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The festivalisation of permanent music organisations

Master Thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts (MA) in Cultural  
Economics & Entrepreneurship

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## **Acknowledgements**

When my friends and colleagues were asking how it was going with the writing of my thesis and how I was doing with my supervisor professor Francesco Chiaravalloti, I always told them that I couldn't ask something better from his advice and help. This is so true, that I would like to thank him by telling exactly this: I couldn't ask more. He has been an important guide, throughout the whole development process of the thesis. As supervisor he has been able to valorise my interests and ideas and enrich them with his deep knowledge. He has been trusting me, leaving me the freedom to organise my work, yet being always available for support and helpful critiques.

A big thank to Neil Wallace, and Mathijs Bouwman of De Doelen for their availability and help; to the interviewees of Organisation X and to Johan Moerman of Rotterdam Festivals.

I would like to thank my parents who gave me the opportunity to study abroad, knowing that it would have been an important and unforgettable experience. A special thanks to my brother Andrea, the best artist whom I could 'commission' the design of the title pages. To Marta L., Marta M. and Francesca. The best "study" buddies, with whom every planned study day, turned out into a fantastic and delicious breakfast, lunch, dinner, brunch, tea... To Alessandro, who, by making me the present of a brand new guitar, has provided me a good reason not to sit all day at my computer. To Federico, the best guitar teacher.

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## **1. Abstract**

Festivalisation is a neologism that describes the proliferation of festivals all around the world. Festivalisation of culture is the specific expression that describes the proliferation of festivals in the cultural sphere, whereby many artforms, from performing arts to visual arts are presented to the public via a festival formula.

This research investigates the festivalisation phenomenon from a new point of view. It looks at the way permanent cultural organisations insert themselves in the festival landscape. In particular, it aims at understanding what significance festivals have for permanent music organisations in the city of Rotterdam and Amsterdam. The research consists of two case studies of music halls, one in Rotterdam and one in Amsterdam. From the research it emerges that the permanent music organisations studied organise festivals to fulfil both an artistic vision and an audience development strategy. The choice of staging these types of events is sustained by various other advantages of other organisational commitments. The main disadvantage is financial, inasmuch organising festivals incurs in higher costs than having a normal program. Festivals help permanent organisations to be part of the vibrant city festival landscape.

**Keywords:** Festivalisation of culture, permanent music organisations, performing arts management

# Fest ival Invas ion

## 2. Introduction

## 2. Introduction

The title “Festival Invasion” can be seen as another way to express the neologism ‘festivalisation’ of culture and cities; on the other hand it perfectly describes two phenomena emerging in the cultural sector: the ‘invasion’ of what was a festival ‘territory’ by permanent cultural organisations; as well as the ‘invasion’ of permanent cultural organisations by a festival-oriented programming. This thesis is about these last two cited phenomena.

During the conference “A long way to the top” on the production and consumption of music in a globalised world organised by the Erasmus University in Rotterdam, the sentence “music festivalisation comes at the expense of regular music venues” popped up during a debate. In that moment I realised that, indeed, it would be comprehensible for music venues to be somehow concerned about the growing number of festivals. First and foremost for the form of competition that these represent. Nonetheless, as this topic started intriguing me, I began to look at the programming of permanent performing cultural organisations in the Netherlands and saw that festivals were organised by them too. As the definition of cultural festivals I had in mind was ‘a temporary cluster of cultural events’, I asked myself why a permanent organisation organises festivals, while they have halls, and performance spaces all year long.

Around the topic of festivalisation, many studies have been focusing on the economic impact (see Gazel & Schwer, 1997; Frey, 1994; Kim & Uysal, 2008) or more recently on the “socio-cultural and image” impacts of events and on the areas hosting them (Richards & Wilson, 2004; Richards & Palmer, 2010; Sassatelli, 2008, EC, 2011). Yet, little research has been done on how the phenomenon is shaping the core activities of continuously operating cultural venues. In year 2004, Dragan Klaic, one of the biggest personalities of the European festival studies, launched the European Festivals Research Project (EFRP). “The EFRP is an international, interdisciplinary consortium, focused on the dynamics of artistic festivals today and seeking to understand the current explosion of festivals and its implications and perspectives” ([www.efa-aeef.eu](http://www.efa-aeef.eu)). Before his premature death in August 2011, Klaic launched a workshop programmed for the 21st to the 23rd of October 2011 in Maribor, with the title “Artistic Festivals and Continuously Operating Cultural Organisations”, confirming that the academic field started to look at festivalisation from a new perspective, the one of permanent cultural organisations. This is what my research does. Since this is a new field of studies, the



aim is to put the roots to an untouched research field, and eventually to foster and facilitate further research on it. It is thus necessary to start investigating what the forces are that make musical venues willing to organise festivals themselves. The research question that shape the research is:

- Why do permanent music organisations chose to stage festivals during the regular season?

In order to answer to this question in the most satisfactory way, another sub-question is answered:

- The achievement of which organisational goals is facilitated by festivals?

In order to answer these questions, I firstly analyse the literature that discusses this phenomenon. The field stands between many and different disciplines. The phenomenon studied, in fact, is clearly influenced by a number of factors each coming from a different background. Thus it is necessary to draw fully from diverse knowledge sources such as literature on cultural studies, economics and management of festivals, performing arts management literature, experience economy, urban studies.

Firstly, I go through an historical summary of festivals, explaining their role in the past and their role in the contemporary society. This leads to the topic of festivalisation, which is covered by looking at the rise of the experience economy and the urban regeneration strategies. After this, I approach the performing arts management literature by looking at how festival elements could help optimising the fulfilment of the organisational goals. The theoretical framework leads to a series of suggestions and hypothesis. At this point my empirical contribution is necessary to deeply investigate the phenomenon of festivalisation of permanent performing arts organisations, to understand why these organise festivals, what organisational goals these facilitate, and what the advantages and disadvantages of organising them are. One chapter is devoted to the explanation of the research methods and the design used for the empirical research. This is followed by the analysis of the data gathered and the findings obtained from it. At last, the thesis conclusions are drawn, by summarising the findings and displaying the relevance of the new insights brought to the new research area.

# Fest ival Inas icvon

## 3. Development of the Festival Phenomenon

### **3. Development of the Festival Phenomenon**

In this chapter I go through a short history of festivals, a description of what festivals are today and a brief reflection on what the future developments could be.

#### **3.1. A Short History of Festivals**

The term festival has its roots in the ancient feasts and celebrations, which were short-term and recurrent events with a spiritual and community significance. Traditionally, festivals served the purposes of underlying and celebrating values such as “social, religious, ethnic, national, linguistic or historical” identity (Bennet et al., 2014). By citing Durkheim’s point of view on festivities, Sassatelli (2008, p. 19) points out that festivals were able to nurture the sacred of a community by creating a separate time and space, far away from the “profane dimension of daily life”. While in the Ancient Greece, a festival was created to celebrate the god Dionysus, Ancient Romans had festivals that valued the entertainment dimension of life over the religious one; in the medieval period mystery plays took place all over Europe during the Corpus Christi holiday, and were organised to celebrate the success of a city or a locality over other cities and neighbourhoods. Medieval fairs were “exceptional” events and “rare opportunities for enjoyment, pleasure and intensive socialising (Klaic, 2014, p. 4,5).

The archetype of the contemporary cultural festival can be found in the 18th century festivities, that were mostly perceived as a way to celebrate the anniversary or the artistic success of personalities such as Shakespeare in London or Handel at the Handel Festivals in Westminster Abbey (Klaic, 2014, Frey, 1994).

In the 19th and 20th century, the music ‘Festspiele’ in Germany became a very important German tradition, still possible to experience. The Festspiele are “festive cluster of events” (Klaic, 2014, p. 7) with a musical orientation: the Salzburger Festspiele (since 1920), the Bayreuther Festspiele (since 1876), concept ‘borrowed’ by other European Countries such as the Italian Spoleto Festival of Two Worlds (since 1958) (Frey, 1994). Most of these festivals were strongly driven by the willingness of organisers to foster the success of contemporary composers and their music. Klaic (2014) explains that if at the beginning festivals had a musical orientation, with time also other more popular forms of entertainment started using the same term (drinks & food festivals, sport, traditional art forms etc.).

Moreover, since the 1950s the European festival landscape begun to be enriched with film festivals. Although the first Venice Film Festival took place in year 1932, film festivals flourished only after the Second World War (Cannes Film Festival in 1946, Berlinale in 1951 etc.) (Klaic, 2014).

While the two World Wars have been a barrier to the organisation of such festivals in Europe, the end of the war period, marked the start of a proliferation of cultural festivals, being often used in an instrumental way for economic and social empowerment (Yeoman et al., 2004; Linko & Silvanto, 2011; Richards & Wilson 2004). After the Wars, festivals have been used across Europe as mean of weapon against brutality and inhumanity, as celebration tool for democracy, citizenship and a promise of a better, flourishing future (Klaic, 2014). Festivals began to acquire new significance. The purposes served by such events where among others “enriching the artistic programming, develop(ing), enlarg(ing) and diversify(ing) audiences, boost(ing) tourism, improv(ing) local employment opportunities, stimulat(ing) private/public partnership, promot(ing) the image of a city.” (Klaic, 2002, p. 3). During the Cold War, European festivals with an international program suffered for a lack of communication and the obligation to negotiate performances through diplomatic channels. Nonetheless, since 1990, after the Fall of the Berlin Wall festivals started to represent the new realities of European cohesion and cultural integration (Klaic, 2014).

Coming to the contemporary definition of festivals, it is increasingly difficult to delineate what festivals are or are not. This because the term is increasingly used in an arbitrary manner. Most of the times festivals are defined as being special events (Richards & Wilson, 2004, Yeoman et al., 2004), clusters of performances, presentations or rituals organised with social, cultural or corporate goals, with a transitory nature (Richards & Wilson, 2004; Yeoman et al., 2004). Yeoman et al. (2004, p. 33) particularly insist on the transitory concept, and defines a festival by saying that “a special event recognises a unique moment in time with ceremony and ritual to satisfy specific needs. The word festival derives from feast and implies a time of celebration.” Richards & Palmer (2010) define a cultural event as a series of activities in a limited time-frame, with a recurrent nature, and with a celebratory character. Richards & Palmer (2010) create a framework that displays the important features of a cultural event, these being: cultural content, timing and location, audience and stakeholders.

In trying to define cultural festivals it can be useful to delineate what type of cultural festival is the one that deserves this name. Klaic (2014, p. 39) asserts that the best festivals are those that are able to distinguish themselves via a honest commitment to their “developmental” role: development in the sense of the artistic discipline and innovation; development in the way festivals address educational and talent issues, and in the way they are committed to audience development.

### **3.2. Festivals Today: festivalisation**

The term ‘festivalisation’ stands for the intense proliferation and the “continual stream” of festivals and events of every shade involving the different sectors of the cultural industry (music and film festivals, art fairs etc.), in cities and hinterlands (Richards & Wilson, 2004, p. 2). The “festivalisation phenomenon” (Richards & Wilson, 2004, p. 2), has taken place worldwide in recent decades (Quinn, 2010). It has to be understood, in a first instance, as an urban regeneration phenomenon, and its prospering can be seen as a result of the growth of the “experience economy” (Pine & Gilmore, 2011). With the increasing importance of the experience economy, and the importance of producing experiences in the new competitive landscape, cities have used cultural events as means of support in the urban revitalisation and development process (Richards & Palmer, 2010; Richards & Willson, 2004). Events and festivals, which can be described as “intangible qualities” (Richards & Palmer, 2010), have been exploited as means of city branding and competitiveness enhancement strategies. “Festival city or city festivals” (Richards and Palmer, 2010, p. 3) are slogans of cities that choose the events as brand.

Richards & Palmer (2010, p. 6), explain that, with industrial capitalism, cities found “more spaces for events, and events for spaces” making culture an important element for industrial cities to celebrate the urban life and to celebrate the history and culture of the inhabitants. In the post-modern cities, through the 1970s and 1980s, the economic environment and unemployment influenced the changing role of culture within the urban environment in post-industrialism. The cultural industry became the principal element in the process of “economic development and image enhancement”, a sort of “vanguard of the economy” (Richards & Palmer, 2010, p. 9,10). Culture was the mean by which the economy was stimulated, social inclusion was promoted and new

urban identities were created. It is then self-explanatory that events and festivals were not only a matter of culture, but had a vast set of political influences.

In Europe, an initiative called European Capitals of Culture (ECOC) (EC, 2014) designed by the European Commission, goes along with this new trend and acts as catalysing agent of the competitiveness of European cities (EU, 2014). Starting from the nomination of Capital of Culture, European cities have boosted cultural events, which are becoming central topics in political agendas (Quinn, 2010).

Why have events and festivals become central for cities? Richards & Palmer summarise the benefits that festivals can have on a city hosting it as follows:

- *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.*

(Richards & Palmer, 2010, p. 19)

And they explain that festivals and events are the best way to achieve all those benefits inasmuch:

- *Events are more flexible than certain types of fixed physical infrastructure.*
- *Events can help to differentiate physical environments threatened by 'serial reproduction'*
- *Events have greater ability to offer spectacle and atmosphere*
- *Events generally meet the need for co-presence and the feeling of being there*
- *Events can cost less and achieve greater impact in the long-run.*

(Richards & Palmer, 2010, p. 19)

With the soaring number of festivals, competition for public subsidies and private sponsorship grows. Cities increasingly face difficulties in deciding which events and festivals to fund (Richards & Palmer, 2010). Specific policies are thus necessary to give guidelines of the types of events which have the priorities in the public agendas (Richards & Palmer, 2010; Finkel, 2009). Typically, funding sources require festivals and events to “achieve socio-economic” goals (Finkel, 2009, p. 3). The State of Victoria, Australia, for instance, states that the rationale of supporting an event lies in the hope and expectation that the event will “generate benefits for Victorians. These

benefits should not only cover economic factors but also embrace other community benefits” (Victorian Auditor General, 2007, p. 60). In turn, accountability becomes an essential element in the management system of festivals and special events. A measurement of the performance is necessary in order to make sure that a festival is in line with the requirements of the city policies. It is thus necessary to assess economic and social outcomes. Many studies have attempted to do this (Gazel & Schwer, 1997; Frey, 1994).

Recently, sponsorship is becoming an essential factor for the survival of festivals and events. Of all the sponsoring for the arts, festivals are the target of a large proportion (Richards & Wilson, 2010; Deloitte, 2008). In Ireland, Deloitte (2008) reports that 36% of their arts sponsoring was dedicated to festivals. Research shows that what attracts sponsors is their willingness broaden their market segments and brand awareness (Richards & Palmer, 2010).

### **3.3. Festivals in the Future**

As Klaic (2014, p. 32) noted however, the very notion of festival represents some dilemmas because nowadays any “package of cultural events” lasting two to three days carries the name of festival. The validity of the term is in doubt since it is used to describe any “phenomena driven by various artistic, political, community and commercial purposes” (Klaic, 2009, p. 213). Many continuously producing and programming cultural institutions organise festivals too (Richards & Wilson, 2010, p. 143). In the matter of this Klaic asserts:

*“Consequently [to festivalisation], continuously producing and programming cultural organisations are also launching their own festivals, to escape that deadly impression of business as usual, to create a sense of a special, extraordinary and unique cluster of events.”*

(Klaic, 2014, p. 32)

As Lindy Hume, director of Opera Queensland and prior director of the Sidney festival states that more and more performing arts institutions are invading “what was festival territory” (Westwood, 2011).

With the increasing numbers of festival across Europe, there is an increasing difficulty in defining what a festival is and what should not be considered as such

(Klaic, 2002). Some critics state that festivals are going through a process of homogenisation one with another, and that some of these festivals share the risks and the costs of producing “fashionable” performances, by co-producing them with other festivals (Klaic, 2002, p. 1; Quinn, 2010). On the other side another set of criticisms point out that many festivals are obsessed with proposing extreme, new and exotic performances, with the aim of creating scoop, attract the attention of audience, sponsors, press etc. (Klaic, 2002). Nonetheless, with festivals following one another in many European cities, part of the definition goes missing. In fact, the celebratory dimensions and the transitory nature are replaced by a business-as-usual etiquette. It is the change to one state to the other that produces excitement, a car that moves constantly at 250 km/hrs does not produce the same excitement, as when it accelerates from 50 km/hrs to 350 km/hrs (Richards & Palmer, 2010). The same way, it is the change to a normal cultural landscape to a more fermented and dynamic one, that produces excitement to city inhabitants.

Moreover, some festivals have replaced the artistic vision, with a vision that is more orientated towards the audience, taking this rationale not only for policy and subsidy applications but as stated core mission of the festival itself (Klaic, 2002). Quinn (2010) does not hide his criticism on the festivalisation phenomenon, wondering whether this phenomenon describes a mere proliferation process of festivals or a flourishing of festivals. Is the quantity of festivals replacing the quality of these events? In particular he suspects that festivalisation means that “cultural substance becomes replaced with cultural spectacle” (Quinn, 2010, p. 271) meaning that cities are turned to “cultural capitals” which is an etiquette that aims at boosting tourism and workers (Quinn, 2010, p. 271).

In the next chapter, I move the focus from festivals, to a focus on permanent performing arts organisations. The aim is to understand how festivals fit the mission of performing arts venues.



# Fest ival i i

## 4. The Festivalisation of Performing Arts Organisation: A Management Perspective

## **4. Festivalisation of Performing Arts Organisations: a Management Perspective**

This chapter looks at festivalisation from the perspective of the management of performing arts organisations. I start by underlying the main functions and products of performing arts organisations, and end with a specific examination of how festivals insert themselves in their activities. First of all, I display the main commitments of cultural organisations in general; secondly, I look at the total product offering and see how the experience economy influences it; then, I briefly explain how the programming activity works in music organisations; at this point, the literature on performing arts management is complemented with literature on festivals. The aim is to find out whether festivals facilitate the achievement of some organisational goals.

### **4.1. The Three Main Commitments of Arts Organisations**

The three main commitments of arts organisations are “*excellence and artistic integrity; accessibility and audience development; and public accountability and cost effectiveness*” (Chong, 2010, p. 18). Although one could see these functions as being all independent one from the other, as a matter of fact, in order to succeed and fulfil the organisations mission and vision in the long run, it is necessary to think about these commitments as being strongly connected and mutually necessary.

*Excellence*, at an international, national or local level and *artistic integrity* are the first commitments I concentrated on because these deal with the *raison d'être* of a cultural organisation, namely the presentation of the artform. The organisation has to nurture, protect the artform, guarantee quality at all levels of performances, and present it to a broad audience which ranges from experts to non-experts. Referring to artistic integrity, Chong (2010) explains that it is an undeniable responsibility of a cultural organisation to lead the audience towards products that are most probably not those which the majority of the public would ask for or would expect. Contemporary performances and more innovative ones should act as taste shaping tools for audiences (Chong, 2010; Bakhshi & Throsby, 2010).

*Accessibility and audience development* refer to the extent to which an organisation is able to attract and retain different socio-demographic population segments (Chong, 2010). The difficulty is to do so, by maintaining the desired artistic vision. Arts marketing has an important role in this goal reaching process. Chong (2010)

stresses the importance of building a sustainable audience development system. He suggests that the first and most important goal, in order to enhance the general cultural participation patterns, should be to change the perception that non-attenders have over high art, instead of making this art more popular.

*Public accountability* and *cost effectiveness* can be seen as being both commitments that help assuring financial stability to the two above mentioned organisational goals. Public accountability, refers to the responsibility of arts directors and managers to the “trustees, staff, donors” and most important to the community, especially in the case of publicly subsidised organisations that have the duty of fulfilling “their public service mission” (Chong, 2010, p. 96). In this respect, thus, cultural policies play a central role in defining what the public service mission should be. On the other hand *cost effectiveness*, stands for the degree by which an organisation is able to maximise its profit (rather than just minimise the costs), providing the organisation with financial stability (Chong, 2010).

All the three main commitments presented above have an important role when it comes to decide what product the organisation should offer to its audience. In the next section I deepen the understanding of the levels of artistic products of performing art organisations.

#### **4.2. Experiencing the Total Product**

“Performing arts organisations are basically in the service business” (Bernstein, 2014, p. 173). Intangibility (no ownership allowed), perishability, inseparability, variability and the importance of the customers involvement are basic characteristics (Bernstein, 2014). For the understanding of the next sections, it is useful to draw from the service management literature and ‘borrow’ some concepts and definitions. Grönroos (1993, p. 5) states that service management aims at satisfying the “total utility” rather than just the utility of the product, and that this satisfaction is the base for a long term relationship with customers. Moreover, he displays the shift from the importance of the quality of the core product, to the importance of the “total customer-perceived quality” (Grönroos, 1993, p. 5). This does not mean that the quality of the core product is not important anymore in the eyes of customers or in the eyes of the producer, but that, in order to achieve consumer satisfaction, a service organisation has to add value to the core product (value-adding services) (Grönroos, 1993).

Coming back to the performing arts sector, it is then possible to say that the total product is made up by the *core product* and *augmented product* (Bernstein, 2014, p. 170). In the next sub-chapters I explain the difference between these two levels of product, and look how the experience economy influences the offerings and at which product level.

#### **4.2.1. The Core Product and the Augmented Product**

The *core product* is the principal offering that an organisation presents to its target market (Bernstein, 2014). In the case of music organisations, the core product is represented by a single concert offered one evening, (for instance Mahlers Symphony nr. 1), the series of concerts offered for a subscription series, or the entire season (Bernstein, 2014). The duty of the artistic director is to choose the core product, according to its vision. Although Bernstein (2014) refers to an entire season or series of concerts as being part of the core product, this can be debatable in many ways and a distinction between single productions and season has to be made.

First of all, the result of the programming activities is the final program, which can be seen as a blend of core products and part of augmented products. To better explain, if an artistic director decides to offer a baroque ensemble (core product) to its audience, the organisation can decide to organise an entire set of additional activities or services, such as a mini-series of baroque concerts, an educational program to increase the understanding of the concert, that gives additional value to the program and yet, are part of it.

Secondly, a distinction can be made taking into consideration that not all attenders experience the same core product. Some consumers attend one concert, others at the whole season. Thus, in the eyes of the one-time consumer, the core product is the concert he is interested in, while the season is an additional service that the organisation offers. On the other side, for a subscriber and frequent attender, the entire season is the core product. Last, the core product acquires different values for each attenders (Bernstein, 2014). One attender may have chosen to buy the concert ticket because the talented mezzo-soprano Cecilia Bartoli was performing, another because of the quality of the ensemble (Bernstein, 2014).

With the difficulties in defining the boundaries between core product and augmented product in mind, it can be said that all the activities and offerings that go

beyond the mere performance of a production, are part of the *augmented product* (Bernstein, 2014). The augmented products are mainly ideated and accomplished by the marketers, who create a desirable ‘shell’ around the core product, with the aim of making it more competitive and interesting for possible audiences. This includes “subscription packages, ticket exchange privileges, newsletters, pre- or post-performance lectures, blogs, videos, audio clips, educational programs, and special events” (Bernstein, 2014, p. 172). But it goes even beyond and also includes other related products or related activities, such as parking possibilities, hotel facilities, restaurants and pubs and everything that can enhance the experience of going to theatre. The augmented product alone does not convince people to buy a ticket for a performance. Nevertheless, the lack of it, can make people more dubious about their willingness to attend (Bernstein, 2014). This is the reason why the core product and the augmented product are both very important for the fulfilment of the organisation’s commitments.

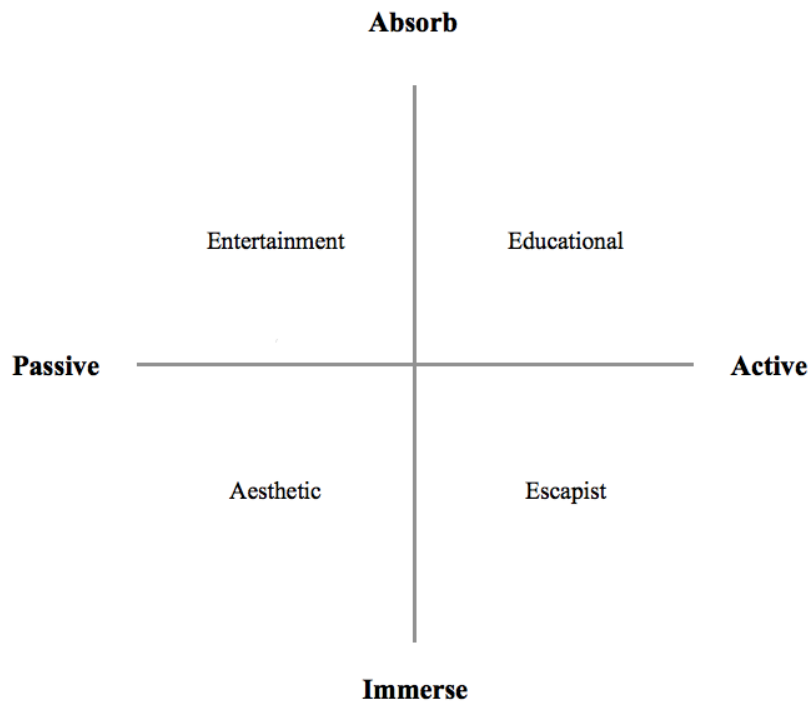
#### **4.2.2. The Role of Experience in the Performing Arts**

As mentioned above, the festivalisation phenomenon can also be explained as a result of the growing importance of the experience economy. For this reason, it is worth, in this sub-chapter, to spend some words on the definition and characteristics of the experience economy especially in relation to the total product concept explained above.

In 1999 Pine & Gilmore, put the basis of the studies over experiences with their book “The Experience Economy”. The book underlines the fact that economic growth and prosperity cannot be the result of the offering of goods and services only, but is yielded if the economy produces and stages experiences. The authors explain that an experience is staged when customers are engaged, not only entertained. But why to stress the importance of staging experiences when dealing with the performing arts? Experiences in the sense of performances, have always been the core offerings of performing arts organisations. Nonetheless, the competitive environment makes it more and more important for such organisations to work on the total product concept. The augmented product and the delivery of additional services to arts consumers, is of vital importance nowadays.

Drawing from the knowledge acquired by Pine & Gilmore's work (2000), Petkus (2004, p. 51) summarises the four main dimensions of arts experience: "entertainment, education, aesthetic and escapist".

*Figure 1 - Experience Realms*



*Source: Pine & Gilmore, 2011, p. 46*

Among these four dimensions, the first one, entertainment, means being able to attract someone's "attention agreeably" (Pine & Gilmore, 2011, p. 47). This is the oldest experience form and also the one we all are more accustomed to. It involves a passive participation and sees the consumer absorbing what he is consuming. The educational dimension is in line with the accepted theory that the experience is enhanced if education supports what the individual is experiencing. This can be done by offering some related products such brochures with supplement informations, or a presentation done by the artist himself. This can help obtaining a highly involved audiences (audience deepening), with the likelihood of having frequent visits. The real immersion into the art experience is reached through the aesthetic and escapist realms. The escapist realm allows an active participation in the activities of a performing arts organisation as a whole (see for example the new and active role of an individual after having acquired a membership position of an organisation) and includes those activities that permit the audience to be part of an "artificial activity" (Pine & Gilmore, 2011. p. 50). An example

could be offering theme food to the audience after a concert (e.g. a baroque banquet after a baroque concert). The aesthetic dimension of the experience is a full immersion in the performance, with the aspect of the proximity, involvement and co-production of the aesthetic presentation of the art-form (Boorsma, 2006; Petkus, 2004; Bakhshi & Throsby, 2010). Summarising, Petkus (2004, p. 51) associates the “entertainment dimension” with the act of “sensing” the “educational dimension” with the act of “learning”, the “escapist dimension” with the act of “doing” and the “aesthetic dimension” with the act of “being there”. In order to provide the best total experience to the audience, the more all four dimensions are taken into account by the organisation the more possibilities of being successful. In this respect, although the term “audience development” is widely used by arts marketers to describe the planned process of communication of the organisation with existing and potential audiences, Bernstein (2014), states that it is audience engagement (rather than audience development) that, in the long run, will result in a more loyal and expanded audience. Boorsma (2006) agrees and stresses the importance of having the audience being in a continuous exchange relationship with the art thus seeing audience engagement as a relationship deepening process. The importance of offering experiences, is underlined further in the sub-chapter 4.4.2.

### **4.3. Programming activity**

The programming activity, is the core activity of the management of performing arts organisations and one of the most complex activities inasmuch it has to be coherent with the artistic vision, with the organisation’s mission, and the expectations of a community; in short it is the point of departure of all other managerial activities (Bernstein, 2014; Cuadrado-García & Cabanero, 2005). It starts when an organisation sets the design of the program (artistic director and production manager), it goes on with the identification and allocation of a budget, and ends with the recruitment of the professionals necessary for the fulfilment of the program (Mariani & Zan, 2010).

Despite the importance and the complex strategic processes required by the programming activity, little research has been devoted to this field (Assassi, 2007; Cuadrado-García & Cabanero, 2005). Assassi (2007) holds that the programming activity does not only answer to the requirements of an artistic director and the audience, but is also the result of the policy and financial environment in which the

organisation operates (provenience of finances, and local mission assignment by the funding bodies). The difficulty of the programming activity is also related to the high degree of uncertainty that surrounds it, and to the difficulty of measuring outcomes (Mariani & Zan, 2010). A distinction can be made between producing and presenting performing arts organisations (Voss et al., 2000). The first one builds a program by purchasing productions that already exist and by marketing these productions to their target groups. The producing organisations on the other hand produce “new-to-the-world” productions and are responsible for the whole production process for that performance (Voss et al., 2000 p. 333). If a distinction can be made between producing and presenting theatres, at least in terms of values and organisational activities (Voss et al., 2000), for the sake of this writing that is focused on music organisation, a distinction of genres is not necessary, since a style difference (e.g. jazz, classical, pop, contemporary) does not result in different programming practices (Mariani & Zan, 2010).

#### **4.4. Why Festivals?**

Given the aim of this research, in the next sections I go through selected literature on cultural management and economics of performing arts, making a comparison between permanent performing arts organisations and festivals. The focus is on management and economics principles that refer to the three main commitments of arts organisations:

- excellence and artistic integrity;
- accessibility and audience development;
- public accountability and cost effectiveness.

For each section I attempt to answer the question ‘to what extent is the festival-like programming best-able to reach the related organisational goal?’. Conclusions are then presented, summarising what the literature suggests. At this stage the empirical research is presented.

##### **4.4.1. Excellence and Artistic Integrity: the Imperative/Urgency for Innovation**

In this chapter on *excellence and artistic integrity* I focus on the concept of innovation. Innovation is not the only aspect of excellence and artistic integrity. Chong (2008) in fact, does not refer to this concept in a direct way. Nonetheless, he asserts that the



responsibility of arts organisation is not to only offer the audience what they would ask for or what they would expect. The “leading” position that cultural organisations should have in shaping the taste of the audience (Chong, 2008, p. 19), suggests the importance of innovation in arts organisations. Moreover, innovation is a very salient topic among publicly funded high-arts cultural organisations, above all because the rationales for public support are based on the assumptions that the market can result in bad art and reject modern forms of art (Frey, 2003). Thus, the support covers the market gap and should act as catalyst of new forms of expression. Unfortunately, this does not always happen, for reasons that are explained below.

By focusing on the the concept of art-form development and innovation, which according to Bakhshi & Throsby (2010 p. 13) are the most important forms of innovation for a cultural institution, I define the terms, understand what the main opposing forces are, and see how festivals may help arts organisations to compensate these forces.

What is innovation? Castaner & Campos (2002) assert that it is the degree by which an organisation lets a new programming pattern emerge, and even substitute the old one, that makes that organisation being innovative. This means presenting something that has never been presented before and that has the potential to “influence the artistic trend” (Bakhshi & Throsby, 2010, p. 57). Nevertheless, Castaner & Campos (2002, p. 31) note that by saying so a “referent” element is missing. Thus they elaborate further and come up with three possible referents: innovative is something that is new to all other venues worldwide, something that is new in all venues that operate locally, and something new for the organisation itself. Because the latter is too self-referential, and is thus not appropriate, Castaner & Campos (2002, p. 32) agree by saying that the innovative piece, is such if it is new to its “field or profession”. They distinguish further between the innovation of *content* and *form*. The type of innovation of the repertoire and programming choices, is referred as being a *content* innovativeness and it is an innovation coming from outside in the case of presenting organisations (Castaner & Campos, 2002, 32). Being innovative in the *form*, means creating “new programming patterns in terms of content, timing and sequence.” which is an internal type of innovation and can involve both new and old art-forms (Castaner & Campos, 2002, p. 32). The *form* innovation is not only related to the artform itself, but has a lot to do with

the augmented product, thus it can be seen as being also the result of an audience development strategy.

By distinguishing between art-centred versus market-centred product choice, Bernstein (2014, p. 22) claims that in the art-centred situation the artist, and as result the organisation presenting his work, has to be ready to accompany the audience through an “unfreezing” period. This, mostly uncomfortable, unfamiliar, and provocative period helps people get in touch with the new aesthetics and presentation of the art-form, and can either fail by not being able to establish a relationship with the audience, or succeed and be an important agent of taste formation that defines the path of the art-form.

Both the content- and form innovation lead to the well known ‘nobody knows’ concept of demand surrounding the creative industry (Caves 2000), which makes it very risky to draw an annual programming with many new and innovative works (Richards & Palmer, 2010; Bakhshi & Throsby, 2010; Castaner & Campos, 2002).

Subscriptions for the annual programming had an important role in terms of risk, and have been the life-blood of many performing arts organisations. In fact, these gave the guarantee of having a certain amount of audience at all performances, no matter if a traditional opera or an experimental music piece, and gave freedom to artistic directors (Bernstein, 2014, p. 315). In recent years, nonetheless, there has been a trend by audience members to have a more flexible purchasing processes, and annual subscriptions have decreased (Bernstein, 2014, p. 315). This arts consumer behaviour phenomenon has occurred in a period of other changes involving cultural organisations. In Europe, most high-art institutions are subsidised by the government, which means that the risk does not directly influence financial wealth of the organisation. Nonetheless, since the World Crisis 2008, governments have been forced to redesign their money allocation model, causing a net decrease in the public money committed to the arts. The result is that earned income becomes important for the survival of the organisation, thus, experimental and innovative offerings are more and more delicate issue to deal with.

In this respect, Klaic (2014, p. 40) suggests that festivals, due to their “special status and intensive short lasting character” can undertake more risk. Thus special events can be seen as sort of promoters of innovation, offering products that dare to go beyond boundaries and eventually, either fail to address the audiences interests, or succeed and become appealing to wider groups of people (Richards & Palmer, 2010, p.

87; D’Arcier, 2014, p. 117). During his direction at the Salzburg Festival from year 1991 to year 2001, Gerard Mortier declared the start of the “New Salzburg” with the aim of unlock the arid opera period that was in force before his direction. In terms of number of visitors his vision has been succesful (Richards & Palmer, 2010). According to Klaic (2014 p. 39) festivals carry a “developmental role” in terms of the artistic discipline they serve. Festivals can be brave intermediaries of hazarded artists and can teach to the public new forms of expressions (Maughan & Bianchini, 2014; d’Arcier, 2014). Klaic (2014; 2002), involves permanent organisation in his thinking, and asserts that festivals have a special duty, of proposing artistic achievements that continuously operating venues can not dare to program. He stresses the ability of festivals to involve young and international artists that present their ideas for the first time, or collaborating with each other for the first time. Many scholars, blame the great competition affecting cultural products in the globalised world for relying on safe programming, and state that it is for this reason that special event have to break boundaries, and take advantage of their flexible and dynamic status quo (Richards & Palmer, 2010).

With the decreasing number of subscriptions, and the fact that consumers are not loyal anymore (Bernstein, 2014), the festival-like approach of programming can be used as way of assuring the selling of the entire festival program ticket, without making people feel too bound to an annual season, and giving back freedom to programmers.

Thus, it can be said that the literature presented suggests that one reason why continuously operating cultural organisations organise festivals could be the need and willingness to be innovative in both *content* (artform) and *form*, while minimising risk. Moreover, festivals could be a way to give back artistic freedom to programmers, in a time where customers are not loyal anymore.

*Table 1 - Summary of potential artistic reasons why festivals are organised*

<b>Excellence &amp; Artistic Integrity</b>
Content Innovation
Form Innovation
Artistic freedom

#### **4.4.2. Audience Development: Retaining and Attracting New Audiences**

As displayed above, attracting new- and retaining existing audiences is one of the main commitments of cultural organisations (Chong, 2010). Audience development has been defined as the marketing tool that encompasses both the functions of finding new audiences and satisfying existing ones (Barlow & Shibli, 2007; Bernstein, 2014, Sigurjonsson, 2010). The particularity of marketing cultural products is represented by the fact that these can not be treated as normal products and services, for which meeting the needs of potential and existing costumers is essential. For the arts, the *raison d'être* of the organisation is not to cover a market gap, it is not only about satisfying the needs of the audience, but also and foremost to assist the development of the art-form and the consequent development of the consumers taste (Bernstein, 2014; Colbert, 2003). What many marketers and scholars of the sector stress, is that their task is to “find”, “expand” and “keep” the market for the arts produced (Bernstein, 2014, p. 26-27). Because of the extremely competitive (substitute products), and unstable environment and the changing audience behaviour, cultural organisation have to strategically think at how they can balance the process of finding audiences for productions that fulfil the vision of the artistic director, and for productions that follow a more economic rationale (Bernstein, 2014).

The changing audience patterns are to be identified in the shrinking size of attenders, and the changing behaviour and nature of attenders. Especially for high performing arts (classical music, opera, and contemporary music), researches found a declining rate of participants going from 12.9 percent (of all the population) in 1982 to 9.3 in 2008. Moreover, the age attenders is shrinking steadily, and these is accompanied by a decreasing number of attenders that are willing to subscribe to an entire season. Subscriptions are very positive for organisations, because guarantee a constant participation to all the seasons offerings (Bernstein, 2014, p. 17).

As Bernstein well explains:

*“ For effective marketing to take place, now and in the future, it is necessary to understand strategies, principles, and tactics for increasing and broadening the audience base; for increasing the accessibility of various arts forms and more difficult productions; and for supporting projects that meet the needs of specific audience segments. It is also necessary to look to new opportunities in the marketplace to identify changes in consumer behaviour and attitudes, and to*

*develop innovate strategies that will keep the organisation and its offerings relevant for its current and potential audiences over time.”*

(Bernstein, 2014. p. 32)

The importance of doing what explained above, has motivated researchers to deeply investigate the nature of the population in relation to their attendance patterns. Who participates? Why does he participate? are essential questions that marketers have to address (Colbert, 2003). As a matter of fact, increasingly, cultural organisations are focused on consumer- rather than product development (Klaic, 2002; Rentschler et al., 2001)

In general, the potential visitors can be divided in two main groups, according to their arts attendance frequency (usage segmentation): “frequent or heavy users” and “light users and nonusers” (Bernstein, 2014, p. 128). Frequent users are those who place a high importance on their leisure time, and see the arts as being an indispensable part of it. This results in an active, diverse and varying participation. On the other side light users are those who attend arts performances once in a while and select a certain type of performances, such a particular art-form or style (Bernstein, 2014). Finally the the nonusers are those who never attend performing arts performances. Research found that the main reason for this are because they see the leisure time as necessarily “fun and entertaining, convenient and inexpensive” where they can feel “relaxed and informal” and where they can participate with friends and family (Bernstein, 2014, 128). The nonparticipants are those on which cultural organisations have to concentrate more, due to the fact they represent a huge segment of the population and thus are an important target to involve. Among the group of nonusers, there are the “maybes” who according to Morison & Dalglish (1987) are those who represent the potential growth and development and those who would probably enjoy to go to the opera or to concerts but the option just does not pop up in their set of options. The many studies conducted on the reasons for non attending led to the following agreed factors, which, surprisingly, do not include money or awareness motivations: the unfamiliarity with the art form, the fear of not being educated enough on the core product presented, they feel uncomfortable in the formalities that surround the participation (e.g. dress code), and the availability of substitute products (Sigurjonsson, 2010; Barlow & Shibli, 2007).

In this respect Sigurjonsson (2010) deeply investigates the “comfort” concept, that according to many marketers is the reason why some “non-attenders” actually avoid to participate at high culture performances. Shakespeare was not totally true by saying that “the play’s the thing”, “the entertainment, the aesthetic, intellectual, emotional or social experience” are at least as important as the performance proposed (Bernstein, 2014, p. 169). According to many scholars, while for frequent attenders, the play might be the most important decision factor, for sporadic attenders, and or nonparticipants the atmosphere and other social factors play a big role (Bernstein, 2014). Thus, marketers have to concentrate on the augmented product. Many scholars and art marketers strongly believe that the customer-development approach, should not invade the art-form itself (core product), but rather involve the pricing, description, packaging and promoting of the product. In short, it is the augmented product that can be used as tool to enhance the experience of attenders, the purchasing process, or the decision mechanisms and can help non-attenders feel more comfortable (Petkus, 2004; Boorsma, 2006; Bernstein, 2014). According to Boorsman (2006, p. 80), there are two types of audiences in terms of what they expect from the “total experience” (hedonistic experiences): the ones that expect to be stimulated, surprised and challenged; and the ones that expect to relax, to be entertained and have a comfortable experience.

By knowing the consumption behaviour, marketers can operate as consequence, knowing their target groups. But how to achieve active and loyal participation? Are festivals a way to make it easier for organisations to offer a total experience, that “inspires, moves or challenges” the audience? (Barlow, & Shibli, 2007, p. 105). Now, I look at the role of festivals in the accessibility and audience development strategies of music venues.

In order to achieve loyal participation and to offer total experiences, Bernstein (2014) proposes new product opportunities that best suit the lifestyle of certain segments of the population. He also mentions the creation of new seasonality and thematic programming which provides new experiences for new audiences, for communities and for existing attenders. In this respect, Jakob (2012) and Sigurjonsson (201) believe that one way to enhance the experience dimension in the cultural field, is to organise festivals. Richards & Palmer (2010, p. 19) agree and add that “events have greater ability to offer ‘spectacle’ and ‘atmosphere’.” This is easily understandable inasmuch during festivals, multiple activities happen at the same time or one after the

other. Drawing from the literature on experience economy displayed above, festivals have the possibility to offer a complete set of participation dimensions. Monica Sassatelli (2008) compares the experience offered by museums and the experience offered by festivals. The comparison does not coincide with the one I am reporting here, yet, the concepts she underlines can be easily transposed to my discussion. She asserts that festivals, offer an “unrestrained sensory experience (p. 24), whereas museums keep visitors in a distant position; festivals, she continues, are an authentic way to involve a complete sensory experience which eventually leads to a “democratic and non-judgemental participatory and sensory aesthetics” (p. 24). In short, festivals have a greater ability to reflect the popular culture practices (Sassatelli, 2008).

Moreover, studies conducted over the participation patterns of festivals in Europe have demonstrated that festivals have a great ability to involve a very wide age range, from teenagers to young adults and middle aged. Also, education background of festivals participants are very different, from high school to academic degree. These considerations are especially true when the festival program involves both popular and high culture. Moreover, if, on one side the reasons for participating to a festival are very much connected to the program and the artists performing, another fundamental reason is the ‘atmosphere’, the “quest for experience” and the possibility of bringing “festivity” into the everyday life (Linko & Silvanto, 2011, p. 233). Richards (2010) likes to see the need of such eventfulness in many leisure activities, as being the reaction to the network society. He suspects that people of all backgrounds, enjoy going back to actual meet people, experience music and dance personally and thus make festivals, live concerts, European Capital Of Culture, mega discos and art museums so successful. At this point it is easy to suspect that by staging a special event, a permanent cultural institution is able to offer something that goes beyond the actual performance, giving participants the occasion to meet with each other.

As some performing arts programs offer an unique and particular music, the thematic programming approach can be a way to offer an accessible, unique, enriching and, more important, a memorable experience (Bernstein, 2014, Petkus 2004). An example of this is the World-View Music Festival organised by the Sacramento Symphony Orchestra to attract new groups of people, in countries where the ethnic demographics is in continuously change (Sigurjonsson 2010, p. 266). Thus, the festival formula seems to best suit all the above mentioned aims.

The role that festivals have in building local communities and include social groups in cultural activities (Klaic, 2014) can also be a reason for borrowing this formulaic; the help that the term ‘festival’ can give in making uncomfortable people associate the cultural organisation with something more informal, enjoyable, and ascribable to their free-time. Klaic (2014) holds that continuously operating cultural organisations can use the festival-formulaic to impress the audience with something that goes beyond the “business as usual, to create a sense of a special, extraordinary and unique”, to provide consumers with a continuously “theatre” setting (Jakob, 2012, p. 447). This will, with all probabilities leave the attender with a new image of the venue and an unforgettable experience, that could make him come back again.

Summarising, given the population categories created by Bernstein (2014), the festival format seem to be suited for nonusers who associate their leisure time with a necessity of feeling “relaxed and informal” and expect a “fun and entertaining” experience (Bernstein, 2014, p. 128). Thus festivals can facilitate the process of finding new audiences; they give the opportunity to create a comfort situation; are a presentation formula which is appealing to younger audiences; have the potential to offer a unique and hedonistic experience, making people remember it and thus probably come back again;

*Table 2 - Summary of potential accessibility and audience development reasons why festivals are organised*

<b>Accessibility &amp; Audience Development</b>
Create Comfort Situation
Attract Younger Audience
Create Memorable Experience
Provide Hedonistic Experience
Involve different Communities/Ethnicities
Create New Image of the Venue



#### **4.4.3. Public Accountability and Cost Effectiveness**

In the next sub-sections after providing a theoretical framework on *public accountability* and *cost effectiveness* in the performing arts, I find out if and how festivals may help the organisation to achieve their goals. As mentioned above, public accountability, refers to the degree by which the organisations is responsible to be in line with the values of those providing resources, which in the case of publicly subsidised cultural organisation in Europe is for the majority the state (Chong, 2011; Frey, 2003). Cultural policies are the tool by which the state outlines rules and leads the cultural sector towards the desired aims. After an analysis of how *public accountability* influences the activities of cultural organisations and the research of reasons for leading cultural organisation towards the festival formula, *cost effectiveness* of performing arts organisations is going to be scrutinised by means of economic principles.

##### **4.4.3.1. Public Accountability**

As mentioned in the chapter over festivalisation, culture and creativity are the tools that cities use to actualise the revival of their image, the quality of life and the well being of the inhabitants and the economy (Jensen, 2007). It is then clear that policies have the role of shaping the cultural sphere too. The responsibility of cultural policy is to govern all different areas of culture. Nonetheless, the concept of culture is very broad and includes many sectors such as performing arts, visual arts, film, festivals, design, fashion, music, media, food, heritage etc. For this reason, the Balancing Act: Strategic Dilemmas in Cultural Policy commissioned by the Council of Europe, stresses the importance of creating policy specifications that best suit the different fields to be covered. The extent to which the areas are defined highly influences the application and the outcome of the policies (Simjanovska, 2011, p. 3). If on one side a good policy system can be the catalyst of a rich cultural life and a well defined participation community, bad policies can be the reason of a poor and stagnant cultural environment. Simjanovska (2011) identifies a crisis of cultural policies, given the fast changes caused by the cultural, economic and social globalisation. Klamer et al. (2006) in their study issued by the European Parliament's committee on Culture and Education, and Ploeg (2005) confirm this and explain that there is no agreed way of dealing with cultural policies, even among the European Union, making it difficult to trace financial expenditures and and compare the different systems of europe. In general, three systems

can be identified according to the way the state is involved in the cultural life, and are based on the “presence or absence of a specific feature known as an arm’s length body” (Klamer et al., 2006, p. 14). The first system is the one of countries such as Italy and France, where there is a “top-down” (Klamer et al., 2006, p. 14), “state-driven, bureaucratic system” (Ploeg, 2005, p. 4) system, whereby politicians decide the allocation of the funds for culture. The state has an influence over the arts.

The second system is the arm’s length approach represented by the British, Scandinavian and Dutch system. In the UK the Secretary of State distributes the money for cultural activities to Non-Departmental Public Bodies, which in turn distribute money, being completely independent in their decisions. As Klamer et al. (2006, p. 14) report, the government provides the money, but is involved in cultural issues only “at arm’s length”, thus through institutions and bodies that “filter” the influence of the state; in Scandinavia and the Netherlands, the arts council has ministerial responsibilities, whereby the independent arts councils give “expert advice about artistic quality and the way funds should be distributed” but the Ministry of Culture is the one that makes the final decision (Klamer et al., 2006, p. 14; Ploeg, 2005).

The third system, is the one that exists in Germany, where there are no federal cultural policies, and all decisions are done by the Länder (Ploeg, 2005).

While for the period 1999-2002 in the Netherlands there has been an average growth in public expenditures in culture of 32 %, in 2004, the state started a decrease in the subsidies devoted to broadcast and institutions support. Richards & Wilson (2004) note that, at the same time, from the mid 80s to year 2004 in European cities, cultural policies have been concentrating on city marketing and urban regeneration, thus conceiving culture in an instrumental way to achieve economic regeneration, through tourism, education and social inclusion rather than cultural development (see the European Capital of Culture, ECC events) (Quinn, 2010; Richards & Palmer, 2010; Klaić, 2002). The European Capital of Culture project was born on these assumptions. Each city has then developed a policy idea after the big scale event. For example Amsterdam and Dublin (respectively ECOC 1987 and 1991) have developed on the model of All-Year Festival, while Rotterdam, Lille, Genoa, (Respectively ECOC 2001, and 2004) have been developing on the model of Urban Regeneration and Rebranding (Richards & Palmer, 2010, p. 460).

According to Skot-Hansen four main rationales have marked the cultural policy realm: Enlightenment, Empowerment, Entertainment and Economic Impact (Linko & Silvanto, 2011). Enlightenment seen as the improvement of peoples knowledge, education and reflection and as a reason for building a democratic participation; Empowerment as a social phenomenon of identity, inclusion, cohesion and diversity; Entertainment as representative of leisure, fun, play and relax; Economic Impact as the capacity of culture to enhance the image of the city in terms of tourism, image, job creation thus recruitment. These four rationales are predominately ‘passive’ and ‘instrumental’ for the audience, meaning that people rarely go to a cultural event with the stated aim of doing something good for the local economy or for their personal education enhancement. Rather, people would participate with the aim of having a good and interesting experience, thus looking at what culture ‘is’ rather than what it ‘does’ (Linko & Silvanto, 2011; Skot-Hansen, 2005). Skot-Hansen, in fact adds that the fifth rationale of Experience should be added among the others. This would be the only rationale that “raises the viewpoint of the arts audience” (Linko & Silvanto, 2011, p. 229).

With the scope and rationale of intervention being so wide, and not only related to the art-form, it is then understandable that festivals, special events and, in general, the festivalisation phenomenon is seen by policymakers a valid “alternative to funding expensive building-based cultural venues” (Jordan, 2014, p. 2). Dragan Klaic, in fact, was highly convinced that among other advantages, festivals can best suite the local policy agendas (Maughan & Bianchini, 2014). Festivals, in fact, generate cultural effects, such as civic involvement, participation and cohesion, that are easily linked to the five cultural policy rationales.

Public Policy can, on one hand, be seen as a dependent variable, whereas the policy is shaped from “socioeconomic or environmental forces”. On the other hand public policies can be seen as independent variables, whereas policies themselves shape society, the economy and the political system (Yeoman et al. 2004, p. 218). For the sake of the present writing, it is necessary to see them as both dependent and independent variables. Many suggest that the proliferation of new festivals in the urban environment can be explained by the integration of new city policies that foster the festivalisation as mean of empowering touristic, economic and social aspects of the city (Finkel, 2010; Richards & Wilson, 2010, Richards & Palmer, 2010; Jakob, 2012). In this case, thus,

policies would be the independent variables. On the other hand the experience economy and the success of cultural festivals among audiences, could have pushed policies towards a support of these types of events. In this case policies would be the dependent variables.

When looking at permanent cultural venues, a shift in public policy towards the support of artistic festivals, could have acted as independent variable for the change of the programming of cultural organisation, who, under institutional pressure, try to satisfy the policy rationale through the organisation of festivals.

*Table 3 - Summary of potential public accountability reasons why festivals are organised*

Public Accountability
Policies Pushing the Festival Formula
Suit Local Policy Agenda

#### **4.4.3.2. Cost Effectiveness**

Financial scarcity is one of the issues cultural organisations have to deal with (Towse, 2011). Allocating the finances in the most effective way is one of the commitments of performing arts organisations. The economics of performing arts is a topic on which cultural economists have dedicated a special attention and is marked by controversies (Towse, 2010). Since the publication of Baumol & Bowen (1966), in fact, it has been clear that the sector requires different reflections, especially considering the fixed coefficients and Baumol’s cost disease for which productivity in live performing arts does not increase, causing the so called ‘productivity lag’ (Heilbrun, 2010; Towse, 2010). Performing arts, moreover, have an “ephemeral” nature, meaning after the performance has taken place, it is not possible to experience it again the same way (Towse, 2010, p. 199).

In performing arts venues costs can be split into *fixed*, *variable* and *marginal* costs (Byrnes, 2014). Fixed costs are represented by those expenses that are necessary to run the organisation, but are not dependent on the number of concerts, or the opening hours of the building. These costs include “renting or leasing space, paying salaries,

permanent equipment, and repaying loans” (Byrnes, 2014, p. 379). The variable costs incur when the organisation hires extra staff, artists, technicians, and workers that may be necessary for special productions, special scenery, costumes etc.. These costs depend on the programming: a symphony orchestra will result in more variable costs than a chamber orchestra, due to the fact that the number of musicians to pay is higher (Byrnes, 2014). Finally, marginal costs are the costs of producing one extra unit of product or service, and depend on the number of performances by the same orchestra scheduled in the program (Byrnes, 2014). Performing arts are labour-intensive, which is the reason why there are so many variable costs; after the performance has taken place at a certain given time and space, same performance can not exist somewhere else. Technological progress does provide minimal benefits compared to the benefits provided in other service sectors (Towse, 2011). Fixed costs are somehow reduced if the organisation minimises its set of permanent workers, and hires workers on a temporary basis. This is a post-Fordist trend that sees many freelance artists and professionals being hired on a temporary basis (Lingo & Tepper, 2013). In this respect, festivals represent an important advantage compared to permanent arts organisations. Because of their non-permanent nature, festivals can often avoid the payment of health insurance, pension holidays etc. to their employees (Frey, 1994). Anderson & Anderson (2010) nonetheless, explain that the recent institutionalisation of performing arts festivals, makes fixed costs rise for these organisations too.

According to Klamer et al. (2006), three types of organisations can be identified, based on the way these are financed: organisations that are financed by the government via public funds, organisations financed by the market who look for a market that is willing to pay for the production, and organisations that rely on the financial support coming from the so called “third sphere”, for which individuals and private companies are willing to sustain the organisation financially. While all over the world there are different models of financing the arts, in Europe, performing arts organisations are mostly owned and managed by the state, through “central, regional or local” control (Towse, 2011, p. 5; Towse, 2010). Given the 2008 Global Financial Crisis, many European governments have had to reformulate their money allocation, causing a sharp decrease in public expenditure for culture. In turn, this has forced cultural organisations to rely more and more on finances coming from alternative sources such as sponsors, individuals, the private sector and earned income.

The money an organisation has for its activities, whether acquired from own income or subsidies, is managed and recorded through the creation of budgets. A budget is the financial element of the vision of an organisation, and it is a tool by which arts managers predict and shape the future performance and control whether the financial goals are being accomplished (Bernstein, 2014). This is also done in relation to accountability issues, for which organisations have to make clear to major stakeholders, how the money will be managed and allocated (Bernstein, 2014). According to Bernstein (2014) there are two main types of budgeting, and some organisations do a combination of these. The first is the *traditional budget*, which sees the money being allocated by listing all expenses (salaries, renting, printing, supplies etc.). This type of budgeting, does not permit to make clear how much money each function of an organisation uses. In this respect, the second type of budgeting, the *program budgeting* is more precise. It distributes the money across the functions and activities of an organisation (touring, programs, special events, festivals, educational and fund-raising programs etc.). The advantage is that organisations can outline which project consumes which amount of money and relate expenses to the income generated. Moreover, it can be helpful in relation to fundraising activities since, as explained by Bernstein (2014), some donors prefer to support specific projects, than supporting the complete annual activities.

Given the previously mentioned economic status quo of arts organisations and the growing importance of sponsors, and private supporters, I shall now look at how festivals may be a way for performing arts organisations to be financially more efficient.

First of all, looking at internal cost management, having a program with many festivals could be a way of being able to minimise the amount of fixed workers, since for each festival the organisation needs specialised workers, and thus increase the amount of free-lancers to which the organisation has no or little fixed costs.

Second, as explained in chapter 1, festivalisation brought an increase of competition for public funding and private sponsorship which is rising as cities are filled with permanent artistic institutions and temporary event clusters (Richards & Palmer, 2010; Finkel, 2009). Richards & Palmer (2010, p. 20) state that the rising costs of permanent cultural structures in cities have brought festivals and events “to the forefront of inter-urban competition”. Given the acknowledged beneficial outcomes of festivals for the urban environment, it can be supposed that assigning the name

‘festival’ to special performances of cultural venues, gives them higher possibilities of being competitive in the eyes of private donors and sponsors.

The director of the Theatre aan het Vrijthof, in Maastricht, openly stated that if he wants to invite a well-known artist in its season, he has to invent a “festival formula” in order to get the necessary funds to pay the bookings out (Klaic, 2014, p. 43). Because it is acknowledged that arts festivals and special events have positive economic impact on a city and regional level, private businesses see in the promotion of festival a opportunity to nourish and foster the economy in which they operate (Waterman, 1998). The brief length and intense nature of festivals in terms of involvement and visibility of sponsors, represents an advantage compared to the financing of an entire season.

*Table 4 - Summary of potential cost effectiveness reasons why festivals are organised*

<b>Cost Effectiveness</b>
Work On a Freelancers Basis
Attract Sponsors
Additional Public Subsidies

#### 4.5. Conclusion of Theoretical Framework

In conclusion of the theoretical framework four organisational commitments have been identified, for which festivals might represent an advantage. The table below, summarises the conclusion of this first thesis section.

*Table 5 - Overview of possible reasons why festivals are organised*

<b>Organisational commitment</b>	<b>Reasons for organising festivals</b>
Excellence and artistic integrity	Content innovation, form innovation, artistic freedom
Accessibility and audience development	Create comfort situation, attract younger audience, create memorable experience, provide hedonistic experience, involve different communities/ethnicities
Public accountability	Policies pushing the festival formula, suit local policy agenda
Cost effectiveness	Work on a freelancers basis, attract sponsors, additional public subsidies



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5. Methodology

## **5. Methodology**

In the previous chapters the research has provided a theoretical background to the research question presented. The literature has helped in building an understanding of the research topic and area and suggested various reasons why permanent performing arts cultural organisations may organise festivals. Hereby, once again, I report my research questions:

- Why do music venues chose to stage festivals during the regular season?
- The achievement of which organisational goals is facilitated by the festivals?

At this point of the writing, my empirical contribution becomes possible and necessary in order to generate “testable”, “relevant” and “valid” theory (Eisenhardt, 1989). In this section I explain what method is used and why; I discuss how data is collected and gathered; finally, I outline how the analysis of the data has been done.

### **5.1. Research Design and Research Method**

The best way to answer to the research questions, is to make use of a case study design. A case study provides a deep examination of a selected organisation, community, a person, a family, a school etc. (Bryman, 2012). The topic of the festivalisation of permanent organisations is new to the academic world, specific literature on it is missing, and it is for this reasons that the case study strategy is particularly appropriate (Eisenhardt, 1989). Eisenhardt, in fact, states that the process of building theory via the study of specific cases, is particularly desirable and adequate “in the early stages of research on a topic” or to provide a new fresh point of view to a field of study already researched (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 548).

How to evaluate the success of case studies? The new theory that emerges from case studies has to be “parsimonious, testable, and logically coherent” (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 548).

For my research, two distinctive cases have been studied and analysed via a qualitative study, which have been conducted with the methods of semi-structured interviews and examination of relevant documents. In fact, when conducting case studies the “combination of data types can be highly synergistic” (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 538)

One disadvantage of using case studies for building theory is that it is impossible to establish “external validity or generalizability” (Bryman, 2012. p. 69). In

fact, one or few cases are studied in such a specific way, that it is almost impossible to draw conclusions and apply findings to other cases with, most probably, a set of very different variables.

The selection of the population has a big importance in this respect. This because the population is the ground on which the sample is chosen, and it represents the extreme limit beyond which generalising is even less legitimate (Eisenhardt, 1989).

My research studies a phenomenon that can be observed in various performing arts organisations in Europe. As explained above, nonetheless, I narrowed the research to music organisations, in order to limit the variables at hand and because in the history of festivals music has had an important role. Moreover, to narrow the field further, I looked for non-profit, professional organisations that are located in Rotterdam and Amsterdam. The necessary condition for an organisation to enter in the category studied, is that during the annual programming it organises one or more festivals. It is important to specify that the festivals have to be organised by the organisation itself, and not only hosted in the building. Amsterdam and Rotterdam are the two main cities of the Netherlands, and as explained above, these have built a strategic campaign on the existence and proliferation of festivals. These are the reasons why, these two cities have given the opportunity to find the right samples that help answering the research questions.

The aim of the semi-structured interviews is to understand what the main reasons are why the organisation organises festivals. Interviews are the most appropriate method, especially when a flexible answer and flexible findings are longed (Bryman, 2012). Documents such as mission statement, vision, program brochures, e-mail exchange and virtual documents help providing useful information for answering the research questions and give background informations of the case studies. Moreover, the Internet and Website give additional information about how festivals are marketed and what role they have in the rest of the activities.

For this research one ethical issue I have to keep in mind is the privacy. Employees of the organisations have been asked to explained in detail a part of the organisational strategy, and since this is the material on which I have constructed a part of the final thesis, it is important to agree with the organisations, whether the name of the institution and the names of the respondents can be made public. One of the two organisations studied in this research, asked to be anonymous. For this reason, I avoid

writing the name of the organisation, the names of the respondents, and I omit the link to the documents analysed in the References, where the organisation can be found under the name “Anonymous Organisation”.

## 5.2. Data Collection

The first case that has been chosen for this research is De Doelen, in Rotterdam. After collecting data in this organisation, I considered it necessary to choose another case preferably in another city, in order to collect more data and compare findings. The second organisation, which has been chosen to stay anonymous, is located in Amsterdam, and I refer to it as Organisation X. The two cases, on which I spend some more words below, are both “representative or typical cases” (Bryman, 2012, p. 70). These represent the phenomenon of festivalisation of permanent cultural institution inasmuch during their annual season they organise some festivals. These cases have been chosen via the process of theoretical sampling, are thus examples of a broader group (population). Since the chosen cases are representative for their category, findings could provide examples of other similar cases of the population. Theoretical sampling is one form of purposive sampling (Bryman, 2012) and is an important aspect in building “theoretical ideas” (Hammersley, 2006, p. 3), but do not aim at obtaining findings that are necessarily applicable to the entire population, because as explained above, this would be too ambitious. Nonetheless, since the chosen cases are representative for their category, findings could provide examples of other similar cases of the population, and the research could be replicated to other samples in the future. As Bryman points out (2012), in qualitative research it is very difficult to establish how many people have to be interviewed in order to achieve theoretical saturation. Bryman (2012) asserts that the broader the aim of the research the more a comparison between elements of the sample are necessary.

For my research, the best scenario is to interview, for each organisation, the following employees: the artistic and/or general director, the marketing & communication director, one program director and the chief financial. This way, the three categories studied in the theoretical background can be discussed with people of the organisation that fulfil the specific goals. The artistic director and the programmer best answer to issues related to *excellence* and *artistic integrity*, the marketing & communication responsible to questions related to *accessibility* and *audience*

*development* and the general director, artistic director and chief financial to issues related to *public accountability* and *cost effectiveness*. Despite the focus of each of these employees on on commitment of the organisations, to each interviewee, all questions are asked in order to compare answers and test congruency between them. Appendix A and B show the interview guide I prepared for the interviews. In order to avoid biases and limit the findings, it is better to conduct the research without having a theoretical perspective in mind or an hypothesis in mind. Nonetheless this is almost impossible, inasmuch especially in the case of a multiple case study, a structure is needed to make comparisons (Bryman, 2012). I grouped questions in categories that were derived from the literature examined above, with the aim of giving a structure to the interview, nonetheless, if respondents where leading the conversation to another structure of themes, no attempt has been done to go back to the prior created structure. This way the themes touched by the respondents where not biased by the hypotheses drawn from my theoretical background.

In De Doelen, Rotterdam, I conducted an interview with the Program Director, Mr. Neil Wallace and with the Marketing & Communication Director Mathijs Bouwman. Despite the fact that Mr. Wallace has the title Program Director, as a matter of fact he is the Artistic Director. I interviewed a third person in relation the De Doelen, but external to the organisation: during the interview, in fact, Mr. Wallace suggested me to speak and interview the Managing Director of Rotterdam Festivals which is the outsourced department of the municipality of Rotterdam, following all issues related to festivals. This set of data sources, facilitated by the transparency of the organisation, has provided satisfying answers on my topic, which has permitted to originate valuable insights.

In the Organisation X, the Marketing & Communication Director has been interviewed and I refer to her as Respondent X; Respondent Y is a “Manager Vorgebouw Publieksservice” a manager for building public service, and the programmer of the series “The Rest Is Noise” and several festivals. Unfortunately the interview with the general and artistic director has been cancelled, and no other interview has been allowed in Organisation X. Despite this, the combination of the set of data sources has provided satisfying answers on my topic, which has permitted to originate valuable insights during the analysis.

All the interviews have been face-to-face and have been recorded, as agreed with interviewees, by means of the program Quick Time Player on my laptop. The table below gives an overview of all interviews carried.

*Table 6 - Information about the interviews carried*

Interviewee	Position in The organisation	Organisation	Date	Place	Length (minutes)
Neil Wallace	Artistic Director	De Doelen	17/04/15	De Doelen, Rotterdam	56,00
Mathijs Bouwman	Marketing & Communication Director	De Doelen	21/04/15	De Doelen, Rotterdam	34,51
Interviewee X	Marketing & Communication Director	Anonymous Organisation	29/04/15	Anonymous Organisation, Amsterdam	60,54
Interviewee Y	Programmer	Anonymous Organisation	28/04/15	Anonymous Organisation, Amsterdam	50,15
Johan Moerman	General Director	Rotterdam Festivals	11/05/15	Rotterdam Festival Office, Rotterdam	24,00

### 5.3. Data Analysis

The first step of the data analysis is the verbatim transcription of the interviews. The table below shows an overview of particular symbols used during the transcription.

*Table 7 - Explanation of symbols written in the transcriptions*

Symbol	Explanation
[?]	When part of the sentence could not be understood
Mhm, ehm	Hesitation, reflection
...	when sentence is interrupted or overlaps with other sentences. For long pauses
(...)	Cut dialog because out of theme, or not relevant

The second step of the analysis of the data gathered, has been to do a within case analysis for both cases. This has been done by writing “detailed writes-up” of the cases, which is “central to the generation of insight” (Eisonhardt, 1989, p. 538). This process

started by looking at the transcriptions, and associating each answer to different categories. This helped in organising data and made it simpler to write down the results for each category. While the overall categories have been derived from the literature (artistic innovation, audience development, cost effectiveness and public accountability), new aspects of each category have emerged. For example, the concept of audience development is very broad, thus, the analysis helped understanding, first of all, if audience development is a reason for organising festivals, and second what aspects of audience development are facilitated by festivals.

The second step of the analysis has been to look for cross-case patterns, in particular considering the different settings that the two cities provide to the organisation, and the different missions and visions of the organisations. After comparing the result of the two organisations for each category, the overall results have been compared and discussed.

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## 6. Findings



## **6. Findings**

This chapter is dedicated to the analysis of the data gathered at the two organisations studied. After providing some policy facts and background information over the two organisations, I analyse the findings of the first organisation, De Doelen. I take advantage of the online availability of the long-term policy plan for 2013-2016, and incorporate the information retrievable there with the ones gathered through the interviews.

The same is done with Organisation X. In conclusion the findings are compared and a final matrix is created where reasons for organising festivals are summarised.

### **6.1. Policy Overview**

In the Netherlands the policy system is mostly centralised. The Dutch government is made up by many ministries. Among these, there is the Ministry of Culture, Education and Science, which holds around one fifth of the total state budget (de Kam, Koopmans, & Wellink, 2008). The Ministry of Culture, Higher Education and Research is the major central player for the designation of the total budget for culture in the Netherlands. Despite the centralised policy system, there is tendency towards decentralisation, whereby at a local level, culture is controlled and subsidised by provincial and municipal governments (Klamer et al. 2006). The two organisations studied in this research are both subsidised by the cities where they are located.

De Doelen is a publicly funded organisation, subsidised by the city of Rotterdam with a budget of 4.442.000 Euros in the years 2009-2012 and a budget of 4.278.500 in the years 2013-2016 (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2012). Despite the fact that De Doelen is subsidised by the city of Rotterdam, the organisation is also partly accountable to Rotterdam Festivals. Rotterdam Festivals is the unit of the municipality of Rotterdam dedicated to the festivals in the city. While the city of Rotterdam funds De Doelen through a four-year plan, Rotterdam Festivals collaborates at a project level. They contribute financially to major festivals organised by permanent cultural organisations, such as the Red Ear Festival and the Gergiev Festival in the case of De Doelen. Nonetheless, they are not involved in minor festivals of permanent cultural organisations such as the Fifty Fiddles Festivlas, the Celtic and Balfok festival etc. Additionally to its festival dossier, Rotterdam Festivals has an audience development

department, which conducts audience research in Rotterdam and runs joint marketing for the cultural institutions of the city.

Organisation X is subsidised by the city of Amsterdam, with a budget of 2.691.080 Euros in the years 2013-2016 (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2012) and with extra subsidies which in 2013 amounted to 16.741 Euros.

## **6.2. De Doelen, Concert -en Congresgebouw**

With its six halls, De Doelen is the largest concert hall and congress centre in the Netherlands. The music halls host around 600 concerts of many and diverse genres, from classical to world music and jazz. The number of visitors (“bezoekers”, not clear whether the number includes repeated visits of the same visitor or not) of De Doelen (concert hall) is around 450,000, making de Doelen the first music hall in Rotterdam and the second in the Netherlands in terms of audience numbers ([www.dedoelen.nl](http://www.dedoelen.nl)). The programming is very broad, and one of the goals includes attracting people from various ages, and various cultural and educational backgrounds. In the city of Rotterdam de Doelen has positioned himself with a very strong and recognised cultural brand ([www.dedoelen.nl](http://www.dedoelen.nl)). The building of De Doelen, is owned by the city of Rotterdam. It stands in a strategic location: in the middle of the town, close to Central Station, the Rotterdam arts Conservatorium Codarts, and the shopping streets ([www.dedoelen.nl](http://www.dedoelen.nl)).

Although the concert hall De Doelen was active in the seventeenth century already, the building as it can be seen now, has been opened in July 1962 after the bombardment of Rotterdam during Second World War razed it completely ([www.dedoelen.nl](http://www.dedoelen.nl)).

As stated by the organisation in its long-term policy plan 2013-2016, the core goal of De Doelen (concert hall) is to be the main stage of the Rotterdam music scene and to present live music ([www.dedoelen.nl](http://www.dedoelen.nl)). The ambitions for 2013-2016 are:

- To target a large and diverse group of loyal audiences.
- As most important music organisation in Rotterdam, to make a significant contribution to the preservation and development of the musical life and music culture, at regional, national and international level
- To make an important contribution to the quality of life in Rotterdam for citizens and tourists
- To be literally and figuratively in the middle of the city of Rotterdam.

### **6.2.1. How Does the Programming of De Doelen Work?**

De Doelen's program is made up by a total of approximately 250 concerts a year (not specified whether this number counts the repeated performances of the same pieces) and a total of 600 cultural events. These concerts and events are grouped as follows: the annual seasons is divided in four main sections, according to a genre distinction. These sections are made up by series, educational programs, and special events that are spread throughout the entire year. The series are made up by concerts, special events, educational programs, and festivals. To make it clear I report an example for the season 2015/16: the "Tijdloos" section, is made up by the "Wereldorkesten" series, the "Music for the Millions" series, the "Barok, voor en na" series. The "Barok, voor en na" Series is made up by five concerts and one festival called "Mr. Corelli's Fifty Fiddles Festival". The activities of De Doelen, moreover, include concerts, special events and festivals that are programmed in cooperation with other local and international cultural players, such as the conservatorium of Rotterdam Codarts, the Lantaren Venster, the Motel Mozaique festival, the Barbican and Köllner Filarmonie etc.

### **6.2.2. The Role of Festivals in the Artistic Vision**

The program of De Doelen, is multifaceted: they look for crossovers, alternative forms of presentation and interdisciplinary ways of proposing a very diverse music program (De Doelen, 2011). De Doelen also values the importance of innovation, which is carried through the programming of contemporary music, in many genres. The program offers opportunities for deepening research on specific repertoires, and it also commissions new compositions every year. This way, De Doelen presents every year some world premieres. Special programs are developed for new and young audiences (De Doelen, 2011).

In the program a role is also played by festivals. The artistic director of De Doelen, Neil Wallace (personal communication, 2015) has very clear in mind what festivals have been historically and what they should be now. During the interview he outlined a brief history of festivals and explained why De Doelen is very careful in naming events 'festivals'. The fact that the artistic director has shown a deep knowledge over festivals already excludes a superficial use of the term 'festival' in the

programming of the organisation. In De Doelen, generally speaking, an event can be called festival when there is something festive, when it is about having fun, and when the artform presented fits the festival format (several acts, several activities spread through the duration of the festival) (personal communication, 2015). What becomes clear from the interviews with the artistic director and the marketing & communication director, is that festivals are a way to innovate the presentation form and widen or deepen the repertoire presented (personal communication, 2015). Neil Wallace explains that a festival, for most of the time, rises from a “total passion” of an individual of an organisation, who believes in a passionate way in something specific. This could be a particular artist, a particular composer, or a particular music genre (Neil Wallace, personal communication, 2015). The marketing responsible, Mathijs Bouwman, states that festivals arise as part of the artistic vision of the organisation, and reflects the artistic goal of proposing a wide range of music to the widest audience (personal communication, 2015). For example, The Celtic and Balfolk Night is a festival that started when an employee in De Doelen expressed his passion for Celtic Music accompanied by folk dance. Through the years the event grew into a succesful festival, giving De Doelen the opportunity to develop and widen its programming with special music styles and to experiment with the presentation form, such as for instance by combining music and dance. The Mr. Corelly Fifty Fiddles festival, a two days festival programmed for september 2015, has been organised after De Doelen got a suggestion from the conservatorium Codarts, which thought that there were no or little festivals celebrating the violin. This festival is presented as a feast around the figure of violinist and composer Arcangelo Corelli, around the violin as instrument and around baroque music in general.

From the interviews it emerges that festivals have slightly changed their role in relation to the concept of innovation. It emerges, in fact, that in the past De Doelen organised a festival for both innovate the *content* (at an international level) and the *form*. The Red Ear Festival was driven by the willingness to present new and innovative music and to do that in a unconventional way, such as through on-site performances (Neil Wallace, personal communication, 2015). Nonetheless, the artistic director (personal communication, 2015) explains that after the first two editions, the third one never happened because it was not succesful enough. He explains that a festival can never be the result of only booking artists and putting them under the same festival, a

vision and a “urgency” is needed. The Red Ear festival, was getting too much a process of putting contemporary acts together and “it wasn’t specific enough” (Neil Wallace, personal communication, 2015). A festival can be innovative, especially if it is a specific music field and if there is a strong artistic vision and “urgency” behind it, but if innovation is the central topic and main aim of the festival, it won’t probably work (Neil Wallace, personal communication, 2015).

The experience of the Red Ear festival, has apparently marked a slight change of what De Doelen aimed at when organising festivals, shifting the focus from international *content* and *form* innovation, to local *content* and *form* innovation. The marketing & communication director Mathijs Bouwman explains that most of the times they organise festivals on something that “has proved (...) to be slightly successful”, either for its uniqueness in the area, or for its potential to attract audiences. This because a festival has a lot of elements and activities surrounding the core product (e.g. open rehearsals, workshops, educational programs), if there is not enough audience following the core product, then they can not expect to have people attending the side program (Mathijs Bouwman, personal communication, 2015). The uniqueness in the area mentioned above, suggests a *content* innovation dimension, even if only at a local level.

In conclusion, De Doelen organises festivals as a result of an artistic “urgency” to present specific and unique genres, styles and traditions of music that are not presented in other organisations in the city or country. This suggests that both *content* and *form* innovation are carried through the festival format: festivals help them to valorise music pieces and genres that are innovative at a local level, and to mix artforms, or make collaborations between genres and to dare in the way things are presented (Neil Wallace, personal communication, 2011), thus to innovate the *form*.

### **6.2.3. The Role of festivals in the Marketing and Audience Development Strategies**

The fact that De Doelen, very much concentrates its activities on providing the greatest experience and thus value to its audiences, is on one side related to *form* innovation, and on the other side it is consistent with their marketing and audience development strategies. Mathijs Bouwman (personal communication, 2015) explains that the Celtic and Balfolk festival was born out of the passion of an employee of De Doelen for that music, and he explains that it is perfectly in line with their audience development

strategies. “That’s actually one of our greatest examples of what a festival can be” and “of an audience we created ourselves” (Mathijs Bouwman, personal communication, 2015). The music presented is very unique, and permits to find a particular segment of the population that is interested in it. Moreover both the interviewees stress the importance of the social dimension of these festivals: “they [people] are drinking, they are dancing, they are listening. There is a huge social element, people come from all over the Netherlands and Belgium for that event.” (Neil Wallace, personal communication, 2015). The comfort concept is held in great consideration by De Doelen. Both festivals and some series are helpful in trying to make people feel more comfortable with the artform. Neil Wallace (personal communication, 2015) in fact, underlines that the series Red Sofa (contemporary music series), was born on the idea of making people feel comfortable with the contemporary music presented, as they would sit on their home sofa. Red Sofa can be considered as a year long festival (Neil Wallace, personal communication, 2015). Festivals help De Doelen in having people enjoying music in a more informal way, and in a way that involves all senses. In De Doelen, in fact, a festival is such when there are “added elements”, these being good food, drinks, people having a good time and good information about the concert (Mathijs Bouwman, personal communication, 2015).

Thus in conclusion, it can be said that festivals are adequate when De Doelen wants to offer an “hedonistic experience” where people can feel part of the show, and where they can feel comfortable with the artform, also through additional information and education. Moreover, Mathijs Bouwman states that the elements of festivalisation that they have in their organisation, have a lot to do with “new audience” (personal communication, 2015).

#### **6.2.4. The Role of Festivals in the Public Accountability System**

De Doelen has several responsibilities in regard to the city of Rotterdam. First of all, it is the most important music organisation in the city. For this reason De Doelen (2011) has to act as the ‘mother’ of the music scene in Rotterdam, meaning that they have the important responsibility of nursing music, to initiate projects and develop the talent, helping those local projects that are willing to reach a wider audience and that are threatened by subsidies cuts (e.g. De Doelen Ensemble, Rotterdam Jazz Orchestra, Sinfonia Rotterdam etc.). Collaboration and co-production is often mentioned by the

long-term policy plan 2013-2016 and by the two interviewees, as being something they have to aim at in regard to their responsibilities for the city of Rotterdam and the Schouwburgplein activities (the square that stands between De Doelen and the Rotterdamse Schouwburg). In this regard De Doelen has been initiator and creator of many festivals, and has often been a participants/partner of other important festivals of the city, such as North Sea Round Town, Operadagen, Rotterdam Organ Days, the International Film Festival Rotterdam etc. Most of the collaborations with other cultural organisations in Rotterdam result in co-produced festivals. According to Mathijs Bouwman and Neil Wallace, there is not too much competition between independent festivals and their activities, since they collaborate with some festivals and since there is an equilibrium, in number and visibility, between festivals they organise themselves and the once organised outside (personal communication, 2015). Most importantly, De Doelen works very closely with Rotterdam Festivals. Their collaboration on one side exists when De Doelen organises big festivals, for which a collaboration with them is needed. On the other side, De Doelen, like all other theatres in Rotterdam, often receives advice on audience development strategies by the department of Rotterdam Festivals that runs researches in this field (Johan Moerman, personal communication, 2015). “We know what the audience is thinking, and we know why the audiences are coming or not” says the general director Johan Moerman (personal communication, 2015). Their relationship with permanent cultural organisations is of close collaboration and advice. The director of Rotterdam Festivals for example mentions that for De Doelen is advantageous in terms of audience development to stage festivals; he states that for the Gergiev Festival:

*“the average age of the audience is 10 years younger than the average age of the normal concerts, and if you look very closely to the program, it’s not that different, so it looks like young people are interested in the atmosphere of festivals and then go to classical music, while they don’t like to go there in the rest of the year, and festivals also can bring, like museum night and so, they can bring new audiences, that partly (...) will come back.”*

(Johan Moerman, personal communication, 2015)

Festival Rotterdam also provides financial support to De Doelen when festival are organised. The criteria for choosing which festivals of permanent cultural organisations,

are going to be subsidised, is to see if it is “something really special of national or international importance” something that can not be expected by a regular support by the city, and something that is unique, that does not exist in the Netherlands (Johan Moerman, personal communication, 2015). The director of Rotterdam Festivals stresses that audiences like festivals, that audiences are not loyal anymore, and for this reasons permanent cultural organisations should stage festivals to be appealing to a broad audience (Johan Moerman, personal communication, 2015). Moreover, they “try to think as festivals as part of the cultural sector as a whole”, which is the reason why permanent cultural institutions should not feel threatened by the soaring number of festivals in the city.

In conclusion it emerges that collaboration with other cultural actors in the city of Rotterdam is one of the responsibilities of De Doelen; in this regard festivals are one of the most suitable and used forms of collaborations and in permits to be in line with the municipality willingness to make the Schouwburgplein a dynamic square.

Rotterdam Festival does not push De Doelen to organise festivals, they strongly support them when there is a big festival project, and they also advice permanent organisations to organise festivals as audience development technique, providing strong evidence of its advantages.

#### **6.2.5. Festivals in De Doelen and its Financial Consequences**

When De Doelen organises festivals the costs are higher than having normal concerts (Mathijs Bouwman, personal communication, 2015). Freelancers are hired in most of the cases, but this does not permit the organisation to work with less fixed employees. Freelancers are additional workers that are able to advise on specific fields of music and activities. Moreover, festivals require a traditional marketing strategy, namely posters in the whole city, and direct mailings. The communication has to be extremely efficient in order to reach the desired number of visitors (Mathijs Bouwmans, personal communication, 2015). When festivals are organised, a lot of marketing budget is spent, “because it is something extraordinary” thus, says the marketing director, a festival “is never a marketing trick” (Mathijs Bouwman, personal communication, 2015). The marketing director explains that once he had to persuade his colleagues from the programming department, that the program offered for a Flamenco music evening with a lecture and a workshop was not enough to call it festival.



As mentioned above, De Doelen has a significant budget coming from the city of Rotterdam for its activities. Because of the size of the venue, and the many concerts and cultural events offered, De Doelen also strongly relies on private sponsorship. For the activity of finding the right sponsors, De Doelen has a department made up by three employees, who arrange all the relationship with the potential and actual sponsors (Neil Wallace, personal communication, 2015). This permits them to be very specific in their request, and to target the right sponsors and foundations for the right projects and events. It normally starts from a project, special event, or festival in mind and then see which parties could be interested in the existence of it, for example if something is very typical for Rotterdam, they ask for the Rotterdam Foundation, or if there is a strong educational dimension, then other parties might be interested (Neil Wallace, personal communication, 2015). Nonetheless, sometimes the opposite happens: the organisation has a supporter in mind and then starts to build an artistic vision that fits the sponsor, and that is coherent with the willingness of the artistic director (Neil Wallace, personal communication, 2015). In this regard festivals do not have a special position for the organisation, as the mechanism of finding special sponsors is applicable to other types of programming sections, such as entire series, one-night special performances etc.

In conclusion it can be said that festivals have high marketing and personnel costs. Festivals have the same potential to attract sponsors or extra public funds as other special events or concerts, thus this is not a reason for organising them. Despite the financial disadvantage of festivals, the organisation identifies the few occasions for which a festival can be the perfect formula, and goes for it, because there is a programming and audience development advantage and because it's part of their strategy "to be here also for that specific type of music or community" (Mathijs Bouwman, personal communication, 2015).

### **6.3. Organisation X**

Organisation X is a prestigious music hall in Amsterdam, which is mainly focuses of the presentation of contemporary music of different genres such as classical, jazz, electronic, pop, and world. Organisation X is the "Concert Hall of the 21st Century" (Anonymous Organisation, 2012). The vision of this organisation is to program quality music for the widest and most diverse audience as possible; to touch peoples heart by making them experience how versatile contemporary music is; they seek to

renew the concert practices and perception, in close collaboration with ensembles, musicians, other local and international cultural organisations and venues; Organisation X aims at inspiring, surprising and being always ahead (Anonymous Organisation, 2012).

The building of Organisation X has opened its doors in June 2005, it is located very close to the Conservatorium van Amsterdam and the central station, and looks outwards at the IJ. The acoustics of the big hall, with 725 seats, is outstanding, partly due to a mechanism that permits the floor, ceiling and walls to be moved in the best positions from concert to concert. In addition to the big hall, there is a smaller hall with 100 seats. Attendance at Organisation X, according to data of year 2012, is around 91,000 visitors per year.

### **6.3.1. How Does the Programming of Organisation X Work?**

The annual season of Organisation X is divided in series. In total around 200 concerts are presented every year. Series group specific genres and are made up by concerts, special events and educational programs. Festivals are organised both as part of some series and as independent activities. Moreover many festivals are organised by other organisations in the building of Organisation X. Some of these festivals are co-productions.

### **6.3.2. The Role of Festivals in the Artistic Vision**

The role of Organisation X in the city of Amsterdam is to be the music hall for the 21st century, the place where “new music is happening”, and this includes all the genres that are involved in the development, classical, electronic, pop, jazz (Interviewee Y, personal communication, 2015). The artistic vision is accompanied by a tendency towards being more art-oriented than audience-oriented (Interviewee Y, personal communication, 2015). In this respect, one programmer of Organisation X explains that a festival gives the opportunity to the organisation to “put on artists that wouldn't normally get people in (...), who maybe is a really good artists, but nobody knows him”, and he states that “you have more freedom” (personal communication, 2015). Organisation X is also very cautious with naming special events a festival, first of all because “when you say festival everyone has almost the same expectations”, secondly because a festival for them is such when there is a lot going on, when there is constantly something to do, special acts, food, drinks etc. In general at Organisation X a festival is taken as an

opportunity “to make things possible, that aren't possible otherwise” (Interviewee X, personal communication, 2015). Interviewee X, marketing and communication director, in fact explains that during a festival they call very rare performances and artists to perform, they make new things happen that normally wouldn't work in the normal programming, because in a festival setting they “want to try things out” and experiment with new programming (Interviewee X, personal communication, 2015). Both interviewees stress the fact that in the case of the Online Radio Festival, the festival format “fits 100% in the [festival] label” because it's about “new music and new music cultures”. Moreover, a festival permits the organisation to have a more “tailor-made” program with a concept and not just book artists and ensembles as it happens for other parts of the program (personal communication, 2015). To program a selection of Haydn works, over one weekend, such as during the Haydn Weekend, permits them to make people listen to music that they wouldn't normally listen to. Thus a festival permits to go “deeper and wider” in the programming choices (Interviewee X, personal communication, 2015)

At Organisation X it emerges that a festival gives artistic freedom and room for experimentation to the programmers. Moreover it gives the artistic directors the possibility to fulfil the ambition of producing something which is tailor-made, instead of only presenting works that are ready to book. They can rely on the fact that people buy the entire festival ticket and they will thus attend most of the performances, no matter if some artists are less known or very new to the field and is thus also related to a discourse of audience development. This is the same reason why a festival is staged when the organisation wants to go deep into the works by a special composer, artist, or music genre. Also, festivals are staged when very special and new productions are presented, when a performer has never been in the Netherlands or when a particular music piece has never been performed before. This leads to the concept of *content* innovation.

### **6.3.3. The Role of Festivals in the Marketing and Audience Development Strategies**

The festival formula is thus used as a way to go beyond the regular programming and dare more in the offerings. This is also related to an audience development dimension. In fact, Interviewee X states that, because a festival is a blend of many activities and

music acts, they can get young audiences listen to a very rare piece, in the same hall with older audiences. She explains that during the World Minimal Music Festival, although Terry Riley, who was the main guest, was known mostly by people 50+, younger people got to know him because the other acts and other program parts were appealing for them too, both because the festival format is highly a trend among young people and because minimal music represents the roots of electronic music.

Moreover from the two interviews conducted at Organisation X there is a recurrent highlighted aspect of festivals: a festival gives vibrancy to the organisation; the image that results out of festival, is a dynamic and vibrant organisation (Interviewees X and Y, personal communication, 2105). In the annual report, the Jaarverslag (Anonymous organisation, 2012), Organisation X states that many productions have contributed in making Organisation X a dynamic and vibrant place. As examples of productions that the organisations makes there are almost only festivals and special events such as the Bachdag, the Berlo festival, the Amsterdamse Cello Biennale etc. (Anonymous organisation, 2012); and they state that it is because festivals help to make the organisation a vibrant and dynamic place that festivals and specials have increasingly been part of the strategy of Organisation X (Anonymous organisation, 2012).

Moreover the marketing and communication director stresses that festivals help you to “show that you (the organisation) are here and who you are” (personal communication, 2015). The section ‘Tips’ on the webpage page of Organisation X ([www.organisationx.nl](http://www.organisationx.nl)), is suggesting almost exclusively festivals because, according to the respondents, it is the part of the programming with which they can show who they are, and its a way to attract people at Organisation X (personal communication, 2015). This organisation in fact, is quite new to Amsterdam (10 years), thus, it still has to get attention from a lot of people (Interviewee X, Y, personal communication, 2015). The marketing director, moreover stresses the fact that with a festival it is easier to get the press, newspapers and television being interested in writing or showing about you, in fact, “a festival can make much more a sense of urgency” because it’s special and special artists are called, who have never or rarely performed in Amsterdam (Interviewee X, personal communication, 2015). Also the interviewees mention the special atmosphere that a festival creates in Organisation X. The comfort concept “is a big and important part of a festival” (Interviewee Y, personal communication, 2015).

During a festival Organisation X transforms itself, and becomes a different place with light sculptures, darker lights, cheaper beer etc. (Interviewee Y, personal communication, 2015).

In conclusion of this sub-chapter, it can be said that festivals permit Organisation X to attract a wide and diverse audience range especially in terms of age; permits to get more attention from the media, and showing that they are there and who they are; it permits to create a special atmosphere, whereas audiences feel more comfortable and can enjoy the music in a more informal way.

#### **6.3.4. The Role of Festivals in the Public Accountability System**

In regard to the responsibilities to the city of Amsterdam, none of the respondents in Organisation X felt that they had to organise festivals to be more in line with the cultural policies. Little results have been found in regard to this topic.

#### **6.3.5. Festivals in Organisation X and its Financial Consequences**

Organising, running and promoting festivals are activities that require a lot of extra money and energies to be spent (Interviewee X, Y, personal communication, 2015). Organisation X, has undergone a cut of 15% of its budget from year 2012 to 2013 (Anonymous organisation, 2012), and from that moment on, the organisation had to look at the spendings in a more cautious way. When Organisation X organises festivals, employees have to do a lot of extra hours, they have to add people to their fixed staff, work with freelancers, artistic advisers, copywriters, and the marketing campaign requires much more money than for the normal season, because the need to have posters all around the city. When they call special artists from all around the world for their festivals “you need to have public, so you need to make a campaign otherwise the public wont come” (Interviewee X, personal communication, 2015).

Despite the financial disadvantages, festivals are organised. This because, explains the marketing director, it’s like choosing what kind of dress to wear for a party: if it is really a special night and occasion, you are willing to give up more money for buying a new one, or even let someone design it for you (Interviewee X, personal communication, 2015). In Organisation X they are willing to give up more money, because of the benefits brought to other organisational commitments than the financial one. On the other hand, Organisation X is aware of the fact, that they can get extra

funding for special projects. The programmer of the Series The Rest is Noise, a series on electronic and pop music, that in 2014 was opened by a festival, states that that series gets money from other funding bodies such as Fonds 21, and VSB funds (personal communication, 2015). Sponsorship is not a developed practice at Organisation X (Anonymous organisation, 2015) it does not influence the programming choices.

In conclusion a festival costs more, working hours for fixed employees at Organisation X augment, the payment of freelancers is added and marketing costs are higher. Festivals can be suitable for extra fundings, but not more than other projects or series. Meaning that there is no financial reason that makes the organisation stage festivals.

#### **6.4. Summary of the Findings**

In this sub-chapter, I summarise the results and make a comparison between the two organisations. Again, to facilitate the comparison the categories of the literature are used (Excellence and Artistic Integrity, Accessibility and Audience Development, Public Accountability and Cost Effectiveness)

##### **6.4.1. Excellence and Artistic Integrity: the role of festivals in comparison**

When looking at the results of the category *excellence* and *artistic integrity* of the two organisations, many similarities come up. In both organisations the festival is a way to program something very specific: a specific genre, a specific artist, or specific compositions. The festival format, with its limited number of days and acts, permits to go deep into one specific artistic choice, and give a wide presentation of it. One difference in this, is that De Doelen also aims at targeting specific ethnic groups, while Organisation X is apparently not interested in this.

In both cases it emerges that a festival is not only specific, but it is organised on something rather unique that is not presented in the normal programming of the same organisation or in other organisations. The uniqueness mentioned by both organisations leads to the concept of innovation. Organisation X is focused on *content* innovation, whereas a festival gives them the opportunity to do three things: book new artists that they could never book during the normal programming, because they would not get enough audience; experiment with new music pieces that have never been played before; and actually produce something that is tailor-made by the organisation for their

audience, instead of only presenting music pieces and ensembles. At Organisation X everything starts by individualising an artistic vision for the festival, meaning that they look at unique music that they think their audience should listen to. Also at De Doelen, the strong artistic vision is the starting point for a festival. In particular everything starts from an “urgency” of proposing a special or unique genre or artist. At De Doelen, both *content* and *form* innovation are reasons why festivals are organised. Festivals permit to innovate the *form*, thus mix artforms and dare in the way the music is presented.

Regarding *content* innovation it emerges that, while in the past international *content* innovation has been the reason for organising festivals (example of Red Ear Festival), lately, *content* innovation at a local level is more important (Celtic music is not often presented in other organisations in the region). Nonetheless, from the research, it emerges that being innovative, is not enough at De Doelen: the festival vision has to be accompanied by a certain specialisation into a music field, and a strong passion for it.

#### **6.4.2. Accessibility and Audience Development: the role of festivals in comparison**

Although both organisations stress the fact that a festival always originates in the willingness to express an artistic vision, it is also clear that the festival formula has also a lot to do with an audience development and accessibility strategy. Both organisations recognise that festivals have a great potential of attracting wide audiences, and specific target groups of the population. Both stress the ability of festivals to make people feel comfortable with the artform and with the organisation itself. Also they underline the ability of festivals to transform the organisation into a new place, where people can relax, enjoy the music and the atmosphere, be entertained, and socialise. In short they agree that they are able to offer an hedonistic experience and that festivals can attract new audiences.

In both organisations it is not clear whether the new audiences that participate to festivals are new audiences for the rest of the programming.

Regarding accessibility, a new aspect emerges at Organisation X that does not emerge from De Doelen. Organisation X states that a festival has a bigger potential to show that the organisation is there, and to attract media attention. Because of the vibrancy and uniqueness and short existence of festivals, journalists are more interested in writing or showing about it. The fact that only Organisation X underlines this

advantage of festivals may be explained by two main reasons. First of all, Organisation X relatively new to the city of Amsterdam. Secondly, in Amsterdam there are more competitors than in Rotterdam, due to the city size and the amount of offerings that represent potential competitions.

#### **6.4.3. Public Accountability: the role of festivals in comparison**

The *public accountability* comparison is complicated and sensitive since, the settings of the two organisations are different. This is probably the reason why De Doelen and Organisation X present different results. Organisation X does not reveal relevant results in this category. One reason could be a lack of specific answers over this topic, due to the impossibility of interviewing the general director. General directors are those people of the organisations who most feel the pressure from funding bodies. A second reason could be that, as a matter of fact there are no connections between the choice of organising festivals and the responsibility of the organisation to the public funding bodies. The second reason is sustained by the fact that questions over accountability have been asked to the two interviewees even if they do not cover the right position for answering in a sophisticated way, and to the fact that the annual report, which is normally written to show off the performance to funding bodies, does not mention any connection between the organisation of festivals and the fulfilment of any particular responsibility, except reporting that festivals have helped to make the organisation a vibrant place in Amsterdam (Anonymous Organisation, 2012).

De Doelen, on the the other hand, has revealed interesting facts. First of all, from the answers, and from the long term policy plan it emerges that it is a responsibility of De Doelen to collaborate with other cultural institutions in the city, and to make the Schouwburgplein a dynamic square. De Doelen fulfils this responsibility by organising festivals, which are suitable for co-productions.

De Doelen is located in a city which represents a unique case in the Netherlands. In fact, it is the only city that has a municipality department all dedicated to the festival landscape, Rotterdam Festivals. Rotterdam Festivals only finances big festivals of permanent organisations. However, through their audience development department they become important accountability players for permanent organisations in Rotterdam. Through their research data, that shows the advantages of festivals in audience development techniques, they strongly advice the festival formula.



#### **6.4.4. Cost Effectiveness: the role of festivals in comparison**

In both organisations it emerges that a festival results in a cost disadvantage. There is no room for doubt in this, since both Organisation X and De Doelen also mention the same mechanism that lead to this result. Because of the permanent nature of the organisation, a festival represents an extension of the normal programming. First of all labour costs are higher: on one side, regular employees have to work extra hours (higher variable costs), because this type of event requires extra considerations. Secondly, freelancers are hired. The uniqueness and the specificity of the programming, in fact, requires an extra artistic and practical (copyright) advise.

The necessity of hiring extra staff, does not represent the only costs that an organisation incurs when a festival is organised. Marketing costs are decisively higher in both organisations because a festival has to be valorised for what it is, namely a special event within the normal program. Traditional marketing strategies are needed, such as posters around the city and direct mailings. Festivals require a big amount of audience to attend, because there are many acts happening at the same time, and because if the organisation calls special guests as main artists of the festivals, they can not permit the hall to be empty (Interviewee X, personal communication, 2015).

Despite the cost disadvantage of festivals, from both organisations it emerges that these events have the potential to attract extra public fundings. In the case of De Doelen, festivals have also the potential to attract private sponsors, and more interestingly, while Organisation X has no developed relationship with sponsoring, the artistic director of De Doelen, freely admits that he is very open to this practice, to the point that sometimes it happens that a festival or special project is ideated in order to suit a sponsor. Nonetheless, festivals do not cover a special position. All other special activities of these organisations have the same potential of getting extra money or to suit a sponsor.

Thus, there is no financial reasons why a festival is organised by permanent music organisations, as a matter of fact, there is a cost disadvantage. In the case a festival gets extra money, the organisation is only more able to amortise the extra costs.

#### **6.4.5. Other Findings**

Among the findings reported above, the interviews in the two organisations have revealed other similarities that are worth to mention.

First of all, it must be said that, since it is not always simple to ask questions about sensitive issues. Organisations, in fact, know what their mission and vision is and know that they have certain responsibilities. During the interviews I tried to understand whether the choice of staging festivals was also somehow related to a form of competition that the cities represent for the permanent organisations. All interviewees underlined the fact that the many festivals staged outside their organisations did not represent a treat to their activities, for two reasons. First of all, all of them mentioned the fact that since they also organise festivals, there is a balance between their special productions and the ones staged outside. Secondly, the interviewees also highlighted the fact that through co-productions, which in both cases are mostly festivals, they are able to be part of the big festivals scene in the city. For example, Organisation X is highly involved in the Holland Festival, which is one of the biggest in the Netherlands.

This suggests that the festival format also permits permanent cultural organisations to be part of festival landscape and not to be excluded or to stay a marginal player in the two cities.

## 6.5. Conclusion of the Findings

Hereby I report the same table format that was formulated as conclusion of the theoretical framework, but with the findings gathered from the empirical research. At this point I am able to make a hierarchical distinction between the reasons for organising festivals.

*Table 8 - Reasons why festivals are organised*

	<b>Organisational commitment</b>	<b>Motivations/Reasons for organising festivals</b>
Main Reasons	Excellence and Artistic integrity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Content innovation, form innovation, artistic freedom, possibility to have tailor-made productions</li> </ul>
	Accessibility and audience development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Create comfort situation, attract new and wide audiences, involve different communities/ethnicities, transform the building into a dynamic place, attract younger audiences</li> </ul>
Minor Reasons		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Create memorable experience, provide hedonistic experience, get media attention</li> </ul>
	Public accountability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fulfil collaboration and accessibility responsibilities</li> </ul>
	Cost effectiveness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Potential to get extra funds or attract private support, but higher costs due to extra staff and high marketing costs *</li> </ul>
	Other reasons	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Festival format permits the organisation not to be excluded from the city festival landscape (festivalisation), but to be part of it, avoiding strong competition.</li> </ul>

\* As explained in chapter 6.4.4. the financial one, is not a reason why festivals are organised. It has been put in the table because findings highlight that despite the financial disadvantage, there is the potential to get extra funds and/or attract sponsors.

## **6.6. Discussion**

In this sub-chapter I go through the results and discuss how these relate with the literature analysed in the 4th chapter. I seek to find shortcoming of the literature and eventually understand how the results can help enriching and redefining the field of knowledge.

### **6.6.1. Excellence and Artistic Integrity Discussion**

It has been shown that the organisation of festivals is related to the commitment of *excellence* and *artistic integrity*, inasmuch the organisation is able to innovate more, and to create tailor-made productions. The literature partly makes this emerge. In particular it suggested that festivals can be the innovation field where programmers can dare and experiment (Klaic, 2014). Nonetheless, while the specific literature on innovation provides all kinds of specifications over the concept of innovation, distinguishing between innovation at an international and local level and between *content* and *form* innovation (Castaner & Campos, 2002), festival literature does not specify in a satisfactory way, what type of innovation is carried by festivals. Moreover from the literature it does not emerge that festivals give the freedom to artistic directors and programmers to become producer in a presenting organisation. Nonetheless, the lack of a literature coverage over this topic, is not completely unexpected since the literature over the programming activity of performing arts organisations is at his embryonic stage.

### **6.6.2. Accessibility and Audience Development Discussion**

The festival format is chosen as means of accomplishing many aspects of the *accessibility* and *audience development* strategies. This category is the one on which the literature has provided the most accurate background. One possible reason for this is that the focus is on the audience behaviour, which can it be applied to different performing arts organisations. The comfort concept (Sigurjonsson, 2010), the types of audiences (Bernstein, 2014), in terms of what they expect from a concert night (Boorsma, 2006), the ability of festivals to create “spectacle and atmosphere” (Richards & Palmer, 2010, p. 19) etc., are all concepts that can be used for the understanding of the festivals within permanent organisations too.

Festivals have the role of satisfying and attract some types of audiences, and do perfectly suit the experience economy principles outlined in chapter 4.1.1. Nonetheless, as outlines in chapter 3.3. it is the change to one state to the other that produces excitement (Richards & Palmer, 2010); if the change is the one of permanent organisations that vary between normal programming and special events, this will continue to make the place a dynamic one; if we consider the entire festivalisation setting in Europe, and the fact that cities are offering festivals all-year long, the question of sustainability of the model arises (in terms of audience response).

Moreover, it would be interesting to go further in this direction, and investigate what type of audience attends festivals in permanent music venues, and what type of audience attends the normal programming and why. Do these audiences coincide? Does the new festival public visit the venue at normal concerts?

In terms of access, the research has highlighted an advantage of festivals in getting media attention. This is another element that the literature does not mention. Klaic (2014) suggests that festivals help organisations to provide the audience with something special, extraordinary and unique. The research has found that this sense of uniqueness, also attracts media attention, giving more visibility to the organisation.

### **6.6.3. Public Accountability Discussion**

*Public accountability* has revealed to be a complex part of the analysis. The elements necessary to have a complete view on it are multiple and not easily accessible. The literature has provided information that are not specific enough, in fact, it suggests that public accountability issues do have a role in the organisation of festivals by permanent organisations especially in relation to the rationale that festival are used by cities as economic and social empowerment tool (Richards & Palmer, 2010). Klaic (2014) is the only author analysed who highlighted the right accountability aspect, namely the fact that festivals can best suit the the local policy agendas. Yet, there is little reference to which policy aspects could be facilitated by festivals.

It has been found that some accountability responsibilities are best accomplished through the festival format (co-production and accessibility). Nevertheless, there has not been an evidence of an actual forcing by policies towards the festivalisation of permanent organisations.

Here, I would like to mention a further analysis of the observations done in sub-chapter 6.4.5. “Other Findings”. The research reveals that by organising festivals, organisations are able to be part of the festival landscape, avoiding strong competition and an exclusion from the vibrant cultural life of the city. Here, a question arises: what if policies do push the festivalisation of permanent organisations in an indirect way? With their support to festivals and festivalisation (Richards & Palmer, 2010), the cities of Rotterdam and Amsterdam, could have put the permanent organisations in such a position, that the festival format would necessarily become part of the programming. The fact that it is an indirect relationship would explain the difficulty in finding real connections in the interviews. The indirect influence is not easy to find out, and more interviews are necessary for a deeper understanding and a confirmation of this supposition. Moreover, it can be hypothesised that each case is too specific in its settings, and in order to find a relevant finding, more research is needed, that focuses on this specific policy issue.

#### **6.6.4. Cost Effectiveness Discussion**

When reading about the economics of festivals (Frey, 2003) it emerges that festivals may help the organisation to use the budget in the most effective way, by permitting to have less fixed employees and may attract private sponsors and extra fundings. This literature from which these assumptions were gathered, however, is on festival organisations, and not specifically on permanent organisations that organise festivals. The empirical research has shown that, although festivals have the potential to get extra funding and private sponsors (other special activities have the same potential), for permanent organisations to stage a festival represents a cost disadvantage compared to regular activities. This because festivals, are an extension of what has to be there all year long, thus, as all other extra activities, it raises the variable costs. This is a specific topic on which cultural economist could base future research.

One last financial consideration, which the literature does not mention, is that when a festival is organised, marketing costs rise substantially.

This new finding that highlights the financial disadvantage of festivals, act as strengthening agent of the other findings: if, despite the financial disadvantage festivals are organised, the other advantages found by the research, must be even more valid.

The finding of this clear disadvantage, opens the door to an aspect of the topic that has scarcely been discussed in the literature and in the findings: the disadvantages for permanent organisations to organise festivals. Are there other disadvantages?

e	y	s	t
F	a	d	l
i	v	n	s
i	c	v	n

**7. Conclusion**



## 7. Conclusion

The aim of the research was to answer the questions: Why do permanent music organisations chose to stage festivals during the regular season? The achievement of which organisational goals is facilitated by festivals? The qualitative study with an inductive approach, was based on two case studies, where semi-structured interviews and the examination of relevant documents were carried. These have permitted to get an in-dept understanding of the studied cases, and eventually permitted to understand what the gaps in the literature are and thus, how the latter can be extended. The research started by analysing the relevant literature, that acted as guide for the formulation of the empirical section.

The research has shown that festivals in permanent organisations are organised as way to accomplish several aspects of each of the following organisational commitments: *excellence* and *artistic integrity*, *accessibility* and *audience development* and *public accountability*. Festivals can result in a low level of cost effectiveness, but have the potential, as other special events and activities, to attract sponsors and extra fundings. The role that festivals have in the *excellence* and *artistic integrity* realm, is to free programmers and artistic directors to create tailor-made productions, to innovate the *content* and the *form*. Moreover, festivals play an important role in the *access* and *audience development* strategies, inasmuch they help to reach new and wide audiences; they make the audiences feel comfortable with the music and the presentation format; they transform the building into a more attractive and dynamic place (also for the media), that offers a festive atmosphere, and an entertaining dimension. Regarding *public accountability*, one organisation only has provided evidence that festivals play a role in the accomplishment of this organisational commitment. In particular it helps achieving responsibilities of collaborations with other cultural players in the city, and accessibility.

Unfortunately, despite the fact that the festival landscape is touching more and more sectors of the cultural world, research in this field has not been following the fast ‘invasion’ by festivals into these sectors. Literature over this topic, in fact, has been proven not to be specific enough. In order to fill the literature gap, more research is needed to better understand the role of festivals in each organisational commitment. The festivalisation of permanent organisations can be a breeding ground for research: there is a lot that can be investigated in order to extend the set of literature over festivals. In

particular, the major lack of specific literature, is about the role of festivals in the artistic vision and programming activity of permanent organisations; about the marketing and communication system of festivals, from both strategic (media attention) and economic point of view (high marketing costs); about the role of festivals in the allocation of the budget; and the role of festivals in the local policy agendas.

A major limitation for the accuracy of the research has been not to have enough literature that discuss the topic hereby presented in a specific way. Because of this, it has been more difficult to contextualise the phenomenon, and to understand how to conduct the research in the most effective way. The semi-structured interviews have guided the conversations in a way that respondents were also free to tell their points of view. Nevertheless, not all interviewees did so, impeding the discover of new aspects that the literature does not cover. While my research is based on two case studies of organisations that are located in two different cities, the study of other organisations in the same city would have been useful to have a bigger picture of the settings that the environment provides and to be able to generalise more. Moreover, more interviews to other employees in the organisations studied would have helped in the understanding of issues that were not sufficiently known by the actual interviewees. In particular public accountability questions would have needed the answers of the general director. This has not been possible for two reasons: time constrain and the difficulty to get in touch with the general directors.

Results of this research are relevant for many reasons: these can be helpful for music organisations that want to understand what considerations have to be done for deciding to organise festivals; moreover public funding bodies and private sponsors can evaluate and understand the money allocation in a more complete way. The thesis has also suggested that a deeper evaluation can be done when deciding when to stage a festival in a permanent organisation. It has to be kept in mind that the festival format works because of a synergy of internal and external forces: it is helpful to accomplish the above listed organisational goals, also because there are certain attendance patterns and external trends, that make the festival format popular. Like a windmill: a working machinery is needed, but it only produces the desired outcome if there is enough wind. As long as people will be enthralled by the festival formula, the mechanism will work.

Research over this topic, can be explored further in many directions. The same case studies can be conducted on other performing arts organisations, such as opera houses and theatres, also in other cities of Europe. Moreover it would be interesting to consider the audience perception of what festivals in permanent organisations are, and to understand their attendance behaviour at festivals and other regular program activities.

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## Appendix A - Interview Guide De Doelen



MASTER THESIS  
CULTURAL ECONOMICS AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP  
ERASMUS UNIVERSITY

### SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

ORGANISATION: De Doelen

DATE:

#### INTERVIEWEES INFORMATIONS

NAME:

AGE:

GENDER:

POSITION IN THE ORGANISATION:

NUMBER OF YEARS INVOLVED IN THE CURRENT POSITION:

NUMBER OF YEARS IN THE ORGANISATION:

OTHER POSITIONS:

#### Research Questions

- Why do permanent music organisations chose to stage festivals during the regular season?
- The achievement of which organisational goals are facilitated by the festivals

INTEREST IN THE PROGRAMMING STRATEGIES, AND IN PARTICULAR THE PROGRAMMING OF FESTIVALS AND FESTIVAL-LIKE PROGRAMMINGS.

## PROGRAMMING

How does your program-making work?
What is the artistic policy of your organisations?
How is your programming related to your artistic policy? Series, season, festivals
What are the “series”? Can be described as a festival, but spread through the entire year?
What role has artistic innovation in your artistic objectives?
Let’s take the example of “ <i>Mr. Corelli’s Fifty Fiddles Festival</i> ” in program for the 26th of september, what where the artistic considerations when deciding to program this festival?
<i>And the series “Music for the Millions - Modern”?</i>
Do you think that festivals that are staged outside a permanent institution have more freedom than you in programming innovative and experimental performances?

## AUDIENCE DEVELOPMENT

What are your aims in the field of audience development and audience reach?
How do you fulfil the recent need of audiences to be part of a complete experience?
Who are your main competitors in your city, in terms of audience attraction and retention?
How do you manage the external competition, trying to retain the audiences ?
How are you doing with the annual season subscriptions? (De Doelen)
I see that you offer an “Abonnement” (De Doelen) for your series. Why do you think that to offer small programs that are festival-like and to offer proper festivals, is more effective for your goals of audience retention and attraction?
Is education of the audience part of your organisational goal?
How do you fulfil this goal? Could you name an example of festival or special event that had an educational dimension?
Amsterdam/Rotterdam are international cities that host a very diverse population, with several ethnicities settled and representing an important segment of the population. Do you also aim at attracting them? Do you target international audiences?
Could you name one or two examples of offer that have been conceived to attract an international audience?

2

“ <i>Balfork met El Peppah en Cecilia</i> ” 11 april 2015, what were the main reasons for programming this special event?
Some non-attenders claim that the reason for non attending are the formalities of a concert hall, stating that they do not feel comfortable. Do you recognise this? if yes how do address this issue in your programming strategies? Examples?
Researches found that attenders of festivals are very diverse, in terms of age but also in terms of educational background. Are you competitive in this respect?

## FINANCES

What are your financial goals?
How does your sponsoring system work? Do sponsors support the whole year program or do you ask for support for a specific set of concerts, or special events?
What about private supporters? How do you attract them? Stichting De Doelen Steunfonds (support funds)
Do you get more sponsors with the festival-like programming, compared to the traditional way of programming?
Do you hire freelancers (staff) to run the festivals and special events you organise? Or the crew remains the same of your permanent
If yes, do you reach cost advantages by working with freelancers?
In how far does your special way of programming help fulfilling your financial goals?
Do festivals you organise have a financial advantage compared to the single ticket?

## ACCOUNTABILITY

What are your accountability responsibilities and goals?
What does it mean for you to operate in a city like Rotterdam/Amsterdam? Do you have special commitments because of your location?
Do the municipality policies influence your programming choices?
If yes, what has been the trend in the last years?

3

“ <i>Balfork met El Peppah en Cecilia</i> ” 11 april 2015, what were the main reasons for programming this special event?
Some non-attenders claim that the reason for non attending are the formalities of a concert hall, stating that they do not feel comfortable. Do you recognise this? if yes how do address this issue in your programming strategies? Examples?
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## FINANCES

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If yes, do you reach cost advantages by working with freelancers?
In how far does your special way of programming help fulfilling your financial goals?
Do festivals you organise have a financial advantage compared to the single ticket?

## ACCOUNTABILITY

What are your accountability responsibilities and goals?
What does it mean for you to operate in a city like Rotterdam/Amsterdam? Do you have special commitments because of your location?
Do the municipality policies influence your programming choices?
If yes, what has been the trend in the last years?

<p>Since the election of Amsterdam ECOC (1987) and Rotterdam (2001) cultural policies have taken advantage of the benefits that festival can have in building a new image of the city. Amsterdam and Rotterdam brand themselves as festival cities. Have you felt that the municipality has been directing towards a particular program choice?</p>
<p>Are you in competition with festivals when speaking about subsidies?</p>
<p>Do you think that by organising festivals you are more in line with city policies preferences?</p>
<p>Do you feel that you had to change your programming and presentation patterns in order to be more in line with the cultural policies?</p>

**ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE SHIFTS**

<p>How does your particular programming strategy influence the communication between programming and artistic vision and marketing an communication practices?</p>
<p>What other organisational mechanism does this special type of programming influence o change?</p>

**OTHER QUESTIONS**

<p>When you enter the website of <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> in the section “TIPS” on the right side, all the suggestions are a festival offer. Why do you choose to present yourself via the</p>
<p>Are there other reasons we did not mention why you organise festivals?</p>

**CONCLUSION**

<p>Do you think that the festival-like programming is the future of cultural organisations programming system?</p>
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## Appendix B - Interview Guide Organisation X



MASTER THESIS  
CULTURAL ECONOMICS AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP  
ERASMUS UNIVERSITY

### SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

ORGANISATION: Organisation X

DATE:

#### INTERVIEWEES INFORMATIONS

NAME:

AGE:

GENDER:

POSITION IN THE ORGANISATION:

NUMBER OF YEARS INVOLVED IN THE CURRENT POSITION:

NUMBER OF YEARS IN THE ORGANISATION:

OTHER POSITIONS:

#### **Research Questions**

- Why do permanent music organisations chose to stage festivals during the regular season?
- The achievement of which organisational goals are facilitated by the festivals

INTEREST IN THE PROGRAMMING STRATEGIES, AND IN PARTICULAR THE PROGRAMMING OF FESTIVALS AND FESTIVAL-LIKE PROGRAMMINGS.



## PROGRAMMING

How does your program-making work?
What is the artistic policy of your organisations?
How is your programming related to your artistic policy? Series, season, festivals
What are the “series”? Can be described as a festival, but spread through the entire year?
What role has artistic innovation in your artistic objectives?
Let’s take the example of “ ” in program for the 26th of september, what where the artistic considerations when deciding to program this festival?
<i>And the series “ ?</i>
Do you think that festivals that are staged outside a permanent institution have more freedom than you in programming innovative and experimental performances?

## AUDIENCE DEVELOPMENT

What are your aims in the field of audience development and audience reach?
How do you fulfil the recent need of audiences to be part of a complete experience?
Who are your main competitors in your city, in terms of audience attraction and retention?
How do you manage the external competition, trying to retain the audiences ?
How are you doing with the annual season subscriptions?
I see that you offer an “Passepartout” for your series. Why do you think that to offer small programs that are festival-like and to offer proper festivals, is more effective for your goals of audience retention and attraction?
Is education of the audience part of your organisational goal?
How do you fulfil this goal? Could you name an example of festival or special event that had an educational dimension?
Amsterdam/Rotterdam are international cities that host a very diverse population, with several ethnicities settled and representing an important segment of the population. Do you also aim at attracting them? Do you target international audiences?
Could you name one or two examples of offer that have been conceived to attract an international audience?

2

“ ” 11 april 2015, what where the main reasons for programming this special event?
Some non-attenders claim that the reason for non attending are the formalities of a concert hall, stating that they do not feel comfortable. Do you recognise this? if yes how do address this issue in your programming strategies? Examples?
Researches found that attenders of festivals are very diverse, in terms of age but also in terms of educational background. Are you competitive in this respect?

## FINANCES

What are your financial goals?
How does your sponsoring system work? Do sponsors support the whole year program or do you ask for support for a specific set of concerts, or special events?
What about private supporters? How do you attract them?
Do you get more sponsors with the festival-like programming, compared to the traditional way of programming?
Do you hire freelancers (staff) to run the festivals and special events you organise? Or the crew remains the same of your permanent
If yes, do you reach cost advantages by working with freelancers?
In how far does your special way of programming help fulfilling your financial goals?
Do festivals you organise have a financial advantage compared to the single ticket?

## ACCOUNTABILITY

What are your accountability responsibilities and goals?
What does it mean for you to operate in a city like Rotterdam/Amsterdam? Do you have special commitments because of your location?
Do the municipality policies influence your programming choices?
If yes, what has been the trend in the last years?

<p>Since the election of Amsterdam ECOC (1987) and Rotterdam (2001) cultural policies have taken advantage of the benefits that festival can have in building a new image of the city. Amsterdam and Rotterdam brand themselves as festival cities. Have you felt that the municipality has been directing towards a particular program choice?</p>
<p>Are you in competition with festivals when speaking about subsidies?</p>
<p>Do you think that by organising festivals you are more in line with city policies preferences?</p>
<p>Do you feel that you had to change your programming and presentation patterns in order to be more in line with the cultural policies?</p>

**ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE SHIFTS**

<p>How does your particular programming strategy influence the communication between programming and artistic vision and marketing an communication practices?</p>
<p>What other organisational mechanism does this special type of programming influence o change?</p>

**OTHER QUESTIONS**

<p>When you enter the website of the Organisation X, in the section “TIPS” on the right side, all the suggestions are a festival offer. Why do you choose to present yourself via the</p>
<p>Are there other reasons we did not mention why you organise festivals?</p>

**CONCLUSION**

<p>Do you think that the festival-like programming is the future of cultural organisations programming system?</p>
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## **Appendix C - Interviews Transcriptions**

Interviews available on request due to privacy.