already have a competitive edge but that this needs to be maintained. As McCann notes: 'The challenge is not so much one of building a leading position but maintaining it'.<sup>103</sup> This preeminent position is based on the history and longevity of the city's two leading events especially: the Adelaide Festival and Adelaide Fringe. Moreover, McCann asserts Adelaide's reputation as a cultural leader since these events were established in 1960 and the strong, 'savvy', local audience for the work presented. Importantly, the report identifies the support of the local community as a major advantage (and implicitly one that Adelaide has over Edinburgh): 'The South Australian community supports the concept of Adelaide as a festival city. Celebration of arts and culture and the belief that Adelaide is a cultural leader are both important elements of South Australia's self-identification and pride'.<sup>104</sup> This is supported by a study on behalf of Festivals Adelaide into the socio-cultural impact of these events in which 66% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that that the Festivals contributed positively to South Australian tourism and 60% agreed or strongly agreed that they improved the state's image.<sup>105</sup> Other advantages include stakeholder support from all levels of government, local business, and the community; the high-quality and uniqueness of the programming of Adelaide's festivals and the 'clustering' of events in March to attract visitors; the small size of the city enabling greater collaboration; and the geography and layout of the city (specifically that it is flat and compact) meaning that the 'festivals are highly visible and take over the city with maximum impact'.<sup>106</sup> Adelaide's

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<sup>103</sup> McCann, *Light Years Ahead*, p. 14.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Festivals Adelaide, 'Media Release: Adelaide's Arts Study Reveals Wide Popular Support for Festivals'.

<sup>106</sup> McCann, *Light Years Ahead*, pp. 14-15.

parklands and good weather for outdoor events are also seen as major advantages. In this way, the material and discursive ways in which the city defines these festivals are seen to differentiate it on the global stage and give Adelaide a competitive advantage as a Festival City.

A number of domestic and international factors threaten the continued dominance of Adelaide's festivals however. McCann notes that '[a] threat is the capacity of future State and Local governments to sustain the levels of investment required to remain competitive' given the rising cost of production and increased competition from other cities capitalising on the festival phenomenon.<sup>107</sup> Other potential challenges include: unforeseen changes in arts policy; limited and out-of-date infrastructure; the lack of corporate headquarters in Adelaide; increased competition from large commercial music festivals such as Big Day Out and Soundwave; interstate funding alliances between festivals and tourism agencies; a lack of governmental recognition of the economic benefit of the festivals.<sup>108</sup> *Light Years Ahead* therefore argues that the key stakeholders – including Festivals Adelaide, ACC, Arts SA, SATC, local businesses, and university partners – should work together to assert the continued importance of Adelaide as a Festival City to South Australia's economy by attracting visitors, reputation as a cultural leader, and liveability for residents. The key recommendations call for a greater role and recognition of Adelaide's festivals within the Vibrant City agenda, for the government and private sector to co-invest in upgrading the existing material infrastructure; and for key stakeholders to work together to improve the innovation of these festivals by fostering greater collaboration.

This case study of Adelaide Vibrant City reveals the ways in which Florida's creative cities discourses are interpreted in local conditions and applied to combat local concerns, which in this case include population loss and a drive to diversify South Australia's economy. Adelaide's festivals are therefore positioned within the strategic goals of the state as providing the

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<sup>107</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

historical basis for the capital's cultural credentials and an ongoing performance of its vibrancy and fun atmosphere each March. Moreover, in the face of increased competition from similar events festival managements are being advised to work together to assert the importance of these events to the state and to participate within these urban entrepreneurial strategies in order to secure continued public investment and to ensure their own survival. This financial support is by no means guaranteed, however, and Adelaide's festivals must continue to perform artistically – through artistic excellence – as well as economically if they want to maintain their competitive position nationally and internationally. As has been shown through the number of initiatives that were inspired or borrowed from Edinburgh, Adelaide maintains a close relationship and continues to learn from its northern hemisphere counterpart. I turn now to an analysis of the local conditions shaping Edinburgh's evolution as a Festival City in order to further demonstrate the different ways in which these events participate in the material and discursive production of city space.

### **Edinburgh Festival City**

Edinburgh, unlike Adelaide, has pursued an official festivals strategy that has directly sought to associate the city with its festivals within marketing campaigns nationally and internationally. Kirstie Jamieson argues that '[w]ith today's competitive urban context, Edinburgh's culture, heritage, and public spaces are regarded as assets that add rich social references to the lexicon of city marketing campaigns'.<sup>109</sup> This is overt in terms of Edinburgh's festivals and, given the historical ambivalence with which the city's residents have viewed these events, could be read as a top-down attempt at rebranding the city as a cultural capital along the lines of Florida's creative cities. The complicated relationship between the city and festival predates this discourse, however, and in this section I begin by mapping the local infrastructure from a historical perspective to highlight the ongoing politicisation of the festivals. Once again the evolution of Edinburgh Festival City is reflective of both global trends and local

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<sup>109</sup> Jamieson, 'Edinburgh', p. 65.

conditions. The change in perspective from international to local within the policy documents that are reviewed here could be read cynically – given the historical antagonism between Edinburgh and its festivals – as following global trends in order to construct a competitive advantage for Edinburgh as the world’s festival city. This also needs to be read in conjunction with changes in cultural policy at a national level (explored in Chapter Four) in order to fully contextualise this change in language. A range of factors beyond the posturing of festival management and local authorities is therefore brought to bear on the rehabilitation of Edinburgh’s festivals from denigrating to championing Scottish culture today.

### **Local Government: A Historical Perspective**

The EIF has been significantly shaped by city-level politics from its inception. According to Anne Bonnar local authorities combined spend more on culture than Creative Scotland but have ‘little influence on national cultural provision’.<sup>110</sup> As established in the Introduction, the Edinburgh Festival Society was originally formed as a partnership between the Edinburgh Corporation, the ACGB, and local commercial stakeholders. Moreover, the Lord Provost has traditionally served as Chair of the Festival Society and city councillors have traditionally held prominent positions on the Festival Council. In addition to a modest subsidy from the ACGB, the festival was initially financed primarily through ticket sales, but over the subsequent decades the EIF attracted more government subsidy to help it to maintain its high programming standards and to enable artistic directors to ‘continue to include outstanding cultural events even if they were unable to attract large audiences’.<sup>111</sup> This increased public investment in the event recognised the significant financial benefits that it brought to the city’s tourism and leisure economies but it also led to a greater politicisation of the Festival Society. This early history of the EIF reveals that the local authorities have always had a stake in this event and positions the creative

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<sup>110</sup> Anne Bonnar, ‘What Does Culture Mean to You? The Practice and Process of Consultation on Cultural Policy in Scotland since Devolution’, *Cultural Trends*, 23.3 (2014), 136-47 (p. 141).

<sup>111</sup> Miller, *The Edinburgh International Festival 1947-1996*, p. 78.

cities discourse as just the latest iteration of local agendas that have played out through the festival's management throughout its history.

The position of the EIF within the local infrastructure was complicated by the maintenance of a London office for the festival director. According to Jennifer Attala, the early Festival Directors were more concerned with bringing international artists to Edinburgh than engaging 'in the political and cultural life of the city' outside of festival time and therefore 'they did not have a strategic approach to addressing the issues which had emerged as a result of political change in Scotland or in the UK'.<sup>112</sup> It was not until Brian McMaster became Festival Director in 1992 that the London Office was closed and the head of EIF was expected to reside in Edinburgh all year round. As festival historian Eileen Miller explains, 'McMaster brought to an end the long-standing and frequently acrimonious dispute about the London office by moving to Edinburgh, a very popular decision with the staff and the local community'.<sup>113</sup> Attala characterises this move as 're-orient[ing] the EIF to a position of cultural centrality and potential power in Edinburgh'.<sup>114</sup> McMaster's tenure (1992-2005) also marked the beginning of the EIF providing leadership in cultural policy formation through strategic relationships with local and national authorities. Miller's history of the EIF reveals many early examples of the ways in which festival organisations have always had to negotiate local political conditions that have often had a direct influence on their artistic goals and programming. This suggests the need to be attentive to the ways in which socio-political conditions impinge upon or direct artistic outcomes and how festival management negotiates this terrain.

### **Edinburgh's Festivals Strategy**

The EIF began to play a greater role in Edinburgh's marketing during the 1990s, which led to the adoption of an official Edinburgh Festivals Strategy at the turn of the century. By 1994 the Edinburgh District Council

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<sup>112</sup> Attala, 'Performing the Festival', p. 59.

<sup>113</sup> Miller, *The Edinburgh International Festival 1947-1996*, p. 138.

<sup>114</sup> Attala, 'Performing the Festival', p. 66.

was contributing GBPE950,000, the Lothian Regional Council a further £350,000, and SAC £735,000 towards the EIF but this was threatened by a local government reorganisation in May 1995 when both of these councils were replaced by the City of Edinburgh Council (CEC).<sup>115</sup> Partly as a result of recommendations by a 1995 SAC-commissioned *Major Review of Edinburgh International Festival*, McMaster was responsible for overseeing the organisational change of the EIF to a more business oriented approach and a closer alignment with the city's tourism marketing. In 1999, the CEC published *Toward a New Enlightenment*, a cultural policy for Edinburgh in the new millennium. While acknowledging that they are only one source of cultural funding, the CEC asserted 'that culture is not an optional extra, but an essential element in lifelong learning, economic development, social regeneration, and in the quality of life and personal well-being of individuals'.<sup>116</sup> Moreover, 'Edinburgh is a vibrant and lively city, unique in its wealth of heritage and long history of supporting and developing a range of nationally and internationally renowned festivals which have placed it on the cultural world map'.<sup>117</sup> Thus, the CEC declare the promotion of Edinburgh's diverse culture locally, nationally, and internationally and the preservation of its heritage to be areas of priority.<sup>118</sup> In order to achieve these goals, the CEC vows to continue 'supporting the existing major festivals' and to encourage the development of new ones in the recognition that these events raise the city's profile, generate economic development through tourism and investment, and support the service sector.<sup>119</sup> Moreover, within the 'strategies' section of the report, the CEC explicitly promotes Edinburgh as a festival city and city of culture and seeks greater coordination between major stakeholders in order to promote this reputation. The report states:

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<sup>115</sup> The Edinburgh District Council and Lothian Regional Council replaced the Edinburgh Corporation in 1975. Attala, 'Performing the Festival', p. 66.

<sup>116</sup> City of Edinburgh Council, *Towards the New Enlightenment*, p. 3.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.



Recognising the crucial role the festivals play in the city's cultural life, the Festival Strategy will: encourage the City Council, the Tourist Boards, the Audience Business, the festivals and the other principal artistic institutions to work more closely together to develop Edinburgh's reputation as the festival city and as a city of culture.<sup>120</sup>

As a result of this cultural policy an Edinburgh Festivals Strategy was devised as a key tool in its implementation.

The explicit articulation of a 'festival city' branding for Edinburgh was formulated more comprehensively within the 2001 *Festivals and the City: The Edinburgh Festivals Strategy*, prepared by Graham Devlin Associates and commissioned and funded by the CEC, SAC, and Scottish Enterprise Edinburgh and Lothian. This festivals strategy was developed in tandem with an Events Strategy and in explicit reference to the Scottish Executive's *National Cultural Strategy* (see Chapter Four). Festivals are here considered 'a particular type of event' and 'the jewels in the events [*sic*] crown with some additional needs'.<sup>121</sup> The report begins by acknowledging that '[t]he festivals are a vitally important part of Edinburgh's life, with principal impacts lying in the areas of cultural, social and economic benefit and civic profile' and builds an argument for the CEC to overtly acknowledge these benefits within their public documents.<sup>122</sup> The 'big idea' promoted in this report is that '[t]he festivals should be celebrated and enthusiastically supported by the city, the statutory authorities and funding bodies'.<sup>123</sup> The Edinburgh Festivals strategy is therefore based on the recognition that these events provide the city with specific benefits that include: 'improvements to the quality of life in the city; creative activity; the growth of audiences; the creation of partnerships; recreational and educational opportunities; economic and social benefits; national and international profile-raising; and meeting civic objectives'.<sup>124</sup> The civic pride derived from the global

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>121</sup> Graham Devlin Associates, *Edinburgh Festivals Strategy*, p. 2.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., p. i.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

recognition of Edinburgh as a Festival City is also directly articulated within this report:

during August the city becomes effectively the cultural capital of the world. As a result, there are many throughout the world who know Edinburgh primarily (if not solely), through its image as a Festival City. That image brings with it associations of sophistication, modernity, civilisation and attractiveness. It undoubtedly helps make the city a desirable place to live.<sup>125</sup>

The report recommends building upon the brand then used by Scottish tourism agencies: *'Edinburgh – Europe's Festival City'*.<sup>126</sup> Words such as 'vibrant', 'lively', 'creative', and 'attractive' are common to both Edinburgh's and Adelaide's constructions as Festival Cities and can once again be seen here promoting a creative cities agenda.

The authors of *The Edinburgh Festivals Strategy* argue that 'Edinburgh cannot afford to be complacent about its place in the international festivals' marketplace' due to a number of factors that in 2001 were identified as increased competition for leisure spending, perceptions that Edinburgh was too expensive, and changing demographic and cultural trends.<sup>127</sup> The report argues that the critical mass of Edinburgh's summer festivals is an important factor in maintaining the festival 'buzz' and 'is a vital component in their success, to be maintained and strengthened through additional support'.<sup>128</sup> Moreover, on the basis of audience demographic research, the report positions the summer festivals as deriving economic benefit (by attracting 'high-spending' international audiences), while the spring festivals promote social inclusion by attracting largely Scottish and family audiences.<sup>129</sup> This is despite the fact that half of the EIF's audience were based in Edinburgh and the Lothians and two-thirds were

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., p. 76.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., p. i.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., p. ii.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

from Scotland at the time of this report.<sup>130</sup> Nevertheless, the summer festivals are positioned in terms of their internationalism – through the visitors that they attract and the work that they present to Scotland – and local support is seen as necessary to tolerate the inconvenience and disruption.<sup>131</sup>

The report advocates a strategic approach to marketing Edinburgh as a festival city and acknowledges the role of the CEC in improving infrastructure (such as hotels and transport, street dressing through posters, and the provision and maintenance of theatre venues). It applauds the greater cooperation of the (at this point, 15) festivals through the Joint Festivals Working Group (JFWP) and recommends that the CEC improve direct communication with the various organisations in part through the appointment of a senior Councillor as a ‘festivals champion’ (a position held long-term by Councillor Steve Cardownie who provides the foreword to this report).<sup>132</sup>

In preparing the report, the consultants were asked to compare the ‘investment, collaboration, management, demographics, delivery methods’ as well as funding arrangements of Edinburgh’s festivals to a number of comparable events (including Adelaide and Perth, Salzburg and Sydney, Canberra and Wellington, New Zealand).<sup>133</sup> They found that ‘the Edinburgh festivals as a group receive significantly less investment than their peers and, indeed, considerably less than in the past’ and argued that ‘[i]f the festivals are to retain their edge of attractiveness and competitiveness, this imbalance will need to be addressed’.<sup>134</sup> The festivals as a whole are considered ‘good value’ for the public purse with their economic impact far

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<sup>130</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Steve Cardownie was replaced as festivals and events champion by Councillor Richard Lewis in March 2015. Anonymous, ‘Rebel Takes SNP Leadership from Steve Cardownie’, *Edinburgh News*, 11 March 2015 <<http://www.edinburghnews.scotsman.com/news/rebel-takes-snp-leadership-from-steve-cardownie-1-3715022>> [accessed 21 May 2015].

<sup>133</sup> Graham Devlin Associates, *Edinburgh Festivals Strategy*, p. 104.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., p. vi.

outweighing the level of public investment directly in the organisations. While large European festivals receive 35.2% government subsidy on average, the EIF receives only 25.3% and yet the report found that ‘the return that Edinburgh achieves on its public investment in EIF compares extremely favorably with that in the other cities’.<sup>135</sup> In addition to this, the Edinburgh Festival Fringe Society receives only 6.5% of its turnover from public subsidy, which represents only 1% of the box-office of the Fringe as a whole. This is compared with 11% public funding of European fringe festivals and 18% public investment in the Adelaide Fringe.<sup>136</sup>

### **Promoting Local Culture**

Edinburgh’s festivals are also required to promote the cultural life of the city year round as part of the Festivals Strategy. Firstly, there is recognition that ‘the needs of the summer festivals have resulted in the year-round provision of about 11,000 seats in the city’s principal venues – more per head than any other city in the UK other than Glasgow’.<sup>137</sup> The ongoing provision and continual upgrading and maintenance of world-class facilities are essential if the EIF is to continue to programme arts of the ‘highest possible international standard’<sup>138</sup> as per its mission statement. However, as the report acknowledges, ‘[d]uring much of the year, this plethora of seats presents Edinburgh’s cultural managers with a challenge’.<sup>139</sup> Rather than ‘filling the gaps’ in festival programming throughout the year, however, the report’s authors advocate greater touring opportunities outside of festival time in order to address this challenge.

Ultimately, the most important recommendation of the report is for primary stakeholders including the CEC, SAC, The Audience Business (TAB), Scottish Enterprise Edinburgh and Lothian, tourism boards, and the festivals

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<sup>135</sup> Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>138</sup> Edinburgh International Festival Society, ‘Our Mission and History’, *EIF* (2014) <<http://www.eif.co.uk/about-us/our-mission-and-history#.Uz7B38eR7go>> [accessed 31 January 2015].

<sup>139</sup> Graham Devlin Associates, *Edinburgh Festivals Strategy*, p. 13.

to collaborate on ‘an effective advocacy and marketing campaign’ to ‘develop Edinburgh’s reputation as the festival city and as a city of culture, both nationally and internationally’.<sup>140</sup> Within the first strategic objective, the report recommends the building of brand identification between the festivals and the city and that the CEC acknowledge the festivals in all of their public documentation.<sup>141</sup>

### **Economic Benefits**

An Economic Impact Study of Edinburgh’s festivals was conducted between August 2004 and July 2005 by consultants SQW and TNS Travel and Tourism on behalf of the CEC, Scottish Enterprise Edinburgh and Lothian, and the national organisations EventScotland, and VisitScotland. This report found that in the 2004-05 period the 17 Edinburgh festivals generated a total of 3.1 million attendances across 1.4 trips, with the Fringe accounting for almost half of these. This represented a 65% increase in attendances of the Summer festivals since the last economic impact study was conducted in 1997.<sup>142</sup> Economic impact is here understood as ‘the contribution made to the economy’s output, income and employment’, which are presented as net figures and excludes expenditure that would have occurred in the city without the festivals taking place.<sup>143</sup> The report estimates that in this period the festivals generated GBP£170m output for Edinburgh and GBP£184 for Scotland; GBP£40m new income for Edinburgh and GBP£51m for Scotland; and 3,200 Full Time Equivalent (FTE) jobs per year in Edinburgh and 3,900 in Scotland.<sup>144</sup> Therefore, ‘[t]he economic impact study demonstrates that the Festivals are collectively a major

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<sup>140</sup> Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., p. 93.

<sup>142</sup> SQW Economic Development Consultants and Tourism, *Edinburgh’s Year Round Festivals 2004-05 Final Report*, p. i.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., p. ii.

<sup>144</sup> According to the report, ‘[o]utput represents the total value of output generated by all businesses within the geographical area. Income is the measure of wages, salaries and profits retained within the economy as a result of the expenditure generated by the Festivals. Employment is shown as Full Time Equivalent jobs *for one year*’ Ibid., pp. ii-iii; original emphasis.

success in terms of generating income for Edinburgh and Scotland'.<sup>145</sup> Four of the festivals – the Fringe, Military Tattoo, Hogmanay, and the EIF – generated 82% of the total economic activity, with the Fringe accounting for almost half of this figure (£70m in output; £17.2m in income) and the EIF a further £19.3m in output and £4.7m in income.<sup>146</sup>

Although this report was designed to measure the year round economic impact of these festivals, the report's authors make an argument for measuring the indirect cultural impacts of the festivals on the city. They acknowledge that the impact of the festivals over 50 years is difficult to quantify as the quality and diversity of their programmes have been established over a long period of time and they have perhaps been responsible for increasing the accommodation capacity in the city.<sup>147</sup> Importantly, SQW argues that '[t]o ensure that Edinburgh and Scotland continue to benefit to this level, the Festivals must maintain and enhance their reputation' and point to the *Thundering Hooves* (a review of Edinburgh's global competitiveness as a Festival City discussed below) project as enabling to this.<sup>148</sup> Rather than viewing the festivals as tourism activities, the report calls for recognition of the festivals as 'mechanisms for supporting social inclusion, civic pride, creativity and innovation, multi-culturalism, promotion of the city or maintaining traditions for future generations'.<sup>149</sup> Echoing the language employed in the *Festivals Strategy*, this economic impact report also argues that the festivals contribute to 'a wider set of agendas in the city and Scotland' and calls for the development of a framework to: 'help ensure that the work of the Festivals is fully recognised and supported'; 'allow the public agencies to more effectively assess their return'; and 'identify opportunities for increasing the role of the Festivals in engaging with businesses and communities'.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> Ibid., p. vi.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., pp. iii-iv.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., p. 62.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., p. vi.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., pp. vi-vii.

The visitor profile of audience members reaffirmed the differences between the demographics of Summer, Winter, and Spring and Autumn festival visitors. By 2005, the number of local Edinburgh residents attending all festivals had dropped to 33%, with a further 6% from the Lothians, 20% from elsewhere in Scotland, while 26% were from the rest of the UK and 15% were from overseas.<sup>151</sup> The festivals that tended to attract visitors from outside Edinburgh were the Fringe, the Military Tattoo, Hogmanay, and the Edinburgh International Book Festival, while visitors to the Military Tattoo (70%) and EIF (58%) reported that attendance at these events was the sole reason for their visit. Audiences of the Fringe and EIF attended the most number of events overall (4.64 and 4.52 average events).<sup>152</sup> The report found that there was significant synergy between the Summer festival events, with data suggesting that large proportions of the EIF and Book Festival audiences also attended other events, primarily the Fringe. Thus, they argue that 'although the actual overlap is fairly limited, the critical mass the Festivals together have generated has enormous pulling power'.<sup>153</sup> In addition, the 'buzz' or atmosphere generated by the festival season was cited most often as the reason for visiting the city within audience surveys (28% for the Summer festivals).<sup>154</sup>

Using figures provided by the festival organisations, the report found that they spent £31.5m in total organising and delivering these 17 festivals, of which £19.2m was generated through ticket sales (the Edinburgh Festival Fringe cost £13.6m and generated £12.5m in ticket sales whereas the EIF spent £6.7m and raised £2.05m).<sup>155</sup> The shortfall is made up by public and private investment, and other income. Overall, the report found that the festivals represented a 'good return for the public sector investment', with the 17 events receiving only £3m in grants and subsidy (primarily from the

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<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, p. v.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

CEC and SAC) and a further £4m in private investment.<sup>156</sup> In addition, the Summer festivals generate a significant amount of media coverage both within the UK and overseas (with the Fringe attracting 52% of the volume of all media coverage), which also contributes to external perceptions of the city.<sup>157</sup>

### **Thundering Hooves**

The *Thundering Hooves: Maintaining the Global Competitive Edge of Edinburgh's Festivals*, prepared by AEA Consulting in 2006 is the most important and explicit articulation of Edinburgh as a festival city. The report was commissioned by the SAC, Festivals Edinburgh (representing 11 festivals at this stage), the CEC, the Scottish Executive, EventScotland, and Scottish Enterprise Edinburgh and Lothian in order to examine the competitive position of Edinburgh's festivals in the face of the increasing number of UK and international festivals and 'use of cultural programming (festivals and events) as strategic devices to promote tourism and to build the brand-identity of the cities or regions where they are located'.<sup>158</sup> The report found that while there was cause for optimism in the short term, Edinburgh's pre-eminent position as *the* Festival City was vulnerable in the long term. The report asserts that:

The growth in the scale and number of Edinburgh's family of festivals has made the city a pre-eminent cultural destination over the six decades since the Edinburgh International Festival began, adding significantly to the national and international profile of the City of Edinburgh and of Scotland, as well as contributing to their economic well-being and cultural development.<sup>159</sup>

The report asserts that Edinburgh's festival strategy is that of pre-eminence but that increased competition from other festival cities, many of which are modelled on Edinburgh's events, chronic public sector under-investment,

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<sup>156</sup> Ibid., p. iii.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., pp. 67, 71.

<sup>158</sup> AEA Consulting, *Thundering Hooves*, p. 3.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., p. 4.



and complacency is undermining their position. The longevity and prestige of Edinburgh's main events, however, are seen as major competitive advantages that funders could choose to reinvest in.

The report dated the increased competition for Edinburgh's festivals from the 1980s and the rise of 'festivalisation', 'which has been linked to the economic restructuring of cities, inter-city competitiveness, and the drive to develop cities as large-scale platforms for the creation and consumption of "cultural experience"'.<sup>160</sup> The popularity of festivals is here linked to improved communications, reduced travel costs, the growth of tourism and the experience economy, and a need for cities to distinguish themselves in a homogenised market: 'Festivals are one of the mechanisms by which cities distinguish themselves and move from commodity to brand, in order to attract and retain inward investment, tourism and a skilled work-force'.<sup>161</sup> Within this context, the report benchmarked Edinburgh's position against 8 competitor festival cities (that include Melbourne but not Adelaide) in terms of 'economy, cultural offer and cultural spend, infrastructure, levels of innovation, workforce skills, quality of life, and new development projects'.<sup>162</sup>

The report's authors identified a number of key trends across these festivals cities that provide important context for their recommendations. Firstly, they found that greater engagement with local context was accompanied by 'an equal drive to position more and more festivals as "international", as symbols of their standing and eminence'.<sup>163</sup> Secondly, there is a growing promotion of the 'culture of cities' over single events within municipal marketing strategies. The report found that while Edinburgh has distinct advantages in terms of the distinctiveness of its location based on its heritage that provides both attractiveness and uniqueness to its festivals, there are a number of areas in which the city could improve. Thus the authors found that 'Edinburgh's enviable size and

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<sup>160</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid., p. 28.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

geography helps to create a festival atmosphere that cannot be replicated in any of the cities studied'.<sup>164</sup> Although other festival cities offered more festival days per year (the highest being Montreal with 397), Edinburgh's Summer festivals dominate the market: 'For the number and range of large festivals, Edinburgh's festival season in August is not rivalled by the benchmark cities. In that month Edinburgh is *the* Festival City'.<sup>165</sup> Edinburgh's festivals have a high level of visibility and the report notes that this is supported by the umbrella brand 'Edinburgh – Inspiring Capital' launched in May 2005, which was 'intended to work in synergy with all the festivals and over time should add value to their promotion as the marketing plan for the brand is implemented'.<sup>166</sup> Areas to improve, however, include transport infrastructure (a factor mitigated by the new tram system that was completed in 2014); a need to upgrade venues to maintain world class facilities (a number of venues including the Edinburgh Festival Theatre, Usher Hall, the King's Theatre, and the Assembly Rooms have been refurbished over the past 20 years); and a recommendation to the CEC to increase their cultural budget from 2.8% to 4% in line with their closest competitor cities.

On the basis of these findings AEA Consulting makes 14 recommendations in order for Edinburgh's festivals to maintain their pre-eminent position as the world's festival city. A number of these recommendations involve improving the strategic position of the festivals by promoting a collaborative and coordinated approach between them. Increased public funding is also a major recommendation of the report, including the CEC increasing its cultural budget to 4% and due to Edinburgh's comparatively small tax base and its importance as the 'gateway to Scotland', the report argues that the Scottish Executive should increase its level of investment. Maintaining the international quality of the programming is also seen as a priority to be achieved through strong artistic and managerial leadership (and succession planning for such) and the

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<sup>164</sup> Ibid., p. 28.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid., p. 31; original emphasis.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., pp. 32-33.

commissioning of new work. It also recommends that the CEC prepare a plan for infrastructure development (including venues) that is taken up in the City Cultural Venues Study (see below). The ninth recommendation, however, is the clearest articulation of the report's position: 'The machinery and resources should be put in place under an agreed management structure to promote Edinburgh, the Festival City worldwide'.<sup>167</sup> The remaining recommendations are how Festivals Edinburgh and the various stakeholders can best achieve this through the strategic coordination of resources.

### **Festivals Edinburgh**

Festivals Edinburgh, which was in the process of formulating a business plan and hiring staff when *Thundering Hooves* was published, was officially established in 2007. Now representing 12 festivals, Festivals Edinburgh is a voluntary city-wide organisation that brings together the directors of these events in order 'to support Edinburgh's Festivals in sustaining and developing their position as the world's leading festival city through: [the] development and delivery of collaborative projects and initiatives which support growth, product development, leadership and audiences, [and] acting on behalf of and representing the collective strengths of the Edinburgh Festivals'.<sup>168</sup> The umbrella organisation is directly informed by the *Thundering Hooves* report, the CEC's Festival Strategy, and the Economic Impact Evaluation of these festivals and explicitly aims to promote 'the Festivals' and the Festival City's global competitive advantage'.<sup>169</sup> Festivals Edinburgh has four priority areas: strategic planning, marketing, programme development, and infrastructure. It also participates in the Festivals Forum, which was established in 2007 in the wake of the *Thundering Hooves* report, and brings together the festivals' key stakeholders –including the CEC, Creative Scotland, the Scottish

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<sup>167</sup> AEA Consulting, *Thundering Hooves*, p. 48.

<sup>168</sup> Festivals Edinburgh, *Edinburgh Festival City* <<http://www.edinburghfestivalcity.com/about>> [accessed 2 February 2015].

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*

Government, VisitScotland, EventScotland, and Scottish Enterprise – to enable collective strategic decision making to maintain their global competitive edge.

### **City Cultural Venues**

The City Cultural Venues Study of 2009 was undertaken by PMP on behalf of the CEC and Scottish Enterprise Edinburgh and Lothian. PMP were charged with providing an overview of the city's existing cultural venues, to make recommendations on and to prioritise future provision, and to provide evidence to allocate resources in the short, medium, and long term. Stakeholders consulted by the report's authors defined their aspirations for the city to be recognised as 'a "must see" contemporary European capital City'; 'to provide a year-round programme of cultural festivals and events'; and 'to be a creative and connected City'.<sup>170</sup> The report identified 73 cultural venues with a minimum capacity of 200 (the scope of the report) in the city and found that they are clustered around Bristo Square, Lothian Road, and the Castle Area. In terms of provision for drama and musicals, the authors found that there is an adequate number of existing venues but they need upgrading in order to meet the city's aims. The strengths of Edinburgh's cultural venues were identified as the wide range of existing venues; the number of historical venues and their classical architecture; Edinburgh's reputation for festivals and events; the compact nature of the city centre; and the vibrant and creative community. The weaknesses, however, included a lack of investment in existing infrastructure; the underutilisation of existing venues outside of August; the difficulty in accessing funding for capital improvements; a lack of support for venues outside of the city centre; and a lack of suitable venues to stage rock/pop concerts.<sup>171</sup>

A key problem that the report articulated was the need to provide world-class facilities with adequate seating during festival time had resulted

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<sup>170</sup> PMP, *City Cultural Venues Study: Executive Summary Report* (Edinburgh: PMP, 2009)

<[http://www.edinburgh.gov.uk/downloads/download/2799/city\\_cultural\\_venues\\_study\\_executive\\_summary](http://www.edinburgh.gov.uk/downloads/download/2799/city_cultural_venues_study_executive_summary)> [accessed 18 February 2014], p. vi.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

in an oversupply of venues (particularly theatre venues) outside of August. The report recommended greater coordination with Glasgow and other Scottish cities to coordinate year-round programming and to explore opportunities for existing venues to produce more work. Although potential audience members within a 30-minute catchment of Edinburgh are of a demographic (in terms of age and class) who are likely to attend numerous cultural events, their relatively small number limits the demand for greater provision of cultural venues in Edinburgh. Ultimately, therefore, the report recommended upgrading existing facilities rather than investing in new ones. Since this report was published, both the King's Theatre and Assembly Rooms (both identified as medium-term priorities) have been upgraded.

### **Future Directions**

More recent reports on the economic impact of Edinburgh's festivals focus on the contributions they make to the economy but also to the local society. The 2011 *Edinburgh Festivals Impact Study* was conducted by BOP Consulting on behalf of the Festivals Forum, Scottish Enterprise, Festivals Edinburgh, CEC, EventScotland, the Scottish Government, and Creative Scotland. In addition to the economic impact of these events, this report set out to assess the 'social, cultural, environmental and media aspects' that the 12 festivals contribute to.<sup>172</sup> While acknowledging that '[p]roviding enriching, world-class cultural experiences lies at the heart of all the Festivals',<sup>173</sup> there is a greater focus in this report in assessing the contributions that they make locally. Thus the report asserts that 'the Festivals also promote, develop and support the cultural, creative and events sector in Edinburgh, Scotland and beyond' through their economic contribution to host venues, providing professional development for artists,

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<sup>172</sup> BOP Consulting, Ulrike Chouguley, Richard Naylor and others, *Edinburgh Festivals Impact Study: Final Report* (Edinburgh: Festivals Edinburgh, 2011) <<http://www.festivalsedinburgh.com/sites/default/files/Edinburgh%20festivals%202010%20Impact%20Study%20Report.pdf>> [accessed 18 February 2014], p. 2.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*

proactively investing in local companies and new work, and building the long-term capacity of the sector.<sup>174</sup>

The report also directly emphasises the role of festivals in place-making and in ‘enhancing the image and identity of Edinburgh and Scotland’.<sup>175</sup> According to their survey-based research, local residents take pride in these events, visitors agree that the summer festivals make Edinburgh distinct, and the festivals showcase ‘a positive national identity’ of Scotland as diverse and open.<sup>176</sup> Given the historical animosity held towards these events locally (see Chapter 2), this finding is surprising and could reflect a change in attitude towards this place myth but is certainly in line with a trend towards emphasising the local contributions of these events. This report also reflects the broader trend within urban entrepreneurialism requiring the festivals to pursue ‘a sustainability agenda’ by pursuing other sources of funding in addition to public investment. The report acknowledges that ‘[t]here is substantial public sector investment in all the Festivals, whether directly as core funding or indirectly through infrastructure investments in venues’ but they must continue to invest in innovative programming if they are to remain competitive within the world marketplace.<sup>177</sup> This 2011 Impact Study is therefore indicative of the changing mandate being placed on international arts festivals towards engagement with local residents and supporting the year-round cultural infrastructure of the city (and in Edinburgh’s case, the nation).

Far from accusations of denigrating Scottish culture and from being a foreign imposition, the EIF – along with the other 11 Edinburgh festivals – is today positioned as championing Scottish national identity on the global stage. This is the claim that the 2014 Edinburgh Festivals report makes in its title: *Edinburgh’s Festivals: Defining Scotland’s Cultural Identity on the Global Stage*. According to this document, Edinburgh’s festivals are ‘Scotland’s

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<sup>174</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., pp. 3-4.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

world-leading cultural brand', collectively generate an economic impact of GBP£261 million, and 'offer a remarkable and unrivalled international platform and springboard for Scottish artists and companies, represent a major attraction and influence for those choosing to live, work, visit and invest in Edinburgh and Scotland and define Scotland's cultural identity on the global stage'.<sup>178</sup> In perhaps the best articulation of the ambiguous position – between being distinctively local but internationally renowned – that cities are expected to inhabit under the dictates of urban entrepreneurialism and creative cities discourses, Edinburgh's festivals have been rhetorically rehabilitated as proudly Scottish events.

They represent Scotland at its most confident, its most open and its most creative. They are distinctively Scottish and yet fiercely and famously international and are committed to capitalising their enormous global value for the benefit of Scotland.<sup>179</sup>

Whether or not this remains an aspiration or is in fact indicative of a genuine change in attitude towards Edinburgh's festivals remains to be seen. As will be shown in Chapter 5, Edinburgh's summer festivals are not only a site for the articulation of national cultural identity but also for contestation over it. Nevertheless, this positioning of these events within their local infrastructure and cultural policy highlights the changing agendas that they are expected to fulfil and gives insight evolving artistic priorities.

Edinburgh has therefore pursued a festivals strategy at the official government level. From its earliest inception festival management has been political and changing attitudes and priorities of the local authorities towards the arts have influenced the festivals' fortunes and artistic programming. Regardless of their acceptance by local residents, these events have shaped Edinburgh materially and discursively over their 60-

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<sup>178</sup> Festivals Edinburgh, 'Edinburgh's Festivals: Defining Scotland's Cultural Identity on the Global Stage', <<http://www.festivalsedinburgh.com/sites/default/files/Defining%20Scotland%27s%20Cultural%20Identity%20-%202013.pdf>> [accessed 14 April 2014], p. 3.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

year history. As festival management was professionalised and became more business-oriented in the 1990s, there was also a growing recognition of the ways in which these events could be capitalised upon within tourism campaigns and place promotion. The *Edinburgh Festivals Strategy* at the turn of the century was an official attempt to brand the city with these events and to privilege this particular place myth over alternatives. The historical animosity held towards the EIF, in particular, is now viewed as an obstacle to maintaining Edinburgh's reputation as *the* world Festival City. The re-orientation of these famously international events towards their local community cannot simply be attributed to the rhetoric of urban entrepreneurialism, however, as recent initiatives by the Scottish Government to support Scottish culture within the Festival and to privilege the arts as a means of asserting a distinct Scottish cultural identity have also played a significant role and will be explored in the next chapter. The relationship between Edinburgh and its festivals remains, as it has throughout its history, complicated and contested.

## **Conclusion**

The Festival City place myth in Adelaide and Edinburgh is embedded within the local cultural and political infrastructure of these cities and has shaped them materially and discursively over a 50 and 60-year period respectively. Rhetorically, urban governance has actively harnessed this place myth in recent decades to both promote and reshape these cities into creative hubs of a particular kind (an elite international arts product) that risks disregarding or replacing existing or former local culture. In Adelaide this has been driven by a desire to reverse its population loss and a need to diversify its economic base by overcoming the city's 'conservative and staid' reputation once and for all and replacing it with the 'Vibrant City'. In Edinburgh, local officials are driven to build upon and maintain the city's reputation as the world's Festival City and recuperating these events as distinctively Scottish. In both cases, the existing and prestigious festivals are drawn upon to distinguish these cities and to underwrite their claims to be creative cities. This process is iterative, however, with the festivals in both



cities coming together under strategic umbrella organisations to capitalise on this rhetoric in turn to guarantee continued public investment and their own survival.

There is an inherent contradiction, however, that if all cities adopt Florida's creative prescriptions, they risk undermining the very uniqueness and authenticity that they seek to create or reinforce. As Peck further observes, Florida's list of creative attractions 'might lapse into their own kind of "generic". The creatives' restless search for authentic experiences may, of course, lead them to spurn such places'.<sup>180</sup> It is also not realistic for all cities to continue to invest in these particular attributes, with both cities making active decisions over whether to continue to invest in their Festival City identities or to undergo a period of creative destruction. Local engagement with and investment in the Festival City place myth is therefore seen as key to the future survival of these events. In the next chapter I position these festivals within their national cultural policy contexts and funding structures to highlight the multiple and contradictory agendas that these events must serve beyond the city limits and purview of urban entrepreneurs.

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<sup>180</sup> Peck, 'Struggling with the Creative Class', p. 749.

## **Chapter Four: Performing Nation: The Festivals of Adelaide and Edinburgh in their Cultural Context**

Festivals are large-scale, publically funded cultural events that can be read as theatrical events in their own right. Examination of the conditions of production and reception of these performances reveals that they are expected to serve a number of national agendas that go beyond the promotion of place. In this chapter I chart the post-war funding and cultural policy frameworks of Scotland and Australia within which the festivals of Edinburgh and Adelaide sit in order to highlight the larger debates that these events participate in and to interrogate the cultural work that they perform. I begin by outlining the history of post-war public funding for the arts in both countries and how these institutional frameworks have evolved to support the articulation of local culture but also to guide it in certain strategic directions. A comparative investigation of national policy documents in this chapter, and local government reports in the last, reveals an ongoing conversation and trading of ideas between Australia and Scotland, and specifically between Adelaide and Edinburgh on the local government and festival management level. Given the historical and cultural legacies that these two countries share and their similar positions as welfare states faltering in the age of globalisation and neoliberal rationality that opposes state support for health and education, let alone the arts, it is unsurprising that a number of underlying themes emerge from this analysis.

Firstly, there is an intrinsic link between definitions of culture, which tend to be open and heterogeneous, and articulations of national identity. Cultural policy documents within Australia and Scotland both refer to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation's (UNESCO) *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural*

*Heritage* (2003) despite neither country having ratified it.<sup>1</sup> Article 2 of the Convention defines 'intangible cultural heritage' as:

the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage.<sup>2</sup>

Intangible cultural heritage is transmitted between generations and is not static, but rather continually 'recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity'.<sup>3</sup> The understanding of national culture as heterogeneous, fluid, and constantly under construction underpins the official policy language in both countries. In Scotland, this is focussed on asserting the distinctiveness of Scottish national identity within the broader UK context against the backdrop of the 2014 referendum on independence. In Australia, this is part of an ongoing project to construct a national identity that respects Indigenous culture and accounts for post-war migrant history and its geographical position in Asia on the one hand and the enduring legacy of and identification with Anglo-

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<sup>1</sup> The Scottish National Party Government's Independence White Paper declared that they would be in favour of ratifying the Convention, 'as Scotland's songs, dance and stories are as important as our castles, palaces and monuments' Scottish Government, *Scotland's Future: Your Guide to an Independent Scotland* (Edinburgh: Scottish Government, November 2013) <<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/0043/00439021.pdf>> [accessed 24 January 2015], p. 534. While the Australian government's national cultural policy, *Creative Australia*, directly references the convention as they assert that a 'creative nation is a productive nation'. Australian Government, *Creative Australia: National Cultural Policy* (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2013) <<http://webarchive.nla.gov.au/gov/20130329030148/http://creativeaustralia.arts.gov.au>> [accessed 4 February 2015], p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> UNESCO, *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, (2003) <<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00006>> [accessed 13 April 2015].

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

British culture on the other. Reading these festivals as theatrical events suggests that they perform certain aspects of national identity and tensions within its contemporary construction alongside more local concerns.

Secondly, the intrinsic versus instrumental value of the arts is a larger international debate that is filtered through local priorities and concerns. In both cases, the economic and social benefits of the creative industries form the primary justification for continued public investment in the arts. Scottish administrations since parliamentary devolution in 1999 have asserted (rhetorically at least) the intrinsic value of the arts as a way of distinguishing themselves from the economic rationalist cultural policies and statements of the UK Westminster government. In Australia, where there remains an underlying anxiety over public commitment to the arts, the instrumental (especially economic) benefits of the creative industries tend to be stressed as a rationale for continued public investment. Despite the geographical distance between them, then, a number of common themes and concerns have shaped the evolution of cultural funding and policy structures in both countries.

More recent cultural policy developments in both countries are also informed by global events and conditions such as the 2008 Global Financial Crisis (GFC) that ushered in an age of austerity; climate change; the ongoing effects of globalisation; and technological development (with digital innovations especially affecting these festivals). I argue, however, that it is the local conditions that give shape to these international debates and the subsequent differences that emerge from a comparative analysis of the Scottish and Australian national cultural policy frameworks that disrupt a simple equation of international arts festivals with place promotion agendas. In Chapter Three, I interrogated how the Festival City place myth has been harnessed to market and promote the cities of Adelaide and Edinburgh. These festivals have longer histories and more complicated relationships with their local communities than the place promotion literature and critiques of it allow. Moreover, it is not just local councils (and in the case of Adelaide, the state government) that are invested in these

events. In attending to the specifics of place and the longer histories of these festivals, as established in Chapter 2, I seek to disrupt simple narratives in which cultural products are easily coopted for commercialised and political gains.

In this chapter, I build upon this critique by highlighting the multiple and competing interests within national cultural provision in order to reveal the broader agendas that urban-based arts festivals serve. To some extent, these motivations are reflected in national and state cultural policy documents with the festivals positioned as promoting these capital cities (and by extension the nation or state) as great places to live, work, and visit. This chapter, however, seeks to contribute to critiques of culture-based place promotion through a cultural materialist lens that is concerned with teasing out the conditions of production and reception in order to assess the broader cultural work that these festivals perform. Despite their instrumentalisation within place marketing, these festivals are not just shaped by one agenda or one group and their positioning within cultural policy continues to evolve in the face of arts funding cuts and constantly changing political environments.

### **The Rise of the Creative Industries**

Cultural policy documents within Australia and the UK reflect a trend towards privileging the instrumental (social and economic) benefits of the 'creative industries' over the intrinsic benefits of 'the arts' since the 1980s and 1990s. Although the Scottish Government rhetorically reaffirm the intrinsic qualities of the arts within their cultural policy documents, they also assert the importance of the creative industries to economic growth and adopt language and priorities that also reflect this shift that is often attributed to Paul Keating's Australian Labor Party (ALP) Government in Australia and Tony Blair's New Labour Government in the UK. Hilary Glow and Katya Johanson observe that by asserting the economic benefits of the arts and providing a justification for governmental investment, the architects of the instrumental approach in Australia sought to 'shore up the

place of culture in a climate of economic rationalism'.<sup>4</sup> They argue that '[t]his framework for policy', which they see as operating within both the Australian and British contexts,<sup>5</sup>

provides financial and regulatory support for cultural organisations and projects according to the criterion that they can be considered a sound financial or social investment, whether by having the potential to become financially self-supporting or by providing sufficient benefits to the economy or society as a whole (such as through cultural tourism or social therapeutic benefits) to justify the investment of public or private sponsorship.<sup>6</sup>

The shift in emphasis from intrinsic to instrumental has also been accompanied by changes to nomenclature from the 'arts', to 'cultural industries', and most recently to 'creative industries'.

In Australia the key policy document that marked this shift was ALP Prime Minister Paul Keating's 1994 National Cultural Policy, *Creative Nation*, and in the UK it was Tony Blair's 1998 *A New Cultural Framework*. Glow and Johanson note that this latest industries approach is based on the belief that the creative industries are an expanding sector that can provide growing employment opportunities to offset the decline of manufacturing.<sup>7</sup> Citing Jo Caust, they observe that the creative industries have benefited from greater recognition of the economic benefits of culture but have suffered from disincentives to take creative risks and the privileging of economic over

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<sup>4</sup> Hilary Glow and Katya Johanson, 'Looking for Cultural Value: Critiques of Australian Cultural Policy', *Asia Pacific Journal of Arts and Cultural Management*, 4.2 (2006), 259-69 (pp. 266-67).

<sup>5</sup> The authors refer to the policies of Westminster's Department of Culture, Media, and Sport as evidence throughout and do not account for the devolved status of culture in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland throughout this period. Nevertheless, as I argue below, Scotland's cultural policies also reflect a greater assertion of the instrumental benefits of culture and therefore these observations hold true even though the authors did not specifically examine them.

<sup>6</sup> Glow and Johanson, 'Looking for Cultural Value', p. 260.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 261.

artistic objectives.<sup>8</sup> This overarching policy objective is both reflected in and constructed through Australian and Scottish cultural policy documents and therefore informs how government and the private sector view the role of these festivals in relation to their cities, regions, and nations. I outline the structure and history of the funding bodies responsible for the Adelaide and Edinburgh festivals and analyse their most recent cultural policies within the context of this instrumental and creative industries approach.

### **Scottish National Context**

The funding of Edinburgh's festivals and their positioning within cultural policy occurs at the juncture between the history of post-war arts funding in the UK and how this operated in Scotland prior to the devolution of the Scottish Arts Council (SAC) to the Scottish Office in 1994. The arts in Scotland are seen as fundamental to Scottish national identity and they have been afforded a greater role since parliamentary devolution in 1999. Even while the SAC was part of the Arts Council of Great Britain (ACGB) it enjoyed relative autonomy both from its parent body and from government more broadly. This means that the institutional and funding conditions that have shaped the history of Edinburgh's festivals since 1947 are particular to Scotland. As explored in Chapter Two, Angela Bartie observes that '[t]he Edinburgh Festivals have in the past been referred to as "impositions", events that were "not Scottish" on account of them being in Edinburgh (a city sometimes charged with being more "English" than "Scottish"), being concerned with the international arts, and being run by people who were "outsiders"'.<sup>9</sup> As this section demonstrates, however, the history and continued evolution of Edinburgh's festivals are inextricably tied to Scottish political and cultural conditions that are distinct from the rest of the UK. Beyond providing the context for Edinburgh's festivals, I argue that the particular cultural and political environment of post-war Scotland provides these events with their unique identity. In this section I outline how arts funding and cultural policy has evolved within Scotland since 1947. In doing

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 263.

<sup>9</sup> Bartie, *The Edinburgh Festivals*, p. 12.

so, I chart the impact of post-war funding policies on the arts broadly, and festivals specifically, and how they evolved in Scotland. Until 1994 Scottish cultural policy was governed by the ACGB through the SAC. Following cultural devolution in 1994 and parliamentary devolution in 1999, Scotland has set its own cultural agenda and under this new regime the arts have been afforded a greater role in national policy.

### **History of Arts Funding in Scotland**

The beginning of the EIF coincided with the beginning of the Scottish Committee of the ACGB in 1947. For Angela Bartie, it is 'significant that the embryonic festival was being organised and discussed at the same time as negotiations were taking place for the development of the Arts Council, and particularly during debates about devolved control for nations within the Union'.<sup>10</sup> She reveals that within correspondence between organisers of the EIF and the Arts Council there was a 'palpable fear' of the form and content of the proposed Festival being too nationalistic.<sup>11</sup> The Scottish Committee had been formed after tense negotiations over the ACGB's Royal Charter in 1945-46. Although the ACGB's predecessor the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA) had had a Scottish Advisory Committee since 1942, its representatives had not been consulted on John Maynard Keynes's plans to continue CEMA as ACGB at the end of the war. Following threats of resignation from the Chair, Osborne Mavor, and the involvement of the Scottish Secretary of State and the Scottish Education Department, the Scottish Committee was eventually granted official status within the ACGB's Royal Charter and met for the first time in 1947. In the end, then, the Arts Council did award funding to the new Festival but its programming was subject to Arts Council approval. In 1967 the Committee was renamed the Scottish Arts Council (SAC) but it remained part of the ACGB until 1994 when the Conservative British government of the day devolved its powers to the Scottish Office as part of broader cultural devolution compromises (including returning the 'Stone of Destiny' from

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<sup>10</sup> Bartie, *The Edinburgh Festivals*, p. 29.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.



Westminster) offered to the burgeoning devolution movement. Despite remaining part of the ACGB for much of the late twentieth century, the SAC enjoyed autonomy from it and from government throughout this period.

Susan Galloway and Huw David Jones argue that between 1947 and 1999, 'Scotland enjoyed considerable autonomy over arts policy, because it was at "double arm's length" from government. This made it less directly accountable, but it also allowed Scotland the freedom to develop the arts in different ways to the rest of Britain'.<sup>12</sup> Both the SAC and the ACGB instituted a policy of 'arm's length' funding from their inception. 'Arm's length', according to Galloway and Jones, 'is a mechanism designed to distance policy or funding decisions from party politics and state bureaucracy by handing executive power over to an independent board' and was adopted by the ACGB in 1945 in order to 'safeguard artistic freedom'.<sup>13</sup> Although both the SAC and ACGB operated on this policy, Galloway and Jones argue that 'the specific national dimension of the arm's length relationship allowed the organization complete autonomy over arts policy in Scotland'.<sup>14</sup> The SAC's arm's length from government but also the ACGB itself lead Galloway and Jones to characterise this anomalous situation as 'double arm's length' that allowed the organization a 'considerable degree of autonomy, over both policy and funding'.<sup>15</sup> As a result, they argue that the 'SAC exemplifies to some extent the autonomous nature of Scottish institutions created by "unionist nationalism" – institutions that have helped sustain a sense of Scottish nationhood within the framework of the British state'.<sup>16</sup>

The SAC managed to maintain this autonomy in three ways until it was devolved to the Scottish Office in 1994 (the SAC, higher education, and broadcasting were the few cultural institutions to not be devolved during this period). Firstly, it was granted 'territorial autonomy over the arts in

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<sup>12</sup> Huw Jones and Susan Galloway, 'The Scottish Dimension of British Arts Government: A Historical Perspective', *Cultural Trends*, 19.1 (2010), 27-40 (p. 28).

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., pp. 27-28.

Scotland' by the ACGB.<sup>17</sup> Galloway and Jones note that '[t]his rested on the argument that, because Scotland is a nation with its own sense of national consciousness and cultural heritage, decisions about the arts in Scotland should be taken in Scotland'.<sup>18</sup> Secondly, the SAC secured a 12.08 per cent 'fixed share of British arts funding' based on the Goschen formula for most of this period.<sup>19</sup> Thirdly, the ACGB provided a buffer between the SAC and the Scottish Office, which on the one hand meant that the SAC could avoid political influence over its own decisions, but on the other meant that it had little recourse to be able to influence government policy in turn.<sup>20</sup> Due to the SAC's autonomy, it was able to maintain its arm's length funding policy for a period during the 1980s and 1990s as its parent body became subject to 'greater scrutiny and target setting' with political appointments made to the board to ensure compliance.<sup>21</sup> This period of autonomy, however, came to an end in 1994 when the SAC was devolved to the Scottish Office and changed once more following the devolution of the Scottish parliament in 1999.

Arts funding has been subjected to greater centralisation in Scotland since devolution. Despite initial optimism over the 'opportunity to raise the political status of culture – through the creation of a dedicated Cabinet Minister and Department', Galloway and Jones argue that devolution has led to 'a dramatic increase in the level of public scrutiny and accountability of SAC'.<sup>22</sup> To put this into context, however, the trend towards 'greater and more direct government involvement' in the arts and culture is reflected in other developed countries and is compounded in the UK by the need to develop uniform and rigorous criteria for assessing National Lottery applications since 1995 and pressure to improve public-sector efficiency introduced by New Labour from 1997.<sup>23</sup> Galloway and Jones conclude that

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., pp. 29-30.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., pp. 34-35.

'[h]istorically, SAC relied upon arguments about nationhood and national identity to fend off centralizing forces at UK [*sic*] level, a case that can no longer be made now decisions are made in Scotland. Inevitably the Scottish Parliament has brought centralizing forces from a UK to a Scottish stage'.<sup>24</sup> Since devolution, moreover, both Labour-Liberal Democrat coalition and SNP governments have asserted the arts and culture as being fundamental to Scottish nationalism and cultural identity.

### **Cultural Policy in a Post-Devolution Scotland**

In his Editorial for a 2014 special issue of *Cultural Trends* on Scottish cultural policy, David Stevenson argues that since devolution Scotland has taken a divergent path from the rest of the UK. Highlighting the establishment of the National Theatre of Scotland (NTS), the removal of arm's length funding, and the creation of the quango Creative Scotland that replaced SAC in 2010, Stevenson argues that Scotland, as a 'devolved nation with relative autonomy over [...] cultural policies', has made divergent decisions in cultural policy that should be considered as distinct from the catch-all of 'UK' cultural policy.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, the arts and culture have played a prominent role in promoting Scottish nationalism and cultural identity since devolution in 1999. As Stevenson argues,

The relationship between culture and identity, both individual and collective, makes it an attractive area for new governments trying to solidify the collective sense of the society that they govern. In this regard, the promise offered by cultural policy is possibly even more important for a nation that finds itself within the structures of a larger state, and whose national identity is predicated upon the promotion of a civic, rather than ethnic, nationalism.<sup>26</sup>

Katherine Lloyd describes this brand of nationalism – supported by both the Labour-Liberal Democrat and SNP administrations – as 'historically

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 36.

<sup>25</sup> David Stevenson, 'Scottish Cultural Policy', *Cultural Trends*, 23.3 (2014), 133-35 (p. 133).

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

heterogenous and inclusive in the sense that anyone who is willing to join the nation is welcome' and argues that this "inclusive" rhetoric has been mirrored in cultural policy'.<sup>27</sup>

This brand of civic nationalism is seen as more desirable by independence supporters such as Tom Nairn who seek to downplay the role of ethnic nationalism – often associated with violence and discrimination – within the political project of an independent Scotland. Following Michael Ignatieff, who counsels Scotland and Quebec against overplaying their victimisation, Nairn is keen to promote the resurgence of civic identity in Scotland without the negative aspects associated with ethnic nationalism.<sup>28</sup> Writing on *The Sociology of Nationalism*, David McCrone also focuses on issues of identity within a discussion of ethnic nationalism, picking up on concerns addressed by Nairn. Both authors downplay the existence of ethnic nationalism in Scotland and instead assert the importance of civic nationalism. As McCrone explains,

Scottishness is based on living in a common territory despite clear and abiding social, religious and geographical differences. The nationalist party, the SNP, prides itself on the 'mongrel' character of the Scots, and has argued that residence in Scotland, not blood-line, will confer citizenship if and when political independence is achieved.<sup>29</sup>

Both Nairn and McCrone take great pains to make the case for Scottish independence to be based on civic nationalism – and downplay the persistence of ethnic nationalism among residents – and this position is also adopted within post-devolution cultural policy documents.

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<sup>27</sup> Katherine Lloyd, 'Beyond the Rhetoric of an "Inclusive National Identity": Understanding the Potential Impact of Scottish Museums on Public Attitudes to Issues of Identity, Citizenship and Belonging in an Age of Migrations', *Cultural Trends*, 23.3 (2014), 148-58 (p. 150).

<sup>28</sup> Tom Nairn, *After Britain: New Labour and the Return of Scotland* (London: Granta, 2000), p. 140.

<sup>29</sup> David McCrone, *The Sociology of Nationalism: Tomorrow's Ancestors* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 22.

Cultural policy has become particularly important in Scotland since devolution. As Creative Scotland Chief Executive Officer (CEO), Janet Archer, notes, '[c]ulture is a larger percentage of the Scottish Government's remit than it is in the wider UK'.<sup>30</sup> Stevenson argues that '[a]s a devolved power, and arguably because of its importance in supporting a devolved nation delineating its nationhood within the boundaries of a larger state, cultural policy gained greater prominence in devolved Scottish politics'.<sup>31</sup> Anne Bonnar notes that the shaping of Scotland's cultural policy since devolution has taken place against 'a dynamic and sometimes volatile political backdrop'.<sup>32</sup> This is partly due to a complex situation in which the arts, along with heritage, education, and tourism were devolved to Scotland, while Westminster retained foreign affairs and broadcasting at this time. It was also partly due to a turbulent political situation in which '[t]he first 10 years saw three political administrations, four first ministers and nine ministers with responsibility for culture'.<sup>33</sup> It is against this backdrop that Scotland's first National Cultural Strategy was implemented.

As early as August 2000 the inaugural Labour First Minister, Donald Dewar, launched Scotland's first National Cultural Strategy, which included a GBPE7.25 million funding package to be delivered over three years. Signalling the primacy of culture to the Scottish Executive, Dewar declared that '[o]ur approach will therefore seek to place culture at the heart of the Executive's policy development. Our strategy is therefore based on principles of inclusion, of promoting culture in and through education and of widening access and opportunities'.<sup>34</sup> At the launch, then Deputy Minister

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<sup>30</sup> Janet Archer, 'Unlocking Potential, Embracing Ambition', *Cultural Trends*, 23.3 (2014), 193-96 (p. 194).

<sup>31</sup> David Stevenson, 'Tartan and Tantrums: Critical Reflections on the Creative Scotland "Stooshie"', *Cultural Trends*, 23.3 (2014), 178-87 (p. 179).

<sup>32</sup> Bonnar, 'What Does Culture Mean to You?', p. 137.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Scottish Executive, 'FM Pledges Funding for Scottish Cultural Strategy – Creating Our Future, Minding Our Past', (16 August 2000) <<http://wayback.archive-it.org/3011/20130205153651/http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Release>

for Culture and Sport, Rhona Brankin, announced that the Scottish Executive would undertake a feasibility study for a national theatre of Scotland: 'The objective of this study will be to identify a way forward for promoting theatre in Scotland which will raise the quality of theatrical work – both of established and new writing – and ensure such quality work can be seen and enjoyed by audiences throughout Scotland'.<sup>35</sup> Four strategic objectives were articulated in this report and assessed in subsequent annual reports: 'Promote creativity, the arts, and other cultural activity. Celebrate Scotland's cultural heritage in its full diversity. Realise culture's potential contribution to education, promoting inclusion and enhancing people's quality of life. Assure an effective national support framework for culture'.<sup>36</sup> While Edinburgh's festivals were not mentioned specifically within this speech, Brankin highlighted cultural tourism as a focus and declared the 'importance of the creative industries to a vibrant economy and cultural sector'.<sup>37</sup>

In the first annual report on the strategy, Brankin's successor Allan Wilson articulated a theme that has recurred in Scottish cultural policy discussions since devolution: 'As a small country our history, our heritage, our sporting achievements and the strength and diversity of our contemporary artistic scene lets us punch above our weight'.<sup>38</sup> This time the EIF is mentioned within Wilson's Foreword and cultural tourism is listed as the first priority for the following year: 'ensuring that our cultural life in its widest sense adds to the perception of Scotland across the world – our major events strategy and our developing approach to cultural tourism are

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s/2000/08/bfa3c4c0-b4e2-415c-b020-691b662f654d#> [accessed 18 January 2015].

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Scottish Executive, *Creating Our Future, Minding Our Past: Scotland's National Cultural Strategy First Annual Report* (Edinburgh: Scottish Executive, 2001)

<<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/158792/0043111.pdf>> [accessed 18 January 2015], p. 2.

<sup>37</sup> Scottish Executive, 'FM Pledges Funding for Scottish Cultural Strategy'.

<sup>38</sup> Scottish Executive, *Creating Our Future, Minding Our Past*, p. 2.

central'.<sup>39</sup> The only mention of any of Edinburgh's festivals is the EIF as having hosted a showcase event in order to '[p]romote international cultural exchange and dialogue'.<sup>40</sup>

The third First Minister Jack McConnell made the next major cultural policy announcement in 2003 on behalf of the second Labour/Liberal Democrat administration. During his seminal St Andrew's Day speech he declared that culture would be at the heart of Scotland's governance. Within this speech he affirmed the 'importance culture has to play in our personal lives and in shaping our national identity'.<sup>41</sup> Extending this McConnell explained that '[c]ulture cuts across every aspect of government – it can make a difference to our success in tackling poverty, it can make Scotland a healthier place and it has a significant contribution to make towards our economy' and therefore 'culture will not be an add on, it will be at the core of everything we do'.<sup>42</sup> McConnell also took this opportunity to invite international guests to visit what he claimed was a renewed Scotland. In a message that was circulated to British consulates and embassies, McConnell asserted that there was never a better time to visit the country: 'Scotland offers the excitement of our great cities; the inspiration of our people; the grandeur of our scenery. It is a place that welcomes those who come to visit, which nurtures and repays the ambition of those who come to study, work and live'.<sup>43</sup>

A Cultural Commission was subsequently established in April 2004 in order to undertake the review of Scotland's cultural sector announced by McConnell within his speech. The Commission was tasked with exploring the notion of cultural rights and with making recommendations to the Scottish Executive to improve the infrastructure and institutional

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>41</sup> Scottish Executive, *St Andrew's Day Speech*, (30 November 2003) <<http://wayback.archive-it.org/3011/20130204022452/http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Releases/2003/11/4641#>> [accessed 18 January 2015].

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

framework of the cultural sector.<sup>44</sup> It made 131 recommendations within its final report delivered to Ministers in June 2005 to which the Scottish Executive formally responded the following year. Within their response the Scottish Executive claimed that there were cultural opportunities in Scotland since devolution due to their increased investment in the sector. The report begins:

Since devolution, a new focus on Scotland's cultural life has seen an amazing host of achievements – world-class architecture and exhibition spaces; new festivals springing up across the country; record audience numbers at major events; lots of community-based activity in all artforms.<sup>45</sup>

Furthermore, the Scottish Executive outlined their national investment priorities in relation to cultural provision within their response as nurturing 'cultural talent'; developing excellence 'as a national resource'; promoting 'Scotland's rich culture treasure-store'; and 'make the best of the nation's performing activity available to be accessed right across the country'.<sup>46</sup>

As part of the review of the institutional structures of the cultural sector, the Scottish Executive announced the creation of a new public body Creative Scotland, which would amalgamate the Scottish Arts Council and Scottish Screen. The Executive, however, retained direct responsibility for funding the national performing arts companies responsible for 'bringing work of an international standard to their audiences, and showcasing some of the best performing arts activity produced in Scotland'.<sup>47</sup> These companies include the National Theatre of Scotland (NTS) (formed in February 2006), Scottish Opera, Scottish Ballet, the Royal National Scottish Orchestra, and the Scottish Chamber Orchestra and the criteria for defining

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<sup>44</sup> Scottish Executive, *Scottish Executive Response on the Cultural Review* (Edinburgh: Scottish Executive, 2006), 61 <<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/89659/0021549.pdf>> [accessed 14 April 2014], p. 8.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.



the companies with the 'highest artistic performing standards', was borrowed from the Australia Council's model.<sup>48</sup> Importantly, festivals are not included under this funding arrangement with the report specifying that: 'Festivals, however significant, are not national performing companies; as appropriate, some festivals will be supported in other ways such as through EventScotland, Creative Scotland or by local authorities'.<sup>49</sup> (Festivals are not included within the Australia Council's major performing arts companies either.) As a result of the Cultural Commission the Labour-Liberal Democrat Coalition government formulated a Draft Culture (Scotland) Bill in December 2006 before losing power to the SNP less than six months later.

Alex Salmond's Scottish National Party came to power as a minority administration of the renamed Scottish Government in May 2007. Within a week of being in power the SNP government published the results of a public consultation on the previous administration's draft culture bill but as Bonnar observes, 'it is doubtful if all the responses captured and included in this publication were taken into consideration in the development of subsequent cultural policy in Scotland'.<sup>50</sup> The new SNP government abandoned the Labour-Liberal Democrat draft culture bill and proposed their own Creative Scotland Bill which was publically scrutinised before being ultimately rejected by parliament in June 2008 due to lack of financial detail and clarity of duties. Despite this, Creative Scotland became a reality in 2010 during this turbulent period. Like its predecessors the SAC and Scottish Screen, Creative Scotland is a Non-Departmental Public Body that is funded by the Scottish Government and the National Lottery.

The election of a majority SNP government under Alex Salmond in 2011 with Fiona Hyslop as Minister for Culture allowed greater stability within the cultural sector. According to Bonnar '[t]his marked the beginning of a consistency of leadership and actions alongside an increased political

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Bonnar, 'What Does Culture Mean to You?', p. 143.

confidence'.<sup>51</sup> As part of its economic recovery plan, the Scottish Government published its creative industries strategy entitled 'Growth, Talent, Ambition' in March 2011 to establish 'how we are working to promote growth in the creative industries'.<sup>52</sup> This policy document claims that the Creative Industries (including digital content and technologies) are one of seven sectors in which Scotland has a competitive advantage over other regions.<sup>53</sup> Creative Industries are here defined as 'those which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent' and reflect broader trends in the discourse of the creative economy by highlighting both their economic benefits and their 'spillover' effects including making 'regions more attractive living places for highly skilled workers in other sectors of the economy'.<sup>54</sup>

The work of Creative Scotland in promoting local talent through the Made in Scotland programme at Edinburgh's festivals is highlighted as one of the organisation's achievements under Part 1 'Ambition'.<sup>55</sup> 'Made in Scotland', according to their website, 'is a curated showcase of Scottish performance on the Edinburgh Festival Fringe, supported through the Scottish Government's Edinburgh Festivals Expo Fund'.<sup>56</sup> It was established in 2009 and is designed to facilitate Scottish theatre, dance, and music being seen by national and international promoters. It is for this reason that the marketing strategies of Edinburgh's festivals receive a full-page treatment under the internationalisation section of the Creative Industries Report. The report states: 'The Edinburgh Festivals are Scotland's world-leading cultural brand and collectively they attract audiences of four million and have an economic impact of £184 million, generating £61 for every £1 of public

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p. 137.

<sup>52</sup> Scottish Government, *Growth, Talent, Ambition: The Government's Strategy for the Creative Industries* (Edinburgh: Scottish Government, March 2011) <<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/346457/0115307.pdf>> [accessed 24 January 2015], p. 2.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., pp. 6, 5.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>56</sup> Made in Scotland, *Made in Scotland Showcase*, (2014) <<http://www.madeinscotlandshowcase.com/>> [accessed 24 January 2015].

investment'.<sup>57</sup> The economic impact of the festivals is further stressed with the report claiming that combined the twelve events provide one-fifth of Edinburgh's annual tourism income. For this reason, both Creative Scotland and Scottish Enterprise (SE) support economic impact studies and marketing strategies of Festivals Edinburgh. According to this report, 'Creative Scotland (and through its predecessors Scottish Arts Council and Scottish Screen) is a key investor in the Edinburgh Festivals, through foundation, flexible and project funding'.<sup>58</sup>

### **Faultlines Within Cultural Infrastructure: The Creative Scotland Stooshie**

Since its creation on 1 July 2010 Creative Scotland (CS) has been embattled with controversy over its poor relationship with prominent members of the Scottish cultural community that led to the high profile resignation of its CEO Andrew Dixon in December 2012. David Stevenson characterises this period, known as the Creative Scotland 'stooshie', as a discursive event. The dispute began as a result of a 2011 announcement that CS would be removing its arrangements for 'flexible funding' (over two to three years) that provided for 60 organisations, but it escalated in 2012 when it became clear that there would be no alternative stable sources of funding made available for these organisations. Dixon resigned in December 2012 after what *Guardian* Arts blogger, Charlotte Higgins, describes as 'months of criticism levelled at Dixon by the Scottish arts community, prominent members of which [including Joyce McMillan, Liz Lochhead, and the playwright David Greig] have expressed concerns at both his leadership style and the policy direction of Creative Scotland, the organisation he presides over'.<sup>59</sup> Despite Dixon's resignation, CS's relationship with these

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<sup>57</sup> Scottish Government, *Growth, Talent, Ambition*, p. 20.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> Charlotte Higgins, 'Andrew Dixon Resigns as Head of Creative Scotland', *Guardian*, 3 December 2012  
<<http://www.theguardian.com/culture/charlottehigginsblog/2012/dec/03/andrew-dixon-resigns-creative-scotland>> [accessed 10 October 2013].

artists and organisations ‘appeared badly damaged [in January 2013], and the board was on the verge of issuing an action plan for change’.<sup>60</sup>

Stevenson’s discourse analysis of the event reveals that this dispute was between ‘a homogenous, yet pluralist Scottish “cultural community” and CS as a ‘bureaucratic body primarily consisting of “non-artist” “managers” more concerned with the practice of management than the production of culture’, and was concerned with ‘the manner in which CS execute their supposed primary role of “supporting” the Scottish “cultural community”’.<sup>61</sup> This stooshie was a prominent part of the larger debate that was also playing out within Scottish and UK cultural policy documents over the intrinsic versus instrumental value of culture and the arts and invokes what Stevenson identifies as a ‘discursive knot’ ‘that entangles the discourse strands of cultural value and public accountability with those of artistic freedom, expertise and excellence’.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, Stevenson argues, this represents a ‘defensive action’ by the most powerful within the cultural community and therefore ‘supports the status quo and obscures the power relationships at work in the distribution of cultural subsidy’.<sup>63</sup>

For Stevenson, this stooshie obscures the fact that ‘CS is one of the many tools of governance *employed* by the SG [Scottish Government] to exert power over the production of culture within Scotland in order to achieve their own strategic objectives’.<sup>64</sup> In addition he identifies the Edinburgh Festivals Expo Fund and the International Touring Fund as examples of the SNP government ‘utilising ring fenced funding to achieve their strategic aims’.<sup>65</sup> Established in 2007, the Edinburgh Festivals Expo Fund was designed ‘to help maintain the global competitive edge of the festivals, to increase funding available to Scottish-based artists and

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<sup>60</sup> Stevenson, ‘Tartan and Tantrums’, p. 178.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 181.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 182.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 183; original emphasis.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 182.

practitioners and to encourage creative collaborations'.<sup>66</sup> The fund is administered by Creative Scotland and includes provisions for the Made in Scotland initiative. According to the Scottish Government's website, '[i]t is aimed at supporting: touring within or outwith Scotland of works premiered at the festivals; work by Scottish-based artists and arts companies, and collaborative work with international artists'.<sup>67</sup> For Stevenson, it is this lack of transparency of the Scottish Government's control over cultural policy that enabled Hyslop 'to position the SG as a progressive and enlightened body that rejected the instrumentally, and specifically economically reductive attitude of Westminster' as discussed below.<sup>68</sup>

### **The Rise of the Creative Economy in Scotland**

Jennifer Attala sees the creation of Creative Scotland in 2010 as marking the point at which the SNP adopted the language of the creative economy and more commercially motivated policies. As she notes, 'flexible grants to arts organisations were replaced by "strategic commissions" or "franchises" and the words "creativity" and "talent" were ubiquitous, replacing culture and art as more commercially oriented descriptions of what Creative Scotland is supporting'.<sup>69</sup> For Attala, '[t]he discourse of cultural and creative industries has had the effect of legitimising economic arguments for cultural activity and helped them to gain currency', which has in turn led to the EIF adopting new roles.<sup>70</sup>

A commitment to the intrinsic value of the arts and culture has been asserted by Holyrood in order to distinguish their policies from Westminster's more instrumental approaches. Culture Secretary Fiona Hyslop delivered the next significant development in Scottish cultural policy within a speech – *Past, Present and Future: Culture and Heritage in an*

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<sup>66</sup> Scottish Government, *Edinburgh Festivals Expo Fund*, 20 September 2012 <<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/ArtsCultureSport/arts/Key-projects/EdinburghFestivalsExpoFund>> [accessed 25 April 2015].

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Stevenson, 'Tartan and Tantrums', p. 183.

<sup>69</sup> Attala, 'Performing the Festival', p. 34.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. 35.

*Independent Scotland'* – at Edinburgh University's Talbot Rice Gallery on 5 June 2013. In this speech, Hyslop asserted the SNP government's ambition 'to build an independent nation where our cultural and historic life can flourish'.<sup>71</sup> In doing so she acknowledged the significant debate over the value of Scotland's culture and heritage – whether its value is intrinsic or tied to the nation's economic and social wellbeing – over the year leading up to her speech. Distancing her government's position from then UK Culture Secretary Maria Miller, Hyslop affirmed that public subsidy for the arts should not be tied to a demonstrable return on investment. Instead, she declared that 'I believe that culture and heritage are both an intrinsic and instrumental good for us all' in terms of social well-being and that the economic benefits are secondary.<sup>72</sup> Nevertheless, she argues that highlighting the economic impact of Edinburgh's festivals, for example, does not denigrate them. Reiterating a popular theme within Scottish policy, Hyslop again claims that Scotland's culture and heritage extends its influence internationally: 'As a country, we continue to punch well above our weight internationally, using heritage, culture and creativity to attract other nationals to live, work, study, travel and do business in Scotland – all of which contributes to growth'.<sup>73</sup> Pre-empting the release of the SNP's White Paper on *Scotland's Future*, Hyslop also took the opportunity to reaffirm the importance of culture in the lead-up to the referendum: 'As we move towards the referendum in 2014, I believe that culture and heritage *must* be at the heart of Scotland's continued development and *must* shape our engagement with the world'.<sup>74</sup>

The rhetoric employed by Hyslop and Miller, her UK counterpart, are not as dissimilar as Hyslop's speech makes out. Current and former culture secretaries from both Holyrood and Westminster have asserted the

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<sup>71</sup> Fiona Hyslop, *Past, Present & Future: Culture & Heritage in an Independent Scotland*, 5 June 2013

<<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/News/Speeches/Culture-Heritage05062013>> [accessed 24 January 2015].

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.; original emphasis.

'intrinsic' value of culture and the arts while advocating for recognising and promoting their economic benefits. In a speech 'Testing Times: Fighting Culture's Corner in an Age of Austerity' made at the British Museum on 24 April 2013 (just prior to Hyslop's announcement), then UK Culture Secretary Maria Miller makes very similar claims to that of Hyslop about the arts: 'They are of instrumental, as well as intrinsic, value and their social benefits are numerous and beyond doubt'.<sup>75</sup> Moreover, the arts and culture are seen to promote and foster national identity (although here employed for British rather than Scottish identity): 'Arts and culture underpin what it means to be British; how we see ourselves; and how the world sees us. Our culture is our hallmark, and it makes the UK distinctive in a globalised world'.<sup>76</sup>

More so than Hyslop, however, Miller moves quickly to the economic benefits generated by the cultural sector in order to argue that culture should be central to the UK's economic growth and recovery. Thus she claims that culture,

brings our country to life and encourages people to visit our shores; it develops a sense of community and attracts visitors to disparate parts of our nation; it allows us to build international relationships forging a foundation for the trade deals of tomorrow; it cultivates the creativity which underpins our wider industrial efforts.<sup>77</sup>

This is the difference in emphasis between Westminster and Holyrood cultural policy that Hyslop stresses within her speech. Miller's April announcement is focused on making a case for the continued public support of arts and culture in the UK in the face of continued austerity by her Conservative-led coalition government. Here she puts forward a position of a 'mixed economy' in which she argues that government investment should

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<sup>75</sup> Maria Miller, 'Transcript of *Testing Times: Fighting Culture's Corner in an Age of Austerity*', *Gov.uk*, 24 April 2013

<<https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/testing-times-fighting-cultures-corner-in-an-age-of-austerity>> [accessed 25 January 2015].

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> Miller, *Testing Times*.

be characterised as ‘seed money’ or ‘venture capital’ in order to encourage further private investment (philanthropic or commercial) and to facilitate risk-taking while combating ‘complacency’. Miller’s professed concern here is to preserve public subsidy of the arts in an age of austerity by appealing to the cultural sector to ‘demonstrate the healthy dividends that our investment continues to pay’.<sup>78</sup> Ultimately, however, both the Scottish and UK governments emphasise the economic benefits of the arts and culture in order to brand their nation as ‘the attractive place it is to live, work and visit’.<sup>79</sup> This language reflects the same motivations as in the place promotion literature but is here employed on a national level.

The place of culture, communications, and the digital in an independent Scotland receives one chapter within the SNP’s speculative White Paper on *Scotland’s Future* in the event of a yes vote in the referendum. Although this policy document is a position paper on a hypothetically independent Scotland it nevertheless provides a useful insight into what role the SNP government envisions culture playing in a more fully devolved nation post-referendum.<sup>80</sup> The section begins with the commitment that ‘[u]nder independence, this Government will promote and support culture and heritage, both for their intrinsic value and for the benefits they contribute to Scotland’, thus once again distancing themselves from Westminster’s cultural policy as formulated by Miller.<sup>81</sup> As culture is already devolved to the Scottish Parliament, this document argues that the SNP government shielded the arts from cuts made by the Westminster

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> In the SNP’s *Manifesto for a Stronger Scotland* that was published in the lead-up to the 2015 UK General Elections, the party reasserts their commitment to achieving Home Rule and maximum devolution for Scotland as promised by the Better Together campaign in the final weeks prior to the September referendum. Interestingly, this manifesto makes no mention of Scottish culture. Scottish National Party, *Manifesto for a Stronger Scotland*, 2015 <<http://votesnp.com/docs/manifesto.pdf>> [accessed 28 May 2015], p. 35.

<sup>81</sup> Scottish Government, *Scotland’s Future*, p. 308.



government in the rest of the UK and emphasises the benefits from Holyrood gaining control of broadcasting and expanding Scottish content.<sup>82</sup>

The section begins with almost the exact language used by Miller in her speech (and in creative economy discourse in general). ‘Culture and heritage make our communities attractive places to live, work, invest and visit’.<sup>83</sup> Moreover, they contribute to ‘renewal and regeneration’ and to Scotland’s ‘social fabric, community cohesion and economic wellbeing’, so that ‘culture and the arts support better outcomes for healthier, safer and more resilient communities’.<sup>84</sup> Despite claims that their policy direction is distinct from Westminster in valuing the intrinsic value of culture over its economic benefits and that the expression of Scotland’s ‘traditional and distinct culture’ will be given ‘further impetus’ under independence (which will in turn act as an international selling point),<sup>85</sup> the White Paper does not articulate a clear cultural policy direction beyond a focus on communications and the establishment of a Scottish Broadcasting Service (SBS). Despite this, as Stevenson’s discussion of the CS stooshie reveals, the debate over the intrinsic versus instrumental value of culture also ‘supported the continued obscuration of the extent to which both CS and the major organisations it funds are primarily tools of governance by which the SG seeks to strategically shape the production and dissemination of culture in Scotland’.<sup>86</sup> In this way the strategic aims of national government within the cultural sector circumscribe the cultural work of urban-based arts festivals (especially in the capital).

In 2014 Creative Scotland published its ten-year strategic plan for 2014-24 entitled ‘Unlocking Potential Embracing Ambition’. In this plan they once again affirm that **‘The arts sector** in Scotland is recognised as being of

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid., p. 309.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., p. 312.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., p. 313.

<sup>86</sup> Stevenson, ‘Tartan and Tantrums’, p. 185.

intrinsic value to society by the Scottish Government'<sup>87</sup> before outlining their commitment to growing the creative industries by noting that this sector is the fastest growing in the UK and that 'Creative Scotland's role, which spans both intrinsic and commercial creativity, offers opportunities in relation to untapped markets and place-making'.<sup>88</sup> Importantly, the plan sets out five key aims for Scottish cultural policy over the next ten years with specific priorities for 2014-17: excellence and experimentation; access; places and quality of life; leadership and workforce; and connecting a distinctive Scotland to the world.<sup>89</sup>

In putting together the plan Creative Scotland, according to CEO Janet Archer, consulted over 1000 stakeholders through a programme of public consultation, open sessions, and an expert reference group in order to normalise the organisation's relationship with Scottish artists and groups: 'We wanted to signal a step change in the way we do things, moving away from being an organisation which could be accused of "not listening", to one which continually opens its doors to open dialogue and debate'.<sup>90</sup> Within her contribution to the *Cultural Trends* special issue on Scottish cultural policy, Archer is more vocal about the need to recognise the economic benefits of the cultural industries and both her article and the plan itself reflect the greater emphasis on connectivity and digital communications technology that appeared within *Scotland's Future*. Another important policy announcement is the simplification of funding routes to regular, project, and targeted. As Archer explains it, regular funding is for organisations for three years, project funding will be for a balance of organisations and individual artists, and targeted funding is 'the ring-fenced Scottish Government funds identified through consultation and sector reviews as well as a small

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<sup>87</sup> Creative Scotland, *Unlocking Potential Embracing Ambition: A Shared Plan for the Arts, Screen and Creative Industries 2014-2024* (Edinburgh: Creative Scotland, April 2014)

31<[http://www.creativescotland.com/\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0012/25500/Creative-Scotland-10-Year-Plan-2014-2024-v1-2.pdf](http://www.creativescotland.com/_data/assets/pdf_file/0012/25500/Creative-Scotland-10-Year-Plan-2014-2024-v1-2.pdf)> [accessed 14 April 2014], p. 48.; original emphasis.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17; original emphasis.

<sup>90</sup> Archer, 'Unlocking Potential, Embracing Ambition', p. 195.

number of specific funds attached to key strategic initiatives' (although she signals that the number of these will be reduced over time).<sup>91</sup>

The cultural policy and infrastructure that shape Edinburgh's festivals have therefore evolved within a concerted effort of successive administrations since devolution to assert the distinctiveness of Scottish from British culture, and to reinforce the political divide between Holyrood and Westminster. The debate over the intrinsic versus instrumental value of art is played out all over the world. Nevertheless, this historical overview of the history of arts funding in Scotland (as distinct from the UK) coupled with a close textual analysis of a range of cultural policy documents and announcements, reveals the way in which these international debates are moulded to local conditions as they become entwined with national priorities and politics. Edinburgh's festivals receive funding from the Scottish government via the CS and therefore are shaped by as well as contribute to the government's national cultural agenda. Although the original mandate of the EIF, for example, to showcase the highest standard in artistic excellence from around the world remains, there is increasing emphasis placed on its further aim to showcase the best of Scottish culture to the world. If understood as a theatrical event, Edinburgh's August festivals combined can be read as a national performance showcasing the vibrancy, diversity, and prestige of Scotland's arts and cultural scene, which the historical legacy and contemporary reputation of the EIF and Festival Fringe, in particular, play a major role in constructing. This suggests that these festivals play a far more important cultural role than their instrumentalisation within the place promotion of Edinburgh suggests. I turn now to mapping the Australian arts funding and cultural policy context in order to highlight the broader cultural work performed by Adelaide's festivals.

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

## Australian National Context

Cultural funding in Australia is distributed across the three tiers of government. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), total cultural funding in Australia for the 2011-12 period was AU\$6,974.3m, of which 34% was contributed by the Australian Government, 47% by the State and Territory governments, and the remaining 19% by local governments.<sup>92</sup> As such, the Australian Government, the South Australian Government, and the Adelaide City Council all contribute to shaping the institutional infrastructure and policy direction of Adelaide's festivals as well as having a direct stake in them. In this section I provide a brief history of arts of funding in Australia before analysing key national cultural policy documents and outlining the institutional structures that condition of the production of Adelaide's festivals. In doing so I reveal the national aims and priorities that influence the programming of these festivals, but also that the programming and individual performances of the festival further and contribute to.

The major international arts festivals in the capital of each state and territory form an Australian festival network of which Adelaide's March festivals collectively make up a key node. In discussing the role of national theatres within the globalised era, Janelle Reinelt argues that '[i]f the previous functions of National Theatres such as identity formation and critique are carried out in other venues, as well as or in place of an actual National Theatre, perhaps it is more useful to conceptualize a network of theatrical sites that produce national identity'.<sup>93</sup> In lieu of an officially sanctioned national theatre in the model of London's Royal National Theatre – now referred to as the National Theatre of Great Britain (NTGB) – or even the NTS therefore, I argue that these major festivals and the 28 Australia

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<sup>92</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics, '4183.0 Cultural Funding by Government, Australia, 2011-12', *Australian Bureau of Statistics*, 29 May 2014 <<http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Products/757882C98977D0F2CA257BB900113BF2?opendocument>> [accessed 26 February 2015].

<sup>93</sup> Janelle Reinelt, 'The Role of National Theatres in an Age of Globalization', in *National Theatres in a Changing Europe*, ed. by S. E. Wilmer (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 228-38 (p. 229).

Council-funded major performing arts companies function as sites of 'identity formation and critique' and therefore together constitute a federally-funded, albeit de facto, national theatre. Adelaide's festivals are subsequently stakeholders within the federal government's strategic cultural aims articulated within cultural policy and infrastructure. Before turning to the history of arts funding and an analysis of Australian cultural policy, it is necessary to provide some context on recent socio-political events that have influenced the evolution of official multiculturalism in the nation and underpin these policies.

### **Multiculturalism Within A Festival Context**

The Australian festival network is also a potent site for examining the contradictory role of international arts festivals in both reflecting and projecting the cultural aspirations of the nation. Australian theatre and performance scholars Helen Gilbert and Jacqueline Lo have argued that where the early programmes of the Adelaide Festival, for example, betray a Euro-American bias in their definition of internationalism, they began to include more Asian and Aboriginal performance in the 1980s and 1990s in response to the multicultural political agenda of Paul Keating's Australian Labor Party (ALP) government. Both Asian and Indigenous performance have long antecedents at the Adelaide Festival (with Asian performance appearing in the second programme in 1962 and Aboriginal performance much later in 1976).

Support for Asian and Indigenous performance within Australia is closely tied to the evolution of multicultural policy since the 1970s and its relationship to national identity. Zoe Anderson argues that multiculturalism in Australia is a contested term that refers 'concurrently to migrant settlement policy, the reality of ethnic diversity, and political statements about the nature of society'.<sup>94</sup> She identifies three phases of multiculturalism within her study: nascent multiculturalism during the late 1970s and 1980s under the Malcolm Fraser (1975-83) and Bob Hawke Governments (1983-

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<sup>94</sup> Zoe Anderson, 'Reading "Multiculturalism": A Historiography of Policy and Ideal in Australia', *History Compass*, 11.11 (2013), 905-17 (p. 905).

91); the Paul Keating period (1991-96) during which time the nation was realigned towards Asia and debated becoming a republic; and the late 1990s and 2000s which saw a swing against this by the conservative John Howard Government (1996-2007). The term multiculturalism was borrowed from Canada (where it was introduced in 1968) and the first official reference to it in Australia occurred in August 1973 within a speech by Al Grassby, Minister for Immigration for the Whitlam Government (1972-75). It became an official policy under Malcolm Fraser whose government provided the definition that would remain in place until 1996 and created the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs.<sup>95</sup> According to Anderson's historiographical analysis of Australian multiculturalism, the predominant view in the literature is that the policy was introduced in the 1970s because assimilation was failing and diversity was already a reality (with Asian immigrants representing 29% by 1979 and the Vietnam War leading to an increase in the number of refugees).<sup>96</sup> Multiculturalism in this period was therefore seen as a top-down approach based on the principle of non-discrimination but did not involve mainstream cultural change.<sup>97</sup>

The 1990s saw a shift in Australian multiculturalism as the Keating Government sought closer alignment with Asia. Gilbert and Lo argue that the increased focus on multicultural programming during the 1990s should be understood within the context of Keating's so called 'Asia enmeshment policy'. This was a top-down attempt to try to culturally reorientate the nation from its colonial ties with Europe towards its economic future in Asia. Here, the ALP's dual agendas of republicanism and multiculturalism and a 'desire to develop and project cosmopolitan tastes/identities'<sup>98</sup> were instrumentalised in part through cultural policy. Multiculturalism within the arts can here be understood as promoting internal social cohesion within an increasingly ethnically diverse society on the one hand, and promoting Australia's external relations with its neighbours in the region (for economic

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid., p. 910.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., p. 908.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., p. 909.

<sup>98</sup> Gilbert and Lo, *Performance and Cosmopolitics*, p. 112.

and security reasons) on the other.

Multiculturalism was not without its detractors during these earlier periods but the swing back against the policy gained momentum after 2001. As early as 1984 Professor of History at the University of Melbourne, Geoffrey Blainey, declared that Australia was being 'Asianised'.<sup>99</sup> Pauline Hanson famously invoked this sentiment again in 1996 during her maiden speech to the House of Representatives, which criticised levels of Asian immigration and welfare benefits for Aboriginal Australians. According to Anderson, however, '2001 initiated a fresh decade of new considerations and racial panics that further disrupted the idea of a coherent multicultural Australia'.<sup>100</sup> The September 11 attacks in the US contributed to an increased concern with Muslim immigration and 'border security' in Australia that has underwritten Australian immigration policy and responses to asylum seekers in the subsequent decade.

The Howard Government's response to two now notorious events in 2001 involving asylum seekers – the Tampa and 'Children Overboard' affairs – has shaped national immigration policies since. In August 2001 the Howard Government refused the MV Tampa, a Norwegian cargo ship, entry to Australian waters after the crew rescued 438 asylum seekers (mostly from Afghanistan) from their sinking vessel near Christmas Island (the asylum seekers were subsequently resettled in New Zealand).<sup>101</sup> In October of the same year, the then Immigration Minister, Philip Ruddock, falsely accused asylum seekers aboard the distressed fishing vessel, the Olong, of throwing their children overboard in order to garner sympathy from the Australian public. Prime Minister Howard repeated this claim, which was later proved to be false, as part of his November election campaign.<sup>102</sup> These

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<sup>99</sup> Anderson, 'Reading "Multiculturalism"', p. 906.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., p. 910.

<sup>101</sup> ABC News, '1999 - 2009: The Asylum Seeker Issue in Australia', *ABC News*, 17 April 2009, <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2009-04-17/1999---2009-the-asylum-seeker-issue-in-australia/1654948>> [accessed 28 May 2015]

<sup>102</sup> David Marr, 'Truth Overboard - The Story That Won't Go Away', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 February 2006

events heralded in the Pacific Solution in which all boat arrivals were processed offshore, a policy that was temporarily abandoned by the Kevin Rudd Government only to be later reinstated.

The Cronulla Riots in 2005, which targeted Lebanese Australians, provided the next flashpoint in Australian multiculturalism and, according to Anderson, are indicative of the ‘panic over Islam that has dominated [...] discussions of how “multiculturalism” translates into practice’.<sup>103</sup> Despite this, Chris Bowen, then ALP Minister for Immigration and Citizenship, reaffirmed Australia’s commitment to multiculturalism in 2011. In a speech to the Sydney Institute, Bowen argued that ‘multiculturalism has, without a doubt, strengthened Australian society’ and that it ‘is something we should recognise, embrace and proclaim’.<sup>104</sup> Anderson notes that this ‘shift towards re-embracing multiculturalism [during the Rudd-Gillard Prime Ministerships] has been in sharp contrast to both international criticism of the idea, as well as continued hostility towards refugees’.<sup>105</sup> Despite this reassertion in 2011, moreover, there is a growing sense that the Australian Government appears to have abandoned official multiculturalism as a policy. Kay Ferres, David Adair, and Ronda Jones note, however, that in spite of this, ‘support for cultural diversity and indigenous arts and a commitment to equity remain important values guiding cultural planning’.<sup>106</sup> This plays out rhetorically through a shift in discourse from ‘multiculturalism’ to ‘diversity’ as revealed in the analysis below.

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<<http://www.smh.com.au/news/national/truth-overboard--the-story-that-wont-go-away/2006/02/27/1141020023654.html?page=fullpage#contentSwap1>> [accessed 16 February 2016].

<sup>103</sup> Anderson, ‘Reading “Multiculturalism”’, p. 912.

<sup>104</sup> Chris Bowen, *Multiculturalism in the Australian Context*, available at *Kate Lundy Senator for the ACT*, 17 February 2011

<<http://www.katelundy.com.au/2011/02/17/minister-for-immigration-and-citizenship-chris-bowen-multiculturalism-in-the-australian-context/>> [accessed 16 February 2015].

<sup>105</sup> Anderson, ‘Reading “Multiculturalism”’, p. 907.

<sup>106</sup> Kay Ferres, David Adair, and Ronda Jones, ‘Cultural Indicators: Assessing the State of the Arts in Australia’, *Cultural Trends*, 19.4 (2010), 261-72 (p. 264).



The Australian government argue within their most recent national cultural policy, *Creative Australia* (2013), that arts and culture are increasingly important to government, suggesting that their counterparts all around the world are 'grappling with how best to support the distinctiveness of their societies at home and project it abroad'.<sup>107</sup> Highlighting the economic, instrumental, and social benefits of arts and culture, they further suggest that, '[t]he desire to enable a constellation of cultures to co-exist productively and harmoniously, to use culture as a catalyst for creativity and innovation, and as a key component in international relations, is shared by most nations'.<sup>108</sup> Once again, attempts to guide the formation of cultural identity at a national level intersect with the instrumentalisation of art and culture within the creative economy. In the Australian context, this is shaped by recognition that, unlike Scotland, the image of Australia that has traditionally been projected abroad is of its sporting achievements and nature tourism rather than of its arts and culture.<sup>109</sup> In addition, the key strategic aim of successive ALP governments (responsible for the only national cultural policies in existence) has been to foster social cohesion and to promote multiculturalism and its newer reincarnation, diversity, through arts and culture. Revealing how these international themes take shape in two different national contexts further demonstrates the importance of attending to the particularities of place and local contexts.

### **History of Arts Funding in Australia**

Australian government funding for the arts is a relatively recent phenomenon compared with other sectors. Julian Meyrick identifies the Guthrie Report (1949), the Vincent Report (1963), and the terms of reference for the establishment of the Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust (AETT) (1954) as early articulations of national cultural policy but marks

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<sup>107</sup> Australian Government, *Creative Australia*, p. 30.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>109</sup> Australia Council, *A Culturally Ambitious Nation: Strategic Plan 2014 to 2019*, May 2014

<<http://www.australiacouncil.gov.au/workspace/uploads/strategic-plan.pdf>> [accessed 1 March 2015], p. 4.

the beginning of significant government 'sectoral presence' as the Whitlam Government's doubling of arts funding and establishment of an independent arts council in 1973.<sup>110</sup> Since this time there have only been two official articulations of a national cultural policy both by ALP governments, the first *Creative Nation* in 1994 and the second *Creative Australia* in 2013.

Nevertheless, Meyrick includes three additional significant cultural policy documents within his study of the language of Australian cultural policy (1973-2013): the Industries Assistance Commission's *Inquiry into the Performing Arts* (1976); the House of Representatives Standing Committee's *Patronage, Power and the Muse: Inquiry into Commonwealth Assistance to the Arts* (the McLeay Report, 1986), which established the Major Organisations Board; and *Securing the Future* by the Major Performing Arts Inquiry (the Nugent Report, 1999), which classified the Major Performing Arts Organisations into strategic categories and established the Howard Government's 'Review Cycle' investigations into small-to-medium organisations. I focus on the two official national cultural policies here as the clearest articulation of the strategic aims of federal government that are accompanied by scholarly critique.

It is important to note that these policies were not always accepted or implemented and the most recent national cultural policy, *Creative Australia* (2013), was particularly short-lived as it was released just prior to a change in government and both the Arts Minister and Prime Minister responsible for the report have since resigned from politics.<sup>111</sup> Nevertheless, these documents are useful for revealing the cultural aspirations of the government at certain points in time, evolving definitions of culture and national identity, and the various agendas that the arts are required to serve. Meyrick argues, moreover, that it is a feature of Australian cultural policy documents that they 'outlast the specific government that generated

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<sup>110</sup> Julian Meyrick, 'Suiting the Action to the Word: The Changing Rhetoric of Australian Cultural Policy', *Asia Pacific Journal of Arts and Cultural Management*, 10.1 (2013), 1-14 (p. 6).

<sup>111</sup> Simon Crean and Julia Gillard respectively.

them'.<sup>112</sup> He believes that this is '[e]ither because they are resource intensive to write or because culture does not mobilise in the same way as other political issues, they persist rhetorically and substantively, until subsumed by later documents that often make use of the [sic] their logic and values'.<sup>113</sup> The logic and values of these documents also shape and inform the environment within which Adelaide's festivals operate and can even inform their programming.

### ***Creative Nation (1994): Visions for a Multicultural Australia***

Paul Keating's 1994 *Creative Nation* was the first articulation of an Australian national cultural policy and provides an important historical counterpoint to *Creative Australia*, which is discussed below. For Rimi Khan et al, *Creative Nation* was a 'watershed in Australian cultural policy', for it 'sought to elevate the arts and culture to national prominence, and reframed "the arts" as "cultural industries"'.<sup>114</sup> The link between culture and economics is articulated within the introduction to the report, which is worth quoting here as an early example of the creative industries model:

This cultural policy is also an economic policy. Culture creates wealth. Broadly defined, our cultural industries generate 13 billion dollars a year. Culture employs. Around 336,000 Australians are employed in culture-related industries. Culture adds value, it makes an essential contribution to innovation, marketing and design.<sup>115</sup>

Here the economic benefits of culture are defined not only in quantifiable terms such as jobs but also as adding value through creativity and innovation.

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<sup>112</sup> Meyrick, 'Suiting the Action to the Word', p. 6.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Rimi Khan, Danielle Wyatt, Audrey Yue and others, 'Creative Australia and the Dispersal of Multiculturalism', *Asia Pacific Journal of Arts and Cultural Management*, 10.1 (2013), 25-34 (p. 27).

<sup>115</sup> Australian Government, *Creative Nation: Commonwealth Cultural Policy*, (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 30 October 1994) <<http://pandora.nla.gov.au/pan/21336/20031011-0000/www.nla.gov.au/creative.nation/contents.html>> [accessed 28 February 2015].

*Creative Nation* was also an attempt to redefine Australian national identity at an official level (although the authors expressly deny this, or at least acknowledge its limitations).<sup>116</sup> For Meyrick, it was ‘a fugal expression of a presumed national cultural identity’.<sup>117</sup> The link between identity and culture is made clear in the introduction to the document: ‘Culture, then, concerns identity – the identity of the nation, communities and individuals. We seek to preserve our culture because it is fundamental to our understanding of who we are’.<sup>118</sup> Significantly, this cultural policy, according to Khan et al, ‘foregrounded multiculturalism as part of an overarching narrative of national identity, and highlighted the importance of arts and culture in contributing to this narrative’.<sup>119</sup> In the words of the policy’s authors, ‘Multicultural Australia – a society which is both diverse and tolerant of diversity, which actively *encourages* diversity – is one of our great national achievements’.<sup>120</sup> In addition, it was part of broader measures by the Keating Government to increase Australia’s engagement with Asia, which Khan et al note ‘represented a vast new market for Australian cultural products, and culture was to serve a diplomatic role, building and sustaining relationships between Australia and its neighbours in the Asia-Pacific’.<sup>121</sup>

Recognition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (ATSI) people and Indigenous cultures are also an important assertion within this document. In the Introduction, the report’s authors state: ‘The culture and identity of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians has become an

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<sup>116</sup> In outlining the ‘Commonwealth Government’s role in Australian Cultural Development’, the authors begin by stating that ‘[f]ew would maintain that governments can or should create cultures or national identities’ and acknowledge that this is something that comes from the everyday activities of communities and individuals, before going on to establish a rationale for governmental financial support for the arts. Commonwealth of Australia, *Creative Nation*.

<sup>117</sup> Meyrick, ‘Suiting the Action to the Word’, p. 7.

<sup>118</sup> Commonwealth of Australia, *Creative Nation*.

<sup>119</sup> Khan, Wyatt, Yue and others, ‘*Creative Australia* and the Dispersal of Multiculturalism’, p. 27.

<sup>120</sup> Commonwealth of Australia, *Creative Nation*; original emphasis.

<sup>121</sup> Khan, Wyatt, Yue and others, ‘*Creative Australia* and the Dispersal of Multiculturalism’, pp. 27-28.

essential element of *Australian* identity, a vital expression of who we *all* are'.<sup>122</sup> This official recognition of and respect for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and support for Indigenous culture has intrinsic benefit as an official acknowledgement of the resilience of Indigenous culture in the face of a long history of dispossession and pervasive institutional and social racism. This cooption of Indigenous culture and the subsuming of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander identity within an *Australian* identity, however, is not unproblematic given the historical legacy of government policy such as the Stolen Generations (for which an official apology had not yet been made) and the continued material deprivation of Indigenous communities that is most starkly illustrated by the life expectancy of Aboriginal men and women being 10 years less than the national average even in 2014.<sup>123</sup>

Underlying the project of a national cultural policy in the 1990s was a concern for articulating a distinct Australian identity in the face of the potentially homogenising effects of globalisation. In the introduction, the authors express the anxiety of 'many Australians' that Australian culture is under threat: 'The revolution in information technology and the wave of global mass culture potentially threatens that which is distinctly our own. In doing so it threatens our identity and the opportunities this and future generations will have for intellectual and artistic growth and self-expression'.<sup>124</sup> This anxiety has not diminished since the 1990s, with submissions to the National Cultural Policy Review (the three-year public consultation process upon which *Creative Australia* was based) again highlighting the deleterious effects of the Internet on Australian culture.

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<sup>122</sup> Commonwealth of Australia, *Creative Nation*; original emphasis.

<sup>123</sup> According to the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, '[f]or the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population born in 2010–2012, life expectancy was estimated to be 10.6 years lower than that of the non-Indigenous population for males (69.1 years compared with 79.7) and 9.5 years for females (73.7 compared with 83.1)'. Australian Government, 'Life Expectancy', *Australian Institute of Health and Welfare* <<http://www.aihw.gov.au/deaths/life-expectancy/>> [accessed 28 February 2015].

<sup>124</sup> Commonwealth of Australia, *Creative Nation*.

Kate MacNeill and Sarah Reynolds note that some of these submissions expressed the fear that ‘Australian culture itself might be “swamped” by international culture’.<sup>125</sup> They argue that ‘[t]he pervasiveness of this cultural anxiety can be traced through many policy discourses in Australia, not the least the fraught history of immigration policy and the contemporary politics of asylum seekers’.<sup>126</sup> The formation of ‘brand Australia’ for domestic consumption as well as a distinguishable product for the international market therefore partly informs the aims of such policies. Underlying this is a concern to give cultural expression to local stories and local ways of life in a country that has traditionally looked abroad – particularly to the UK and the US – for its arts and culture.

The sustainability of the sector is also a major concern woven throughout Australian cultural policy. In *Creative Nation* the report’s authors acknowledge that even though ‘most [artists] rely substantially on the Council for their continued existence’, funding levels have failed to keep up with significant ‘client growth’.<sup>127</sup> They argue that there is a need to promote corporate sponsorship and philanthropy in order to make up the shortfall of government funding for the arts:

The next generation of arts funding must be a better combination of private and public, not because the Government wishes to reduce its outlays in this area – but to meet the needs of the arts community if it is to play the role we expect of it in the country’s future development. Put simply, we need to move more towards the United States’ approach to benefaction.<sup>128</sup>

The Howard Government’s (Liberal-National Coalition) Nugent Report of 1999 was particularly concerned with ‘geographical access, “vibrancy” and long-term financial viability’, with Meyrick characterising it as an

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<sup>125</sup> Kate MacNeill and Sarah Reynolds, ‘Imagining Transnational Cultural Policy’, *Asia Pacific Journal of Arts and Cultural Management*, 10.1 (2013), 15-24 (p. 20).

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>127</sup> Commonwealth of Australia, *Creative Nation*.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*

operational plan 'devoid of big-picture sentiment or statement'.<sup>129</sup> Beyond a neo-liberal ideology that seeks to minimise government funding to activities such as the arts, within the Australian context, there is also a particular anxiety about the commitment of the nation to its cultural output that further underlies this rhetoric of self-sufficiency. In their discussion of the Creativity Stream as part of the Rudd Government's (ALP) 2008 Australia 2020 Summit, Kay Ferres, David Adair, and Ronda Jones note that 'the arts community has relied on government funding as the mainstay of its operation for some time. But there is also a lingering anxiety about public support for interest in the arts, especially in comparison to Australians' obvious enthusiasm for sport'.<sup>130</sup> This highlights the way in which local concerns flavour the adoption and feed back into the articulation of global policy trends.

*Creative Nation* also heralded in significant changes in the operation of the nation's major arts funding body. The Australia Council for the Arts, which is more commonly known as Australia Council, was originally established in 1968 but became an independent statutory authority under the *Australia Council Act* of 1975. It is the main funding and advisory body for the Australian Government and is responsible for supporting and promoting Australian artistic work both in Australia and overseas. The establishment of the Major Organisations Board of the Australia Council was announced within *Creative Nation*, which also marked the beginning of triennial funding. Meyrick argues that this classification also resulted in a split in Australia Council's client base between 'a small number of large companies with some guarantee of ongoing support (though no guarantee of its level or conditions), and a large number of smaller ones, divided again into those to be triennially supported and those to be effectively de-funded'.<sup>131</sup> The government's ongoing support of large arts organisations is

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<sup>129</sup> Meyrick, 'Suiting the Action to the Word', p. 7.

<sup>130</sup> Ferres, Adair, and Jones, 'Cultural Indicators', p. 263.

<sup>131</sup> Julian Meyrick, 'The Logic of Culture: The Fate of Alternative Theatre in the Postwhitlam Period', *Australasian Drama Studies* 64 (2014), 133-54 (p. 135).

rationalised by its pursuit of 'excellence' but the counter claim of elitism remains a highly emotive and politicised criticism of Australia Council today.

Accessibility of the arts is a major theme running throughout international cultural policy (as seen in the Scottish example) but is particularly acute on the Australian continent where a relatively small population is distributed over a vast geographical landmass. Regional versus metropolitan concerns and the distribution of resources between the two is a major debate within Australian political life and has particularly informed the development of arts funding policy at the State and Territory government level as well as the national level.<sup>132</sup> Importantly, festivals are seen as addressing the government's objective of increased access to the arts, with *Creative Nation* paying particular attention to regional festivals. The report states: 'The Government believes that festivals are an important way of bringing the arts, audiences and whole communities together'.<sup>133</sup> There is no mention in this policy, however, of the major urban-based festivals as a site for cultural exchange, the promotion of Australian content, or as major attractions for cultural tourism. Although *Creative Nation* did not directly address the Australian festival network it provides the framework and sets the policy agenda within which they must operate.

### ***Creative Australia (2013): From Multiculturalism to Diversity***

*Creative Australia* is a rearticulation of contemporary Australian national identity that promotes social cohesion among diverse groups while respecting Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures. This policy attempts to avoid a prescriptive articulation of Australian national identity, acknowledging that culture comes from the community rather than from government. As such the report's authors define culture as heterogeneous: 'Australian identity has a common core, but is not singular. Rather it is like a

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<sup>132</sup> See Milne, *Theatre Australia* and Lyndon Terracini, 'A Regional State of Mind: Making Art Outside Metropolitan Australia', *Platform Papers*, 11 (2007) for an in-depth discussion.

<sup>133</sup> Commonwealth of Australia, *Creative Nation*.



constellation, greater than the sum of its parts'.<sup>134</sup> Festivals again do not feature within the national cultural policy but, along with touring programmes, they are specifically acknowledged as being the responsibility of state and territory and local governments.<sup>135</sup> There are five goals articulated within the 2013 policy that reflect and build upon themes of its predecessor: accessibility, excellence, economic benefit, digital innovation, and commitment to celebrating Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures.<sup>136</sup>

The evolution of the key descriptor of Australian national identity as 'multicultural' to 'diverse' is seen as the primary shift between *Creative Nation* and the second (and most recent) national cultural policy, *Creative Australia*. There is a prevailing view that multiculturalism has been disavowed by policymakers since the Howard government's 11-years of conservative rule. As Khan et al explain,

Since the late 1990s, Australia has witnessed the diminishing currency of multiculturalism as a national policy priority, largely because of the ascendancy of a conservative politics of Anglo nationalism on the political right (Papastergiadis, 2012). In the popular imagination, the 'war on terror' and the politicization of asylum seekers and refugees have emphasised the divisive nature of cultural difference.<sup>137</sup>

They cite the off-shore processing of refugees, the introduction of citizenship tests, and the various iterations of the Department of Immigration, Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, changing firstly to the Department of Immigration and Citizenship under Kevin Rudd in 2007, and subsequently to the Department of Immigration and Border Protection

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<sup>134</sup> Australian Government, *Creative Australia*, p. 27.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>137</sup> Khan, Wyatt, Yue and others, '*Creative Australia* and the Dispersal of Multiculturalism', p. 27.

under Tony Abbott in 2013.<sup>138</sup> Khan et al examine *Creative Australia* looking for articulations of multiculturalism and find that ‘there has been a decoupling of multiculturalism from broader narratives of national identity’.<sup>139</sup> Rather than the complete disavowal of multiculturalism within public policy, however, the authors argue that it has been substituted with a concern for ‘diversity’.

Multicultural discourse has evolved into a broader commitment to ethnic and cultural diversity within *Creative Australia*. Khan et al argue that that ‘[t]he term “diversity” is used to describe the cultural composition of the Australian population – both specifically in terms of ethnicity and also in terms of other forms of cultural difference’.<sup>140</sup> In addition, the rhetoric of cultural diversity is often elided with the diversity of creative activity, which for Khan et al, ‘enables support for cultural difference to be absorbed into an economic strategy’ within the policy.<sup>141</sup> ‘Multiculturalism’, for Khan et al, ‘is a heterogeneous and unstable policy formation that is used to frame a range of political agendas’.<sup>142</sup> Rather than disappearing from public policy, they argue that it persists albeit in contradictory ways and that identifying this lineage within *Creative Australia* ‘problematizes characterisations of multiculturalism as static, singular or in decline, and opens up possibilities for what multiculturalism might be used to do’.<sup>143</sup> While multiculturalism underwrote a reformulation of a contemporary cosmopolitan nation in *Creative Nation*, the language of diversity is mobilised ‘into a range of economic, social and cultural governmental agendas’ in *Creative Australia*.<sup>144</sup> According to Khan et al, ‘[t]hese objectives are heterogeneous – some contradictory, some a continuation of agendas from the past, and others a reaction against these agendas’.<sup>145</sup> Therefore, they conclude that ‘[t]his

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<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., p. 28.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

construction of Australia as a plural society made up of discrete cultural groups that are united by an overarching commitment to the nation state continues the narrative of *Creative Nation*, albeit without explicit reference to multiculturalism'.<sup>146</sup> The articulation of a diverse Australian national identity therefore represents a key strategic aim of the federal government (at least under the ALP) within the cultural policy arena.

Multicultural discourse continues to be placed at the service of a number of social and economic agendas within *Creative Australia*. Khan et al note a rise in the use of multiculturalism at the level of state and local government to offset its decline within national discourse but note that '[w]hile multiculturalism still has a place within governmental programs of the "social", it is no longer a descriptor of a cosmopolitan national identity'.<sup>147</sup> This suggests that between these two documents, multiculturalism has been displaced from the nation to the community but persists nevertheless. Multiculturalism is seen as promoting social cohesion within a culturally and ethnically diverse nation. Kate MacNeill and Sarah Reynolds, writing on the potential for transnational cultural policy within submissions to the National Cultural Policy Review, note that 'the notion of nation building remains part of the cultural policy discourse. Migration appears in this narrative as a source of diversity within the nation' although they note that migration has traditionally been viewed as one-way and previous policies 'have not embraced the potential multilateralism of cultural relationships between migrants and their countries of origin, of residency and of employment'.<sup>148</sup> For this reason as well, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures are reaffirmed and linked to diversity within this second ever national cultural policy.<sup>149</sup> Within the Prime Minister's message at the beginning of *Creative Australia*, Julia Gillard asserts that '[s]ignificantly, this policy also enthusiastically upholds the fundamental

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<sup>146</sup> Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> MacNeill and Reynolds, 'Imagining Transnational Cultural Policy', p. 18.

<sup>149</sup> Khan, Wyatt, Yue and others, '*Creative Australia* and the Dispersal of Multiculturalism', p. 29.

place that Indigenous culture holds in the Australian story and the deep responsibility that bears upon our nation to nurture and promote Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's cultural expression'.<sup>150</sup>

Multiculturalism and diversity are also given economic rationales of improving Australia's international engagement, especially with Asia. As Khan et al note, *Creative Australia* 'also continues its predecessor's agenda of positioning Australia culturally, politically and economically in "the Asian Century".<sup>151</sup> They argue that programmes within the policy that are aimed at improving Australia's engagement with the region 'arguably form part of a discourse of "cosmopolitan multiculturalism" which privileges a globalised, middle-class consuming subject at the expense of the cultural interests and priorities of migrant communities themselves'.<sup>152</sup> Lesley Alway identifies three factors that have led to international engagement experiencing a current 'policy moment': 'the concept of "soft power", increased artist mobility due to new transportation and communications technologies but primarily [due] to the global shift of economic and political power, from the West to the East, giving rise to the so-called the [sic] "Asian Century"'.<sup>153</sup> She notes that this shift in political power has been accompanied by increased Asian investment in cultural infrastructure and attempts by the West to strengthen cultural engagement with the region.<sup>154</sup> Alway argues that 'the so-called "Asian Century" has precipitated a new cultural policy moment both in Australia and internationally, but that this "moment" presents certain challenges and paradoxes to both government policy and funding agencies and the cultural sector itself'.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> Australian Government, *Creative Australia*, p. 2.

<sup>151</sup> Khan, Wyatt, Yue and others, 'Creative Australia and the Dispersal of Multiculturalism', p. 28.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>153</sup> Lesley Alway, 'Not without Irony: Is Asia the New Cultural Policy Moment?', *Asia Pacific Journal of Arts and Cultural Management*, 10.1 (2013), 55-63 (p. 56).

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*

Gilbert and Lo argue that Asian theatre reached a peak in the 1990s and subsequently dropped off once it was 'no longer considered a national priority'.<sup>156</sup> Despite this decline at the start of this century, *Creative Australia* represents a renewed commitment within the cultural sphere. In Alway's reading of the situation artists and cultural organisations, along with other sectors of the Australian economy, 'have been highly active in Asia for over twenty years'.<sup>157</sup> As evidence for this she cites longstanding programmes such as the Queensland Art Gallery's Asia-Pacific Triennial, which began in 1993, and the organisation of which she is director, Asialink Arts (affiliated with the University of Melbourne). The Rudd-Gillard government published two key policies that articulated a renewed commitment to cultural engagement with Asia prior to being defeated in the September 2013 election: *Creative Australia* (2013) and *Australia in the Asian Century White Paper* (2012). According to Alway, these documents together positioned cultural engagement 'as a key component and contributor to developing the capabilities and connections with Asia, particularly through Asia-capable leaders and institutions, closer people-to-people links and vibrant cultural connections'.<sup>158</sup> Within the *Creative Australia* document itself the renewed interest in Asia is attributed to the political and economic reality post 2008: 'The global financial crisis has had an enduring impact; economic and strategic influence is shifting to Asia, which is increasing demand for resources and leading to unprecedented strength of the Australian dollar'.<sup>159</sup>

Alway observes that together the policy documents reflect an understanding of cultural engagement as a 'two-way collaboration and partnership' that moves beyond the 'export' focus of previous policies but highlights that these policy goals were not accompanied by specific initiatives to fulfil them.<sup>160</sup> The section 'International Opportunities', directly references the opportunities and challenges that the 'Asian Century'

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<sup>156</sup> Gilbert and Lo, *Performance and Cosmopolitics*, p. 130.

<sup>157</sup> Alway, 'Not without Irony', p. 56.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>159</sup> Australian Government, *Creative Australia*, p. 36.

<sup>160</sup> Alway, 'Not without Irony', pp. 57, 58.

represents and acknowledges that '[w]ithout a deep, multi-layered, two-way cultural engagement at all levels, the material and human potential of this transformation will fall well short'.<sup>161</sup> The document further points to the number of Asian migrants in Australia and Australian migrants living in Asia as the basis for further engagement and sees the arts and culture as central to this: 'Arts and culture are crucial to strengthening Australia's formal and informal relationships with the countries and peoples of Asia'.<sup>162</sup> It is worth highlighting that as neither the Howard nor Abbott Liberal-National Governments have articulated official national cultural policies, it is difficult to judge whether this cultural engagement with Asia has bipartisan support although both sides of politics invoke the 'Asian Century' in economic terms.

Partly due to the 'Asian Century' there has been a resurgence of interest both at the national and state level in building opportunities for collaboration with Asia. Recent Adelaide Festival programmes have included a small number of Asian performances such as the Cloud Gate Dance Theatre of Taiwan's *Water Stains on the Wall* in 2012 and an Australian-Timor-Leste co-production *Doku Rai* in 2013. The dedicated OzAsia Festival held in Adelaide each September perhaps explains the small number of Asian performances within the Adelaide Festival as it already fulfils this niche. The OzAsia Festival is hosted by the Adelaide Festival Centre (AFC) and was created by its CEO and Artistic Director Douglas Gautier in 2007 as an annual festival dedicated to fostering cultural exchange with Southeast Asia by presenting performance, visual arts, film, lectures, and cooking demonstrations. It has been described as a 'leading light in crosscultural relationships' and as a key part of South Australia's arts and cultural strategy.<sup>163</sup> In a write-up of the member events of Festivals Adelaide, the *Light Years Ahead* report praises OzAsia for being the first of its kind:

The OzAsia Festival is a unique celebration of Australia's creative links with Asia. It is the first Australian event designed specifically to

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<sup>161</sup> Australian Government, *Creative Australia*, p. 37.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>163</sup> Verity Edwards, 'Outgoing Premier Takes Credit for Cultural Renaissance', *Australian*, 18 October 2011, p. 17.

promote multiculturalism and to contribute to cultural engagement with the Asian region. It plays an important role in building strong cross-cultural understanding.<sup>164</sup>

It is also concerned that Adelaide capitalise on such relationships in order to leverage cooperation to raise its global profile. The report notes that Adelaide's relationship with Asia is of particular interest due to the shift in global economic and political power from West to East:

Many Asian cities including Shanghai, Beijing, Seoul, Taipei Hong Kong, Singapore and Tokyo are now placing increased emphasis on developing and attracting events to compete with European and North American cities and are investing substantially in event infrastructure, visitor services and organisational capacity.<sup>165</sup>

Further cultural exchange with the region is supported by the Adelaide Fringe Inc, through their Honey-Pot programme, which seeks to connect fringe artists with producers and programmers, invited festival directors from around the region, as well as further afield (including Edinburgh).<sup>166</sup> According to the *Light Years Ahead* report, this programme has been successful in bringing over 100 festival professionals from across Asia, the UK, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) to Adelaide. 'Its purpose is to facilitate relationships between arts industry professionals and registered artists for the benefit of the South Australian arts community'.<sup>167</sup> The Commonwealth Government's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade supported this initiative in 2012 and 2013 through the Australia-Korea Foundation and the Australia-Indonesia Institute.

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<sup>164</sup> McCann, *Light Years Ahead*, p. 10.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>166</sup> The EIF also included high-profile performances by prominent Asian artists and companies including Tadashi Suzuki's *Waiting for Orestes: Electra* (Japan) in 2012, and Wu Hsing-kuo's adaptation of *Metamorphosis* (Taiwan) and *The Tragedy of Coriolanus* by the Beijing People's Art Theatre (People's Republic of China) in 2013.

<sup>167</sup> McCann, *Light Years Ahead*, p. 51.

In addition to setting policy agendas in terms of multiculturalism, the language within *Creative Australia* also reaffirms an instrumentalist agenda and frames cultural policy through economic arguments. Within his Minister's introduction, then Minister for the Arts Simon Crean is quick to point out that '[t]here's another benefit to the nation from investing in the arts and artists to build a rich cultural life: the economic dividend. A creative nation is a productive nation'.<sup>168</sup> He also invokes creativity discourses when he argues that Australia must be a creative nation in order to support innovation, create jobs, and create opportunities for prosperity. Similar to claims made by the SNP for Scotland, the Australian government also claims that '*Creative Australia* now recognises the centrality of creativity and culture across the whole of society and all of government, and identifies ways government can enable it to flourish'.<sup>169</sup> The policy also cites 2011 Census data to prove that creative industries are a growth industry, employing 531,000 people who represent 5.3% of the workforce.<sup>170</sup> *Creative Australia* was introduced within months of the ALP's defeat at the September 2013 polls. Meyrick argues that '[h]istory suggests that this is unlikely to be the end of the document's influence, however. Legislation relating to the reform of the Australia Council has already been passed into law with bi-partisan support and it is probable other *Creative Australia* concerns will persist in the policy memory'.<sup>171</sup> These aspirational documents are therefore indicative of the broader strategic aims that arts and culture in general are expected to fulfil. They are also responsible for establishing and changing the institutional structures within which the major festivals operate.

### **Australia Council for the Arts**

*Creative Australia* introduced major reform of the Australia Council in order to modernise its governance structures. According to their website, Australia Council 'are a champion for Australian arts both here and

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<sup>168</sup> Australian Government, *Creative Australia*, p. 3.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>171</sup> Meyrick, 'Suiting the Action to the Word', p. 8.



overseas. We invest in artistic excellence through support for all facets of the creative process and are committed to the arts being more accessible to all Australians'.<sup>172</sup> The Council's functions were updated under the *Australia Council Act 2013* as a result of *Creative Australia*. The reform agenda set out within *Creative Australia* details a structural reform agenda based on: modernising the governance structure; reaffirming the foundation principles of arm's length and peer assessment; improving the Council's flexibility and responsiveness; ensuring the input of artists within the Council's decision-making process; improving capacities for data collection and celebrating Australian artistic achievement.<sup>173</sup> According to this national policy, '[t]he new purpose of the Council will be to support and promote vibrant and distinctively Australian creative arts practice that is recognised nationally and internationally as excellent in its field'.<sup>174</sup> It is important to highlight that the Australia Council has always been required to fulfil the functions of what would be the equivalent of both the British Council (soft diplomacy through the promotion of British culture abroad) and the former ACGB and its now devolved bodies (support of local artists and providing local access to the arts).

The Australia Council's 2014-19 strategic plan, *A Culturally Ambitious Nation*, outlines the organisation's immediate plans for championing and investing in Australian arts and raising their profile nationally and internationally. The document begins with an assertion of the uniqueness of Australian culture based on its diversity:

**Our Culture is unique.**

It is a culture that is deeply shaped by more than 70,000 years of continued, unbroken Indigenous storytelling. It reflects Australia's two centuries of settlement from around the world. We are a diverse

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<sup>172</sup> Australia Council for the Arts, 'About', *Australia Council* <<http://www.australiacouncil.gov.au/about/>> [accessed 1 March 2015].

<sup>173</sup> Australian Government, *Creative Australia*, p. 51.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

community of identities, faiths, individual differences and pursuits, yet we have many shared values and our sense of nation is strong.<sup>175</sup>

The four goals that will govern the organisation's activities throughout this period are then introduced: 'Australian arts are without borders; Australia is known for its great art and artists; the arts enrich daily life for all; and Australians cherish Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander art and culture'.<sup>176</sup>

The first goal promotes the need to foster international collaboration and recognises that there is a need to grow an international market for Australian cultural exports. The report's authors highlight that Australia is 'known overseas more for its tourism and job opportunities than for its arts and culture' and is a larger importer than exporter of cultural products.<sup>177</sup> In response to this, the Australia Council plans to articulate an international development strategy and cites greater collaboration and partnerships with the newly industrialised nations in the region as a key priority. Under goal two, the priority is to ensure that the diversity of the Australian community is reflected within its arts and culture by investing in a Cultural Diversity Program.<sup>178</sup> Goal three focuses on improving access to the arts, 'promot[ing] greater appreciation for the arts, and a deeper understanding of their value', and leveraging additional public and private investment in the arts.<sup>179</sup> The final goal is aimed at embedding Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures within Australian arts in order to support the intergenerational transfer of cultural knowledge on the one hand and to improve meaningful engagement with Indigenous arts on the other. Strategies for this include investing in 'signature works' by Indigenous companies, establishing a brokerage service to help the programming of Indigenous work, creating an 'Indigenous market and audience development strategy', and increasing support to Indigenous youth to experience their culture and learn from their

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<sup>175</sup> Australia Council, *A Culturally Ambitious Nation*, p. 2; original emphasis.

<sup>176</sup> Australia Council, 'About'.

<sup>177</sup> Australia Council, *A Culturally Ambitious Nation*, p. 4.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

elders.<sup>180</sup> These goals will influence the funding opportunities that will be available on a federal level between 2014 and 2019, including the kinds of Australian work that may appear on the festival circuit. It suggests that high-profile Indigenous work, such as that produced under the Major Festivals Initiative, will receive a funding boost, while artists seeking to collaborate with Asian companies may also be prioritised.

Gilbert and Lo have argued that funding bodies are attracted to Aboriginal performance because they can be co-opted to differentiate Australian cultural product within the international arts market. They are at pains to stress, however, that 'Aboriginal practitioners should never be seen as mere pawns in this process' and that alliances between Indigenous groups and government funding bodies are 'mobile and contingent, often driven by different vested interests' and do not necessarily prevent the formation of 'other artistic and political coalitions'.<sup>181</sup> Aboriginal performance continues to feature prominently (in terms of scale rather than percentage) at the Adelaide Festival, often through large co-productions commissioned by a consortium of flagship festivals. Recent large-scale Aboriginal performances that have toured between festivals include Bangarra Dance's Theatre's *Bloodland* (2012), Malthouse's *The Shadow King* (2013-14), and Queensland Theatre Company's (QTC) *Black Diggers* (2014-15), with the latter two funded by Australia Council's Major Festivals Initiative. Aboriginal artists also participate on the Fringe through initiatives such as the Spirit Festival, which is a dedicated two-day festival presented by Tandanya, the National Aboriginal Cultural Institute. Tandanya's exhibition *Deadly* was also featured as part of the Adelaide Festival programme in 2012. Musical performances include that of prominent Indigenous singer-songwriter Archie Roach with *Into the Bloodstream* in 2013 and the Black Arm Band's *dirtsong* performed in eleven Indigenous languages in 2014.

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<sup>180</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>181</sup> Gilbert and Lo, *Performance and Cosmopolitics*, p. 80.

The Australian Government, through the Australia Council, recognises the importance of the festivals to the Australian arts ecology. According to their website, '[i]n the areas of literature, music, performing arts, visual artists and Indigenous arts and culture, festivals play an important role in developing Australian arts and artists. Festivals support artists to showcase new Australian work, connect with new audiences and build market development prospects'.<sup>182</sup> The Major Festivals Initiative (MFI) is the principle fund through which the federal government supports Australian artistic work showcased within the network of flagship international arts festivals. Australia Council administers MFI but the Confederation of Australian International Arts Festivals Incorporated is responsible for selecting and developing the projects to be exhibited by its members. The Adelaide Festival, Brisbane Festival, Darwin Festival, Melbourne Festival, Perth International Arts Festival, Sydney Festival, and Ten Days on the Island are all members, while the New Zealand International Arts Festival and Auckland Festival are associate members. According to Australia Council's website, '[t]he Major Festivals Initiative supports the commissioning, development and showcasing of new Australian performing arts productions for Australia's major international arts festivals'.<sup>183</sup> Reflecting the mandate of these festivals, this fund is aimed at nurturing artistic excellence and as such the work supported is large scale, premier Australian headlining work, such as the Indigenous performances *Black Diggers* and *The Shadow King* discussed above, which both appeared at the Adelaide Festival.

Adelaide's festivals are therefore part of a much larger festival network that acts as a site for 'identity formation and critique' and a de facto national theatre. As national performances these festivals contribute to the construction of an Australian identity based on diversity and respect for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures. This is an aspiration that is

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<sup>182</sup> Australia Council, 'Festivals', *Strategies and Frameworks* <<http://www.australiacouncil.gov.au/strategies-and-frameworks/festivals/>> [accessed 12 March 2015].

<sup>183</sup> Australia Council, 'Festivals'.

guided by federal government and articulated through these national cultural policies despite being incongruous with the ongoing bipartisan demonisation of asylum seekers and racial tension in the country. In illustration of this, on Saturday 4 April 2015 the group Reclaim Australia held 16 rallies in capital cities and rural centres around the nation – including a march from Adelaide’s Elder Park to the nearby Parliament House – to demonstrate against Islamic extremism, sharia law, and halal certifications. These aims were accused of being anti-Muslim and racist by opposing groups who organised counter rallies and clashed with Reclaim Australia supporters at these sites.<sup>184</sup> This highlights the contested nature of national identity that is often reflected in art and performance and thus resists the simple instrumentalisation of culture by government.

### **Conclusion**

In conclusion, arts and culture in general, and festivals more specifically, are promoted on the basis of a number of intrinsic and instrumental benefits – both social and economic – that they bring to their host cities. Despite their importance within the place promotion and marketing of their host cities, these large, long-running cultural events are not easily contained within this agenda. A theatre and performance methodology that is attentive to the conditions of reception and production of these festivals as large-scale performances reveals that they sit within a more complicated cultural infrastructure and represent a number of intersecting and competing agendas. The cultural work performed by the festivals of Adelaide and Edinburgh, for example, reflects and contributes to the strategic aims of national government who set the overall policy agenda, funding, and infrastructure that they operate within.

As performances these festivals can be read as differentiating and celebrating local culture at home while also providing an environment in

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<sup>184</sup> ABC News, ‘Reclaim Australia Clashes with Opposing Groups at Rallies around the Country over Extremism and Tolerance’, *ABC News Online*, 4 April 2015 <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-04-04/reclaim-australia-extremism-rallies-face-tolerance-groups/6370672>> [accessed 15 April 2015].

which excellent national cultural product can be promoted abroad through the international festival network. Where once the Adelaide Festival and EIF prided themselves on bringing the highest international standard of artistic excellence to their cities, there has been a shift within the strategic priorities of national funding bodies to developing and promoting excellent Scottish and Australian artistic work, providing a dual agenda for these festivals to fulfil. Scotland would appear to have the natural advantage here with 'brand Scotland' drawing on its already well-established cultural and historical legacy that also has a ready made audience in the former British Empire and descendants of Scottish colonial migrants. Moreover, successive governments since devolution can be seen actively guiding the contemporary construction of Scottish national identity through cultural provision and a desire to distinguish Scotland as a cultural and political entity within the UK, which leads to a championing of the intrinsic value of art at a rhetorical level. In Australia, public funding for the arts is insufficient for the level and diversity of artistic output and cultural activity and ongoing public support for the arts is not guaranteed. Here the instrumental benefits of arts and culture are pushed by a sector that is required to justify its existence and is not seen as fundamental to national identity. Nevertheless, culture is seen as important in easing racial tensions through the active promotion of diversity and social cohesion. These festivals provide sites where international cultures interact – both within the international arts festivals and on the fringes – and national and local concerns are played out. Challenges to this dominant place myth within performative moments of the festival dramaturgy in 2012-13 are therefore explored in the next chapter in order to point to the likely survival of Adelaide and Edinburgh as Festival Cities.

## Chapter Five: Culture Wars and the Challenges to the Festival City Place Myth

The historical prestige of the EIF and the enormity of the Edinburgh Festival Fringe have distinguished Edinburgh as the self-proclaimed 'world's leading festival city'.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the status of the Adelaide Festival combined with the size and atmosphere generated by the Adelaide Fringe have traditionally distinguished Adelaide as *the* Festival City within Australia. This image of Edinburgh and Adelaide as leading Festival Cities within their own geo-political contexts also lends credence to both places' claims to be cultural capitals and creative cities. In Chapter Three, I explored the complementary agendas that the festivals of Adelaide and Edinburgh serve within place promotion and creative cities discourse. This thesis has also demonstrated throughout how these events generate direct economic benefits for the local political economy and discursively underwrite the positive and creative reputations of these places. In this chapter I argue that the iterative relationship between festival and city that creates the Festival City place myth also serves to differentiate and distinguish these cities within the European and Australian markets and thus provides a source of monopoly rent. I suggest that the greater competition now faced by these cities by the growth in the number of festivals – within their own 'national' contexts of Scotland (and more broadly within the UK) and Australia; regional contexts of Europe and the Asia Pacific; and internationally – represents a threat to these events as a source of monopoly rent and ultimately to the sustainability of the Festival City place myth.

Festivals and other large-scale cultural events are today required to foster social cohesion by promoting local affiliation with this particular image of the city. This is achieved with different levels of success in both places, with Adelaide boasting local commitment to and investment in this

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<sup>1</sup> This is the tag-line of the umbrella website, Edinburgh Festival City, *Edinburgh Festival City.Com* <<http://www.edinburghfestivalcity.com/>> [accessed 20 May 2015].

place myth, whereas the festivals in Edinburgh retain a level of historical suspicion despite their increased importance in a post-devolution Scotland. In this chapter I interrogate the meta-level narratives of these festivals in 2012 and 2013 in order to analyse how Adelaide and Edinburgh's constructions as international Festival Cities for the global market displaces local culture and politics in order to appear attractive to tourists and investors. I argue that the controversy surrounding the 2013 Edinburgh festivals' relationship to the referendum debate and a cultural clash between V8 Supercar fans and Fringe supporters throughout Adelaide's Mad March in 2012 are therefore symptomatic of a challenge to the Festival City place myth that has arisen from a weakening of its ability to generate monopoly rent. Examining these cultural challenges reveals a contestation over this place myth and the power relations behind the continued investment in the Festival City that promotes the interests of some groups while obscuring those of others. These clashes also suggest that both Edinburgh and Adelaide face a choice of whether or not to reinvest (materially and discursively) in their reputations as Festival Cities or to undergo a process of creative destruction and allow a new place myth to emerge.

### **Monopoly Rent**

The cities of Edinburgh and Adelaide have traditionally traded off the premier status of their international arts festivals, the uniqueness of their large open access fringes, and scarcity of both events as commodified cultural products in their geopolitical region in order to derive a monopoly rent. David Harvey proposes the concept of a monopoly rent as a way of understanding the special quality of cultural products as commodities. He argues, '[t]hat culture has become a commodity of some sort is undeniable', and that these cultural products are afforded a special status over other commodities.<sup>2</sup> According to Harvey, controlling a monopoly rent means the ability to trade on something (either directly or indirectly) that is distinctive and cannot be reproduced by others. He elaborates, '[m]onopoly rent arises

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<sup>2</sup> Harvey, 'The Art of Rent', p. 394.



because social actors can realize an enhanced income-stream over an extended time by virtue of their exclusive control over some directly or indirectly tradeable item which is in some crucial respects unique and non-replicable'.<sup>3</sup> The festivals of Edinburgh and Adelaide provide a source of monopoly rent by distinguishing and differentiating each city within the arena of place promotion on the one hand and through their reputations for artistic excellence on the other. Here I contend that as Adelaide and Edinburgh are located in opposite hemispheres and their festivals take place at different times of the year, these festivals complement each other – by creating a circuit for fringe performers and festival artists – rather than being in direct competition.

A monopoly rent can arise in one of two ways, both of which apply to the festivals of Edinburgh and Adelaide. According to Harvey, '[t]he first arises because social actors control some special quality resource, commodity or location which, in relation to a certain kind of activity, enables them to extract monopoly rents from those desiring to use it'.<sup>4</sup> In this case, the monopoly rent is produced indirectly through locational advantage, where it is not necessarily the 'land, resource or location' that is unique and can be sold, but rather 'the commodity or service produced through their use'.<sup>5</sup> In his critique of site-specific performance, Michael McKinnie argues that '[m]onopolistic performances produce their value by appropriating and trading self-consciously on the non-replicable qualities of places according to a logic that is substantially economic'.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, the character and heritage of Edinburgh are used to promote its festivals, from Edinburgh Castle sitting atop the extinct volcano, the architectural contrast between the medieval Old Town and Georgian New Town, to its many literary landmarks that are all within walking distance of the main theatre venues

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<sup>3</sup> Harvey, 'The Art of Rent', p. 395.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Michael McKinnie, 'Rethinking Site-Specificity: Monopoly, Urban Space, and the Cultural Economics of Site-Specific Performance', in *Performing Site-Specific Theatre: Politics, Place, Practice*, ed. by Joanne Tompkins and Anna Birch (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 21-33 (p. 23).

and fringe hubs. As evidenced by the many references to the warm climate, compact city space, and beautiful parklands and green areas in the promotional material for Adelaide's festivals, too, the unique qualities of these events are also linked to the distinctive properties of Adelaide as a city. The iterative relationship between these festivals and the cities of Edinburgh and Adelaide therefore forms the basis for monopoly rent.

The second way in which monopoly rent is produced is by directly trading on an exclusive product such as a work of art. Here Harvey gives the example of buying and selling a Picasso painting as an investment: 'It is the uniqueness of Picasso or the site which here forms the basis for the monopoly rent' and the scarcity of this resource that increases its value.<sup>7</sup> In this analogy, the scarcity and uniqueness of the EIF and Adelaide Festival, for example, can be assured through the programming choices made by the artistic director: the strength of the artistic vision, the mix of world premieres and commissions, international performances, and shows exclusive to the region. Here the EIF has to compete with London – particularly the Barbican Centre, which is a major hub and producer within the international festival marketplace – for exclusives and European premieres. In 2015, for example, the headlining theatrical performance of *Antigone*, directed by Ivo van Hove, had a season at the Barbican prior to the August festival. Programming choices are not made in a vacuum therefore and the tendency of major international festivals and venues to co-produce work diminishes their claims to exclusivity. In Adelaide, too, the desire to bring the highest calibre of artists from around the world exclusively to Adelaide must be balanced against budget considerations and the high costs of travel.

There is also often a level of intersection between these two kinds of monopoly rent, for which Harvey cites the example of a vineyard that is traded upon both directly for its locational properties and indirectly for the unique wine that it produces.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, the value of the festivals of

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<sup>7</sup> Harvey, 'The Art of Rent', p. 395.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

Edinburgh and Adelaide as sources of monopoly rent derives both from the prestige of the EIF and Adelaide Festival and the size of the fringes within a compact city space that enables them to 'take over' the urban space, as well as the cities' cultural reputations that are created and maintained through the Festival City place myth. I argue, however, that where once the EIF and Edinburgh Festival Fringe – as the world's leading events – and the Adelaide Festival and Adelaide Fringe – as the premier Australian arts – formed monopoly rents within their regions, increased competition externally and cultural clashes internally can be understood as challenges to this monopoly.

### **Social Cohesion or Culture Wars**

The Festival City place myth is called upon to promote a sense of civic pride and local investment within these cultural events. As established in Chapter One, arts festivals have played a role in 'manufacturing consensus' among residents through their promotion of a particular image of place. This ability to choose which images are promoted over others is indicative of a differential power relationship between different groups, as explored in Chapter Two. Successful place myths will appeal to the broad spectrum of the urban population. Harvey is critical of the view that if different groups

participate in the production of an urban image through their production of social space, then all can at least feel some sense of belonging to that place. The orchestrated production of an urban image can, if successful, also help create a sense of social solidarity, civic pride and loyalty to place.<sup>9</sup>

In the analysis that follows, I focus on challenges to the sense of social solidarity created by the festivals of Edinburgh and Adelaide in order to reveal the culture wars behind the 'mute representation'<sup>10</sup> of the Festival City. By focusing on disputes and cultural clashes within the festival

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<sup>9</sup> Harvey, 'From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism', p. 364.

<sup>10</sup> Mitchell, *Cultural Geography*, p. 113.

dramaturgy I seek to further highlight the power relations behind the Festival City place myth.

Festival dramaturgy was defined in Chapter One as the cultural debates, events, and dialogues that frame festivals as theatrical events in their own right. One way of analysing the dramaturgy of festivals would be to look at the deliberate artistic curation of the international arts festivals, which are programmed by directors who are often working to specific themes or artistic visions. Alternatively, this could be achieved by examining the structure and content of the Fringe programmes in order to identify unintended themes that emerge. Festival dramaturgy is here deployed as a methodology that is informed by the artistic content of the festival programmes while going beyond this to encompass the unscripted elements that arise from treating these multiple, overlapping festivals as meta-events and repeated site-specific performances in their own right. In this study the festival dramaturgy of Edinburgh's August festivals and Adelaide's Mad March was revealed through extensive fieldwork conducted in 2012 and 2013. This involved experiencing the festivals as a festival participant: staying in the city for the duration of the season; attending individual performances as well as ancillary events held by Adelaide Fringe Inc. and the Edinburgh Fringe Society, talks held by the EIF at The Hub, and Edinburgh International Book Festival and Adelaide Writers' Week events; locating the festival hubs, the permanent and temporary venues used by the different festivals, and travelling between them; meeting performers and other festival goers, venue and festival staff, and local residents. Through this process key narratives and tropes emerged that allowed me to identify the performative moments that I analyse below. In order to substantiate my observations, I have drawn on local newspapers in order to provide documented evidence of these events and debates.

Culture as a source of power that is contested by different groups can be revealed through performative moments within the festival dramaturgy. For Don Mitchell, "[c]ulture" is both a source of power and a source of domination' and is particularly powerful when it is linked to geography and

space.<sup>11</sup> For Phil Hubbard and Tim Hall, governmental policy and urban entrepreneurial strategies are influenced by cultural contests over this source of power. As they explain, 'culture is contested and negotiated between different groups, and it is within this cultural struggle that urban regimes seek to shape the direction and form of their policies'.<sup>12</sup> In order to explicate the process by which culture becomes hegemonic, Mitchell proposes the concept of 'culture wars'. He argues, that '[c]ulture wars allow us to see "culture" in the making; they allow us to see how "culture" is always and everywhere inextricably related to social, political, and economic forces and practices'.<sup>13</sup> The process of cultural formation is therefore dynamic and constantly produced and re-produced. For this reason, place myths like the Festival City require continued investment and maintenance and therefore part of the cultural work that festivals do (willingly or not) is ideologically in service to these urban entrepreneurial agendas that seek to combine 'a search for local identity' with 'mechanisms for social control'.<sup>14</sup> As Mitchell explains,

The point is that cultural hegemony is both consented to *and* contested – sometimes effectively, sometimes not. So it must always be actively *maintained*. It must be invested in by the ruling group in order to assure that it does not collapse by repeated penetration by subordinate groups. Hence, hegemony is a dynamic relationship between domination and subordination requiring continuous ideological work.<sup>15</sup>

The local stooshie over the EIF's lack of engagement with the Scottish independence referendum in 2013 and the disruption of the Adelaide Festival's 2012 opening night concert, therefore can be read as culture wars that challenge the sense of social cohesion generated through the Festival City place myth. I argue, however, that these culture wars within the festival

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., pp. 293-94.

<sup>12</sup> Hubbard and Hall, 'The Entrepreneurial City', p. 22.

<sup>13</sup> Mitchell, *Cultural Geography*, p. xvi.

<sup>14</sup> Harvey, 'From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism', p. 364.

<sup>15</sup> Mitchell, *Cultural Geography*, p. 53; original emphasis.

dramaturgy highlight the importance of these festivals as sites for contesting representations of local urban culture and for redefining the production of urban space. Therefore, these challenges reveal that the creative energy of these festivals – both official and fringe – cannot be fully contained within a narrow discourse of inter-urban competition. Identifying the opposing parties involved in culture wars within the festival dramaturgy thereby reveals the way in which these festivals contribute to the production of space and the power relations behind this construction.

Place myths both highlight and participate in the changing nature of regional specialisms over time suggesting that the continued promotion of the Festival City is by no means guaranteed in either city. Drawing on Harvey's reformulation of the Marxist concept of 'creative destruction', Mark Goodwin observes that '[t]he social and spatial landscape of any city is constantly changing as urban geographies are continually developed, abandoned and restructured'.<sup>16</sup> Both Goodwin and Harvey argue that regions develop specialisms over time:

Processes and infrastructures, both physical and spatial, combine to produce a particular space suitable for a specific route in producing surplus value. Forms and technologies of production, inter-industry linkages, markets of labour supply and demand, patterns of consumption, standards of living, social hierarchies: all of these seemingly interact to produce such coherence.<sup>17</sup>

This coherence is then reinforced through spatial configurations (such as physical infrastructure) until it blocks further capital accumulation, thus ushering in a phase of what Harvey terms 'creative destruction'. Under this logic, Edinburgh and Adelaide require continual maintenance and upgrading of their material infrastructures as well as their reputations of artistic

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<sup>16</sup> Mark Goodwin, 'The City as Commodity: The Contested Spaces of Urban Development', in *Selling Places: The City as Cultural Capital, Past and Present*, ed. by Gerry Kearns and Chris Philo (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1993), pp. 145-62 (p. 148).

<sup>17</sup> Goodwin, 'The City as Commodity', p. 148.

excellence in order to maintain their mantles as Festival Cities. I return to the question of the future directions of these Festival Cities at the end of each section.

### **Offstage Drama in the Festival City: Contested Space in Edinburgh 2013**

On 18 September 2014 Scotland held a historic referendum on whether it should be an independent nation and thereby dissolve its 1707 Treaty of Union with England and Wales. Despite 55.3% of the electorate ultimately supporting the No vote,<sup>18</sup> the Yes campaign's unexpected momentum in the final weeks before polling day forced the UK government in Westminster to place constitutional reform and further devolution firmly on the agenda. In the two years leading up to the referendum there had been much discussion over the role of Scottish culture broadly, and Edinburgh's festivals more specifically, within the debate. During the 2013 summer festivals, a major controversy arose over a perceived lack of theatrical engagement with the upcoming referendum on Scottish independence within their dramaturgical narrative. This dispute once again invoked distrust towards the EIF in particular and sparked renewed debate over the role these festivals play within Scottish culture. I argue that the ongoing question of what should be privileged – either within the programming of an international arts festival or by local companies performing on the Fringe – is symptomatic of a tension within Edinburgh's construction as a Festival City. The ongoing unease over the relationship between these festivals and their local culture, which endures despite attempts to rehabilitate them, also threatens to undermine the authenticity of these events and therefore their basis for monopoly rent.

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<sup>18</sup> Cath Levett and Paddy Allen, 'Scottish Independence Referendum Results – Visualised', *Guardian*, 19 September 2014  
<<http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/sep/19/scottish-independence-referendum-results-visualised>> [accessed 1 December 2014].

**‘A politically neutral space for artists’?<sup>19</sup>**

Sir Jonathon Mills, artistic director of the EIF, stoked the coals of controversy at the 2013 festival when he announced two days into the festival that he would not be commissioning any work on Scottish independence for the 2014 festival (from 8 to 31 August), which was due to close just weeks before the referendum on 18 September. In an interview with *Scotland on Sunday*, Mills announced that he would draw inspiration for his final EIF programme<sup>20</sup> instead from the one hundredth anniversary of World War I (WWI) and the Commonwealth Games, which were held in Glasgow just prior to Edinburgh’s festival season (23 July to 3 August 2014).<sup>21</sup> Citing the forward planning involved in such an event, which required him to start working on the 2014 programme long before the date for the referendum had been set, Mills argued that the EIF artistic programming should not be influenced by local politics: ‘We would not wish our festival to be anything other than it has always been, which is a politically neutral space for artists. It is important that it remains that’.<sup>22</sup> These comments immediately invited harsh criticism from commentators who highlighted the naivety of positioning either WWI or the Commonwealth as ‘politically neutral’,<sup>23</sup> and from those who labelled this

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<sup>19</sup> Sir Jonathon Mills cited in Brian Ferguson, ‘Scottish Independence Productions Not at EIF 2014’, *Scotland on Sunday*, 11 August 2013 <<http://www.scotsman.com/lifestyle/arts/news/scottish-independence-productions-not-at-eif-2014-1-3040283>> [accessed 1 October 2013].

<sup>20</sup> Fergus Linehan has been appointed Director Designate of the EIF and took up the post on 1 May 2013 on a part time basis, before taking over from Mills full time on 1 October 2014. Edinburgh International Festival Society, ‘Fergus Linehan Announced as New Festival Director’, *Edinburgh International Festival*, 2013 <<http://www.eif.co.uk/about-us/fergus-linehan-announced-new-festival-director>> [accessed 1 October 2013].

<sup>21</sup> Ferguson, ‘Scottish Independence Productions Not at EIF 2014’.

<sup>22</sup> Mills cited within Ferguson, ‘Scottish Independence Productions Not at EIF 2014’.

<sup>23</sup> See, for example, cultural commentator Pat Kane, cited in Anonymous, ‘Mills Defends Ban on Independence Referendum Works’, *Scotland on Sunday*, 19 August 2013 <<http://www.scotsman.com/lifestyle/arts/news/mills-defends-ban-on-independence-referendum-works-1-3051247>> [accessed 1 October].



decision ‘an act of censorship’.<sup>24</sup> Journalists and cultural commentators alike drew attention to the £10 million that the EIF attracts in investment, half of which is publicly funded.<sup>25</sup>

Defending his claims in the same newspaper a week later, Mills clarified his position by claiming that while the EIF is not a ‘political apparatus’ and that it ‘does not propose a particular manifesto or seek a specific mandate’, he believes that his themes gave a broad scope to issues of nationalism and self-determination.<sup>26</sup> His position was supported by Steve Cardownie – a SNP councillor who was deputy leader of the CEC (one of the EIF’s main funders) and festivals and events champion at the time – who affirmed and re-asserted the independence of the festival in terms of its artistic programming: ‘Festival directors should be free from political interference. It would be almost tantamount to state intervention. Festivals need that like a hole in the head’.<sup>27</sup> Perhaps pre-empting Cardownie’s comments, Mills also asserts that ‘[t]he autonomy and impartiality of the Festival is essential; that includes the ability to determine its own agenda, and choices’.<sup>28</sup> Both politicians and arts advocates agree, then, that festivals should not become embroiled in party politics or receive programming directives from government. Cathy Turner and Synne Behrndt argue, however, that ‘[d]ramaturgical analysis must try to outline the different questions the play [or in this case the festival] provokes on a philosophical, ideological, socio-political and aesthetic level’.<sup>29</sup> Examining the structures and effects of the dramaturgy of Edinburgh’s 2013 events does reveal an underlying political position that could be read as pro-Union and furthering a historical antagonism with its local and national culture.

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<sup>24</sup> For example, Independent Member of the Scottish Parliament (MSP) Jean Urquhart cited in Brian Ferguson, ‘Scottish Independence: Festival Plan Backed’, *Scotsman*, 19 August 2013  
<<http://www.scotsman.com/lifestyle/arts/news/scottish-independence-festival-plan-backed-1-3051731>> [accessed 1 October].

<sup>25</sup> Ferguson, ‘Scottish Independence Productions Not at EIF 2014’.

<sup>26</sup> Mills cited in Ferguson, ‘Scottish Independence: Festival Plan Backed’.

<sup>27</sup> Cardownie cited in *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> Mills cited in *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> Turner and Behrndt, *Dramaturgy and Performance*, p. 29.

The decision to not programme work that explicitly deals with the Scottish independence debate was interpreted locally as implicitly aligned with the 'Better Together' campaign and the 'No' vote. Cultural commentator Lesley Riddoch, for example, asserts that 'Scottish culture [has been] sidelined over the years in favour of "Britishness"'.<sup>30</sup> This view is shared by playwright and national poet, Liz Lochhead – author of *Mary Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off* (first performed in 1987) – who is quoted as saying, '[i]t doesn't surprise me that the Edinburgh International Festival under Jonathon Mills is not interested in commissioning or showing work around the theme of independence. He has never been very interested in work that is Scottish, let alone about independence. It is disappointing but predictable to me'.<sup>31</sup> By refusing to actively participate in the debate over Scottish independence and to take a position, Mills (who is British-Australian) and the organisation he represents were interpreted as supporting the status quo and privileging British concerns over Scottish ones. This is one interpretation of the EIF's motivations and is also politically motivated by those who do support independence, or at least a nationalist position.

Beyond the immediacy of the referendum debate, this example of a culture war also raises important questions over the ability of these urban international arts festivals to fulfil their mandate to engage with local concerns at an artistic level and to promote local culture. As has been established, this has been the source of ongoing criticism for the EIF since it was founded in 1947. In spite of this, the EIF receives its 'core investment' from public funding via the City of Edinburgh Council and Creative Scotland, and as they admit on their website, this 'plays a critical role in ensuring our

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<sup>30</sup> Riddoch cited in Brian Ferguson, 'Independence Won't Get EIF Listing', *Scotsman*, 19 August 2013  
<<http://www.scotsman.com/lifestyle/arts/news/brian-ferguson-independence-won-t-get-eif-listing-1-3051884>> [accessed 1 October 2013].

<sup>31</sup> Lochhead cited in Ferguson, 'Scottish Independence: Festival Plan Backed'.

stability and success'.<sup>32</sup> The Festival Fringe Society also receives a more modest amount of public subsidy and as already established both events require investment in infrastructure such as transport, provision of theatre buildings and building inspections for temporary venues, waste management, policing, and overall event planning to manage visitor numbers and flows.<sup>33</sup> These events also famously cause upheaval to locals each August due to the high volume of visitors to the city, which has flow-on effects on public transport, traffic, pedestrian routes, and a general disruption to the daily routines of residents. Beyond these practical considerations, the EIF and Fringe venues also have local audiences to consider and therefore a responsibility to represent and reflect their culture and concerns that goes beyond the rhetoric of local 'engagement' within cultural policy documents. Putting aside Mills's problematic claims that international arts festivals (and by implication other mega-events such as the Olympic Games and football World Cups) could ever be 'politically neutral', then, his comments and the backlash that they incited need to be understood within the relationship between these festivals and their host city.

As established in Chapter Two, the EIF has had a long and tumultuous relationship with the Scottish political and cultural landscape in large part as a failure to include Scottish theatre in the inaugural programme. According to Harvie, this has led to the EIF being accused of 'denigrat[ing] Scottish culture', with claims that,

include the suggestion that it operates like an invading imperial arts army, exploiting its site for heritage status and material resources of

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<sup>32</sup> Edinburgh International Festival, *2014 Supporters*, 2014 <<http://www.eif.co.uk/2014-supporters#.U8f9-ajD7gp>> [accessed 17 July 2014].

<sup>33</sup> In the 2014-15 period, the EIF received GBP£2,317,296 compared to the Fringe's £70,000 from Creative Scotland for the same period (these figures do not include the additional amount the festivals receive from the CEC). Creative Scotland, *Regular Funding*, 2015 <<http://www.creativescotland.com/funding/funding-programmes/regular-funding>> [accessed 22 May 2015].

labour, funding, audiences, and scenic elegance, imposing imported art and ideologies, and making little effort to appreciate or develop current and diverse Scottish cultural expression, especially that of the Scottish working classes.<sup>34</sup>

These events are still viewed with suspicion within their local community with discussion over whether there is enough Scottish work represented in each annual programme remaining a popular theme within the festival press today. Thus Attala has described it as a 'familiar hobby horse' as recently as 2012 despite attempts to rehabilitate the Edinburgh's festivals within cultural policy.<sup>35</sup> As has been established, these events have had profound direct and indirect cultural effects on Scottish culture and theatre despite these criticisms.<sup>36</sup> Chief among these effects is the Fringe movement, which offers a counter point to the international and elitist agendas of the EIF.<sup>37</sup>

The Edinburgh Festival Fringe began spontaneously when eight theatre companies turned up unsolicited and uninvited to the inaugural event, partly to redress the failure of the official festival to include Scottish drama in the programme of that first year. Once again in 2013 the Fringe was championed as a more appropriate site to stage local debates where a range of perspectives could be presented free from political coercion. Mills himself proposed the Fringe as the solution in his original interview, claiming that 'Fringe performers can react with much more ease to recent events than we can'.<sup>38</sup> At the 2013 Edinburgh Festival Fringe, however, few Fringe artists seized this opportunity. Articles published in the early days of the 2013 Fringe,<sup>39</sup> before the opening of the EIF on 9 August, criticized Fringe artists for not tackling the issue of Scottish independence. Nick Clark,

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<sup>34</sup> Harvie, 'Cultural Effects', p. 13.

<sup>35</sup> Attala, 'Performing the Festival', p. 119.

<sup>36</sup> Harvie, 'Cultural Effects'; Bartie, *The Edinburgh Festivals*.

<sup>37</sup> Harvie, 'Cultural Effects', p. 21.

<sup>38</sup> Mills cited in Ferguson, 'Scottish Independence Productions Not at EIF 2014'.

<sup>39</sup> The Edinburgh Festival Fringe ran from 2-26 August 2013.

for example, observed in an *Independent Online* article on 5 August 2013 that,

It's the talk of Scotland – but not of the Edinburgh Festival. With the independence debate dominating the Scottish political and media scene this year, one might have expected the contentious issue to course through the veins of the Fringe. But to the surprise of many, talk of Scotland's future is largely absent, raising uncomfortable questions of why the Scots appear so creatively disengaged from the debate.<sup>40</sup>

Despite this perception there were at least three high profile Fringe performances that confronted the Scottish independence debate that received extensive press coverage: the Traverse Theatre's *I'm With the Band* by Tim Price, a co-production with the Wales Millennium Centre; *Preen Back Yer Lugs!*, adapted from a Finnish play by Paul Matthews; and *The Bloody Great Border Ballad Project* at Newcastle's Northern Stages, which was described by reviewer Laura Barnett as '[p]art concert, part political performance, it's an attempt to consider the issue of Scottish independence through the prism of the border ballad, the traditional folk-song of the borderlands between Scotland and northern England'.<sup>41</sup> Nevertheless, as there were so few theatrical productions confronting this issue within the overall dramaturgy of the 2013 Fringe, added pressure and scrutiny was placed on the few shows that did.

The first of these, *I'm With the Band*, dealt allegorically with the imagined dissolution of the United Kingdom (UK) through the analogy of a

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<sup>40</sup> Nick Clark, 'Edinburgh 2013: Apart from a Finn and a Welshman – Festival Says No to Scots Independence; Works About Scottish Self-Determination Are Conspicuously Absent at the Edinburgh Fringe', *Independent Online*, 5 August 2013 <<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/media/online/>> [accessed 6 August 2013].

<sup>41</sup> Laura Barnett, 'Edinburgh Festival 2013: The Bloody Great Border Ballad Project, Review', *Telegraph Online*, 6 August 2013, <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/theatre/edinburgh-festival-reviews/10223942/Edinburgh-Festival-2013-The-Bloody-Great-Border-Ballad-Project-review.html>> [accessed 6 October 2013].

band break-up and was a high profile attempt to bring nuance to a political debate that its Welsh playwright believed had been framed as a standoff between Scotland and England. On a performative level, the piece was an entertaining insight into the politics of a band break-up that highlighted the complicated emotional ties and history between the characters. However, on the level of analogy, in which the audience was well positioned to read the antics of these band members as pointed criticisms of the four sides of the Union, the performance risked reducing the *dramatis personae* and the complicated history and relationships between them to familiar and problematic stereotypes. Read within the overall dramaturgy of the 2013 Edinburgh Fringe in which few theatrical offerings dealt explicitly with this issue, the clichés in this piece became more problematic as they were not balanced against the multiple perspectives and usual dialogism that the Fringe is called upon to provide. In this case, the Fringe did not compensate for or offset the failings of the EIF to address local cultural and political issues.

The EIF's mission statement specifically charges it with the dual mandate of '[r]eflecting international culture to audiences from Scotland, the rest of the UK and the world' on the one hand, and '[o]ffering an international showcase for Scottish culture' on the other.<sup>42</sup> In 2013, a number of high profile Scottish companies, such as 'Scottish Opera, Scottish Dance Theatre, the RSNO [Royal Scottish National Orchestra], Scottish Chamber Orchestra [*sic*] and Edinburgh's Grid Iron Theatre Company', identified by arts journalist Brian Ferguson, featured prominently in the EIF programme.<sup>43</sup> Mills also countered a questioner in a 'Cultural Dialogue' session held at EIF headquarters the Hub who asked 'What's happened to Scottish culture in all this?' by emphasising the number of Scottish companies involved in this year's programme and by asserting that he does

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<sup>42</sup> Edinburgh International Festival Society, 'Our Mission', 2013 <[www.eif.co.uk/about-festival/our-mission](http://www.eif.co.uk/about-festival/our-mission)> [accessed 3 October 2013].

<sup>43</sup> Ferguson, 'Independence Won't Get EIF Listing'.

'think it appropriate' that the EIF supports Scottish artists.<sup>44</sup> Nevertheless, this enduring sensitivity over Scottish representation within the EIF's programming and renewed controversy in 2013 is symptomatic of a key tension within the construction of Edinburgh as a Festival City that threatens to undermine it as a source of monopoly rent.

In response to this debate, Joyce McMillan pointed out that an artistic director could not prevent Scottish companies presenting pieces as part of the 2014 EIF from working independence themes, debates, and issues into their artistic work.<sup>45</sup> In the end, Rona Munro's cycle of history plays *The James Plays*, which dramatised the succession of fifteenth-century Stewart monarchs – James I, II, and III – in three parts to explore Scottish culture and nationhood headlined the 2014 programme. This performance was a high profile co-production between the National Theatre of Scotland (NTS), the EIF, and what was billed as the National Theatre of Great Britain (NTGB) and premiered at the EIF before transferring to London. Writing in the programme note, Fiona Hyslop, Holyrood Cabinet Secretary for Culture and External Affairs, signalled the intention for the performance that ran in the lead up to and immediate aftermath of the referendum: 'I believe that these plays will vividly bring to life not only three generations of Scottish kings but also what it felt like to be in a country assessing its past and future, providing a complex and compelling narrative on Scottish culture and nationhood'.<sup>46</sup> Referendum discussion featured far more prominently on the 2014 Fringe and, despite concerns over a lack of theatrical engagement in 2013, Laura Bissell and David Overend have revealed how the independence debate was 'staged' in 2014 by providing an overview of a number of

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<sup>44</sup> 'Cultural Dialogue', EIF, 5pm on Friday 30 August 2013 at the Hub with Sir Jonathon Mills, Martin Davidson (of the British Council), and chaired by James Naughtie.

<sup>45</sup> Joyce McMillan, 'Planet Earth to Mills: Beam Us Up', *Scotsman*, 16 August 2013, p. 27.

<sup>46</sup> Fiona Hyslop, 'Programme Note', in *The James Plays by Rona Munro* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh International Festival, 2014), p. 19.

performance events held throughout Scotland that year.<sup>47</sup> This analysis of the 2013 festival dramaturgy further reveals that the EIF did participate in these debates over Scottish independence over the two years leading-up to the referendum even within the very process of denying its responsibility to do so.

Widening the scope from performance analysis of individual productions to analysis of the dramaturgy of the festival *as a performance* therefore reveals the complex ways in which these events participate in wider socio-political debates and perform both cultural and ideological work. In this case, analysis of the 2013 Edinburgh summer festivals' dramaturgy reveals the ways in which they did intervene in the Scottish independence debate despite a lack of individual performances that directly confronted this issue in that year. The EIF and Fringe define Edinburgh as the world's leading Festival City and yet this example of a culture war suggests that they do not sufficiently represent the interests of the local community or the nation as a whole. These conditions of production impact upon how individual performances are read in terms of the ideological and socio-political questions that they raise within the broader festival frame. In subjecting the festival frame to a dramaturgical analysis in this way, I have sought to uncover the hierarchies of cultural, economic, and political power that these festivals participate in as well as produce. In the case of Edinburgh's festivals, this has meant exploring how they have been positioned as variously Scottish, British, European, and international at different stages by proponents and detractors to serve local agendas, in this case the Scottish independence debate. The cultural controversy that surrounded the 2013 festivals is therefore symptomatic of a broader tension between Edinburgh's summer festivals and the cultural landscape within which they are embedded. Although it is difficult to determine whether or not such cultural clashes will undermine these festivals' claims to

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<sup>47</sup> David Overend and Laura Bissell, 'Early Days: Reflections on the Performance of a Referendum', *Contemporary Theatre Review*, 25.2 (2015), 242-50.



authenticity and local engagement and thus their monopoly rent in the long-term, I now briefly consider the future directions of Edinburgh Festival City.

### **Future of Edinburgh Festival City**

Edinburgh's basis for monopoly rent relies upon its continued reputation as the world's leading festival city. Writing in 2003, Prentice and Andersen found that in Edinburgh, '*serious consumers of international culture*' are attracted to the EIF on the basis of the excellence in programming rather than the city itself.<sup>48</sup> They concluded that '[t]he Festival succeeds through its intensity, excellence and reputation, not that it is unique' and that 'the Festival has acquired characteristics of a destination in its own right, in part removed from that of the historical city other than as setting and the offer of Scottishness'.<sup>49</sup> As I have demonstrated throughout, the Edinburgh festivals are deeply intertwined with the city in ways that may not be immediately obvious to the respondents of Prentice and Andersen's survey. While many festivals around the world are inspired by Edinburgh's multi-arts and open-access format – Adelaide being a case in point – Edinburgh's claims to uniqueness, as I have suggested above, are based on the history and topography of the city in conjunction with artistic excellence within their programming. Most importantly, Edinburgh Festival City is distinguished by its status as number one, which requires continued investment in and maintenance of this place myth. While culture remains important to nation building in Scotland, continued public investment in Edinburgh's festivals are threatened by economic austerity and funding cuts to the arts.

In what was perhaps an ominous sign on the horizon, Creative Scotland director Janet Archer concluded her article for *Cultural Trends* with the warning that 'there will undoubtedly be budget pressures which will need to be tackled in future'.<sup>50</sup> Indeed, recent budgetary announcements

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<sup>48</sup> Prentice and Andersen, 'Festival as Creative Destination', p. 25; original emphasis.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>50</sup> Archer, 'Unlocking Potential, Embracing Ambition', p. 195.

have had major repercussions for all twelve of Edinburgh's festivals. Creative Scotland awarded £100 million of grants in its October 2014 funding rounds for the next three years to 119 of the 264 applicant organisations. The Edinburgh festivals collectively missed out on £10 million worth of grants that they had bid for. The Edinburgh Mela and the Edinburgh Jazz and Blues Festival were denied funding in this round and the remaining festivals including the EIF received substantially less than what they had applied for. With the festivals' other major funding source, the CEC, also threatening funding cuts, the *Scotsman* reported in January 2015 that the funding stability of these events was seriously threatened 'despite an ongoing drive to ensure they maintain their pre-eminent position on the global stage' and the constant reinvestment needed to do so.<sup>51</sup>

The *Thundering Hooves 2.0* report – the release of which coincided with the end of this project in May 2015 – reaffirmed Edinburgh's status as a Festival City while acknowledging the challenges that it would face over the next ten years. The report's authors recommended that the Edinburgh Festival City – a sub-brand within Edinburgh marketing – be maintained to reinforce 'Edinburgh's position as the world's leading festival city'.<sup>52</sup> Local engagement and social cohesion have notably moved up the priority list of actions for the festivals, with the report's authors recommending that the festivals grow their role in education and in 'promoting diversity, equality and social cohesion'.<sup>53</sup> The implications of not doing so are foreshadowed a few pages later when the report argues that it is vital that government continue to provide core and project funding based on the economic, social, and cultural value of these festivals while alternative sources of funding are

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<sup>51</sup> Brian Ferguson, 'Edinburgh Festivals Denied £10m Arts Cash', *Scotsman*, 8 January 2015 <<http://www.scotsman.com/what-s-on/edinburgh-festivals-denied-10m-arts-cash-1-3654569>> [accessed 15 January 2015].

<sup>52</sup> BOP Consulting, *Edinburgh's Festivals: Thundering Hooves 2.0. A Ten Year Strategy to Sustain the Success of Edinburgh's Festivals* (Edinburgh: Festivals Edinburgh, May 2015) <<http://www.edinburghfestivalcity.com/about/documents/196-thundering-hooves>> [accessed 22 May 2015], p. 10.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

sourced.<sup>54</sup> If public investment is withdrawn from the festivals, they argue, £10 million will need to be raised through alternative mechanisms. The report warns that

If current investment into the world class programming of Edinburgh's festivals is not maintained, their Premier Division status is at risk of relegation. Public funding, whilst essential, is clearly going to reduce in light of the overall changes in public finances and a long term stalemate exists around alternative mechanisms.<sup>55</sup>

Possible alternative funding arrangements may include business beneficiary contributions or changes to the Scottish and UK tax regimes. Implicitly within the report, then, there is a call for the festivals to 'widen and deepen' their local engagement in order to bolster their social and cultural importance and justify the continued public investment upon which their fate depends. This suggests that if the Edinburgh Festival City place myth is to endure, these events must demonstrate their socio-economic instrumentality to government but also inspire commitment and buy-in across a broad social demographic in order to avoid such culture wars in future.

### **Clipsal 'Bogans' Versus Festival 'Freaks': The Contestation of Space at the 2012 Adelaide Festival**

Each March Adelaide hosts a diverse range of cultural and sporting events that is known locally as 'Mad March'. As has been shown, this conglomeration of events – headlined by the triumvirate of the Adelaide Festival (which includes the Adelaide Writers' Week), the Adelaide Fringe, and WOMADelaide – is today charged with creating a festive atmosphere in order to establish Adelaide as a 'Vibrant City'. In 2012, however, this concentration of events led to an unprecedented contestation over urban space between cultural and sporting fans that revealed discontent within the dominant place making narratives of the city. This tension was played out symbolically (and audibly) when the de facto Adelaide Festival opening

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

night open-air concert by Ennio Morricone and the Adelaide Symphony Orchestra was disrupted by a cacophony of engines emanating from the Clipsal 500 V8 Supercar Race being held only half a mile away. Within an era of festivalisation, which has seen the rapid growth of similar events worldwide, this moment can also be read as a broader challenge to the sustainability of the Festival City place myth. With each Australian capital city now hosting its own international arts festival, Adelaide's claim 'to uniqueness, authenticity, particularity and speciality', which Harvey argues underlies the 'ability [of cities] to capture monopoly rents', is undermined.<sup>56</sup> I read this cultural clash, therefore, as a performative event within the festival dramaturgy that exposes conflict within the Festival City place myth and calls into question its long-term future.

### **Engines Versus Violins: Culture Clash 2012**

At the 2012 Adelaide Festival's opening night concert in Elder Park, attended by invited guests, state and federal politicians, and the city's cultural connoisseurs, the violins of the Adelaide Symphony Orchestra were accompanied by the dull hum of V8 engines from the nearby racetrack as the sun slipped over the horizon. The press reviews that followed made many puns on 'The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly' (in reference to 'The Ecstasy of Gold', one of Morricone's more well-known scores from the film of that name), as Adelaide's 'shame' and 'embarrassment' were reported throughout the land.<sup>57</sup> To make matters worse, staff of the Adelaide Festival had chosen an untimely moment to prove their green credentials with a spot of recycling and the cascade of glass bottles into the awaiting skip drew the comment of then Federal Arts Minister Simon Crean. A debate erupted in the press and calls were made by festival directors new and old to move the car

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<sup>56</sup> Harvey, 'The Art of Rent', p. 404.

<sup>57</sup> See reviews including: Patrick McDonald, 'The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly of Adelaide's Festivals', *The Advertiser*, 17 March 2012, pp. 46-47; Mark Ellis, 'Canvas: The Good, the Bad, and the Shambolic', *The Age*, 5 March 2012 <<http://www.theage.com.au/entertainment/music/canvas-the-good-the-bad-and-the-shambolic-20120304-1uau9.html>> [accessed 7 March 2012]; Natasha Stott Despoja, 'Culture Clash Makes Us a Laughing Stock', *The Advertiser*, 6 March 2012, p. 18.

race to another weekend so as not to smudge the ‘jewel in the crown’ of South Australia’s arts scene.<sup>58</sup> So sets the stage for the ‘cultural clash’ that came to define the Adelaide Festival in 2012.

Festival director, Paul Grabowsky, had opted not to programme an opening night event for the 2012 festival, preferring instead to encourage audience members to attend one of the ticketed Festival performances that had already opened.<sup>59</sup> When the Morricone concert was moved from Saturday 3 March to the night of Friday 2 March (to avoid competing with the sound systems of Slipknot and System of a Down appearing as part of the Soundwave Festival in Bonython Park), however, the open-air concert for 500 became the de facto opening night Festival celebration. The Morricone concert was held within a fenced-off area on the hill overlooking the Torrens River next to the Festival Centre with ticket prices ranging from AU\$59 for B Reserve concession to AU\$149 for premium seats. The (albeit unofficial) headliner status was reinforced by the guest list, which included: Kevin Scarce, then SA Governor; Jay Weatherill, SA Premier; Mike Rann, former SA Premier; Simon Crean, then Federal Minister for the Arts; and Bill Shorten, who was Financial Services Minister at the time and is federal Leader of the Opposition at the time of writing, in May 2015. The papers reported that when the noise from Clipsal persisted, Premier Weatherill controversially tried to intervene via a text message to have his staff halt the race. The attendance of these high-profile state and federal politicians at this event also signals the continued importance of the Festival to the political economy of the city (and state) and highlights the political dimension to the ‘cultural clash’ that followed.

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<sup>58</sup> Adelaide Festival, *Adelaide Festival 2012 Programme* (Adelaide: Adelaide Festival, 2012), p. 1.

<sup>59</sup> Dance piece *Gardenia* by Les Ballets C de la B played at the Dunstan Playhouse 2-5 March. James Thiérré and La Compagnie du Hanne-ton’s *Raoul* played at the Festival Theatre 1-6 March. The Australian Dance Theatre’s *Proximity* played at Her Majesty’s Theatre 24 February to 3 March. Torque Show’s *Malmö* played in Port Adelaide between 28 February and 4 March. STCSA’s production of *The Ham Funeral* by Patrick White at the Odeon Theatre previewed from 25 February, opened 1 March, and ran until 18 March.

The 'clash' occurred due to a miscommunication between Festival and Clipsal organisers over the scheduling of a late race on the Friday evening. The Carrerra Cup was not due to finish until 8:15pm and therefore overlapped for 45 minutes with the beginning of the concert, which started at 7:30pm.<sup>60</sup> In a televised apology to concertgoers, Clipsal spokesperson, Mike Drewer, explained that while the organisers of the two events had held discussions over the scheduling, '[s]omewhere in that process there was miscommunication or a misunderstanding and the fact that there was a late race obviously fell through the cracks'.<sup>61</sup> As the interlocutors between the two events, the state government also drew criticism and were forced to defend their policy of encouraging the staging of a critical mass of events in Adelaide in March.

Debates over the importance of both events, and which should be given priority, were played out within the press in the weeks following.<sup>62</sup> On the side of the Festival, former leader of the now (almost) defunct Australian Democrats Party, Natasha Stott Despoja, was one of the first to describe the event as a 'cultural clash' that embarrassed the city in a column for the local newspaper, the *Advertiser*, on the following Tuesday 6 March. She elaborates on her criticisms,

That the Clipsal car race could be heard over the pre-eminent opening Adelaide Festival event is unforgivable enough, but that audience members, including the Federal Minister for the Arts Simon

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<sup>60</sup> Brad Crouch, 'Clipsal 500 Noise Intrudes on Ennio Morricone Adelaide Festival Concert', *Sunday Mail*, 3 March 2012

<<http://www.adelaidenow.com.au/entertainment/festivals/clipsal-500-noise-intrudes-on-ennio-morricone-adelaide-festival-concert/story-fn489cz4-1226287793167>> [accessed 7 March 2012].

<sup>61</sup> ABC News, 'Morricone and V8s Don't Mix', Transcript of ABC 7PM TV News, SA, aired 5 March 2012 <<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2012-03-05/clipsal-morricone-noise-clash-v8/3868226/?site=southwestvic>> [accessed 7 March 2012].

<sup>62</sup> Both Paul Grabowsky, then director of the Adelaide Festival and Ian Scobie, director of WOMADelaide, were quoted in media interviews as expressing a desire for Clipsal to be moved. See Anonymous, 'Morricone and V8s Don't Mix'; Samela Harris, 'Womad Wants Clipsal Moved to Avoid Clash', *The Advertiser*, 13 March 2012, p. 4.

Crean, described bottles being recycled at one point during a lull in the performance, makes us a laughing stock.<sup>63</sup>

Words such as 'cringeworthy',<sup>64</sup> 'shameful',<sup>65</sup> and 'embarrassment'<sup>66</sup> were used repeatedly to describe the opening night concert in the press. In his summary of the Festival and Fringe on their closing weekend, Patrick McDonald, Arts Editor for the *Advertiser*, claimed that it 'will be remembered as one of the greatest embarrassments in Festival history'.<sup>67</sup> The interstate press were just as scathing with Mark Ellis, reporter for Melbourne's the *Age*, describing how the clash of events 'almost turned it into a shambles of monumentally embarrassing proportions'.<sup>68</sup> While the majority of local reviewers and commentators characterised it as an embarrassment for the city, there were dissenters.

Not everyone felt that the clash of violins and V8 engines warranted, in Lainie Anderson's words, 'statewide flagellation'.<sup>69</sup> In an opinion piece for the *Sunday Mail*, Anderson attacks the (local) commentators who suggested that the culture clash made Adelaide a laughing stock, labelling such characterisations as evidence of Adelaide's 'inferiority complex'.<sup>70</sup> She recounts a number of incidents including the State Bank disaster in 1991 as previous causes of embarrassment for the city and postulates that Adelaide's inferiority complex is related to its status as the 'smaller state sibling'.<sup>71</sup> She also refers to the popular joke about Adelaide being 'closed for

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<sup>63</sup> Stott Despoja, 'Culture Clash Makes Us a Laughing Stock', p. 18.

<sup>64</sup> Jonathan Pearlman Sydney, 'Morricone Concert Labelled "Fiasco" after It's Interrupted by V8 Supercar Race', *Telegraph Online*, 2012  
<<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/australiaandthepacific/australia/9123600/Morricone-concert-labelled-fiasco-after-its-interrupted-by-V8-Supercar-race.html>> [accessed 10 April 2012].

<sup>65</sup> McDonald, 'The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly', p. 46.

<sup>66</sup> Crouch, 'Clipsal 500 Noise Intrudes'.

<sup>67</sup> McDonald, 'The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly', p. 46.

<sup>68</sup> Ellis, 'Canvas'.

<sup>69</sup> Lainie Anderson, 'South Australia May Have Its Problems but a Clash of High-Class Events Is Not One of Them: Race Complex + Music Complex = Inferiority Complex', *Sunday Mail*, 11 March 2012, p. 25.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

business' as driving the campaign to introduce public holiday trading in the city (a debate which coincided with the Festival), and suggests that residents needed to gain some perspective if they saw the Morricone/Clipsal clash as a 'faux pas of national significance'.<sup>72</sup> While the Morricone concert came to symbolically represent the clash of cultures within the press, however, the clash between fan bases of the Festival and Fringe on the one hand, and Clipsal 500 on the other, was played out through verbal insults on the streets of Adelaide.

The culture clash became the talking point of the Festival and Fringe in conversations on the street, on Twitter, and within quips made by presenters and comedians alike, suggesting that Adelaide was too small to hold both events at the same time. Comedian Adam Hills tweeted, 'I love Adelaide when the Clipsal Car Race meets the Festival. It shows you can have a Fringe and a mullet at the same time'.<sup>73</sup> Journalist and author, David Marr, also garnered knowing laughter from the Writers' Week crowd with his anecdote about almost missing the start of the State Theatre Company of South Australia's (STCSA) production of Patrick White's *The Ham Funeral* on Saturday night because all of the roads were blocked. He commented facetiously that it must reflect Adelaide's 'bigness' that it could host a car rally and an arts festival at the same time.<sup>74</sup> Against the intimations of the car racing fans being uncultured 'bogans' came the retort of 'Festival freaks' from the other side. Those who were drawn to the city to witness the next episode in the longstanding Ford- Holden rivalry (in 2012 Ford was victorious with driver Will Davison winning the race) were nonplussed about having to share the pubs, clubs, and restaurants of Rundle Street with arts fans. Reporting on Clipsal for the *Advertiser*, Craig Cook referred to Fringe fans as 'that arty-farty mob down the road',<sup>75</sup> in a comment that is indicative of the wider sentiment and antagonism held by racing fans. Such

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> @adamhillscomedy, 4 March 2012.

<sup>74</sup> David Marr, *Patrick White Lecture at Adelaide Writers' Week*, West Stage, Pioneer Women's Memorial Park, Adelaide, 2012, 1:15PM.

<sup>75</sup> Craig Cook, 'Why Clipsal Is One out of the Box', *The Advertiser*, 5 March 2012, p. 7.



comments confirm that Adelaide remains beholden to its anxieties and the old labels of parochialism and philistinism. In a region known for its wine and food that tries to bolster its economy through tourism, the Adelaide Festival and its prestige as the premier Australian arts event, therefore, are important replies against these charges and the historical legacy of conservatism.

### **Challenges to Monopoly Rent**

Harvey sees two contradictions involved in monopoly rent that give an insight into the position of the Adelaide Festival in the broader Australian festival ecology. Firstly, while products need to be distinct in order to be marketable, they must also be comparable in order to be assigned commercial value. As Harvey explains, 'while uniqueness and particularity are crucial to the definition of "special qualities", the requirement of tradeability means that no item can be so unique or so special as to be entirely outside of the monetary calculus'.<sup>76</sup> In many ways a growing festival culture that exposes Australian spectators to the 'best of the best' international acts could be seen as cultivating a larger arts audience (or market) and thus be mutually reinforcing making such events easier to promote. For Harvey, the problem lies in the sliding scale between uniqueness and marketability. He notes, '[t]he contradiction here is that the more easily marketable such items become, the less unique and special they appear'.<sup>77</sup> The trend of sharing performances (both national and international) among the Australian arts festivals makes it harder for individual events to distinguish themselves and promote a unique identity. With each Australian capital city now hosting their own version of the international arts festival, the monopoly rent that the Adelaide enjoyed as the premier arts event is reduced.

The Adelaide Festival is now one event on the broader Australian arts festival calendar. Held in March every year (as of 2012), the Adelaide Festival is at the end of a run of three festivals that take place at the

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<sup>76</sup> Harvey, 'The Art of Rent', p. 396.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

beginning of the year, following the Sydney Festival in January and the Perth International Arts Festival (PIAF) in February.<sup>78</sup> The Brisbane Festival now takes place in September each year to coincide with the popular *Riverfire* fireworks display and the Darwin Festival is held in August. The Melbourne International Arts Festival is traditionally held in October, but in late 2011, chairman, Carrillo Gantner, proposed moving it to February/March in order to stage more popular outdoor events in warmer weather. Opponents to the proposed move, however, which included organisers of the Melbourne International Comedy Festival (also held in March) and the Adelaide Festival, argued that events should be spread out during the year to avoid greater competition for audiences.<sup>79</sup> In addition to these major international arts festivals and their associated fringes, there are numerous other music and genre-specific arts festivals held around the country each year.

One of the main challengers to the supremacy of the Adelaide Festival is the longer running PIAF, which began in 1953. In 2012, the PIAF and Adelaide Festival shared a number of festival highlights in their programme, including two of the biggest drawcards Ennio Morricone and James Thiérrée in *Raoul*.<sup>80</sup> As the PIAF, which ran between 10 February and 3 March in 2012, preceded the Adelaide Festival, spectators in Perth were able to enjoy these international artists before those in Adelaide. In 2014 the PIAF reached a gross box office taking of \$6 million, sold over 200,000 tickets, and achieved total attendance figures of over 500,000.<sup>81</sup> This is compared to the statistics from the 2015 Adelaide Festival, which took \$2 million at the box office and attracted attendances of 560,000, which is the largest

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<sup>78</sup> The Canberra Festival coincided with the Adelaide Festival in 2012, although this is less well known than the arts festivals held in the state capitals. Tasmania's Ten Days on the Island festival is also held in March.

<sup>79</sup> Cameron Woodhead, 'Is the Party Over?', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 March 2012 <<http://www.smh.com.au/opinion/society-and-culture/is-the-party-over-20120324-1vr1i.html>> [accessed 27 March 2012].

<sup>80</sup> Perth Festival, 'What's On', *Perth Festival*, 2012 <[www.perthfestival.com.au](http://www.perthfestival.com.au)> [accessed 4 April 2012].

<sup>81</sup> Perth Festival, 'Perth International Arts Festival Celebrates Its Biggest Year Ever: Media Release', *Perth Festival*, 3 March 2014 <[http://media3.perthfestival.com.au/Documents/9860\\_25104\\_Perth-Festival-Reaches-Its-Finale-03032014.pdf](http://media3.perthfestival.com.au/Documents/9860_25104_Perth-Festival-Reaches-Its-Finale-03032014.pdf)> [accessed 20 April 2015].

attendance in five years due to a focus on free events.<sup>82</sup> Under Artistic Director Jonathan Holloway, the PIAF has been particularly successful in appealing to mass audiences through large-scale free events such as the 2012 opening night 'outdoor spectacle' *Place des Anges* (Place of Angels) that attracted 30,000 spectators alone and the three-day storytelling event *The Incredible and Phenomenal Journey of The Giants to the Streets of Perth* by Royal De Luxe in 2015. Furthermore, Perth's Fringe World, which began in 2011, has grown rapidly and has already become an important alternative event. This heightened competition from interstate is also challenging the 'jewel in the crown' status of the Adelaide Festival within the city.

The second contradiction within monopoly rent that Harvey observes is that under capitalism the survival of the fittest competition also tends towards monopoly (or oligopoly). He argues, '[i]t is therefore no accident that the liberalization of markets and the celebration of market competition in recent years has produced incredible centralization of capital'.<sup>83</sup> As I have suggested, the growing festival culture in Australia has challenged the dominance of the Adelaide Festival as the preeminent event of its kind. The posturing of the various capital city arts festivals to secure the best time of year in the festival calendar, the efforts of artistic directors to attract the biggest international names or the most exciting performances from around the globe, and the calls for greater public investment in these events from business quarters and arts reporters in each state, can be read as a competition for the title of premier Australian festival. While these events may currently be on an even par (although Brisbane and Darwin are much smaller), in Harvey's logic, a dominant event or monopoly will inevitably emerge. When the dust settles and a clear winner has been made apparent, the question for Adelaide's urban governance will be whether or not it is Adelaide that is triumphant, and if not, then how compelling will the 'festival state' be as a defining image? Here the South Australian government appears to be following two divergent impulses: to reinforce and secure the

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<sup>82</sup> Patrick McDonald, 'Free for All Really Pays Off', *Advertiser* 14 March 2015, p. 7.

<sup>83</sup> Harvey, 'The Art of Rent' p. 397.

Adelaide Festival brand on the one hand, and to promote alternative events to continue to attract visitors to the state on the other. It is this conflict in strategy that gave rise, in part, to the culture clash during Mad March in 2012.

The Adelaide City Council (ACC) recognises that it faces competition from other Festival Cities: 'While Adelaide's diverse program of successful festivals and events is a key strength in its visitor appeal, attracting thousands of interstate and overseas visitors each year, it faces intense competition from other cities'.<sup>84</sup> In response to this, their 'Arts and Culture Strategy 2012-14' calls for more 'formal, active, cooperative, "partnership" approaches' to be introduced.<sup>85</sup> As an example of this, they specifically cite cooperation with the Adelaide Fringe to introduce measures to reduce red tape in order to establish temporary venues. Moreover, the first challenge listed within this strategy also relates to the festivals: 'Keeping Adelaide's major events fresh, successful and innovative to compete effectively against the high expenditures on events and facilities elsewhere in Australia'.<sup>86</sup> Increased competition from other festivals both interstate and internationally has therefore prompted local and state authorities to devise strategies to maintain this source of monopoly rent.

The increase of funding by the state government in order to hold the Adelaide Festival annually from 2012 is one attempt to retain (or regain) the monopoly rent from this event. As part of his election promises in 2010, former Premier Mike Rann pledged \$8 million to turn the Adelaide Festival, which has been biennial since its inception, into an annual event. Rann and his Australian Labor Party (ALP) won the election but he was later deposed as leader and replaced by Jay Weatherill (who has subsequently won another election), but nevertheless the Festival received its additional funding. Then SA Arts Minister John Hill explained that this decision to go annual was to protect the Adelaide Festival's status despite warnings from

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<sup>84</sup> Adelaide City Council, *Arts and Culture Strategy 2010-2014*, p. 4.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

former festival directors that the same standard could not be reproduced on a yearly basis: ‘This was all about looking after the Adelaide Festival brand. It made sense in terms of ongoing planning and programming and the branding of [SA] as the “festival state”’.<sup>87</sup> The shift to an annual event was also expected to increase ticket sales, as happened previously with WOMAdelaide and the Fringe. The change may also be in response to the other major international arts festivals – those held in Melbourne, Sydney, Perth, and Brisbane – all now being annual events.<sup>88</sup> Inadvertently, the loss of its biennial programming can also be interpreted as removing one of the unique attributes of the Festival. In addition, the Adelaide Fringe was extended by a week from 2013 to enable it to attract even more artists and visitors to the city.<sup>89</sup>

Artistic programming is a second way in which the Adelaide Festival brand can be secured. Harvey notes that product differentiation is essential to profitability: ‘The perpetual search for monopoly rents entails seeking out criteria of speciality, uniqueness, originality and authenticity’.<sup>90</sup> Here he is discussing the cultural capital derived from the wine trade but it is equally applicable to this context. The unique identity of the Adelaide Festival is based on ‘a strong tradition of innovation and excellence’, that according to the website, delivers ‘the most compelling artists, companies and productions from around the globe’.<sup>91</sup> Artistic director of the 2013-16 Adelaide Festivals, David Sefton, is acutely aware of the need to uphold the special character of the Festival. Quoted in an article for the *Australian* in 2012 he reinforces the need for the Adelaide Festival to assert its own

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<sup>87</sup> John Hill cited in Brook Turner, ‘Or Theatre of the Absurd?’, *Australian Financial Review*, 15 March 2012, p. 63; Original brackets.

<sup>88</sup> The Brisbane Festival became an annual event in 2009. Brisbane Festival, ‘History of Brisbane Festival’, *Brisbane Festival*, 2012 <<http://www.brisbanefestival.com.au/About/History>> [accessed 25 April 2012].

<sup>89</sup> Adelaide Fringe, ‘Fringe Extended in 2013!’, *Media, News and Blog*, 2012 <<http://www.adelaidefringe.com.au/media-news/fringe-extended-in-2013>> [accessed 20 April 2015].

<sup>90</sup> Harvey, ‘The Art of Rent’, p. 401.

<sup>91</sup> Adelaide Festival Corporation, ‘About’, *Adelaide Festival*, 2012 <[www.adelaidefestival.com.au/about](http://www.adelaidefestival.com.au/about)> [accessed 29 April 2012].

identity while acknowledging that there may be overlap with the other Australian festivals (especially Sydney and Perth, which are on at the same time of the year). He elaborates,

I think it would be unrealistic if there wasn't the odd overlap. Certain things are only doable because you've got more than one place doing them. But what we do not want is festivals looking the same. [...] The whole point of having these rotating artistic directors is that you create a festival that has its own identity.<sup>92</sup>

In addition to these measures, and perhaps in ways that undermine them, the state government has sought to bolster the creative atmosphere of the festival by staging numerous events in Mad March.

The conventional wisdom behind this policy is that the large number of events creates a visible and vibrant atmosphere that will attract more visitors to the city. As then SA Arts Minister John Hill described: 'What we want is a firework display that explodes over this city, and you don't get that by scheduling things at regular intervals, you get that by everything happening at once.'<sup>93</sup> In addition to the Adelaide Festival (including the Adelaide Biennial and Writers' Week), the Adelaide Fringe Festival, and WOMADelaide, 'Mad March' in 2012 also included: Clipsal 500 V8 Supercar Race (1-4 March), Soundwave Festival (3 March), the one day international test cricket match at the Adelaide Oval (6 March), Future Music Festival (12 March), the Adelaide Cup at the Morphettville Racecourse (12 March), and the Australian Swimming Championships (15-22 March). Events such as the music festivals and the cricket are not unique to Adelaide but instead travel around the Australian capital cities at this time of year. Nevertheless, this particular concentration of events in March is a strategy of the South

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<sup>92</sup> David Sefton cited in Matthew Westwood, 'Here Comes a Classical Showdown with Rivals', *The Australian*, 3 April 2012, p. 16.

<sup>93</sup> John Hill cited in Turner, 'Or Theatre of the Absurd?'

Australian government.<sup>94</sup> In 2012, however, as has been described above, the strategy misfired when it detracted from the headlining act and sparked a public debate over which event – the Adelaide Festival or Clipsal 500 – is more important to the city.

The possibility of moving the Clipsal race to another weekend became the focal point within this debate over whether ‘Mad March’ continues to be feasible. Weighing in on the debate on the side in favour of reducing the number of events in March was former Festival director, Anthony Steel, who feels that the concentration of events threatens the Festival: ‘The fact that there’s so much going on in March has been a total disaster for the Festival’.<sup>95</sup> In a 2013 review of Adelaide’s Festivals, Warren McCann notes that the Adelaide City Council would like events to spread throughout the year to sustain the vibrant atmosphere but argues that the clustering of the events in March is what is attractive to visitors, ‘and in turn [has a] greater impact on the city in terms of profile, pride and a boost to the economy’.<sup>96</sup> Ultimately, Clipsal has been held in Mad March in each subsequent year so far due to its position within the international V8 Supercar racing calendar. The question of whether the arts should continue to be privileged when sporting events can create a similar atmosphere and seemingly have a larger appeal within an Australia context, however, remains.

The monopoly rent that South Australia was traditionally able to extract from Adelaide’s festivals has therefore been difficult to maintain on the basis of scarcity – all Australian state capitals now host their own international arts event – and uniqueness – due to the high transport and production costs these festivals often need to share product. The challenge to the Adelaide Festival as the defining event for the city (and by extension the state) suggests that alternative constructions to that of the cultural

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<sup>94</sup> See statements made by then Arts Minister John Hill in Turner, ‘Or Theatre of the Absurd?’. Also those made by Clipsal spokesperson Mike Drewer in Harris, ‘Womad Wants Clipsal Moved to Avoid Clash’.

<sup>95</sup> Anthony Steel cited in Anonymous, ‘Morricone and V8s Don’t Mix’.

<sup>96</sup> McCann, *Light Years Ahead*, p. 22.

capital could gain traction in future, despite the continued support for the dominant image by the state government. There is the larger question, which also applies to Edinburgh, of how these events serve their local community. The clash of the Adelaide Festival and Fringe and Clipsal 500 illustrates that not everyone participates in an elite arts event and there is a competition within the city not only over resources but over how the city is defined discursively.

More than an embarrassing clash between violins and V8 engines, the circumstances surrounding the interruption of the Morricone concert by Clipsal 500 on the opening night of the 2012 Adelaide Festival indicates a challenge to the central role of the Festival in the place construction of Adelaide. Where once the Adelaide Festival was the premier arts event in Australia and afforded the state of South Australia a monopoly rent that came to define its capital city, increased rivalry from other 'Mad March' events and interstate arts festivals threaten its monopoly and therefore its right to continue to define Adelaide. The culture war between the Clipsal 'bogans' and festival 'freaks' on the streets of Adelaide goes beyond a contestation of space between two groups seeking different forms of entertainment in the same geographical location. It also points to a larger contest over who has the right to define the city and highlights the definition of Adelaide as the 'Festival State' as a top-down construction imposed by a cultural and civic elite. With alternative sporting events able to create similar 'vibrant' atmospheres to that of the festivals, the future of Adelaide Festival City will be determined by whether the SA government decides to maintain support for the arts and culture as well as their instrumentality within urban entrepreneurial agendas.

### **Future of Adelaide Festival City**

As in Edinburgh, the instrumentalisation of Adelaide's festivals within cultural policy documents is made in part to justify continued public spending on arts and culture in an age of austerity. In the 2011-12 period, the South Australian government spent AU\$262.1m on cultural activities, which represents 8% of the total cultural expenditure by state and territory



governments in Australia. Although this is commensurate with the percentage of the population who live in South Australia, it represents a contraction of arts funding in the state from 12% in 2010-11.<sup>97</sup> This reduction of public funding for the arts in South Australia and the broader climate of austerity (which has reached Australia despite the country weathering the 2008 Global Financial Crisis relatively well) has a direct impact on the future of these events. In 2013 a debate began over whether the Adelaide Festival should be merged with its main venue the Adelaide Festival Centre to save on administrative costs.<sup>98</sup> While this prospect continues to loom in the background, the Weatherill government announced in March 2015 that the Adelaide Festival Centre would receive a AU\$90m upgrade as part of a larger redevelopment of the Festival Plaza precinct to be funded by a partnership between the state government and the private Walker Corporation.<sup>99</sup> These seemingly mixed messages throw doubt on whether the state government will continue to invest (materially and discursively) in Adelaide as a Festival City.

Large sporting events such as Clipsal and the Tour Down Under cycling race also create fun atmospheres, attract tourists and visitors, and could easily take the festivals' place in promoting a vibrant city. Nevertheless, these festivals, and particularly the Fringe, do provide space for local artists and offer an important platform for local cultural expression that draws artists and audiences from all around Australia as well as overseas. As this analysis has shown, Adelaide possesses many advantages as a Festival City derived from the particular qualities of the city and the historical legacy and prestige of the festival that it could choose to reinvest in along the lines of McCann's recommendations. Their longevity mean that

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<sup>97</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics, 'Cultural Funding by Government: A South Australian Perspective', p. 2.

<sup>98</sup> Patrick McDonald, 'The Arts of the Mattter', *Advertiser* 16 August 2013, p. 25.

<sup>99</sup> ABC News, 'Adelaide Festival Centre to Receive \$90m Facelift as Part of Plaza Redevelopment', *ABC News Online*, 15 March 2015  
<<http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-03-15/adelaide-festival-centre-to-be-upgraded-as-part-of-plaza-plan/6320672>> [accessed 20 April 2015].

they are far more intertwined within their local culture than the newer festivals created specifically for the purposes of place promotion could hope to be. Clipsal and the festivals have been staged together in subsequent years without the same level of animosity. Whether Adelaide will continue to be defined in the future as a cultural capital or will instead be marketed along the lines of a fun-loving, care-free Gold Coast (the site of another major car race), will have both direct and indirect implications for the state's political and cultural economy. While Adelaide's festivals are marketed as consumer spectacles within the place construction of the city, their cultural work cannot fully be contained within this construction. Beyond the rhetoric of place promotion and economic rationalism, Adelaide's festivals continue to provide a space of artistic development and risk-taking, an annual meeting place for artists, and the means by which to expose audiences to a range of artistic practices from all around the world in a fixed time and place. More than this, the Adelaide Festival and Fringe, continue to define the city's 'sense of difference' and its aspirations for the future. Ominously, however, Federal Arts Minister George Brandis announced in May 2015 that he would be transferring AU\$104.7m from the Australia Council (15% of its budget) to a new National Programme for Excellence in the Arts that he will administer. This will undermine Australia Council's ability to deliver on its 2014 strategic plan and seriously threaten the independence of arts funding in the nation with indirect effects on festival funding.<sup>100</sup>

## Conclusion

Performative moments within the dramaturgy of the festivals of Edinburgh and Adelaide reveal that they are sites for cultural contestation over which groups have the right to define the city. These festivals have traditionally provided a source of monopoly rent to their respective cities by defining and differentiating them within their geopolitical contexts. The

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<sup>100</sup> Jeremy Story Carter, 'Arts Minister George Brandis Defends Australia Council Funding Changes', *Australian Broadcasting Corporation*, 19 May 2015  
<http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/booksandarts/senator-george-brandis-defends-budget-arts-funding-changes/6477672> [accessed 28 May 2015].

ability of local authorities to continue to extract rents from these events and therefore the continued dominance of the Festival City place myth is threatened in both places by internal divisions and increased external competition. These internal conflicts can be witnessed through the culture wars that were waged within the festival dramaturgies of Edinburgh's 2013 summer festivals and Adelaide's 2012 Mad March. Far from 'present[ing] a sanitized version of the city',<sup>101</sup> as Marjana Johansson and Jerzy Kociatkiewicz have argued, these performative moments reveal these festivals as sites of contestation if the analytical framework is extended to consider these festivals *as* performances.

The Edinburgh and Adelaide festivals were established well before current trend towards festivalisation and have always pursued their own cultural and artistic agendas that appeal to a certain proportion of the population with high levels of cultural capital. This elitist agenda was disrupted immediately in both cities with the spontaneous beginnings of a fringe festival, in which local artists contested their lack of representation in Edinburgh and the conservative programming choices of the board in Adelaide. As enormous open-access events the meanings of individual performances within them cannot be prescribed and contained. As empirical analysis of cultural policy documents has shown, the Edinburgh Festival Fringe and Adelaide Fringe are just as implicated within culture-led regeneration agendas and unwittingly foster neo-liberal agendas where the risk lies with the independent artist while the city benefits regardless. Nevertheless, even at the level of the festival these agendas are disrupted and contested with festival management and city authorities having far less control over the political and cultural debates and conversations that occur within the festival dramaturgy. Despite these challenges, recent government-commissioned reports in both cities suggest that in the short term at least there is a strong case for maintaining the active promotion of and investment in both Edinburgh and Adelaide as Festival Cities. If further cultural clashes are staged, however, a lack of internal consensus may

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<sup>101</sup> Johansson and Kociatkiewicz, 'City Festivals', p. 403.

combine with increased external competition to diminish the monopoly rent derived from these events and ultimately to the emergence of a new place myth to define the city through the process of creative destruction.

## Conclusion

In this thesis I set out to explore the relationship between urban-based arts festivals and their city. Specifically I aimed to investigate how urban environments define arts festivals but also how arts festivals participate in the production of urban space by materially and discursively shaping their host cities. The long running and prestige international arts festivals, the EIF and Adelaide Festival, were chosen as case studies for their longevity, prestige, and the fact that they both provoked large-scale fringe festivals that run simultaneously and have since overtaken the main event in terms of size, media attention, and socio-economic importance. These flagship festivals, which are purveyors of international artistic excellence, embody the tension between local and global forces that has dominated festival scholarship within theatre and performance studies to date. My project has sought to explore this tension by focussing on the relationship between city and festival and to interrogate the ways in which these events function as sites of cultural formation and contestation.

In order to do this I have employed a cultural materialist approach that draws on methodologies and literatures from cultural geography and urban studies on the one hand and from theatre and performance studies on the other in order to read these festivals as performances of the city. By analysing the specific material conditions of these two cities within the context of the broader literature on the role of arts festivals in place promotion and culture-led regeneration, my project has demonstrated the ways in which the global is locally produced and extends these understandings by revealing the specific local historical understandings of place and current socio-political concerns that mould the take up of these global trends. This is aided by a comparative approach that reveals shared themes and commonalities between these two places while throwing their differences into comparative relief. The value of my project lies in developing a cultural materialist, interdisciplinary, comparative methodology to read festivals as performances of the city. Given the rapid growth of the festivalisation phenomenon, a methodology that can be

applied to a range of other festivals in other places to assess the cultural and ideological work that they perform is vital for festival scholarship.

A theatre and performance studies perspective recognises that festivals will always contribute to and participate within local culture (positively or negatively) despite their seeming placelessness and self-reported commitment to international arts over local traditions. Festivals' conditions of production and reception are necessarily rooted in local infrastructures and institutions and therefore the cultural and ideological work that they perform will always be conditioned by and speak back to local socio-political conditions. Far from passive receptacles for urban entrepreneurial strategy, I have argued throughout that festivals are active participants in the production of space and of local culture. In the same way that theatre cannot be considered a mirror or mere representation of society and culture, these festival performances do not just reflect and showcase local culture but actively participate in its formation. As I have further demonstrated, this process is not uncontroversial and by reading the festival as a performance and analysing performative events within the festival dramaturgy – rather than individual performances or the artistic programming of the festival – this methodology reveals festivals to be sites of cultural formation and contestation.

In the Introduction I established the rationale and basis for this comparative study. Despite the rapid growth in the number of festivals across a range of genres and formats worldwide, they have received surprisingly little critical attention within theatre and performance studies. The existing literature tends to focus on the foundational European modernist festivals and is only beginning to branch out to incorporate diverse geo-political regions. Existing approaches also tend to provide histories of specific festivals, performance reviews of festival programmes, or to theorise the impact of the festival frame on readings of these events. Inspiration for my project was drawn from existing materialist approaches that focus on assessing the cultural effects – both direct and indirect – of such festivals and extends this by providing a methodology to analyse

festival seasons – made up of multiple overlapping events that create a specific atmosphere and take over the city space – as performances in their own right. It is important that theatre and performance studies contribute to the field of festival scholarship in order to take seriously the art object at the centre of this study and to show how it can both benefit from as well as resist instrumentalisation and appropriation.

In line with Jennifer Robinson I see the comparative approach as contributing to the necessary internationalisation of festival scholarship and enabling the material conditions of ordinary cities to contribute to the theorisation of urban space and processes of gentrification, culture-led regeneration, and place promotion that arts festivals have been accused of contributing to. It also provides a starting point for considering amorphous transnational flows and the placeless international marketplace in material terms. In order to resist the universalising tendencies of the past, future comparative and transnational studies must ground explorations of the impact of arts festivals on the urban environment within specific, local, material and discursive conditions. This is the value of drawing on cultural geography and urban studies.

As established, the Edinburgh and Adelaide festivals share a history; a multi-arts, multi-event format; and ongoing interlinkages and movements of staff and artists between the two cities that warrants bringing them into conversation and forms the basis of comparison. An overview of how these events function today, the histories of the festivals and how they emerged, and a number of shared themes that arise from this analysis were explored in the Introduction. By providing this history, I introduced the reader to these events and provided context for them in order to take seriously the original artistic and cultural aims of these events. This provided necessary background to an exploration of how these aims have evolved and changed in response to local conditions as well as the rise of urban entrepreneurial strategies and festivalisation from the 1970s and 1980s. As this Introduction highlighted, it is primarily the differences between the Edinburgh and Adelaide festivals – arising from their diverse geo-political and socio-

cultural positions – that was focussed on throughout this dissertation and is most informative about the relationship between festival and city. Therefore the remainder of the dissertation was structured to place the festivals within their local urban environments and to explore how international trends played out in each city.

Reflecting the interdisciplinary nature of this project, in Chapter One I explored how the conditions of production and reception of arts festivals are shaped by their instrumentalisation within urban entrepreneurial strategies as highlighted within a review of the literature from cultural geography and urban studies. These insights are fundamental to understanding and assessing that cultural and ideological work of festivals in general and the Edinburgh and Adelaide festivals in particular. There is a risk within this literature that the art object at the centre is too easily lost or dismissed as providing a carnivalesque mask that obscures urban social disadvantage and homogenises local culture. These accusations call attention to the need to analyse the ways in which arts festivals are instrumentalised within broader agendas but a theatre and performance studies perspective is also attuned to the fact that cultural events cannot be easily contained within these agendas. By framing these festivals as performances in their own right I argue that they are sites of cultural formation and contestation between different groups and in this way disrupt any easy instrumentalisation. The subsequent chapters therefore explored the various ways in which these festivals have been positioned within their local contexts over time, the evolving agendas and policy arenas that they are expected to participate in, the ways in which they contribute to Mitchell's 'mute representation' through the Festival City place myth, but also for the points of disruption and contestation within this construction. Exploring the complex and nuanced relationship between festival and city therefore also pointed to and enabled further exploration of the power relations behind the production of urban space.

I have argued throughout this dissertation that the festivals of Edinburgh and Adelaide form the dominant 'set of core images' that define



these cities characterise them both as Festival Cities. Building upon Rob Shields's conception of a place myth, I explored the complex ways in which these festivals have contributed to the material and discursive construction of these cities over time in Chapter Two. Despite their similar formats, artistic mandates, and the overlapping themes within their histories, these festivals have evolved differently and have very different relationships with their local cultures and host cities. Adelaide has been instrumental in reforming a previously austere and conservative 'City of Churches' into the proud cosmopolitan capital of the Festival State. Local authorities promote this construction in order to present a positive image of the city that is more conducive to attracting visitors to and investment within the city. There is also broad support and local affection for this place myth with the Adelaide Festival providing a source of civic pride for residents. Nevertheless, as my analysis of alternative discursive constructions of the city revealed, the Festival City place myth in Adelaide also deliberately obscures the social disadvantage in the outer suburbs that underpins popular understandings of Adelaide as the 'City of Corpses'.

In Edinburgh, by contrast, the city's Enlightenment and literary traditions and status as the capital of the Scottish nation provide alternative official constructions that compete with the Festival City place myth. While these designations are not necessarily at odds with the Festival City and are all drawn upon within official marketing campaigns of Edinburgh, the EIF has had a difficult relationship its local community that undermines its claims to fostering civic pride. Behind popular images of Edinburgh within the urban imaginary – particularly within its literary second-life – there are also specific material conditions that also reveal a history of urban disadvantage. The Jekyll and Hyde characterisation of Edinburgh that is physically represented in the distinctive architectural juxtaposition between the Old and New Towns belies a history of social stratification. Edinburgh's historic and ongoing rivalry with the larger Glasgow is also indicative of broader tensions within Scottish society – between East and West, and the Highlands and Lowlands – and reflects competition arising from changing

economic conditions prompted by the Industrial Revolution and more recently Glasgow's refashioning as the European City of Culture. The Festival City place myth in Edinburgh therefore does not provide an overriding narrative that encapsulates the city's civic aspirations in the same way as Adelaide. Through the analytical lens of the Festival City place myth, this chapter established the long-term embedded relationship between festival and city in each place and the way in which these events have contributed to material and discursive production of urban space. Adelaide and Edinburgh are not the only Festival Cities in the world and therefore this methodology has larger applicability within festival scholarship.

The Adelaide and Edinburgh festivals have had an ongoing and complex relationship with their cities but nevertheless they are now expected to play a larger role in urban entrepreneurial strategies. Specifically, they are required to provide both direct and indirect economic benefit to the city by drawing in visitors with flow-on benefits to local business. Secondly, arts festivals provide positive images for use within place promotion and fit within particular urban entrepreneurial strategies to position these cities as 'creative cities' and 'cultural capitals' to appeal to the particularly mobile, international, hipster 'creative class'. Thirdly, they are required to provide a number of social benefits including cohesion and fostering civic pride. While the focus in the late 1990s was on producing economic impact assessments in order to assert the value of festivals to the local political economy, more recently there is increasing emphasis on the social benefits such as education and local engagement as evidenced within the most recent *Thundering Hooves 2.0* report in Edinburgh. This has changed the emphasis of these international arts festivals from bringing the best of the world's artists to these cities to fulfilling local needs and, in Edinburgh particularly, to providing an international platform for Scottish culture.

In Chapter Three, I investigated the effects of the global trends identified within the literature on the Edinburgh and Adelaide festivals and

identified the ways in which these local conditions speak back to this literature. The overriding strategy of the South Australian government and the ACC is to reposition Adelaide as the 'Vibrant City'. Within policy and strategy documents Adelaide's festivals underwrite Adelaide's already established reputation as a creative capital and advance this by creating a fun and 'vibrant' party atmosphere in Mad March. This need to assert Adelaide's creative credentials emerges from very specific conditions in which the city's enduring conservative and staid reputation is seen as prompting younger residents to move interstate in search of more creative class lifestyles. The need to attract and retain workers to guarantee the future economic prosperity of the state is coupled with specific economic challenges in the short-term, particularly the loss of the car manufacturing industry, that requires the state's economy to diversify. Adelaide's festivals are therefore one small part of a broader urban entrepreneurial strategy to recreate the CBD in the image of Florida's creative cities.

Edinburgh, on the other hand, introduced a festivals strategy at the start of this century that actively markets the association between city and festival in order to maintain Edinburgh's mantle as the world's leading festival city. Within these policy documents it is clear that Edinburgh's festivals are being recuperated from their historically uneasy relationship with Scottish culture in order to improve the international standing of this capital city and therefore the Scottish nation. Edinburgh's festivals are now – rhetorically at least – referred to as 'distinctively Scottish and yet fiercely and famously international',<sup>1</sup> in a new nuance to the familiar tension between the local and global. Chapter Three therefore examined the local impetuses behind and processes through which Florida's creative class thesis has gained traction and has influenced policy making in two very different cities.

Arts festivals are funded and shaped by all policies at all levels of government not just at the level of partnerships between local governments and businesses. An urban studies perspective that is circumscribed by city-

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<sup>1</sup> Festivals Edinburgh, *Edinburgh's Festivals*, p. 3.

limits risks missing the important national contexts and debates that these festivals participate in. Chapter Four therefore examined the national cultural policies and infrastructures that underwrite the continued success of these festivals and argued that these contexts and alternative agendas demonstrate that arts festivals cannot be fully contained within an urban entrepreneurial agenda. In Edinburgh, in particular, the rehabilitation of Edinburgh's festivals as a platform for Scottish cultural identity cannot be fully explained at the city-level. Here the political context of Scottish devolution and the increased importance of culture over the past two decades are fundamental to understanding the repositioning of these events. These national contexts also help to define the identity of these festivals and influence their programming. In the Australian context, cultural policy over the past two decades, particularly, has attempted to redefine national identity as multicultural and to reorientate the nation economically and culturally from Europe to the Asia Pacific. Although official multiculturalism has fallen from favour within official rhetoric, the most recent policy documents maintain a commitment to 'diversity', respect for Indigenous culture, and calls to capitalise upon the 'Asian century'. Examining the position of festivals within national cultural policy and infrastructures therefore disrupts readings that argue that these urban-based events are easily instrumentalised within creative cities and place promotion discourses by revealing the competing agendas that they are expected to fulfil. This also demonstrates the benefit of a theatre and performance studies' take on a cultural materialist methodology that is attuned to broader influences on arts events.

Culture is contested and in order to interrogate the ideological effects of these festivals on their local arts ecologies, Chapter Five identified examples of culture wars within the festivals' dramaturgy to investigate how the Festival City place myth is resisted and challenged by different groups. I argued in this chapter that these festivals have traditionally provided their cities with sources of monopoly rent but that increased external competition and internal disputes risk undermining this economic benefit (and thus

justification for continued public investment) in the long term. The participation, or lack thereof, of the 2013 Edinburgh festivals in the Scottish independence debate invoked historical suspicion towards these events that undermines the attempts to recuperate them at an official level. Recent reports suggest that Edinburgh's festivals are now accepted by locals and are a source of civic pride. Flashpoints like this, however, reveal that this historical suspicion endures and despite the greater engagement with the debate in 2014, call into question once again the relationship between Edinburgh's festivals and Scottish culture.

In Adelaide, the cultural clash occurred in 2012 when the opening night of the Adelaide Festival was disrupted by the Clipsal V8 Supercar race that called into question Adelaide's suitability for hosting such a conglomeration of events and highlighted the contest over public space and resources between different groups participating in diverse leisure activities. The Festival City place myth requires continued investment and maintenance – materially and discursively – in order to be maintained. Such cultural clashes within the festivals' dramaturgy undermine the requirement of these festivals to promote social cohesion and foster engagement with a range of different groups and the future of this place myth. This, coupled with the threat to monopoly rent by increased competition, has forced government in both places to commission reports on the competitiveness of these Festival Cities. At the time of writing in May 2015, it seems likely that both Adelaide and Edinburgh will continue to leverage competitive advantage from the historical prestige and dominance of these events as part of broader marketing and cultural strategies in the short term at least.

In this dissertation I have therefore charted the rise, role, and considered the possible fall of the Festival City place myth and Edinburgh and Adelaide. This interdisciplinary and comparative approach has contributed to understandings of the recent history and developments of these specific festivals and discursive and cultural aspects of these cities on the one hand and has developed a methodology that has broader

applicability for examining material conditions through the urban imagination, the position of cultural events in a range of urban strategies and processes, and the role of festivals in the production of urban space. There is more work to be done on these specific festivals, however, as there have been no critical histories of the Adelaide Fringe or Edinburgh Festival Fringe published to date. My interdisciplinary methodology that combines theatre and performance studies and cultural geography approaches, moreover, can also be applied to other Festival Cities such as Edmonton, Canada and Grahamstown, South Africa. If the Festival City place myth and brand identity is not unique, what value does it continue to hold for these diverse populations and local authorities around the world?

While this study has focussed on situating these festivals within their local contexts to interrogate the relationship between festival and city, the case study of Edinburgh and Adelaide also offer opportunities to examine the relationship between these festivals at an organisational level as well as more broadly between Festival Cities at an urban governance level. There is extensive movement of staff, artists and companies, and even specific performances between these festivals that have historically operated as a circuit (as outlined in Appendix 4). Artist accounts of performing in both locations would provide a different insight into the similarities and differences between these events in terms of production conditions and reception experiences. A longitudinal study could also track the movement of specific performances on this circuit and provide insight into how artistic work evolves and changes on the international touring circuit.

This project also highlights the urgent need for more critical engagement with the festivalisation phenomenon and reveals many potential avenues for future festival scholarship. How can festival scholarship contribute to understandings of the international marketplace of theatrical performance, for example, by providing a methodology to explore the grounded and material effects of the abstract and 'placeless' international festival network? Christine McMahon has argued that '[t]aken together, those individual marketplaces form an international marketplace,

a “global flow” of goods, information, capital, and ideas – what I will call the international festival network’.<sup>2</sup> One way to approach this question, then, would be to focus on the ‘nodes’ of the international festival network: including international arts festivals such as the EIF, Adelaide Festival, and Avignon Festival discussed here but also many others; as well as major venues such as the Barbican Centre in London and the Lincoln Centre in New York that regularly receive international touring productions. Part of the task will be to identify these nodes and venues in addition to other, alternative, transnational circuits that may exist within language-groups (such as the Lusophone-speaking network discussed by McMahon) or other geographical and cultural groupings in the Americas, Africa, and the Asia Pacific that have received less attention to date.

Fringe Festivals present a different kind of network again with many circuits existing within Canada and the US, for example, or internationally between Adelaide, Edinburgh, and Grahamstown. International networks such as AFRIFESTNET and the World Fringe Network as well as events such as Edinburgh’s International Cultural Summits (held in 2012 and 2014) and the Adelaide Fringe’s Honey Pot sessions that bring festival directors and producers from the Asia Pacific to Adelaide each year present a valuable starting point for future research. Exploring in greater depth the international movement of artistic directors (as in Appendix 5) will also help to elucidate how knowledge sharing occurs between major events worldwide. There are important questions to be asked of these festivals in terms of who is funding them; what kinds of cultural work flourish (or fail) within this marketplace; where are these works originating from and where do they travel to; what would a map of the international festival network look like both geographically and geo-politically? Analysing the conditions of production and reception of the international festival network will provide a further frame through which to understand intercultural performance, for example, and conversely the representation of national identities on stage. Comparative or transnational methodologies that are

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<sup>2</sup> McMahon, *Recasting Transnationalism through Performance*, p. 81.

attentive to the material conditions of place while exploring the cultural flows and knowledge sharing between festivals will therefore be necessary to critique the transnational socio-political, cultural, economic, and diplomatic effects of arts festivals.

National circuits within the international marketplace also require further scrutiny. Beyond the ways that arts festivals contribute to the material and discursive construction of the city, as I have shown in Chapter Four, they are also the site of national cultural formation. In the Australian context, for example, each state capital city now hosts a flagship international arts festival. These individual events have their own impetuses, agendas, and identities, and yet co-produce work (both within Australia and with international partners) and together they provide a site for staging and contesting a national cultural identity. These festivals increasingly attract large proportions of the arts funding budget – across all levels of government – and therefore their material and cultural effects require further analysis and critique. Through the Major Festivals Initiative, these flagship festivals have become major producers of new Australian work. This raises a number of important questions: what kind of work is produced under these conditions; what effects does a mandatory touring commitment have on the work; and what broader cultural work do these productions perform? Digital humanities methodologies and technologies also offer a means of quantifying and mapping cultural exchanges and touring networks. In a practical sense, AusStage, the online database of Australian live performance,<sup>3</sup> provides a means through which to map the Australian festival network, to examine meta-level data in terms of the kinds of performances produced on this network, to map where and when specific performances tour both within and outside of the network, to quantify sources of funding, track artist movements, and identify trends across time. The particular material conditions of a postcolonial settler nation – namely the growth and importance of Indigenous theatre, intercultural work,

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<sup>3</sup> AusStage, 'About Us', *AusStage*, 2015  
 <<http://www.ausstage.edu.au/pages/learn/about/>> [accessed 28 May 2015].



women's theatre, historical European influences but contemporary repositioning towards the Asia Pacific – also speak to the broader tensions within the global festival network.

Karen Fricker has argued that despite the festivalisation phenomenon, festivals remain 'a complex, and undertheorized, field within theatre studies'.<sup>4</sup> This dissertation has demonstrated the value of drawing on interdisciplinary approaches such as cultural geography to further explore the cultural effects of festivals from within the theatre and performance studies discipline. As I have suggested, theatre and performance studies has much more to offer festival studies through analysis of the conditions of production and reception of the international festival network. Nevertheless, the future development of festival scholarship would benefit from drawing on broader interdisciplinary approaches across fields as diverse as cultural geography and urban studies, cultural and media studies, studies of cultural history and cultural policy, events management and arts administration, as well as disciplines devoted to specific art forms including music, dance, film, and art history. This dissertation has therefore contributed to the theorisation of festivals by developing an interdisciplinary, comparative, cultural materialist methodology for analysing the relationship between arts festivals and their host cities in order to contribute to what is hoped will emerge as a broader field of festival studies.

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<sup>4</sup> Karen Fricker, 'Tourism, the Festival Marketplace and Robert Lepage's *The Seven Streams of the River Ota*', *Contemporary Theatre Review*, 13.4 (2003), 79-93 (p. 79).

## Appendix 1: Comparison of International Fringe Festivals

Table 1 Comparison of International Fringe Festivals

Categories of Comparison	Adelaide Fringe <sup>1</sup>	Edinburgh Festival Fringe <sup>2</sup>	Edmonton International Fringe Festival <sup>3</sup>	Le Festival Off d'Avignon <sup>4</sup>
<b>Location</b>	Adelaide, South Australia	Edinburgh, Scotland	Edmonton, Alberta, Canada	Avignon, France
<b>Founded</b>	Began in 1960 as biennial festival. Annual since 2007. Adelaide Fringe Incorporated	Began in 1947. Fringe Society formalised in 1958.	Began in 1982	First challenge to main festival in 1968, dubbed 'Off' Festival in 1971.

<sup>1</sup> Adelaide Fringe, *Annual Report 2013* (Adelaide: Adelaide Fringe Inc, 2013).

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh Festival Fringe Society, 'World's Largest Arts Festival Draws to a Close for Another Year', Edinburgh Festival Fringe, 2013 <<https://www.edfringe.com/news/world-s-largest-arts-festival-draws-to-a-close-for-another-year>> [accessed 28 December 2013].

<sup>3</sup> Data pieced together from official website and various newspaper articles. See Fringe Theatre Adventures, 'Festival', *Fringe Theatre Adventures*, 2013 <<http://www.fringetheatre.ca/festival.php>> [accessed 29 December 2013]. Liz Nicholls, 'Time to Turn Yourself Loose on the Fringe; Take a Chance on Last Weekend of Festival', *Edmonton Journal*, 24 August 2013, p. D1. Elizabeth Withey, 'Festival Preview: Edmonton Fringe Festival Makes Changes to Site', *Postmedia Breaking News*, 14 August 2013. Doug Johnson, 'Welcome to This Year's Fringe Royale', *Edmonton Examiner*, 14 August 2013, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> This data was pieced together from the 2013 programme and various newspaper articles. See Kathy Hanin, 'Le Festival Off Entre En Scène À Avignon', *Midi Libre*, 29 May 2013, n. p. Anonymous, 'Le Festival Off D'avignon: 1.258 Spectacles Cette Année', *Agence France Presse*, 27 May 2013, n. p. Anonymous, 'Avignon Festival-Off Marks Annual Rise in Attendance', *French Collection*, 2 August 2013, n. p. Avignon Festival and Cies le Off, *Le Festival Off D'avignon Programme* (Avignon: Avignon Festival and Cies le Off, 2013 <<http://www.avignonleoff.com/Ressources/Festivals/16-programme-off-2013-fr.pdf>> [accessed 29 December 2013].

	in 1975.			
<b>Festival Dates in 2013</b>	15 February – 17 March 2013	2 – 26 August 2013	15 – 25 August 2013	8 – 31 July 2013
<b>Number of registered events</b>	930	2,871*	210 + 11 outdoor performances + 102 Bring Your Own Venue (BYOV) + 42 Buskers = 365 total	1,066 compagnies [companies]; 1,258 spectacles [shows]
<b>Number of Venues</b>	323	273	52	125
<b>Number of Performances</b>	6,139	45,464	1,651	Approx 30,000
<b>Ticket Sales</b>	407,153	1,943,493	114,624	52,390 individual membership cards sold  [There were 135,800 tickets sold in 2012] <sup>5</sup>

\* This figure does not include the various Free Fringes now in operation in Edinburgh.

The Edmonton International Fringe Festival is widely acknowledged as 'North America's largest and longest-running Fringe Festival',<sup>6</sup> with one

<sup>5</sup> These figures are cited by Wehle, 'The Avignon Vision', p. 80.

<sup>6</sup> This is a quote from reporter Allison Salz within a local article on the Fringe but it echoes a number of descriptions of this festival: Allison Salz, 'This Year's Fringe Festival Is on Pace to Match Last Year's 112,000 Tickets Sold', *Edmonton Sun*, 15 August 2013, p. 2. See also Claire Theobald, 'Theatre Shaken, Not Stirred', *Edmonton Sun*, 11 August 2013, p. E2. Todd Hirsch,

reporter describing it as ‘the second largest of its kind in the world’.<sup>7</sup> As the 2013 statistics demonstrate, however, the Edmonton Fringe does not approach the Edinburgh Festival Fringe in size and is two-and-a-half times smaller than the Adelaide Fringe. This is partly because although the Edmonton Fringe was also inspired by Edinburgh’s Fringe, it operates along a different model (a lottery system), retains a tighter focus on theatre than either Adelaide or Edinburgh, and is not accompanied by an official international arts festival.<sup>8</sup>

Of these examples, Avignon’s alternative festival, le Festival Off d’Avignon, has the strongest claim to be the second largest fringe festival in the world. While it had less than half the number of events than those registered on the Edinburgh Festival Fringe in 2013, it had approximately 35% more events than the Adelaide Fringe that year. It is not as long established as the Adelaide Fringe, however, as it only arose as an alternative to the official festival after the social unrest of the May 1968 uprisings.<sup>9</sup>

The Adelaide Fringe’s claim to be second only to Edinburgh has disappeared from their website over the period of this study and instead Adelaide Fringe Inc highlights the ways in which this event is unique. As a government-commissioned report into the competitiveness of Adelaide’s festivals is quick to assert, the Adelaide Fringe is differentiated by its mandate to produce large community events. According to the report, ‘[t]hese events add to the carnival atmosphere that engulfs the entire city and in 2013 included the Fringe Parade, the Spirit Festival (produced by Tandanya National Aboriginal Cultural Institute), Adelaide Fringe Street

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‘Culture: An Important Ingredient to the Economy’, *Vancouver Province*, 30 September 2013, p. B2.

<sup>7</sup> Johnson, ‘Welcome to This Year’s Fringe Royale’.

<sup>8</sup> While the Edmonton Fringe Festival includes a wide variety of theatre and performance, lottery winners are organised into local, national, international, theatre for young audiences, and outdoor performances rather than the genre categories that Adelaide and Edinburgh employ to organise their programmes.

<sup>9</sup> See Philippa Wehle’s histories of the Avignon Festival in Wehle, ‘A History of the Avignon Festival’ and Wehle, ‘Avignon, Everybody’s Dream’.

Theatre Festival and Fringe in the Mall'.<sup>10</sup> Whether or not the Adelaide Fringe is actually the second largest fringe festival after Edinburgh, its size, longevity, and open-access policy ensure that it is comparable on a global scale.

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<sup>10</sup> McCann, *Light Years Ahead*, p. 8.

## Appendix 2: Festivals Edinburgh Member Events

Table 2 List of Festivals Edinburgh Member Events

Name	2015 Season <sup>11</sup>
Edinburgh International Science Festival	4-19 April 2015
Imagine Festival	11-17 May 2015
Edinburgh International Film Festival	17-23 June 2015
Edinburgh Jazz and Blues Festival	17-26 July 2015
Edinburgh Art Festival	30 July – 30 August 2015
Edinburgh International Festival	17-31 August 2015
Edinburgh Festival Fringe	7-31 August 2015
Royal Edinburgh Military Tattoo	7-29 August 2015
Edinburgh International Book Festival	17-31 August 2015
Edinburgh Mela	30-31 August 2015
Scottish International Storytelling Festival	23 October – 1 November 2015
Edinburgh's Hogmanay Festival	30 December 2015 – 1 January 2016

<sup>11</sup> Festivals Edinburgh, 'The Festivals', *Festivals Edinburgh*, <<http://www.festivalsedinburgh.com/content/festivals>> [accessed 23 May 2015].

### Appendix 3: Festivals Adelaide Member Events

Table 3 List of Festivals Adelaide Member Events

Name	2015 Season <sup>12</sup>
Adelaide Fringe	13 February – 15 March 2015
Adelaide Festival of Arts (includes Adelaide Writers' Week)	27 February – 15 March 2015
WOMADelaide	6-9 March 2015
Come Out Children's Festival	22-30 May 2015
Adelaide Cabaret Festival	5-20 June 2015
Sala Festival	1-31 August 2015
Adelaide International Guitar Festival	17-20 July 2014 (biennial)
OzAsia Festival	23 September – 4 October 2015
Adelaide Film Festival	15-25 October 2015
Feast Adelaide Queer Cultural Festival	14-29 November 2015

<sup>12</sup> Festivals Adelaide, 'Welcome', *Festivals Adelaide*  
 <[www.festivalsadelaide.com.au/index.html](http://www.festivalsadelaide.com.au/index.html)> [accessed 23 May 2015].

## Appendix 4: Crossover Performances

### List of Crossover Performances between Adelaide and Edinburgh

A number of performances and artists appear in the festival line-up in both cities. This trend is significant under Adelaide Festival director David Sefton (2013-15) who sourced several shows within his 2013 and 2014 programmes from the Edinburgh Festival Fringe. For example, the Polish company TR Warszawa, directed by Grzegorz Jarzyna, performed *2008: Macbeth* as part of the 2012 EIF and then *Nosferatu* at the 2013 Adelaide Festival. Ontroerend Goed's *Fight Night* appeared as in the Traverse Theatre's 2013 Fringe programme, before travelling to the Adelaide Festival in 2014. Ontroerend Goed also performed a trilogy of shows – *The Smile Off Your Face*, *Internal*, *A Game of You* – at the 2013 Adelaide Festival and have appeared numerous times on the Edinburgh Festival Fringe with *The Smile Off Your Face* (2007), *Once and For All...* (2008), *Internal* (2009), *Teenage Riot* (2010), *Audience* (2011), and *All That Is Wrong* (2012). The National Theatre of Scotland's (NTS) *The Strange Undoing of Prudencia Hart* appeared at the 2011 Edinburgh Festival Fringe and the 2013 Adelaide Festival, as did Banana Bag and Bodice's *Beowulf – A Thousand Years of Baggage*. South African writer-performer Omphile Molusi appeared at the 2013 Adelaide Festival with *Itsoseng* (which he had previously performed on the Edinburgh Fringe in 2008) and then appeared again at the Traverse Theatre with *Cadre* in 2013.

This list is just a selection of recent productions that have been invited to Adelaide after appearing in Edinburgh, it does not include the numerous Fringe acts that have performed in both cities, for example, East End Cabaret's *Dirty Talk*, which I saw in both Adelaide and then Edinburgh in 2013, and Trygve Wakenshaw's *Squidboy*, which I saw in Adelaide in 2012 and Edinburgh 2013. In a press release entitled 'We Saw Them First!', which is available on their website and was circulated as part of their e-news, Adelaide Fringe Inc list Lucy Hopkins, *Lords of Strut*, *Dr Brown*, *The Adventures of Alvin Sputnik*, and *Breaker*, as well as circus acts *Fright or Flight*, *Gravity & Other Myths*, and *Casus* as prominent Adelaide Fringe acts



that travelled to Edinburgh in 2013. These were among 25 Adelaide Fringe acts that were touring nationally and internationally following their Fringe seasons. Notably, the creative team behind *Limbo* and *Cantina*, Strut and Fret, premiere their new shows on the Adelaide Fringe before touring them to London's Southbank Centre.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Adelaide Fringe, 'We Saw Them First!'.

## Appendix 5: Artistic Directors

### List of Knowledge Sharing Through Artistic Directors' CVs

Knowledge sharing and the exchange of ideas between international festivals is a complex circuit that could be traced through an actor-network analysis of staff, particularly artistic directors. Although beyond the remit of this project, this brief overview of the global movement circulation of human resources between festivals suggests that this would be a fruitful line of enquiry for future festival scholarship. On the level of artistic director, Sir Jonathon Mills, former artistic director of the EIF, was previously the artistic director of the Melbourne International Arts Festival and before that an artistic advisor on the Brisbane Biennial Festival of Music.<sup>14</sup> This latter festival was renamed the Queensland Music Festival in 2007 under the artistic directorship of Paul Grabowsky before he left to head the Adelaide Festival, where David Sefton succeeded him after the 2012 Festival.<sup>15</sup> Sefton, who will be succeeded by Neil Armfield and Rachel Healy in 2017, was a creator of London's Meltdown music festival, before spending a decade at the University of California, Los Angeles as performing arts director.<sup>16</sup> Fergus Linehan, who was appointed Director Designate of the EIF in 2013, succeeded Mills who stepped down after the 2014 Festival, has previously been the artistic director of the Sydney Festival and the Dublin Theatre Festival.<sup>17</sup> Jonathan Holloway was appointed the artistic director of the

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<sup>14</sup> Phil Miller, 'Sir Jonathon Mills on the Edinburgh International Festival, the Referendum and Getting Hitched', *Herald Scotland*, 12 August 2013 <<http://www.heraldscotland.com/arts-ents/classical/sir-jonathan-mills-on-the-edinburgh-international-festival-the-referendum-and-ge.1376299035>> [accessed 30 January 2014].

<sup>15</sup> Queensland Music Festival, 'History', *Queensland Music Festival* <<http://www.qmf.org.au/public/public/?id=160>> [accessed 30 January 2014].

<sup>16</sup> Patrick McDonald, 'David Sefton Appointed to Direct Fourth Adelaide Festival', *Advertiser*, 11 October 2013 <<http://www.adelaidenow.com.au/entertainment/david-sefton-appointed-to-direct-fourth-adelaide-festival/story-fni6umbp-1226738671844>> [accessed 30 January 2014].

<sup>17</sup> Edinburgh International Festival Society, 'Fergus Linehan Announced as New Festival Director'.

Melbourne Festival from 2016, following four years at the PIAF, before which he was the director of the Norwich and Norfolk festivals.<sup>18</sup> These networks and flows are extensive and warrant further investigation but nevertheless reveal a complicated, global exchange of influences and developments.

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<sup>18</sup> Debbie Cuthbertson, *Outgoing Perth Festival Artistic Director Jonathan Holloway to Head Melbourne Festival from 2016*, Sydney Morning Herald, 22 January 2015) <<http://www.smh.com.au/entertainment/art-and-design/outgoing-perth-festival-artistic-director-jonathan-holloway-to-head-melbourne-festival-from-2016-20150122-12w2wj.html>> [accessed 18 May 2015].

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