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The impact of festivalization on nightclubs

How do Dutch nightclubs construe the festivalization phenomenon?

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Abstract

Festivalization of culture is an expression that describes the proliferation of festivals within the cultural industry. The phenomenon describes the presentation of various artforms, ranging from visual arts to performing arts, in a festival formula. This research examines the phenomenon from an untouched point of view, namely from the permanent cultural organization. In particular, this research aims to examine what the impact of festivalization of culture is on Dutch nightclubs. In order to do so, this study answers the following research question: “*How do Dutch nightclubs construe the festivalization phenomenon?*”. For this study, eleven semi-structured interviews were conducted with eleven key stakeholders within the industry; eight respondents work for a nightclub, two work for a festival and one works for both a festival and a nightclub. Purposive and snowball sampling were deployed to tap into an insightful set of data that was gained from insiders of the Dutch electronic dance scene. The research shows that the main impact of festivalization for nightclubs is the emergence of fierce competition over audiences and artists, both during and outside of the festival season. Nightclubs tend to tackle these implications by enhancing the overall experience of the club; by creative programming, and by utilizing their relationships with audiences, artists and other stakeholders within the industry such as other nightclubs, festivals and booking agencies.

Keywords: *Festivalization of culture, nightclubs, underground dance music, performing arts management*

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1. Introduction

During the Amsterdam Dance Event (ADE) in 2019, the podcast 'De Machine', a Dutch podcast about the music industry, held a special live episode with two guests: Essam Jansen and Alex Hes of E&A Events. The duo, who are the founders of E&A Events, organize a wide variety of music festivals and events in the Netherlands and other countries around the world. During the podcast the host brought up the closure of the Amsterdam nightclub Claire. According to the club, despite having a good year "it proved unfeasible to give a profitable follow-up to the progressive initiative" (Miedema, 2019). The nightclub was well-known under electronic music fanatics and was praised for its sound and programming. Nonetheless, the success was apparently not enough to keep their head above the water.

Jansen and Hes (2019) explained that nightclubs are having a hard time; an important reason for this is the increasing and ongoing competition with festivals. The duo explained that audiences have the choice between seeing multiple artists at a festival and only one or two at a nightclub, and with the audiences limited resources they often tend to choose the festival instead of the nightclub. In a later interview, one of the stakeholders of the club also pointed out that festivals have potentially played a role in the foreclosure of the club (Goedegebuure, 2019).

The cultural industry of the Netherlands has witnessed a huge rise in the amount of festivals over the past couple of years. Where in 2016 the public could attend 934 cultural festivals, in 2019 that number had risen to 1115 festivals, out of which more than half are music festivals (Festival Overzicht, n.d). The city of Amsterdam is the frontier of hosting festivals with 155 festivals in 2019 (Festival Overzicht, n.d). Although this seems great news for the cultural sector, examples like the closure of Claire shed light on the implications which the growth of festivals might have on permanent organizations within the industry.

At the same time, there is still a persistent number of nightclubs who thrive and create a sense of community, such as De School, PIP, WAS and OOST. This brings up the question: how does, in a comparable urban and cultural space, one cultural institution flourish while others capsize? How do they manage to do so albeit the apparent pressure of this "festivalization phenomenon" (Richards & Wilson, 2004, p. 2). As there are still numerous nightclubs active within the Netherlands who seem to be doing fine, it made me wonder how they manage to do so albeit the apparent pressure of this "festivalization phenomenon" (Richards & Wilson, 2004, p. 2). Does the phenomenon not have an impact on their nightclub? If not, how come? But if it does, what do they notice and how do they try to work around it.

Within the literature, a wide range of studies can be found addressing the festivalization phenomenon. So have multiple scholars devoted work to the economic impact of festivals, such as

Frey (1994), Kim and Uysal (2008); Gazel & Schwer (1997). And more recently on the socio-cultural impacts of events and festivals and their hosting areas (Richards & Palmer, 2010; Magia, Canonico, Totaldo & Mercurio, 2011; Yolal, Rus, Cosma & Gursoy, 2015). Yet, little to no research has been devoted on the impact of the phenomenon on permanent cultural organizations, such as nightclubs. This study therefore aims to fill this current research gap by examining the phenomenon from the side of a permanent cultural organization, the nightclub.

As this is a new, untouched field of study, the aim is to explore and establish a basis to this untouched field in order to foster future research on the matter. In order to do so, the research will target the following research question; *How do Dutch nightclubs construe the festivalization phenomenon?* This main research question will be answered by the use of the following four subsequent questions;

- What do the nightclubs notice of the phenomenon?
- To what extent do festivals create implications on the practices of nightclubs?
- How do the nightclubs deal with these implications?
- To what extend can festivals be beneficial for nightclubs?

In order to answer the research question and its related sub questions, a qualitative analysis is conducted by the means of 11 in-depth interviews. An inductive design is used in order to derive from observations to building theory. This exploratory and descriptive study focuses on the impact of festivalization on Dutch nightclubs. More specifically, it focusses on how festivals and the festivalization phenomenon influence the way nightclubs function. The data was therefore gathered by interviewing eight respondents who are working for a nightclub, two respondents who are working for a festival and one who works for both a festival and a nightclub. A mix of both purposive and snowball sampling was used in order to obtain the respondents. The derived data was transcribed, coded and analysed in order to identify empirical patterns and theoretical concepts.

In the following chapter, the theoretical framework is provided. The chapter will first discuss the notion of nightclubs. Then, festivals and the festivalization phenomenon will be examined, followed by a comparison of nightclubs and festivals by the use of economic concepts. After that, the managerial tasks of a nightclubs will be reviewed. Chapter 3 is devoted to explaining the research method and the design used for the empirical research. Subsequently, the gathered data will be analysed and the obtained findings will be presented in chapter 4. Finally, in the conclusion the findings will be summarized, theoretical and practical implications will be identified and recommendations for future research will be given. At the very end of this paper the appendices will be provided, including all the relevant attachments.

2. Theoretical Framework

Nightclubs

In this first chapter of the theoretical framework nightclubs are the subject matter. First, the history of nightclubs will be explained and discussed. Then, the terminology and different typologies of nightclubs are laid out. Finally, a description of the type of nightclubs which are the focus of this [History of nightclubs](#)

The origins of the contemporary nightclubs are inevitably linked with the emergence of electronic dance music, tracing back to the 1970's when the disco music scene emerged. Especially in New York, disco was a musical representation of the growing resistance against the status quo. Iconic New York nightclubs such as Studio 54, Loft and the Gallery offered a place for queers, blacks and Hispanics to express themselves in a way that was not possible in their daily life. Clubbing, that describes the "experience of attending nightclubs, commonly involving dancing to music played by a disc jockey" (Purcell & Graham, 2005, p. 4) was more than just a night out, it had a social significance. Nightclubs had a larger societal function than entertainment alone. They functioned as a place where like minded people came together to celebrate unity, peace and respect (Ott & Herman, 2003).

In the 1980s, Chicago, New York and Detroit functioned as the epicentres of new electronic music. The electronic dance music coming from the American cities gained popularity in both the USA and Europe; early adapters in Europe brought the sound to cities such as Berlin, Manchester and Rotterdam. Often, the new genres were not recognized by the general public and were not played in the already existing nightclubs and bars. Music fanatics therefore made use of empty warehouses and squat buildings to host illegal parties where new genres such as House, Techno and Garage were debuted.

A real breakthrough of House music within the Netherlands was established in the year 1988, during the so called '*second summer of love*' house music took over the Netherlands (van Bergen, 2018). Dutch musical visionaries like Eddy de Clercq, Joost van Bellen and Dimitri brought the new sounds to iconic Amsterdam nightclubs such as the RoXy and the iT, where the bouncy beats were welcomed by the dancing public. What was partially responsible for the rise in popularity of electronic dance music, was the emergence of a new party drug called ecstasy (van Bergen, 2018).

This musical revolution marked the beginning of a thriving Dutch dance industry. In the following years the Dutch nightlife industry would flourish due to the commercialization and institutionalization of electronic music. As new genres like Gabber, Hardstyle, and Trance emerged in the 1990's and early 2000's, the popularity of nightclubs and clubbing increased.

A number of external effects in and around 2008 marked a tipping point for the popularity of

nightclubs in the Netherlands. Due to the economic crisis and stricter rules regarding student finances, Dutch citizens had less money to spend on leisure activities such as clubbing. Additionally, the introduction of the smoking ban in 2008 and the increase of the legal drinking age in 2014 have been named as important factors of the decline of visitor numbers. This resulted in a decline of nightclubs over the years, going from 326 in 2007 to 178 in 2016 (Kranenburg, 2016). Although more recent numbers are missing, it is known that the industry has shrunk even more over the past couple of years (Finlayson, 2017; Kranenburg, 2016). This trend is not solely noticed in the Netherlands, but also in other countries, such as the United Kingdom, Germany and America.

The nightclub is often seen as a functional space for people to spend their night dancing and listening to loud music. Yet, the nightclub facilitates far more functions than just sheer entertainment. Reingle et al. (2009) find that, besides the music and dancing, audiences have four different expectancies for attending a nightclub. The study finds that clubbing functions as a way to establish and maintain social networks, romantic and sexual relationships; collegiate acculturation and to escape reality, among other things by means of intoxication.

Terminology and typology of nightclubs

In general, nightclubs are defined as “a place of entertainment open at night, usually serving food and liquor, providing music and space for dancing, and often having a floor show” (Merriam-Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary, n.d.). This definition, however, indicates that nightclubs are only active during the night, which, is not the case for Dutch nightclubs with the current circuit. As most nightclubs hold a so-called 24-hour license, nightclubs are able to be open any time of the day, they often operate during the daytime as well. This research will therefore not adopt this definition, instead I will give my own definition.

When considering academic literature, scholars tend to use their own definition of a nightclub, providing characteristics which suit their research best. As all of the found definitions do not give a clear understanding of the term, I will construct my own definition. This study defines nightclubs as the following: “spaces where legal leisure venues are located that sell alcohol, have one or more dance floors, play (live or recorded) music (either in a live setting or by a DJ) and are open mostly at night”. Within this study the terms ‘nightclub’ and ‘club’ are used interchangeably and are intended to denote the same definition as priorly given.

Due to the wide variety of nightclubs in the current industry, it is important to identify which type of nightclubs will be considered in this current study. Within the literature a number of different typologies have been given which allow us to group nightclubs together for the purpose of research.

Cavan (1960) distinguishes four different establishments by the way patrons use the place they attend. He defines *Convenience bars* as a place where drinks can be consumed when the desire or need arises. *Nightspot bars* are preferred for its entertainment such as live music or dancing.

Marketplace bars function as a place where visitors try to ‘pick-up’ someone or where commercial transactions of drugs, sex, gambling and stolen goods take place. And *Home Territory bars* are places where groups gather together based on their shared characteristics. Chatterton and Hollands (2002) provide a more generalized framework by differentiating three typologies: *mainstream* places, that focus on high-level audiences, play commercial music and are easily accessible; *residual* places, which refers to the traditional pubs and bars, and *alternative* places which focus on specific subcultures.

In more recent literature, Carlini & Sanchez (2018) constructed a typology based on the potential risk behaviours of nightclubs due to patterns of drinking and violence, sexual behaviour and use of illegal drugs. They define four different nightclubs according to their main characteristics regarding risk behaviour, distinguishing: *Intoxicating nightclubs*, *Violent nightclubs*, *Dancing nightclubs* and *Highly Sexualized nightclubs* (Carlini & Sanchez, 2018). On the other hand, Malbon (1999), Webster, Goodman & Whally (2002), suggest differentiating nightclubs by the genre of music that is played at the venues. The main flaw of this typology, however, is that it overlooks the versatility of nightclubs and its DJ’s to play multiple genres.

Nightclub focus

For this study the recommendation of Malbon (1999), Webster, Goodman & Whally (2002), to identify nightclubs based on music genres, will be used in order to determine the research subject. Although, instead of identifying one genre, this study will make use of the umbrella term ‘electronic dance music’, which can be divided into two types; underground- and commercial electronic dance music (McLeod, 2018; Wiltsher, 2016). This study will focus on the former. The dichotomy can be understood as Bourdieu’s (1993) split between the commercial mass and niche avant-garde market circuits; where each side has different underlying norms and values.

According to Keunen (2014), mainstream music is aimed at a large audience and is based on centralized, industrialized mode of mass production. Underground music, on the other hand, is produced autonomously, decentralized and by the use of innovative networks.

Commercial electronic dance music is within the Netherlands by far the most dominant of the two. This type of dance music is often played on national radio, can be found in music charts and is predominantly played in the majority of nightclubs and festivals within the Netherlands. The prevalent genre within this stream is EDM, which stands for Electronic Dance Music (with capital letters), and, however confusing, does not include all the different kinds of electronic dance music.

Underground electronic dance music, on the other hand, is far less popular in the Netherlands and is therefore rarely played on national radio or found in popular music charts. Although the interest for this stream of electronic dance music is growing, it is still a niche market compared to its pendant. Usually, genres such as house, acid, techno, disco, electro and related sub-genres are considered to be underground dance music (Kuhn, 2015). In the Netherlands there are

specialized festivals and nightclubs that specifically focus on underground electronic dance music.

This dichotomous relationship is not solely based on the different genres, but also on ‘‘extra-musical features, such as its culture’’ (Wiltsher, 2016, p. 416). As discussed by Thornton (1995), club cultures have their own subcultural hierarchies in relation to authenticity and legitimacy and, therefore, have their own practices of valuing symbols, meanings and practices. According to Thornton (1995), club cultures often see the mainstream as something negative due the different values that are embodied by the mainstream circuit as opposed by the underground. Wiltsher (2016) explains this as a twofold between ‘real’, ‘authentic’, underground dance music on the one hand and fake, ‘overground’, ‘mainstream’ dance music on the other.

Within the underground circuit, Caves’ (2002) *art for art’s sake* logic is in place for its stakeholders. Here, goods are intended to reach a population of other cultural experts who have enough subcultural capital in order to understand its value (Thornton, 1995). As opposed to the mainstream circuit, artistic logics within the underground circuit are said to prevail over economic gain, hence prioritizes the artistic values over financial success (Kühn, 2015). With this logic, one can argue that the economic world is reversed within the underground circuit (Bourdieu, 1983); here, a lack of economic success is considered a symbol of artistic value (Scott, 2012).

Even though this research does not intend to focus on the aptness of the underground, it is important to note that it is questionable whether these underlying values of the underground dance scene are still relevant at this day and age. As electronic dance music and its surrounding culture is receiving more attention and becoming more popular, sharp distinctions between the ‘underground’ and the ‘overground’ circuits are fading (Scott, 2012).

Festivals

In the following section I will dive into the notion of festivals and festivalization. At first, a short summary on the history of festivals will be provided. Starting with the origin all the way to the contemporary festivals. Then, the ‘festivalization’ phenomenon will be explained and discussed.

History of festivals

Festivals have been around since ancient history where feasts and celebrations were short term and existed as recurring events surrounding communal significance (Cudny, 2014). As humans have always felt the need to celebrate important moments in their lives, they found ways to mark these moments through the use of festivals (McDonnell, Allen, O’Toole, 1999). Throughout history, most ancient cultures have been familiar with the creation of festivals (Frazer, 2009). Often, these events were related to social occasions such as marriage, birth or death. But also, religious holidays or natural phenomena e.g. the start of the raining season and farming activities (Frazer, 2009).

In ancient Greece, the Romans had created a festival that celebrated the god Dionysus, a

festival that contained religious rites in combination with theatrical performances (Cudny, 2014). The origins of the term “festival”, dates back to the Greek Age; the term derives from the Latin word *festum*, meaning ‘public joy’, ‘merriment’ and ‘triviality’ (Falassi, 1987, p.3).

The predecessors of the contemporary cultural festivals can be found in the 18th century, where the festivities were based on celebrating specific anniversaries or artistic success. The festivals profoundly took place in cities, and in larger quantities, focussing on the entertaining aspects. The court of Louis XIV in France that brought together opera singing, dance and performing exemplifies the appreciation for artistic expression taking place at festivals; this court is now considered the cursors of today's opera (Cudny, 2014). Another example is the Handel Festival in 1784 in Westminster Abby, acting as an honouring memory of George Frederick Handel (Frey, 1994). In the 19th century, technological development shaped the cultural industry in the western countries. Due to these developments a higher income was realized which resulted in a growing interest in culture. A new middle class formed the foundation for this interest, because people had more leisure time and mass migration towards cities took place (Cudny, 2014).

During the 19th and 20th century festivals started to focus on specific themes or cultural disciplines. In Germany the ‘Festspiele’ became a very important tradition, which it still is today. This cluster of events focussing formerly on music were held in multiple cities throughout Germany, such as the Beyreuther Festspiele (1876) and the Salzburger Festspiele (1920) (Frey, 1994). Festivals like the Beyreuther Festspiele, driven by the willingness to share music, formed an example for many festivals since and inspired many of the festivals at that time.

A significant rise in the number of festivals was noted after the second world war. While times of war acted as a barrier for cultural festivals to be organized, the end of the world wars marked a time of social and economic empowerment that led to the flourishing of cultural festivals (Cudny, 2014). From the 1950s onwards, festivals would acquire new societal and cultural significance.

The contemporary festivals

When referring to contemporary festivals, it is hard to determine what is considered a festival and what is not. Over time, different scholars have provided a variety of different definitions of the phenomenon. However, due to the different ways of approaching the phenomenon (Cudny, 2014), at this day, there is no commonly accepted definition of a festival (Frey, 2000). Rather often definitions are given by the use of certain characteristics, like a special event, performing cultural products with a transitory nature (Richards & Wilson, 2004). Whereas scholars like Getz (1995, as cited in Davies & Brown, 2000, p. 162) define festivals quite extensively as ‘themed, public celebrations (...) (they) celebrate something which has value to the community ... have been created specifically to give people something to share, to inform them, to foster community pride ... (they can be)

performances, or social dramas full of conflict and power statements ... are art forms ... are stories told by members of a culture about themselves'. Hunyadi et al. (2006), on the other hand, argue that it is impossible and unnecessary to give a general definition of a festival. These scholars state that a festival can have many shapes and sizes, making it almost impossible to give one coherent definition, hence it is suggested to define an event as a festival whenever "the organiser regards [it] as a festival" (p.8). This current study adopts this suggestion given by Hunyadi et al (2006) as it is impossible to give a clear definition which comprehends the versatile character of the contemporary festival.

The 21st Dutch festival market is vastly diverse and consists of multiple hundreds of festivals a year. Although contemporary festivals rarely limit themselves to presenting one art form, they often revolve around a dominant theme. Within the Netherlands, more than half of the cultural festivals focus primarily on music (Festival overzicht 2019, n.d.). In the context of this study, one does not make a distinction between the different types of festivals as a specific focus can be considered redundant. As the aim of this study is to determine what influence festivals have on specific nightclubs, it does not matter whether this is caused by a festival that primarily focusses on a specific type of music or not.

Festivalization

In recent decades the popularity of festivals involving the cultural industry have risen worldwide, resulting in an incredible increase in the number of festivals around the globe (Quinn, 2010). This phenomenon has conceived the term "festivalization", which represents the proliferation and continual supply of events and festivals across the board of the cultural industry (Richards & Wilson, 2004). According to Negrier (2014), the term indicates more than just the growth in supply of festivals, it also points to the "process by which cultural activity, previously presented in a regular, on-going pattern or season, is reconfigured to form a 'new' event" (p. 9). Festivalization therefore not only implies the explosive growth of festivals but also a shift away from the traditional ways of presenting and consuming cultural products. Within the literature the "festivalization phenomenon" (Richards & Wilson, 2004, p. 2) is explained by a combination of factors. As a part of the growing "experience economy" (Pine & Gilmore, 2011), scholars have identified factors such as "civilizational (including sociological, psychological, and ecological components), economic, including developments in the tourist industry, political evolution, and finally advances in technology" (Cudny, 2014, p. 646) to explain the phenomenon.

When considering the demand side, the literature predominantly identifies civilizational and economic factors relating to festivalization. With use of Maslow's (1943) theory of needs, Getz (1991) explains that the progress of civilization in western societies, has created a certain standard of living in which basic human needs are generally satisfied; this allows society to concentrate on the high-

level needs, such as festivals. As the overall personal income has been steadily growing within the industrialized world, people are enabled to spend more money on leisure activities (Frey, 2000; Getz, 2000). Moreover, the economic prosperity also allows significantly less working time and more holiday possibilities. A decrease in travel cost foster an incentive for people to travel more and further for cultural activities. As festivals primarily take place in the weekends or during holidays, a growing audience is therefore able to attend (Frey, 1994).

Moreover, within social science literature, larger sociological changes have been identified which can further explain the growth in the demand for festivals. Negrier (2014) identifies multiple societal patterns concerning cognition and behaviour towards culture which can be applied to explain the festivalization phenomenon. He points out the transition from ascetic lifestyles towards hedonistic lifestyles which contain culture that associates more with entertainment and leisure. Thereby, Negrier (2014) argues that audiences have shifted from being culturally specialized towards being more flexible and tolerant. Festivals connect to these shifts as they can foster a broader experience due to its size and multifaceted structure.

Within the literature multiple motivations have been identified for festival attendees. The most frequently addressed motivation is *socialisation*, which describes the desire to interact with people, either with people who were unacquainted before festival or with existing friends or acquaintances (Crompton & McKay, 1997). Another significant motivation is *event novelty*. Closely linked to the adventurous, discovery and uniqueness of the festival, Crompton and McKay (1997) describe event novelty as satisfying one's curiosity as well as the desire to seek new and different experiences. Also, escape and relaxation are mentioned as important incentives for people to attend festivals. Festival attendees have the desire to refresh and relax oneself physically and mentally from the everyday life, which they endeavour when visiting a festival.

Moreover, the overall excitement and joy due to the general entertainment and atmosphere of the festivals are other motivations for the attending a festival. The attendees also seek cultural exploration, attendees desire contact with different cultures, customs and realities and wish to gain more cultural knowledge (Crompton & McKay, 1997). Event specific characteristics such as the type of music, specific artists or theme of the festival are also mentioned as potential motivations. Lastly, Abreu-Novais and Arcodia (2013) derived a number of other motivators from existing literature. They identify learning, extrinsic rewards, community pride, status, and local attraction to be of additional relevance for some festival attendees.

[Comparing Festivals and Nightclubs](#)

As this research aims to understand the influence of the continuously persisting festivalization phenomenon on Dutch nightclubs, it is fundamental to discuss how festivals and nightclubs relate to

each other. The following sections will consist out of a comparison between nightclubs and festivals, by the use of multiple economic concepts.

Substitutes, Compliments and Synergy

Given the information that is discussed up until now, many similarities can be found when comparing festivals with nightclubs. As is discussed, festivals and nightclubs offer a similar type of service, especially when relating to festivals that focus on the same type of musical programming, underground electronic dance music for instance. Also, the intrinsic motivation of consumers to attend a festival and a nightclub seem to overlap with each other. For both night clubs and festivals attendees seek for socializing, escapism, enjoyment, and specific cultural products such as the music. A logical suggestion would therefore be that the offered products by festivals and nightclubs are, in a way, substitute goods. Within economic terms this is indicated with a positive cross price elasticity of demand (Towse, 2010), when the price of good X rises, the demand for good Y rises. However, close substitutes merely exist. Given the basic economic principle that people only have limited time to spend and can only spend their money once, one could argue that there is a form of substitution. However, this remains speculation as evidence based research is missing.

On the opposite of substitute goods, there are complementary goods which enhance the satisfaction of other goods (Towse, 2010). In economic terms, this is indicated with a negative cross elasticity of demand, when the price of good X rises, the demand for good Y falls. A classical example of a complementary good is a CD and a CD player, when the CD player becomes more expensive, the demand for CD's will drop. However, research on this topic in relation to festivals and nightclubs is also non-existent, it is unlikely that festivals and nightclubs are complementary goods in the exact economic terms. It would namely seem unlikely that when ticket prices festivals increase, the demand for nightclubs will fall.

Nonetheless, from the supply side, one could argue that there are ways in which nightclubs and festivals can have a positive effect on each other. Negrier (2014), for instance, points out the opportunities of experimental partnerships between festivals, cultural venues and social stakeholders; he states that these partnerships ‘‘generally get a timely success of renewed audiences, with new social profiles, participating in these actions’’ (p. 6). These collaborative partnerships between festivals and nightclubs can, if done right, create partnership synergy. This synergy is established when the organizations effectively merge their knowledge, skills, and perspectives in order to create something new and valuable; something that is greater than the sum of its parts (Weiss, Anderson & Lasker, 2002).

Competitive advantage

Another economic concept which emerges when discussing the relation between festivals and nightclubs is the notion of competitive advantage. Famous economic scholar Michael Porter defines competitive advantage as the leverage a business has over its competitors (2008). He explains that competitive advantage can be achieved in multiple ways and differs per industry, which can be analysed by the use of five competitive forces: *rivals*, *customers*, *suppliers*, *entrants* and *substitutes*. By analysing these forces Porter argues that one will gain a complete picture of what is profitable in the industry and where opportunities lie to exploit this (Porter, 2008).

Economies of scale are of particular importance for the success of festivals (Frey, 1994), and are an important competitive advantage. For festivals, these economies arise when production at larger volumes than night clubs is possible, which leads to the enjoyment of a lower cost per unit (Porter, 2008). The marginal costs of festivals are significantly lower compared to permanent venues; this allows them to gain more profit per sold unit (Frey, 1994). Next to that, economies of scale also allow festivals to have better bargaining powers (Porter, 2008). Festivals can utilize this when negotiating with suppliers of the events, such as a beer brand or a supplier of technical equipment.

Exclusivity clauses

A tool that is often used in the music industry in order to obtain competitive advantage is the closure of exclusivity contracts with the performing artists (Hiller, 2014). Although these contracts are often customized due to the occasion, they usually entail that the artist(s) are only allowed to perform exclusively at that particular event within a specific time frame. The American music festival Lollapalooza, for instance, restricts all its artists from playing any concerts within a 300-mile radius of the festival for 180 days prior to 90 days past the festival (Knopper, 2010). These contracts are mainly used by large music festivals whereas venues and nightclubs rarely do so (Hiller, 2014; Finlayson, 2014).

Festivals utilize these contracts as it allows them to invest in their product while knowing that the offered experience will be limited to their event exclusively. The use of these contracts creates monopolization of the artists which prevents other organizations from entering the market and potential freeriding. As a result, other organizations are unable to program the artists which their consumers demand (Hiller, 2014). Multiple scholars have therefore argued that the use of exclusivity deals lead to decreased competition, because they can eventually lead to potential foreclosing of competitors and the deterrence of entry (Aghion & Bolton, 1987; Bernheim & Whinston, 1998).

From both the festival and the artists' points of view the benefits of these contracts are quite clear: for the festival it ensures that if the audience wants to see a specific artist they have to attend

the festival, even in the future. This will drive up the demand and help protect their investments (Hiller, 2014). Especially due to the temporary nature of the festival, the organization will do everything in their power to protect their investment, as there is no other time to straighten out potential losses. Artists, on the other hand, often comply with the contracts as festivals can offer larger fees and a larger audience compared to nightclubs or other venues (Hiller, 2014).

Nightclub Management

This chapter will look at nightclubs from a performing arts management point of view.

Three commitments of arts organizations

According to Chong (2010) every arts organization should consider three mutually supporting commitments in order to achieve their organizational objectives, missions and visions. These three commitments are ‘‘excellence and artistic integrity; accessibility and audience development; and public accountability and cost effectiveness’’ (Chong, 2010, p.18). These commitments can be seen as individual functions which an arts organization could pursue separately, but due to their strong connection and mutual necessity it is important to seek them simultaneously (Chong, 2010).

The first commitments, *excellence* (locally, nationally, or internationally) and *artistic integrity*, relate to the most vital part of a cultural organization, namely the cultural performance. An arts organization should pursue excellence by maintaining, nurturing, and protecting the artform, seek quality throughout the entire production, while offering this production to a wide scope of audience, ranging from experts to layman. Chong (2010) explains *artistic integrity* as the role of arts organizations to provide artistic output which the audience beforehand would not have chosen themselves. Arts organization have a pivot role in the taste formation of the audience (Chong, 2010).

The second commitment of arts organizations is to make the organization more *accessible* to a varied audience, which is inherent to genuine *audience development*. Chong (2010) stresses the importance of attracting an audience which before had no involvement with the arts. Yet, it is important to realize this without neglecting the artistic excellence and the overall quality of the product.

Finally, arts organizations should commit to *public accountability* and *cost effectiveness* as a means to maximize the benefit of available funds. *Public accountability* refers to the organization's responsibility to staff, trustees, donors, and the community. Especially the latter is important for arts organizations which receive subsidy as they have the duty to fulfil a public service mission (Chong, 2010). *Cost efficiency*, on the other hand, refers to the ability of an organization to maximize profit, rather than minimizing the costs as this can interfere with the aforementioned *excellence*, to provide financial stability (Chong, 2010).

The before mentioned commitments provide an important look into the managerial decision

premises of arts organizations. It is to be mentioned that Chong's commitments primarily account for the more traditional arts organizations, such as museums and theatre companies. These organizations often heavily rely on public funding and therefore carry a larger societal function and public accountability compared to a nightclub. Even though nightclubs can also be considered arts organizations, they rarely rely on public funding and often have a commercial nature. It is therefore very unlikely that they work with the same functions as Chong has described. Nonetheless, Chong's (2010) commitments do relate to the overall management tasks of any arts organization, and therefore also for nightclubs. The first commitment can be understood as realizing the overall performance, the second commitment relates to the marketing practices, and the third commitment relates to the financial matters of the nightclub. These three management tasks will now be discussed.

Programming activity

The programming activity is the main activity of any management of a performing arts organization; this can be considered the point of departure for all other managerial tasks (Bernstein, 2014). Despite its importance within the performing arts organization, relatively little research has been dedicated to the programming activities (Assassi, 2007; Cuadrado-García & Cabanero, 2005). Programming is a complex activity as the eventual program has to be in line with the organisation's vision and mission, the artistic vision and the expectancies of the audience (Bernstein, 2014). In the case of nightclubs, the programming activity is often done by one or multiple highly skilled professionals who focus primarily on booking artists. These professionals, often referred to as programmers, usually have extended knowledge and experience within the industry and have obtained important contacts over the years (Needham, 2019).

The activity of the programming usually starts with the design or idea of the program, then the organization allocates the budgets for its programming, and lastly the programmers use their extensive knowledge and experience to recruit the right artists and to fulfil the artistic program (Mariani & Zan, 2010). One of the difficult aspects of the programming activities relates to the high degree of uncertainty that surrounds it (Mariani & Zan, 2010). During the process of programming the programmers have to deal with the 'nobody knows' aspect of the creative industries, which refers to the uncertainty that cannot be calculated rationally (Towse, 2010). As programs are usually arranged months before the actual performance takes place, programmers never know how their idea will eventually work out. It is unknown whether their audience will appreciate and value the programming.

As previously discussed, Chong (2010) stresses the important role of arts organizations to provide a varied artistic output which the audience beforehand would not have chosen themselves. This aligns with Finlayson (2017) and Needham (2019) who explain the importance of nightclubs to

program new and upcoming artists. According to them, the nightclubs function as an important institution to foster new artists and offer them place to introduce new sounds to the audience. It is the difficult job of a programmer to manage a balance between the new, unknown artists and more well-known artists.

Marketing

Within the performing arts literature, it is now common ground that marketing is a productive tool in order to stimulate the demand of the performing arts (e.g. Colbert 2007; Kotler et al., 2008; Rentschler & Hede 2007). Due to the extremely competitive and unstable nature of the industry and the ever-changing audience behaviour, performing arts organizations have to make strategic choices in order to attract the (right) audiences (Bernstein, 2014). Marketing is therefore an integral part of a modern performing arts organization.

For arts organizations, branding has been signalled as extremely important within the arts marketing literature (Caldwell, 2000; Caldwell & Coshall, 2002; Scott, 2000). The brand of the organization is what the audience will remember and base their judgement on. It is therefore important to have a strong brand and to be consistent while presenting it, both on the inside and outside of the organization. According to Baumgarth (2009) implementing the brand concept internally is a potential contributor to the cultural and economic success of an arts organization. Additionally, Colbert (2009) stresses the importance of brand positioning. Reaching beyond the simple question of product branding (Scott, 2000), Colbert remarks that performing arts marketers need to have a clear understanding of how the market is structured and how they adapt to this structure. Brand positioning refers to the perception of the product through the eyes of the consumer and how the consumer perceives the brand in position to others (Colbert, 2009). As consumers tend to make decisions based on the symbolic value he or she attributes to the product rather than the product itself (Gainer, 1995), it is important for the organization to have an understanding of these values and to adhere to it.

That brings us to the notion of customer relationship management, another important part of the arts marketing management. The main objective of customer relationship management is to create audience loyalty, satisfaction, and intention to repurchase the product or (Colbert & James, 2014). Rather than focussing on short-term objectives like obtaining sales units, customer relationship management focuses on the long-term which is specifically important in the cultural sector. In order to realize a valuable customer relationship, a nightclub should actively pursue this during both the club nights and outside of that, both online and offline. According to Swanson & Davis (2012) both the perceived quality of the core product and the services capes are associated with the quality relationship between the organization and the customer, and, in its turn, connects with the identification with the organisation and increases the satisfaction of the customer.

Customer engagement, customer identification and community building are important parts of the customer relationship management.

Previously, one saw that Chong (2010) considered attracting new- and retaining existing audiences as one of the main commitments of a cultural organization. This commitment is closely related to audience development, which is defined as a marketing practice that comprises both the function of obtaining new audiences and maintaining the existing ones (Bernstein, 2014; Barlow & Shibli, 2007). According to Sigurjonsson (2010) “effective audience development involves uniting the artistic, educational and marketing elements of the arts organisation to achieve a series of short-, medium- and long-term objectives which increase, broaden and enrich targeted groups” (p. 274). Within the literature multiple models can be found which give extensive strategies to foster audience development, such as the RAND model by McCarthy & Jinnett (2001) or the MAO model by Wiggins (2004). While these models differ significantly in their approach, most authors advocate a complex view on audience development requiring a combination of different skills and tools such as community involvement, relationship building, education, and programming (Tajtakova & Arias-Aranda, 2008). As described here, audience development goes far beyond the marketing processes and even encompasses education.

Education is particularly important for simulating interest in the performing arts. The aim of educational practices within the marketing of the arts is to give consumers the codes and tools needed to evaluate the features of the artistic product (Mokwa, Dawson & Prieve, 1980). It is crucial to establish a level of understanding, enjoyment, and appreciation sufficient enough to awaken a desire to attend the arts event in order to expand the audiences (Kotler & Scheff, 1997). Especially for nightclubs that operate in the underground scene, and therefore offer a product that requires experience and knowledge to understand, educating existing and potential audiences is an important marketing practice.

Promotion and advertising

Similar to other modern industries, performing arts organizations make extensive use of modern technologies for marketing practices. Besides making use of traditional tools for communication, promotion and advertising such as their own website, email services and printed media, social media platforms have been of particular relevance as a marketing tool for the modern performing arts organization (Hausman & Poellmann, 2013). Within the existing marketing literature, multiple reasons can be found why arts organizations prefer to make use of social media platforms and how this can contribute to promotion and advertisement.

First, social media platforms are perfect tools for communication and promotional means, due to its ability to share information and spread messages in both an effective and efficient manner (Eyrich, Padmar & Sweetser, 2008). Thereby, compared to traditional communication and marketing

tools, social media is relatively inexpensive. As social media allows to be both on the sending and receiving side of messages, contact with the target group is relatively easily established. Being in direct contact with the target audience could add to relationship building. Moreover, promotion via social media can include multiple types of media (video, audio, image etc.); this allows arts organizations to materialize their otherwise intangible good (Hettler, 2010).

Secondly, due its ability to share messages to an unrestricted number of recipients, social media is of particular relevance in order to facilitate word-of-mouth (Jansen et al., 2009). The electronic worth-of-mouth is in particular attractive due to its capacity of spreading messages extremely fast, while the distribution costs are relatively low for the awareness it can create (Miller & Lammas, 2010). As the sender and receiver of the shared messages both personally know each other, the word-of-mouth via social media has a high credibility. Organizations could utilize this phenomenon by sharing content with a high ‘buzz factor’ on platforms that allow interaction and sharing facilities (Hausman & Poellmann, 2013). An often-used marketing technique to create ‘buzz’, especially within the music industry, is by posting content related to famous DJ’s on social media.

Finally, there is the ability of social media to facilitate market research (Hettler, 2010). As the organization can be in direct contact with the target audience which allows data gathering to be relatively easy. Being on social media allows the organization to always be on top of what is current, monitor the reputation and gain information about audience experiences. For example, comments can be analysed, questionnaires can be shared, and user data can be retrieved. This gathered data can then be used in order to instigate innovation within the organization or for potential reputational management.

Income and expenditures

The cost of performing arts organizations, such as nightclubs, can be divided into marginal, variable, and fixed costs (Byrnes, 2014). The fixed costs are made up of the total amount of expenses that need to be made in order to keep the organization running. Think of the rent of the building, initial set-up costs, permanent equipment, salaries etc. The fixed costs are not dependent on the amount of operating nights or the number of opening hours; they stay the same over time. The variable costs increase when the organization hires additional staff, technicians, artists, or other workers that may be necessary to make the production happen. These costs thus depend on the programming. Finally, the marginal costs are the costs of producing one extra unit of service or product.

The performing arts organizations are very labour intensive and therefore contain a lot of variable costs (Towse, 2013). For a nightclub, the variable costs consist for a large part out of the fees for the DJ at a given night. As there is a huge price range between different artists ranging from pretty much nothing up to multiple thousands of euros, nightclubs can easily cut costs by programming ‘cheaper’ artists. However, as discussed by Chong (2010), arts organizations should be

careful with minimizing costs as this could compromise the excellence of the product.

There are three types of organizations that can be identified and distinguished based on the sources of funding (Klamer, Petrova & Mignosa 2008); organizations that are being funded by *the government* via public funding, organizations that are funded by the means of *the market* and organizations that are funded by *the third sphere* which rely on financial support of individuals or companies. Contrary to other performing arts organizations who are usually funded by the government, nightclubs are almost always funded by the market.

Similar to the other performing arts organizations, nightclubs make revenues by the sales of tickets, bar revenue and additional sales of for instance merchandise or earbuds. In order to maximize profit the nightclub wants to sell as many tickets as possible, preferably all of them, for the highest possible price. Setting the right price is extremely hard as the organization should aim for the audience's maximum willingness to pay. The audience's willingness to pay is extremely hard to measure and differs significantly per case. Factors such as competitors, price consciousness, income and other external factors play a role in this.

Although hard to determine, having the right ticket price is very important for the arts organization and is a vital part of the marketing practices. On the one hand, nightclubs want to maximize profit but on the other hand they also want to satisfy their audiences. Depending on the nightclub and its vision, different pricing techniques can be used. Matters such as long and short run profit and audience satisfaction are important elements when determining the price. Well known techniques such as revenue management, dynamic pricing, or responsive pricing are often used for other perishable products (Courty & Pagliero, 2008). However, these techniques do not seem applicable for nightclubs. A more logical technique, especially in regard to the underground scene which opposes commercial success, is by pricing as low as possible. According to Kolb (1997), low ticket prices are one of the more effective ways to attract students to the performing arts. Adding to this, Happel & Jennings (2010) argue that low pricing generates goodwill with the audiences. As students are often considered to be the main audience of nightclubs, offering a low ticket could thus be very beneficial for the short and especially the long run.

3. Methodology

In this chapter, I will explain the applied methodology of this research. First, the research design and strategy will be discussed. Then, the sampling methods and data collection are elaborated on. After, the operationalization and the data analysis are clarified. Lastly, the quality of this research will be assessed by the evaluation of its reliability, replication, and validity (Bryman, 2012).

Research and strategy design

The purpose of this research is to answer the following research question:

How do Dutch nightclubs construe the festivalization phenomenon?

This main research question will be answered by the use of the following four subsequent questions;

- What do the nightclubs notice of the phenomenon?
- To what extent do festivals create implications on the practices of nightclubs?
- How do the nightclubs deal with these implications?
- To what extent can festivals be beneficial for nightclubs?

The aim of this research is to gain a better understanding of what a relatively new phenomenon, festivalization, means for an existing industry, Dutch nightclubs. Hereby, the research aims to construct how the nightclubs make sense of the phenomenon, how it influences their practices, and how it deals with these implications in order to either reduce the adverse influence or to turn it into something beneficial. The data derived from the observed patterns in the analysis will allow theory building on the researched matter. An inductive and qualitative research approach is used in order to gain a better understanding of the impact of the festivalization phenomenon on the Dutch nightclubs. This method of research is preferred as it focuses on subjective opinions and thoughts, aims to understand concepts based on the experience of people and centres on a relatively new and unresearched phenomenon which is better revealed by qualitative research (Brennen, 2017). Thereby, this method allows to explore the involved concepts in an in-depth matter, while going from specific observations to general patterns, allowing changes and adaptations of the design during the process of research.

Primary data for this research was gathered by the use of in-dept, semi scripted interviews. This form of interviews was chosen as it allowed the interviewees to express their personal thoughts and experiences. Making use of an interview guide during the interviews guaranteed that certain topics and questions were touched upon. The semi-scripted nature of the interviews allowed room for interpretation and further examination of the answers given by the interviewees.

Sampling method and data collection

In order to involve input from both sides, stakeholders from both nightclubs and festivals were interviewed. The participants were selected based on their knowledge of their organization, either

the nightclub or the festival. As discussed earlier, the organization of nightclubs tend have a strict division of tasks with specialization within a different part of the business. This indicates that not everyone within the organization was able to tell me about the different facets of the nightclub and how this is influenced by the festivalization phenomenon. During the sampling process a decision was therefore made to primarily focus programmers and club managers as they tend to have the most knowledge about the overall nightclub and its performance. For the stakeholders of the festivals a similar approach was used.

In order to obtain the desired respondents two sampling methods were used: purposeful sampling and snowball sampling. Purposeful sampling involves selecting participants by using a set of criteria which is employed in a fixed manner (Bryman, 2012). It allows to directly select and approach participants who meet the criteria and who are relevant to the study's research question. Thereby, purposeful sampling ensures that the resulting sample presents a varied exemplification, if not representative, version of the population (Bryman, 2012). By the use of Facebook, LinkedIn and Email the potential participants were connected and asked to participate. Then, the second mode of sampling was used; snowball sampling. This type of sampling makes use of existing contacts to find a 'hidden' or hard to reach population (Browne, 2005). This additional sampling mode was appropriate as during the process of sampling it became clear that a number of potential participants were unreachable or nonresponding. During every interview I therefore asked the participant if they were able to help me reach specific participants. Luckily, due to this technique, a number of new participants were eventually reached.

In total, eleven participants were found who were willing to do an interview. Out of these eleven participants, eight represented a nightclub, two were working for a festival and one was working for an organization that both organizes a festival and runs a nightclub. A deliberate choice was made to establish this ratio where the majority of the respondents work for nightclubs and the minority of the respondents work for festivals. In line with the focus of the sample, nine of the participants were said to be programmers, both the participants that worked for the nightclub and the ones that worked for a festival. The two remaining participants were active as floor managers. For the sake of anonymity, the respondents will be referred to as Respondent 1, Respondent 2, etcetera. An overview of the participants can be found in the appendices.

Altogether, eleven separate interviews took place over the course of five weeks in both April and May of 2020. As this research took place in the midst of the world-wide pandemic of the Covid-19 virus, causing imposed restrictions by the government on leaving your house in order to stop the spread of the virus; a number of interviews had to take place online or via a telephone call. In total, three of the interviews were conducted via the online video-call platform Skype, four interviews were conducted face to face, and the remaining four were conducted via a telephone call. On

average, the interviews lasted 55 minutes with durations ranging from 47 to 74 minutes. In total 10.1 hours of data was collected.

Except from the first interview, all other interviews were conducted in Dutch. The quotations derived from these interviews, which will be presented in the result section, have therefore been translated into English. For the sake of clarity and quality, an overview of these translated quotations is presented in Appendix C in their original language.

Operationalization

This section will discuss how important concepts were measured during the interviews. These concepts have already been defined and explained in the theoretical framework (see Chapter 2). There are three main topics which need to be discussed. Firstly, how the nightclubs make notice of the festivalization phenomenon. Here it was important to find out how they take notice of the growing amount and popularity of festivals in their practices. Secondly, threats and opportunities. Themes including compliments, substitutes, possible opportunities, and threats of festivals on nightclubs were discussed. Finally, the practices of the nightclub. Themes like ticketing, marketing, operations, and programming were discussed in relation to festivalization. Here, the underlying thought was to portray the influence of festivals on the overall practices of the nightclubs.

Data analysis

After completing gathering all the data, every interview was transcribed and later analysed by the use of the two steps of coding, as introduced by Boeije (2010), and thematic analysis. This type of analysis was preferred as it allows researchers to pinpoint, record and examine patterns within the existing data (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

The first step was open coding. This part of coding includes reading and processing the entire batch of data, important pieces of data were grouped and labelled together with a code. This step helped to break the data into smaller pieces allowing it to be clearer and more manageable. Then, axial coding, which creates connections between previous codes by drawing general patterns and hierarchical relationships between them. Finally, the existing codes were grouped together and assigned to themes. These themes are used in order to produce the report of the data.

Thematic analysis allowed the categorization subthemes and core themes. While doing so important factors such as metaphors, repetitions of topics, differences, similarities, and other theory-related material were looked for within the data (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). These findings were constantly compared and evaluated with existing literature in order to present a convincing conclusion.

Quality of research

Bryman (2012) explains the internal validity of a research as the congruence between observations and concepts. In order to improve this for the current study, the conducted interviews were coded two times, first through open coding and later by axial coding. Additionally, Bryman (2012) recommends having the interviewees review the written transcripts in order to ensure credibility. However, due to time constraints this method appeared to be unfeasible and was therefore not used.

According to Bryman (2012), the external validity of a qualitative research is problematic due to the relatively small samples. Although the goal was to obtain a purposive sample as varied as possible, the number of cases is still too limited in order to allow generalization. The replicability of this research is extremely difficult to assess. As only a small number of stakeholders within the industry was interviewed, it is likely that another sample could generate different results. Thereby, it is impossible to repeat the same conditions and circumstances of this research.

Another aspect worth mentioning is that two of the respondents were not programmers but floor managers. This meant that the respondents did not have as much knowledge about the nightclub as the other respondents did. Some questions related to the organizational tasks of the nightclub were therefore unanswered. It would have been better have spoken to the actual programmers of these clubs, but due to the unavailability of these individuals this was not possible.



The impact of festivalization on nightclubs

How do Dutch nightclubs construe the festivalization phenomenon?

4. Results

This chapter will present, analyse, and discuss the empirical results from the collected data. First, the concepts festivals and festivalization and their relationship with nightclubs will be discussed. Then, I will discuss what impact this relationship has on the audiences and the artists. After that, I will present the various ways in which nightclubs tend to deal with the imposed circumstances due to the festivals. Finally, a number of future prospects related to the relationship between festivals and nightclubs will be given.

Festivalization

In recent decades, the popularity of festivals involving the cultural industry have risen worldwide, resulting in an incredible increase in the number of festivals around the globe (Quinn, 2010). During the interviews, it became evident that the respondents were well aware of this development and had noticed this phenomenon themselves as well. While some of the respondents acknowledged to have not been active in the field long enough to have noticed when the festivalization phenomenon really took off in the Netherlands, others noticed a rise of the number of Dutch festivals about five or six years ago. Respondent 10 explains this as follows:

‘I think that at a certain point it [festivals] have become a hype, similar to how an artist can become a hype, where in a short time the Netherlands has changed from a club culture to a festival culture. And I think that is because people saw that there was money to be made. I also think that the municipalities played a role, if you look at how easily the municipality hands out permits, they obviously saw business in festivals. They saw how people paid huge amounts for specific parks and terrains and how these organizations were willing to maintain these places [in return for a permit].[...] If you deal with restrictions that easily, things will become easier and then things will be organized. So, I think along the way it has become a part of our blood’¹ (Respondent 10)

The respondents suggest that the Netherlands have been a precursor of festivals for decades already, festivals such as Lowlands, Zwarte Cross and Paaspop have been around for many years. At the same time, festivals that focus on electronic dance music have really increased over the past couple of years and have had a substantial influence on the electronic dance music scene and its industry.

Additionally, the respondents explain that as more festivals entered the landscape, the ‘festival season’ has become longer in time. As explained by respondent 6: *‘With Lentekabinet the festival season kind off takes of, that starts in the end of May. Most of the festivals now actually continue until the last weekend of September. So that’s [...] four months in which clubs have to compete with festivals all over the world, or Europe a least’². Where nightclubs used to face the*

pressure of the nightclubs for only a couple of weeks, usually during the summer holidays, they now have to face them for a significant part of the year.

Differences and competition

Although festivals and nightclubs can appear to be quite similar, especially in terms of the musical programming, respondents clearly identify that they consider the two as totally different products. Festivals are considered to be an overall entertaining experience, highly regulated and scripted. Whereas nightclubs are considered to be more spontaneous, ‘cosier’ (respondent 5), and more focussed on the music.

‘Festivals are a lot more regulated with much security and whatever, everything is organized’³ (Respondent 2)

‘With clubs you have a bigger feeling of; you don’t know what is going to happen, it’s that bit of spontaneity [...] that’s what is cool about a nightclub’⁴ (Respondent 8).

This contrast is also recognized in terms of the musical performance of the artists. Respondents speak of a so called ‘festival-set’⁵ (Respondent 5). Partially driven by the limited amount of time DJ’s have to play at festivals, usually between one and two hours, these sets often are very different compared to their sets in nightclubs where DJ’s usually have a considerably longer timeslot. Festival sets appear to have a clear start and ending, are tightly scheduled and often contain more hit songs as the DJ’s only have a limited time to impress the crowd. Whereas DJ sets at nightclubs are more unexpected, often take musical detours with changes in genres and tempos and can often challenge the crowd.

It is thus not so peculiar that the industry stakeholders also consider the festival audience to be different to the nightclub audience. Of course, there is a big overlap of audiences who visit both festivals and nightclubs, but, in that case, it is more likely for a regular nightclub visitor to attend a festival than the other way around. The results point out that festival audiences tend to be a bit older, go with the intention to have a fun day out and are less focussed on the cultural programming. In Dutch, the respondents referred to them as ‘dagjesmensen’ (day trippers). Nightclub visitors, on the other hand, tend to be younger, more focussed on the music and contain more cultural capital. Additionally, Respondent 5 points out that festivals tend to attract way more tourists than nightclubs do.

*“I think that a lot of nightclub visitors also visit festivals, but not the other way around. There are a lot of festival visitors who don't have to go to a club. They enjoy drinking a beer in the sun, accompanied by some music, fantastic! But they don't have to be in a dark cave the entire night. A festival feeling is just very different. For instance, you don't even have to like the music to go to a festival, you can do a bunch of different stuff there. You can catch up with your friends, you can socialize, and that's far less the case at a nightclub”*⁶ (Respondent 11).

When the respondents were asked whether nightclubs and festivals are competitors, a variety of answers were given. Three of the respondents (1, 3 and 8) did identify festivals as competitors. Whereas respondents 2, 5, 9 and 11 were indecisive. On the one hand they did feel a form of competition, but on the other hand they understood a festival and nightclub as two total different products. Respondent 2, for instance, answered; *“Yes and no. I mean, in summer they are definitely competitors. On the other hand, festivals focus on the day, while a nightclub starts at 11”*.⁷

*“Over the years, it definitely has not gotten easier due to the number of festivals”*⁸
(Respondent 3, owner, and programmer of a nightclub).

In general, the respondents identified that festivals are inevitably impacting the way in which nightclubs perform. According to Respondent 10, who is the owner and programmer of both a nightclub and a festival, nightclubs *‘have it more difficult because of that’*.⁹ Throughout the interviews, the previous statement turned out to be the reoccurring and overarching theme. While some of the respondents explained that they are experiencing more difficulties due to the festivals than others, it is hard to make a clear comparison between the individual nightclubs as they all were impacted in different ways. Nonetheless, the data portrayed reoccurring patterns in which the festivalization phenomenon is having an impact on these nightclubs. These observed patterns are multi-layered and closely connected to each other and can therefore be discussed in multiple ways. I found it most evident to group them together under the two overarching themes: *Audiences* and *Artists*. The following sections will discuss them separately.

Audiences

Audiences are the beating heart of any performing arts organization.

“Let me put it this way: when there is a music festival with a similar genre, we notice it for sure, we notice that the days before, or the night before, the club is having a

*hard time because people, yeah, they just won't go out''*¹⁰ (Respondent 3).

It is a statement heard throughout the majority of the conversations with the stakeholders and directly shows that some of the audiences view festivals and nightclubs as substitutive. During the festival period, nightclubs tend to have a hard time to attract the audience. Especially the Fridays seem to be the more effected, as festivals primarily take place on Saturdays. Whereas Respondent 3 remarks to primarily notice an absence of audience when there is a music festival that focusses on a similar genre, other respondents (4, 5 & 11) observe a broader pattern. They observe that also festivals which not necessarily focus on electronic dance music also have an impact.

*'I think that we definitely suffer from festivals which are close to us, music wise then. So, think about a Dekmantel, DGTL, Khatarsis you name it. But I think that it actually does not matter that much, so for instance also during Lowlands its pretty quiet. But also local festivals which perhaps have nothing to do with our sort of music, they also pull away the audience''*¹¹ (Respondent 11)

Financial factors also play an important role for this absence. As *'people have a certain limited amount of money and they want to spend 80 euros in a festival and they're going to five [festivals] in two months, then they definitely have less money to come to clubs for sure. August for instance, it's a difficult month for clubs, summer in general.'* (Respondent 1). Notably, the respondents also identify warmer weather, and the fact that people are on holidays during the summer to be important factors for the absence of audience.

On the other hand, it is not *that* bad that all nightclubs have decided to close during this period. Actually, respondents 1, 4 and 5 remark that the summer period is not their 'worst' time of the year. The less successful months are namely the months right after the national holidays (September & October), and the ones at the beginning of the new year (January & February). The respondents identify a correlation between bad weather and the absence of audiences.

Respondent 3 explains that during the festival period their nightclub does not experience an extremely bad period in terms of a lack of visitors as *'usually a festival ends at one a.m. and we open at twelve. A lot of our audience does not want to go home at one, so they come to us''*.¹² Although this is positive, it also brings some restrictions. The respondents identify that the nights usually take longer to get going, as people tend to visit the nightclubs later at night. Thereby, nightclubs mention that they have to pay extra attention to the door policy in an attempt to secure the right vibe or atmosphere within the club. Audiences that have been 'raving' all day can be too intoxicated which could lead to a *'grim atmosphere''*¹³ (Respondent 9) within the club; this is obviously something

they want to prevent from happening. Additionally, Respondent 3 remarks that when a part of the audience has already been to a festival that day, the bar revenue is significantly less compared to other nights.

Festival experience

Besides the more practical impact of festivals on the audience, respondents have also identified the role of festivals in shaping the way the audiences value clubbing. This has for a large part to do with the formula that is used in most festivals. Besides offering a music program, festivals tend to offer numerous augmented products to enhance the overall experience. In line with the literature on the festivalization phenomenon (e.g. Magia, Canonico, Totaldo & Mercurio, 2011; Richards & Palmer, 2010; Yolal, Rus, Cosma & Gursoy, 2015), respondents believe that this overall experience is an important factor in order to explain the popularity of festivals.

According to Pine and Gilmore (2011) there is a growing importance of the experience economy in the arts sector. Respondents abide to this by explaining that also for nightclubs the experience has become increasingly important to satisfy the audiences. As Respondent 2 explains: *‘I think that indeed that festival-ambience has become an important part in clubbing, also in the winter. You see that the experience has become more important, it’s not just putting on a record anymore. The atmosphere and the decoration etcetera are in my understanding more important than ever’*.¹⁴ In this case, the respondent specifically refers to the festival experience. Although the other respondents agree that the experience has become more important, some of them disagree about the urgency of offering a similar experience as a festival. Respondent 7, for instance, thinks that the specific experience offered at a festival is not what the audiences desires in a club. According to the respondent, audiences understand the differences between the two and appreciate them for what they are individually. He explains: *‘I don’t think that because people see confetti and lasers at festivals, it is something that they also expect this in a club’*¹⁵ (Respondent 7).

Headline culture

Another important factor of the festival formula is the emphasis on the line-up and the so-called headliners. Respondent 10 explains that *‘as a festival you have to come with a good, big line-up with many names. You have to show who the headliners are. That has become a sort of gauge for a festival’*.¹⁶

According to the respondent, audiences base their decision to visit a festival on the names of the line up rather than the concept of the festival itself. The more famous the names are, the more attention the festival will receive and the more likely it will be selling tickets.

Within the festival industry the use of headliners is a perpetual costume, but, according to Respondent 1 this phenomenon has also made its way to the underground nightclub scene; *‘I think*

festivals have also introduced the headliner culture, where certain deejays are just like pop stars. A big part of the crowd just wants to see what they know and what they know is what is in the festivals, they're less keen on exploring new names''. Although none of the other respondents have identified festivals to be the source of this headliner phenomenon, they do adhere to the message that famous artists have become strikingly important. Where formerly nightclubs were able to reach an audience without programming famous DJ's, it has now become one of the primary means to sell out the venue.

Festivals appear to play an important role in both creating and maintaining this high status of the DJ's. Festivals such as Dekmantel and DGTL are repeatedly named by the respondents due to their critical acclaim and their power of shaping the industry. Respondents explain that when a DJ plays at the mainstage of Dekmantel, it will almost inevitably cause an uplift in his or her career. The DJ will become more famous, consequently also pricier and the audience will desire this specific DJ even more. This creates what Rosen (1981) refers to as the superstar. Due to this uplift, the DJ has probably become too busy and too expensive for the nightclub to program, making it extremely hard to satisfy their audience's demand. On the other hand, this could also work in the favour of the nightclub. When a DJ is already programmed for a club night and he or she has previously played at a festival like DGTL or Dekmantel, it could lead to considerably more ticket sales.

Of course, who is considered a 'big name' differs significantly between the various nightclubs. Subjects such as the overall musical focus, size and audience of the nightclub are important criteria to determine this. Nevertheless, however interesting, this matter was barely discussed during the interviews and is also not of great importance for this research.

The significance of programming 'big fish'¹⁷ artists (Respondent 5) has become so important that 10 out of the 11 respondents have mentioned that nightclubs must regularly program these big names in order to keep attracting audiences. Only respondent 4 believed that his nightclub did not need to book these acclaimed artists in order to attract audiences. Nonetheless, they still admit doing so regularly as they understand it is something that the majority of their audiences desires. How often nightclubs do this differs per case. Respondent 1, for instance, remarks they do this almost every night, while others do so once every month.

'If we, for instance, have a Mall Grab on the line-up, it's fully packed, so people are attracted purely because of the name. Do we have less famous DJ's on the line-up, it's far less busy. So, our audience comes primarily because of the name of the DJ''¹⁸
(Respondent 11).

Instigated by the festivals, headliners have become increasingly important for nightclubs as it is what their audiences demands.

Learning by consuming

According to the respondents, the growing number of festivals, and in particular the ones that focus on underground electronic dance music, have allowed the scene to grow extensively. Underground dance music has never been as popular as it is now. While the attention towards festivals have been ever increasing respondents identify that this can have a positive effect for nightclubs, as it could increase the demand.

Lévy- Garboua and Montmarquette (2011) consider that art consumers are unaware of their true taste and discover this through repeated experiences in a subsequent process of ‘‘unsystematic learning by consuming’’ (p. 181). They regard to taste as a given but unknown. When experiencing a new art form, consumers will be revealed to an unexpected negative or positive review of the given art form towards their own taste. Repetitive experience of an artform could therefore contribute to the consumers’ future consumption (Lévy- Garboua & Montmarquette, 2011).

Festivals tend to ‘*suck all the attention towards them*’¹⁹ (Respondent 10), both online and offline. Sharing videos of the festival, sharing DJ sets, and announcing the line-ups are all means of festivals to enthuse the potential audience. Thereby, festivals are considered to have a lower threshold to participate in. Respondents therefore identify that for many people festivals provide a first impression of the provided art form, underground electronic dance music. Over time, this potentially leads to rational addiction which could attract new audiences to nightclubs offering a similar artform. As Respondent 3 explains:

*‘‘I think that [...] people are more easily inclined to visit a festival because the threshold [of a festival] is lower. There, they can get in touch with music [which is new to them], they get familiarized with it and eventually will appreciate it more. Which makes them look for that [music] in a nightclub, causing them to eventually visit a nightclub’’*²⁰.

On the other hand, the enormous attention for festivals also has its negative effect for the nightclubs. As all the attention is drawn towards the festivals it is extremely hard for a nightclub to be noticed by the audience. Respondent 11 gives the following example: ‘*A festival makes a big impact with a big line-up and you announce a night with one DJ, people won’t find that enthralling. You won’t be noticed between all the violence*’.²¹

Artists

Unavailability

*‘I do believe that for nightclubs it [festivalization] means that they have a much bigger competition with booking artists’*²² (Respondent 6, festival programmer).

As more and more festivals entered the landscape, nightclubs experienced an increase in the competition for artists. Especially during the festival season, nightclubs note that they experience difficulties finishing a full program. With the continuous rise of festivals that focus on electronic dance music and the growing importance of famous artists, respondents explain that the competition for a number of artists has become fierce. In this contest between festivals and nightclubs of booking these artists, nightclubs often seem to be on the losing end. Respondents explain that this is the case as festivals can simply offer the artist a lot more. The interviewees identify that festivals can offer artists fees up to ten times as much as they do. It is therefore not strange that artists choose festivals over nightclubs.

But, this does not only account for the most famous DJ's within the scene. Respondents identify that even for mid-tier DJ's festivals tend to offer significantly more than what nightclubs do, often above what is considered to be the market value of the DJ. Doing so, festivals consequently raise the prices of DJ fees until the point where it becomes impossible for nightclubs to compete.

‘Nightclubs are not a priority for artists anymore, because when they have the choice of playing in a nightclub or a festival that pays more than triple, than they will mostly choose for the festival. So, then the nightclubs try to just compete with fees. Which, well, I mean, they can't’ (Respondent 1).

Exclusivity clauses

An important factor contributing to the unavailability of the artists is the use of exclusivity clauses. As discussed in the theoretical framework, these clauses are contracts which entail that the artist is not allowed to perform at another event within a specific time frame (Hiller, 2014). Varying from a couple of weeks before and after the festival to as long as *‘three months before and three months after the festival’* (Respondent 1); the contracts have various shapes and forms and differ significantly per organization and artist. Indicators such as the prestige of the artists, the artist fee and the number of times previously played at the festival are determinants for what these contracts look like. Usually, the contracts cover the entire Netherlands and do not exclude performances at any

other events, even when they are not related to a festival. For the nightclubs this means that they do not only have difficulties programming artists during the summer months, it could actually lead up to months before an after that.

Out of the respondents working for nightclubs, seven out of nine identified that these clauses have an impact on the programming activities of their organizations. The two other respondents explained that they lacked the knowledge in order to know whether or not this was also the case for their organizations. In line with Hiller (2014) and Finlayson (2014), only one out of the nine nightclubs identified to occasionally make use of these contracts themselves. Whereas all of the three festivals that were involved within this study said to make use of them. It appears that most festivals within the industry make use of these contracts, while nightclubs rather ‘*not play that game*’²³ (Respondent 4).

As also mentioned in the theoretical framework, the festivals utilize these contracts as it allows them to invest in their product while knowing that the offered experience will be limited to their event exclusively. As a result of doing so, festivals monopolize a given artists for a specific timeframe. This gives them multiple advantages such as preventing other organizations from free riding (Hiller, 2014) and the ability to ask a higher ticket price. Due to the importance of DJ names and the line ups, having artists exclusively perform at your festival is the unique selling point of the event. When visitors can see these artists perform multiple times in a year, the value of having those artists play at your festival becomes increasingly less.

*‘Imagine you have Theo Parrish who will be performing a set and you have paid a lot of money for it. Then you don’t want to see him play at Lowlands and three other festivals, because then that name on the line-up will become a lot less special than you imagined at first. So, then you start looking for things like exclusivity’*²⁴
(Respondent 6).

Frustration

During the interviews it became clear that nightclubs struggle significantly due to these contracts. Especially the programmers explain that this is the main difficulty of their job and actually leads to a lot of frustration towards the festival industry.

The frustration expressed by a number of the respondents mainly stems from the festival’s lack of recognition and understanding for nightclubs with regards to the exclusivity clauses. According to them, nightclubs are rarely excluded from the exclusivity even though they fulfil an important role for the existence of the festivals. They are namely fundamental for creating and maintaining the culture of the underground scene. Especially in terms of artist and music

development nightclubs are crucial (Thornton, 1995). All year long, nightclubs tend to program new names, give unknown artists a chance to perform and allow new music streams to develop. Respondents identify that this role is of particular importance for festivals as they tend to utilize on the culture created by the clubs. Respondent 6, who is a festival programmer explains;

‘I think that festivals definitely can’t take place without clubs, because in clubs artists are born. Its not as if we would book an artist that has never played somewhere before, obviously. Or that have never played in a club or only played radio shows. We might do it once, but usually that does not happen. The clubs really have a pioneering role in finding new talents’. ²⁵

Respondents describe the nightclubs as a breeding pond for the festivals. Within nightclubs experiments take place, unknown artists are given a chance to perform. Sometimes this works out and sometimes it does not. It is a risk the nightclubs are willing to take, and for some a risk that is necessary as well. The frustration of the nightclubs is that festivals continuously look at the developments within the clubs and utilize the ones that have popped out. Instead of giving them the recognition for this, festivals ‘steal’ the artists by offering them a high artist fee and giving them an exclusivity contract which forbids them from playing at the club.

‘The sad thing is that the club segment is programming these DJ’s all year long and then festivals will just go to the clubs to look for who is popular and who is poppin’, and then they just book them for the festival for a lot of money. And they pull them away. [...] Just so they can flex once a year with all sorts of exciting names’. ²⁶
(Respondent 5)

But, besides ‘stealing the culture’ ²⁷(Respondent 5) respondents also worry about the financial implications which these contracts have. Due to these contracts nightclubs are unable to program the artists which their consumers demand (Hiller, 2014). As certain artists are needed to sell tickets, the restrictions due to the contracts could lead to a decline of ticket sales and eventually lead to potential foreclosure (Aghion & Bolton, 1987; Bernheim & Whinston, 1998). This comes to show that the festivals monopolize the industry by the use of exclusivity contracts. With their obtained monopoly advantages they have the means to restrain competition, both nightclubs and other festivals.

‘It is more than just the idea of; ‘you are stealing culture’. Its also: ‘hey, you are with your hands in our revenue for no good reason’’²⁸ (Respondent 5)

The nightclub’s reaction

In the previous parts of this result section I discussed what the festivalization phenomenon means for the nightclubs. In the following section, I will review how the nightclubs try to deal with these circumstances and how they attempt to turn this into their favour.

Open for business

Considerably one of the most practical, and perhaps rigorous ways for nightclubs to deal with the competition of festivals, is by changing the opening hours. Out of the nine nightclubs, three of them declared to be closed completely for a longer period of time during the summer period. All three of the nightclubs explained that festivals are the foremost reason for this decision. *‘All the artists are primarily booked at festivals and we just attract way fewer people because they are also there. [...] During summer it’s almost impossible to be open as a nightclub’*.²⁹ (Respondent 9)

How long these summer breaks last differ per nightclub. One of them only closes down during the national summer holidays, so for six weeks in total. The other one takes a summer recess from the end of June until mid August. The last one closes its doors from the end of May until the beginning of September, arguably the entire festival season.

According to some of the respondents, closing down completely or partly during the summer is a strategy used by many nightclubs within the sector. However, besides the beforementioned three cases, none of the other nightclubs have explained to alter their schedule or go out of business during this time of the year. In addition to the previous quote respondent 9 explained that a large part of the nightclubs that do stay active during the summer period tend to make financial losses during this time. Apparently, the months outside of the festival season tend to be so profitable that the nightclubs are able to straighten out these incurred losses. Unfortunately, this statement can neither be confirmed nor denied as the data is not conclusive.

Additionally, some of the respondents appear to alter the nightclubs’ entrance fee during the summer period as a means of attracting audiences. Respondents 2, 4 and 11 remark that during the festival period they regularly offer free entrance events. Whereas respondent 3 explains that they *‘have done a ‘one plus one for free’ promotion during June, July, and August for a couple of years. So, when you come with the two of you, you only have to pay for one and last year we had a discounted ticket price. So just five- or eight-euro’s entrance fee’*.³⁰

The remaining nightclubs aim to keep the entrance prices as low as possible all year round and explain that offering a discounted price is impossible due to the high production cost.

Respondent 1 adds that offering a similar price the entire year allows the audiences to get familiarized with the club.

‘ ‘ I mean, people know what to expect. So that's good because they know that [when] they come in they're always going to pay the same price. And that makes them feel like we're not trying to steal their money. They are just paying for the price that it costs ’ ’ (Respondent 1).

In line with Velthuis (2002), the respondents seem to understand that prices are not just abstract numbers but also convey a symbolic meaning. Charging too much can come across as fraudulent; charging too little can reflect a low quality; charging a certain price repetitively familiarizes the audience with the product and might even create loyalty.

Relationships

During the interviews it became clear that networks and relationships are key elements for the performance of the nightclubs. Agents within the industry have strong relational ties and are in continuous contact with one other. Respondents acknowledge to have regular contact with stakeholders from other nightclubs, festivals and booking agencies. They appear to exploit this interconnectedness in their advance.

‘ ‘ I think that it is extremely important that as a nightclub within this segment, that you have a good network, that's just crucial ’ ’³¹ (Respondent 2).

A fundamental factor for establishing and exploiting professional relationships within the arts sector is to minimizing information asymmetry (Trimarchi, 2011). Foster, Borgatti and Jones (2011) explain the importance of social networking between gatekeepers of the cultural sector as means to strengthen their selection process. Respondents seem to adhere to this notion as they tend to discuss important information about matters that are of significance for the decision making of the nightclub management. So does respondent 3 admit to regularly call other programmers in order to gain information about DJ fees, and gives respondent 6 regular advice to nightclub programmers about upcoming artists. Additionally, respondent 9 explains that many festivals tend to share information about their event, such as the dates and the amount of tickets sold, so that nightclubs can anticipate on this. Here, it seems that festivals are willing to cooperate with nightclubs rather than compete in order to maximize utility for both organizations. The relationship between the festival and the nightclub is thus used in order to create something more valuable than what would

be established without the connectedness. This relationship is therefore an important part for instigating synergy between festivals and the nightclubs.

The relationships the respondents describe often seem to go beyond professional boundaries. Often, respondents referred to actors such as other programmers or artists as friends. Kühn (2015) explains that professional and personal life can be deeply intertwined due to a commonly shared passion.

Having these personal relationships are extremely important for nightclubs as this seems to be working in their favour. Respondents explain that due to these personal relationships, the nightclubs have obtained a certain likeability factor within the scene. For the nightclubs this means that stakeholders are willing to compromise in favour of the club. Respondents 1 and 2 explain that certain festivals are willing to breach their exclusivity contracts as a way to support the nightclub. Various other respondents have identified that artists are willing to perform for smaller artists fee at their nightclub. Respondents remark that they deliberately aim to establish these personal relationships; both because they prefer to be informal but also because it works in their advantage.

‘‘Everyone is craving connections. So when you establish personal relationships with artists, it becomes more than a business exchange. [..]. Something more meaningful, I guess.’’ (Respondent 1)

But, also relationships with the audiences seem to be of importance for the nightclubs. Respondents remark that they deliberately aim to create a community surrounding their brand. They want to make the audience feel at home. They understand that a large part of their audience consists of regular visitors, which they want to maintain. In order to keep them satisfied with their services, nightclubs tend to be in direct contact with them. One way of doing so is by the use of an online community or insider group, five of the respondents explain to make use of them. These communities, often in the form of Facebook groups, are used in order to receive feedback from their audiences. This feedback often refers to the overall service of the club, such as the opening hours, sound quality and bar service. But it also relates to the programming activities. Respondent 9 explains:

‘‘There are 50 or 60 people in this group online on Facebook. And then we just ask ‘hey what would you like to see?’. And these are mostly friends, acquaintances and people that like to come to our club. They then come up with some names and we see if those names are reachable, available, and fit with our vision. If they do, we are often prepared to book them’’.³²

Allowing the audience co-create and have a voice in the decisions of the nightclub is the essence of customer relationship management and tends to create loyalty, satisfaction and intention to (re)purchase the service (Colbert & James, 2014).

Additionally, these communities are also used as a marketing tool. In return of free tickets, and sometimes free consumption, the community members are asked to promote certain club nights. Both online and offline community members use word of mouth to promote a given club night. Respondents explain that this works particularly well as the community members share the events with people they personally know and who are likely to be interested in the event as well.

‘‘We have a physical promotion team and an online promotion team. [...] Every week they receive instructions to share stuff or to just hype up the event. [...] About six of them are now and then asked to do some physical promotion, so spread and hand out flyers, for instance’’³³ (Respondent 11)

Programming

The programming activity is the main activity of any management of a performing arts organization and can be considered the point of departure for all other managerial tasks (Bernstein, 2014). For the nightclubs that were the subjects of this research, this primarily entails booking DJ's for the club nights. As the majority of the interviewees had 'programmer' as their job title, their daily task consists of searching for artists, contacting booking agencies for the availability of these artists and eventually going through the process of contracting them for a performance at a given night. While this task in general is already considered a strenuous job, the respondents declared that festivals have encumbered this even more, both directly and indirectly. As discussed, programmers have to deal with the unavailability of the artists, exclusivity clauses and high artist fees. Thereby, they have to think about the audiences who tend to visit nightclubs less during the festival season, but also desire 'big names'.

Where the unavailability of the artists is considered to be one of the more frustrating and difficult tasks for the nightclubs, some of the respondents also discussed the matter from a positive stand. Having to deal with this matter namely calls for the creativity of the programmers. It challenges them to look for new, unknown artists who have not been 'taken' by the festivals yet. Respondents have identified to enjoy programming unknown DJ's, providing them a stage, and helping them grow as an artist. It allows the programmers to present their audiences something new, something they did not know before. Chong (2010) relates to this as the organization's role of artistic integrity, providing artistic output which the audience beforehand would not have chosen

themselves. Programming unknown, often local artists also accounts for cheaper artists fees. Many nightclubs favour to program cheaper during the festival period as this minimizes the risk during this uncertain period. They tend to program larger, more famous artists outside of the festival season when a return of investment is more certain.

In order to work around the exclusivity clauses, nightclubs try to book artists as early as possible, ranging from a couple of months up to a year before the actual performance. Additionally, respondents try to make use of their relationships with festivals, artists and booking agencies in order to work around these contracts.

Moreover, during the programming activities programmers seem to be taking into consideration what other festivals and events are offering on that particular day. Programmers look at what other nightclubs and festivals are programming in terms of genres so they can adjust to this. As during the festival period the audience is already scarce, focussing on other genres than competing nightclubs will prevent the audience from dividing between the two clubs. Similar to that, programmers try to offer comparable sounds on the night of big festivals.

*‘What we often do is that the line-up matches with the one of the festivals. [...] So, for instance, a bit less hard, dark Techno on a night when there is a happy Housey sort of festival happening in the city. So, it will also attract the audience of that festival and so they won't go home right after the moment they just entered’.*³⁴
(Respondent 11)

Experience

The respondents have identified that in order to compete with festivals and other nightclubs, the club should really stand out to its audience. They should offer more than just a night out; it should offer an experience. In line with Chong's (2010) commitment of an arts organization to seek for excellence, nightclubs seem to actively seek for quality of their services in order to enhance the experience for their audiences.

*‘Look, sometimes it does not look like it, but we have thought about every small detail’*³⁵ (Respondent 5).

In order to achieve this excellence the respondents have explained to invest a lot of time, man power and money in realizing the best production value. Going beyond the means of

programming, nightclubs focus on things such as the toilets, sound and light quality, trained personnel, and well-trained security guards.

*‘‘We wanted a high-quality music experience for our visitors and that’s what we focus on. So, this means that we have a very heavy sound system for the space that we operate in. Significantly many speakers for how small it is’’*³⁶ (Respondent 4)

*‘‘What I think is important is that a club really offers an experience. Then its about your sound design, the walking routes, the bar personnel. People do pay in order to enter. [...] You have to make sure that they have a good night, so that people feel safe, that’s also really important.’’*³⁷ (Respondent 5)

The respondents notice that this pursue of excellence is really paying them off. They understand that the quality of the club is the business card of their organization, it is what visitors tell other people. Respondent 5 explains how the club used to have ‘*shitty toilets*’³⁸ which resulted in less female visitors. After they found out that the lack of female visitors was probably due to the toilets they rebuild them, resulting in a rise of female visitors again. It are these small things which make the nightclubs stand apart from each other. Additionally, respondents also explained that this is what makes both the audiences and artists loyal towards their club.

In addition to the excellence of the club, multiple respondents have explained the relevance of themes and concepts in order to achieve this experience. Nightclubs have explained to make use of specific themes addressed to the night in order to attract audiences. A couple of ‘*bland*’³⁹ (Respondent 7) examples were given, such as a pool party where the nightclub set up a number of inflatable pools inside. Or a kitchen party where a nightclub placed a number of kitchens inside their club. Surprisingly, ‘*that actually worked better than a lot of nights with a credible, intelligent line up*’⁴⁰ (Respondent 2).

On a more credible side, Respondent 7 explains the concept of an ‘*all-nigther*’⁴¹ where ‘*the people know that everything is about one artist, ten hours long, that’s it. With the same vibe. You come in a bit on time and you leave at the end because you want to hear the full story. [...] That’s a very good concept and that’s what many people feel attracted to*’⁴² Respondent 2 suggest themes related to the festival concept, he gives an example of the weekender concept which the Amsterdam nightclub De School does every once in a while. With this weekender they host a continues party which can last up to three days.

*‘‘I think that De School does that very well too, by going a bit further in what they offer. During the night but especially by focussing on the mornings as well. And by offering weekenders, and that just offers such an unique club experience which is totally different than what you will have at a festival’’.*⁴³ (Respondent 2)

Especially Respondent 3 is pronounced about the importance of the overall club concept and its branding. The respondent believes that although there is a pressure from festivals and competing nightclubs, having a ‘‘*strong*’’⁴⁴, unconventional concept is the recipe for a successful club. Other respondents have also identified that the originality of their brand is one of the foremost reasons for their success. In line with Colbert (2000), nightclubs seem to focus on their brand positioning in order to enlarge the experience and success of their organization. They seem to evaluate on the perception of the audience about their brand in order to understand why they like the club and why they want to visit them. This information is then used for marketing purposes and brand development. According to Baumgarth (2009) implementing the brand concept internally, so within the organization, is a potential contributor to the cultural and economic success of an arts organization.

*‘‘You have to write down for yourself; Why do people actually come to this club? What are they looking for here? Those are only a couple of groups, and you have to serve them all.’’*⁴⁶ (Respondent 10)

*‘‘I think it really has to do with being unique and its just very different in comparison to the rest of the supply. So, I think that that is the main motivation for people to tie to [our club]. It is just something completely different.’’*⁴⁷ (Respondent 9).

*‘‘[Our club] is within the current supply of the city something totally different from the rest. As long as you keep innovating, or at least keep setting yourself apart from the rest, then people will keep coming. Just because you offer a significant different product’’*⁴⁵ (Respondent 11).

Collaborations

In line with Negrier’s (2014) recommendation, nightclubs utilize on festivals by establishing creative collaborations. The vast majority of the respondents (10 out of 11) elucidated that their organization is actively establishing these collaborations as it is benefits both festivals and nightclubs. The two mainly used forms of collaborations are stage hosting at festivals and hosting afterparties at

nightclubs.

Stage hosting entails that the nightclubs are offered a specific stage at the festivals which they have full responsibility of. The festivals provide the nightclub with a budget which allows them to take care of the stage's programming, possible design, and decoration. For the nightclubs this offers them a chance to promote their brand, but also to promote DJ's who regularly play at their club. As the nightclubs often receive a payment for the hosting activity, it also allows them to earn a form of income during the festival season. Festivals profit from this as it possibly attracts the audience of the nightclub and it lowers the organizational burden of the festival.

Hosting afterparties is pretty much self explanatory, nightclubs collaborate with festivals in order to continue the party at their location. Often ticket prices for the afterparty are discounted for the people who already went to the festival. Thereby, these collaborations are often associated with specific artist deals, allowing the artists to perform both at the festival and the club for lower fees. According to the respondents, this concepts work really well as it attracts a large amount of people and it potentially introduces new audiences to the club as well.

Additionally, Respondent 10 advices that these collaborations should not be limited to festivals alone. He explains that also other cultural organizations such as radio stations, clothing brands and local creative collectives could be interesting and beneficial for potential collaborations. Respondent 10 explains;

"[A nightclub could] attract all sorts of organizations, which can be festivals but also other cultural organizations. This way, I think it will be easier for nightclubs to attract audiences. Because otherwise you have to do it with your own, regular club of people who come in every week and that's really hard to establish in this time". ⁴⁸

Some of the respondents do warn that nightclubs should not overdo it with the collaborations, especially regarding afterparties or parties hosted in the club. Respondent 1 and 10 explain that excessive use of collaborations could potentially harm the brand of the club. As Respondent 10 puts it; *"you don't want to be known as a rental shed"*. ⁴⁹

More than a club

In addition to the nightclub a number of participants identified that their organization partakes additional practices in order to increase their revenue streams. Having multiple means of income allows the organizations to balance out potentially incurred losses during the festival season.

Multiple respondents explained that along with the club their organization also runs a restaurant with a terrace where they welcome guests during the day. Especially during the summer

months this allows the organizations to make revenue which can balance potential incurred losses of the nightclub during these months. Thereby, the respondents explain that a lot of costumers from the restaurant eventually decide to continue their nights in the club. It adds value to the overall experience of a night out and also seems to attract audiences.

Respondent 2 stresses the importance of having an outside area. Especially during the summer, the respondent believes that offering an outside area is vital for having a viable summer period as a club. According to the respondent, this allows the nightclub to offer an atmosphere similar to that of a festival.

‘I think that if you want to have a good running club all year long, then you have to offer something [...] with a cool interior and exterior space, then you will be able to have a viable summer. So indeed, that you can offer that festival vibe in summer’’⁵⁰
(Respondent 2).

Additionally, some of the respondents explained that their organization also act as a music label and booking agency. Doing so, the respondents explained that this allows them to offer upcoming artists a platform while binding them to their organization. The respondents explain that this goes hand in hand with the ‘breeding pond’ role of the nightclubs, as they help and allow unestablished artists to put themselves out there. By becoming the booking agent or music label of the artists the nightclubs do not only help the artists, they also help themselves; every time the artists is being booked, or every time a LP is being sold; the nightclub will receive a portion of the cake. Moreover, this allows the nightclub to capitalize on the success of the artist rather than ‘losing’ them when they have become too big, or famous for their nightclub. It allows the nightclubs to secure a potential return for their investments in the artist, which is offering them a stage as a first step in their careers.

Goodwill

Overall, the nightclubs seem to rely heavily on what they refer to as ‘goodwill’ or a ‘likeability factor’ in order to tackle implications which nightclubs have to deal with, many of which caused by the festivals. With regards to the artist, respondents have mentioned to be able to offer lower fees and surpass the exclusivity contracts due to this notion of goodwill. Artists, agencies, and festivals seem to be willing to compromise in terms of payment, time and effort in order to let artists perform at the nightclubs.

“There are artists that just really, really want to come to [our club] and play. So that means that we don't have to be fighting for deejays like other places have to do”
(Respondent 1).

*“DJ's just really want to come play at us, so also the big DJ's and then we have to pay less because they want to come play at our place”*⁵¹ (Respondent 5).

*“We have a very high cuddle factor and a very high likeability factor with for instance organizations such as Dekmantel, which allowed us to do bookings in consultation with them, even though there was an exclusivity deal”*⁵² (Respondent 2).

But also, with regards to the audiences the respondents note that they can trust on their loyalty and goodwill. Their audience is willing to tolerate ‘*lesser nights*’ (Respondent 5) in terms of quality or programming. Even when some nights are not what they should be, audiences will return to their club.

*“We obviously also receive goodwill from the visitors, also because we are not an expensive club, so people think like; ‘Yes, alright, so this night wasn't it, but then I'll just come back tomorrow’”*⁵³ (Respondent 5).

This goodwill is established by multiple factors. Respondents have identified things such as the quality, vibe, and vision of the club to be important for establishing this phenomenon. But also, the way in which the organization takes care of its audience and artists by establishing personal connections and by listening to their needs and suggestions. Being consistent in terms of programming, prices and quality also add up. But, respondent 2 warns that one should not take this goodwill for granted, it is something you have to earn and which you can lose again rather quickly.

*“But it's not infinite, you know. So, you have to watch out with things like increasing the prices, because I mean, you can loose your likeability factor pretty fast, I think”*⁵⁴
(Respondent 2)

[Where to go from here?](#)

This final section will round up the result chapter. First, the somewhat unhealthy relationship between festivals and nightclubs will be discussed. After that, the influence of the current global

pandemic, caused by the Covid-19 virus, on the research topic will be touched upon. Finally, some pivotal results will be discussed.

Unhealthy relationship

During the interviews it became clear that the overall relationship between festivals and nightclubs can be considered to be somewhat unhealthy. On the one hand, there are the nightclubs who have an extremely important role in creating and maintaining the culture. They offer a literal stage for artists to develop and for cultures to emerge. But it are exactly those nightclubs who are having a very hard time to survive.

*‘I will be honest with you, over the past couple of years we often thought to ourselves; this will be our last weekend’*⁵⁵ (Respondent 5).

High rents, high artist fees, critical and demanding audiences, and the lack of support from the municipality are just a number of different factors which nightclubs have to deal with on a daily basis. But it is the pressure of the festivals which is the hammer blow to a number of clubs. According to the respondents, the margins are really thin, but the costs are really high. It becomes more and more impossible to have a financially healthy nightclub.

‘If people would actually see the numbers, I think that people just think that clubs are money machines. But that's not true. Like, the margins are quite small’
(Respondent 1).

*‘The number of clubs, yeah, we have seen for years that it is an extremely hard business. Definitely in Amsterdam, but also in Rotterdam you notice that the life span of a nightclub is not very long. And even the clubs that seem to be successful still have to make ends meet.’*⁵⁶ (Respondent 10).

On the other hand, there are the festivals who are causing a number of difficulties for the nightclubs, such as exclusivity clauses and high artist fees. They are highly appreciated and supported by the municipalities and often receive money from sponsors. They are admittedly taking advantage of the developments which take place within the nightclubs, whereas they are the ones that reap the fruits. As respondent 5 explains; *‘the real money is to be found at the festivals, and then we talk about millions’*⁵⁷ (Respondent 5). Respondents are afraid that this relation between festivals and

nightclubs will continue as it is, making it harder for nightclubs to survive and potentially result in a number of clubs closing down permanently.

‘I expect that this balance will stay the same the coming years, if not, at the expense of the nightclubs’’⁵⁸ (Respondent 6).

As a future prospect, the respondents hope that festivals will start realizing their dependency of nightclubs and take that into consideration when doing business. Thereby, the respondents would like to see that the number of festivals drop, only remaining the ones that really contribute something to the scene and not the ones that are in it for the wrong reasons.

‘I think festivals should just realize how important nightclubs are for the ecosystem and try to take that into account while they're doing business. Otherwise you would just see more, more, and more festivals coming and clubs closing. So, I'm just scared that in a few years there's going to be like mostly festivals and just a few clubs. Festivals are events that are one off. They're just one time per year. And all clubs are this regular space where people can go and meet and connect and you need that to create community and to create a healthy scene’’ (Respondent 1)

‘What I personally would like to see is that there will be less festivals and that the more meaningful ones remain. And that the club culture, where you can discover a lot more and what also contributes to a more diverse supply on festivals, that that will become livelier’’⁵⁹ (Respondent 6)

Covid-19

As previously discussed, this research was conducted during the worldwide pandemic caused by the Covid-19 virus. While I tried to keep the virus and its implications out of the conversations as much as possible, it was clear that the virus was ubiquitous in everyone's life and therefore often did become a topic of conversation. As some of the points made regarding the virus were of relevance for this study, they will be discussed. The respondents were obviously overwhelmed and overthrown as the virus had forced them to shut down their clubs and cancel their festivals. They were scared and sceptical about the future and the survival of their organizations. Nonetheless, some of the respondents thought this situation might actually have a positive effect for the scene and the nightclub industry.

Respondent 2 explained how the virus would most likely lead to a financial crisis which could lead to opportunities for new initiatives, such as nightclubs. As the crisis would take place, he expects a lot of vacancies to open up. This would allow entrepreneurs to access and exploit interesting buildings for a fraction of the rent which they have to pay now. He also believes that the high rents, which are currently in force in larger Dutch cities, is one of the primer reasons why many nightclubs close down and why rarely new ones enter the market.

With regards to the artist, respondent 10 explained that the virus might burst the artist fee bubble. He explained that the lack of work and therefore the lack of income caused by the virus, could help realize that these high fees are very unnecessary. According to the respondent, at the time of doing the interview, the artist fees had already dropped to half of what they were before the crisis. Of course, there was also a sceptical note, as this could also just be a temporary effect.

Finally, Respondent 7 sees opportunities for nightclubs as he expects the number of festivals will decline due to the current crisis. Nightclubs can anticipate on this by for instance organizing extra events and by taking more risks. Although there will be a crisis, he believes that people will keep ‘*treating themselves*’⁶⁰ with a night out. As nightclub tickets are cheaper than festival tickets the respondent believes that the audience will then choose a nightclub over a festival. Additionally, the respondent expects that people will travel less which means they will stay at home during the summer potentially visiting more nightclubs during that period.

All in all, it seems that festivals and nightclubs relate to each other as complementary goods, rather than substitutes (Towse, 2010). Although respondents identify that the audience sometimes make a deliberate choice between visiting a nightclub or a festival, indicating a substitute relationship between the two, there are factors that suggest otherwise. The notion that festivals can account for learning by consuming (Lévy- Garboua & Montmarquette, 2011), which leads to potential consumption of the services of a nightclub, suggests that the audiences can maximize their utility by consuming both a festival and a nightclub. Additionally, festivals seem to rely on nightclubs for their existence, according to the respondents festivals would not exist without nightclubs. Rather than substituting another, nightclubs and festivals complement each other.

This complementary role is also seen when the two join forces and create something together, such as an after party or stage hosting. According to a number of participants these collaborations appear to work really well and even create more lucrative outcomes than without the collaboration. Joining forces and establishing something new and valuable, something that is greater than the sum of its parts is the essence of successful relationship synergy (Weiss, Anderson & Lasker, 2002). It is therefore grounded to say that festivals and nightclubs can create synergy by joining forces (Weiss, Anderson & Lasker, 2002).

5. Conclusion

The aim of the research was to answer the question: *How do Dutch nightclubs construe the festivalization phenomenon?* Doing so the following four subsequent questions were formulated;

- What do the nightclubs notice of the phenomenon?
- To what extent do festivals create implications on the practices of nightclubs?
- How do the nightclubs deal with these implications?
- To what extent can festivals be beneficial for nightclubs?

To provide a final answer to these questions, this chapter addresses the results and its theoretical and practical implications. First, an elaboration on the findings in relation to the theoretical framework will be given. Then, the implications of this study will be addressed. Lastly, the limitations will be clarified and recommendations for future research will be formulated.

Summary and discussion of findings

In line with previous studies regarding the festivalization phenomenon (Magia et al., 2011; Richards & Palmer, 2010; Yolal et al., 2015), the respondents identified a growth in the number of cultural related festivals over the past decade. As the number of festivals increased over the years the length of the festival season grew as well which intensified the impact on the cultural sector. The research has shown that this instigates two main consequences for the permanent nightclubs: a decrease in audiences during the festival season, and a fierce competition over artists. The latter takes place both during and outside of the festival season. As a response to this, three of the nightclubs decided to temporarily close during the festival season, stating that it is unfeasible for them to remain open during this time. While the two primary given consequences exist, the other nightclubs remain open as per usual. These nightclubs have found ways to remain lucrative during the festival season, or they accept incurred losses which they can reconcile outside of the season.

During the festival season, which starts as early as May and ends in late September, nightclubs experience a hard time attracting audiences. Festivals can obtain the attention of the audiences attracting them to their events, leaving the audience with no more financial means, time, and necessity to visit a nightclub. Some of the nightclubs respond to this by offering lower ticket prices or promotions such as two for the price of one. Thereby, the festivals are influential in shaping the way people relate to partying, because they set a benchmark for the audience's desires. Festivals are asserted to have introduced a headline culture where artists become superstars (Rosen, 1982) and the names of the artists on the line up are the gauge of quality for any party, both of festivals and nightclubs. Additionally, festivals are purported to have increased the overall importance of experience (Pine & Gilmore, 2011), imposing nightclubs to offer their audience more than just a dancefloor. Nightclubs respond to this by addressing certain themes during club nights such as an all

nightery where one DJ plays all night, or a weekender where there is a continuous party for multiple days. Additionally, they adhere to the experience by enhancing their overall excellence (Chong, 2010), for instance by investing in a quality sound system or by employee training and development.

The fierce competition over the artists can be directly linked to the bargaining powers that are inherent to festivals due to the possession of economies of scale (Porter, 2008). As festivals can offer a substantial greater amount in fees, nightclubs are no longer significant for artists during the festival season. The high amounts of fees which festivals are willing to offer also set a benchmark for the rest of the industry, leading to overall increased fees. Additionally, festivals exploit these economies of scale by contracting artists with an exclusivity clause. In line with Hiller (2014) these clauses entail that artists are prohibited to perform anywhere else in the Netherlands during a specific timeframe, leading up to months before and after the festival. These contracts lead to feelings of frustration by some of the respondents as their nightclubs namely act as a breeding pond for artists and culture (Thornton, 1995), which in its turn is being utilized by the festivals. Nightclubs consider it therefore unfair that they are not excepted from the exclusivity while they are the ones creating and maintaining the ecosystem of the underground electronic dance scene. The high competition, the ever-increasing fees, and the unavailability of artists due to exclusivity contracts makes it almost impossible for nightclubs to program artists that their audience desire. In order to still finalize a full program, programmers either book artist really early in the year or search for artists that are not restricted by the festivals, often local, unknown artists.

One of the leading ways nightclubs tend to tackle the implications caused festivals is by utilizing the goodwill between them and artists, audiences, and other stakeholders within the industry such as festivals and booking agencies. According to the respondents, due to their likeability factor audiences are loyal with repeated attendance; are artists willing to perform for lower fees and are festivals willing to breach exclusivity clauses and are willing to collaborate. This goodwill is established by a mix of multiple factors such as the overall excellence and focus of the club (Chong, 2010), extensive focus on relationship building with the various stakeholders (Colbert & James, 2014) and by means of low pricing (Happel & Jennings, 2010).

Nonetheless, the data also showed ways in which nightclubs benefit from festivals. In line with Negrier's (2014) recommendation, nightclubs make extensive use of creative collaborations with festivals, usually in the form of stage hosting and afterparties. Additionally, due to the low threshold of attending a festival they can attribute to the learning by consuming of electronic dance music (Lévy- Garboua & Montmarquette, 2011). As festivals can be the place where audiences are introduced to this artform they could stir up future consumption of the nightclub's services.

Implications

There are a couple implications for practice stemming from this research. First, unveiling the impact festivals have on the way nightclubs function, which was covert and unwritten up until now.

Nightclubs are essential for the ecosystem of electronic dance music and its surrounding culture.

Without nightclubs, festivals would not be able to exist, or at least not in its contemporary shape.

This study helps to understand how this significance is built and how festivals exploit it. The results of this study can therefore be used as a point of reference for stakeholders when addressing the matter, for instance to prompt the current unhealthy relationship between festivals and nightclubs.

Moreover, due to the lack of previous research related to this topic, this thesis is also the first point of reference for stakeholders such as researchers, policy makers or scholars when seeking for information regarding the role of festivalization on nightclubs, or more generally, the role of festivalization on permanent cultural organizations.

Limitations and recommendations for future research

This section will address the limitations of this thesis, followed by a number of recommendations for future research. Starting with the overall focus of this research, due to its broad scope regarding the impact of festivalization on nightclubs, an in-depth analysis of the individual facets discussed in this research are rather limited. As specific literature regarding this topic is fairly non-existent and the nature of this research was one of a descriptive and exploratory kind, the conclusions remain quite broad. Moreover, due to the limited number of respondents it is not possible to generalize the outcomes (Bryman, 2012). Thereby, it is to be noted that two of the respondents did not have enough knowledge about their organization as the other nine respondents did. Some of the questions were therefore not answered, leaving a discrepancy in the data. Additionally, albeit continuous efforts to make contact and arrange interviews, a number of influential and important stakeholders within the industry were unfortunately not represented in this research.

Now that this research laid the foundation of data regarding this research topic, further research could expand on collecting additional data regarding the impact of festivalization on permanent cultural organizations. As this research was rather broad, future research could focus on specific topics such as the programming activity or the motivations of the audience to choose a festival over a nightclub. However, not only within the electronic music scene research could be expanded, also beyond that, focussing on other genres, or even other arts disciplines such as film or visual arts. Additionally, quantitative research on the impact of festivalization on permanent cultural organizations is advised as there is still a huge lack of hard numbers on this matter. For instance, research could be devoted to the effect of festivals on the visitor numbers of institutions such as nightclubs or museums.

Moreover, while this research was conducted during the global pandemic caused by Covid-19 it is very likely that the industry will look totally different within a couple of years. This will inevitably change the way in which nightclubs and festivals relate to each other. It is therefore advised to do a similar study in the near future in order to have an updated outcome. It could then be interesting to compare the existing results with the newly obtained ones in order to see how the pandemic has disrupted the cultural institutions at stake.

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Appendix A: Overview of participants

Respondent	Organization	Job Description	Years of Experience
1	Nightclub	Programmer	2.5 years
2	Nightclub	Owner, Programmer	10+ years
3	Nightclub	Owner, Programmer	4 years
4	Nightclub	Owner, Programmer	3 years
5	Nightclub	Programmer	3 years
6	Festival	Programmer	5 years
7	Festival(s)	Programmer	8 years
8	Nightclub	Programmer	2 years
9	Nightclub	Floor/club manager	1 year
10	Nightclub and Festival	Programmer	10 years
11	Nightclub	Floor/club manager	2.5 years

Appendix B: Interview guide

Topic assessment	Questions
Personal background information / promotor	<p>Could you tell me a bit about yourself ?</p> <p>Who are you?</p> <p>What do you do?</p> <p>What is your role within the organization?</p> <p>What is in your day to day routine?</p> <p>How long have you been working for this club?</p>
Nightclub information	<p>How would you describe this nightclub?</p> <p>What are the objectives?</p> <p>What genre is played? What artists?</p> <p>Opening hours?</p> <p>How would you describe your audience?</p> <p>What are some problems you run into or have to deal with?</p> <p>Is this because of festivals?</p> <p>Do other nightclubs run into these problems too?</p> <p>Do you believe that the nightclub is a success? How so?</p>
Festivals (festivalization)	<p>What do you think of the growing number of festivals, festivalization?</p> <p>Why do you think festivals have become such a success?</p> <p>When you noted this growing amount of festivals?</p> <p>What does this mean for the nightlife industry?</p> <p>What does this mean for nightclubs? How?</p> <p>How do you think this will develop?</p>
Direct competition	<p>Are there any festivals in particular that act as a more competition?</p> <p>What about ; Dekmantel. Lente Kabinet. DGTL. Draaimolen</p> <p>Do you notice a difference per festival?</p>
Competing Nightclubs	<p>Are you in contact with other nightclubs/promoters? What do you discuss?</p> <p>Do you work together with other nightclubs?</p> <p>What is their thoughts on festivals? Do you notice a different strategy compared to yours?</p> <p>Do you notice a difference within different nightclubs?</p> <p>Do you discuss strategies with them?</p>
Complements or substitutes	<p>Do you see festivals as a threat to nightclub industry? Why?</p> <p>Can festivals be complementary to nightclubs ? Why and how?</p> <p>Can you take advantage of festivals? How?</p>

Programming	<p>Can festivals bring opportunities? How? Do you make use of this? What about other nightclubs ?</p> <p>Can festivals work in your favour ? how so ?</p> <p>Or you consider them substitutes ?</p> <p>Would or could you cooperate with festivals ? How ?</p> <p>What type of artists do you program? What are considerations when programming?</p> <p>What are difficulties you run into during the process of programming? Is this because of festivals? How come?</p> <p>Do festivals influence your artistic programming? How so?</p> <p>How do you tackle this? What about contracts? Residency ?</p>
Price	<p>What strategy do you take on the prices of tickets?</p> <p>How do you determine your pricing?</p> <p>Do competitors play a role? Festivals?</p> <p>Do festivals have in influence on your ticket prices? How ?</p>
Visitors	<p>Are festival visitors different from nightclub visitors?</p> <p>What do visitors expect at a nightclub? And at a Festival?</p> <p>Has this changed over the years?</p> <p>What do they find important? How do you adhere to that?</p>

Appendix C: Quotations

1. Ik denk dat dat op een gegeven moment gewoon een hype is geworden, net zoals dat een artiest een hype is geworden of kan worden en dat sommige artiesten wat langere tijd daarvan genieten. En sommigen van korte tijd. Is Nederland veranderd van een clubcultuur naar een festivalcultuur. En ik denk dat dat kwam omdat mensen zagen dat er geld in te verdienen was. Ik denk ook dat als je kijkt naar hoe makkelijk de gemeentes omgaan met vergunningen. De gemeentes zagen natuurlijk ook wel handel in festivals, ze zien hoe mensen enorme bedragen neerleggen voor bepaalde parken en terreinen en bedrijven kunnen hierdoor ook treinen onderhouden. Als je makkelijker met dat soort restricties omgaat, dan gaan dingen gewoon makkelijker en dan gaan dingen gewoon georganiseerd worden. Dus ik denk dat het gaandeweg gewoon meer in ons bloed is gaan zitten
2. Met Lentekabinet begint eigenlijk het festivalseizoen, die begint eind mei en de meeste festivals gaan nu al door tot het laatste weekend van september. Dus dat is [...] vier maanden waarin clubs met festivals over de hele wereld, of in ieder geval heel Europa laten we het daar ophouden, mee moeten concurreren.
3. Festival is dan toch veel gereguleerde met veel security en eh en weet ik veel wat, alles is georganiseerd.
4. Bij clubs heb je veel meer het gevoel van; je weet niet wat er gaat gebeuren, dat beetje spontaniteit [...] dat is gewoon cool aan een nachtclub.
5. Festival-set
6. Ik denk dat heel veel nachtclub bezoekers ook festivalbezoekers zijn, maar andersom is dat niet zo. Die vinden juist lekker een biertje doen in het zonnetje, muziekje erbij hartstikke fantastisch, maar die hoeven niet de hele nacht in een donker hol te staan. Een festival gevoel is toch heel erg anders. Je hoeft bijvoorbeeld helemaal niet van de muziek te houden om naar een festival gaat. Je kan daar allemaal andere dingen doen. Je kan lekker met je vrienden praten, je kan socializen. En dat is een stuk minder in de nachtclub.
7. Ja en nee, ik bedoel in de zomer zijn zeker concurrenten. Tegelijkertijd is het natuurlijk ja, bij festival ligt de focus meer op overdag. De nachtclub begint pas om 11 uur.
8. het is in de loop van de jaren er zeker niet makkelijker op geworden door het aantal festivals.
9. Hebben het daardoor een stuk moeilijker gekregen.
10. Laat ik het wel zo zeggen: als er een muziekfestival is dat in ons genre bezig is, dat merken we sowieso – dat de dagen daarvoor of de avond ervoor de club het wat moeilijker heeft omdat de mensen de dag daarvoor toch, ja, niet uit gaan.
11. Ik denk dat wij sowieso last hebben van festivals die in ons straatje liggen, op het gebied van muziek dan. Dus denk aan een Dekmantel, DGTL, Khatarsis noem het maar op. Ik denk eigenlijk dat het niet zo heel erg veel uitmaakt, ook als bijvoorbeeld Lowlands is dan hebben we het gewoon echt rustig. Maar ook lokale festivals die misschien niet eens met onze muziek te maken hebben, die trekken allemaal gewoon publiek weg.
12. Meestal is een festival om 1 uur afgelopen en wij gaan om 12 uur open. Veel van ons publiek heeft dan nog geen zin om naar huis te gaan om 1, dus dan komen ze nog bij ons langs.
13. Grimmige sfeer
14. Ik denk wel inderdaad dat dat die festivalsfeer is wel heel erg onderdeel geworden van het uitgaan. Ook in de winter. Je ziet dat een beleving natuurlijk gewoon veel belangrijker geworden is, het is niet alleen meer een plaatje op zetten, het is de sfeer en de aankleding is volgens mij belangrijker dan ooit.
15. Ik denk niet dat mensen, omdat ze bij festivals alleen maar confetti en lasers zien, dat ze dat dan ook in een club verwachten.

16. Als een festival moet je gewoon met goede, grote line-up komen, met veel namen. Je moet laten zien wie de headliners zijn. Dat is een soort waarde graadmeter voor een festival.
17. Big fish
18. Als er bijvoorbeeld een Mall Grab staat, dan is het helemaal bomvol, dus dat trekt gewoon mensen aan puur vanwege de naam, hebben we minder bekende DJ's op de line-up staan dan is het een stuk minder druk. Dus mensen komen bij ons voornamelijk nog wel voor de namen van de DJ's die er staan
19. Ze zuigen heel veel aandacht naar hunzelf toe.
20. Ik denk wel dat de mensen die bijvoorbeeld eerder geneigd zijn om naar een festival te gaan omdat die de drempel wat lager is om daar naartoe te gaan. Daar kunnen ze in aanraking komen met muziek en die leren kennen en die vervolgens dan ook weer meer gaan waarderen. Daarna gaan ze daar dan ook naar op zoek in een nachtclub waardoor ze dan uiteindelijk wel weer bij een nachtclub komen.
21. Een festival maakt een grote impact met een grote line up en dan kom jij met één DJ en dat vinden mensen niet zo boeiend meer. Dus dat valt niet meer zo op tussen al dat geweld.
22. Maar ik geloof wel dat het voor nachtclubs heeft betekend dat ze een veel grotere concurrentie hebben met het boeken van artiesten.
23. Dat spelletje spelen wij niet
24. Stel je voor, je hebt Theo Parrish die dan een live optreden doet en dat je daar veel geld voor betaald. Dan wil je niet dat je die bij Lowlands en nog drie andere festivals ziet draaien, want dan is die naam in die line-up gewoon een stuk minder bijzonder dan dat je eerst dacht dat het was. Dus dan ga je kijken naar dat soort dingen als exclusiviteit.
25. Ik denk dat festival sowieso niet kunnen zonder clubs, want in de clubs worden de artiesten geboren. Het is niet zo dat wij een artiest boeken die nog nooit ergens anders heeft gedraaid natuurlijk. Of die nog nooit in een club heeft gestaan of alleen maar radioshow's heeft gedraaid. Dus we zullen er vast wel eentje boeken, maar meestal gebeurt dat niet. De clubs hebben echt een voortrekkersrol voor het vinden van nieuwe talenten
26. Het jammer is dat het club segment heel het jaar al die dj's boekt en dat festivals dan gewoon bij de clubs gaan kijken, wie populair zijn en wie de poppin' zijn, en die boeken ze dan voor het festival met heel veel geld. En die trekken ze dan weg [...] om vervolgens één keer per jaar enorm hard als festival te kunnen flexen met allemaal spannende namen.
27. Pikken de cultuur
28. En dan gaat het om meer dan het idee van: jullie pikken de cultuur, dan gaat het ook gewoon om: hé, jullie zitten gewoon met jullie handen in onze inkomsten voor niet echt een hele goede reden.
29. Omdat alle artiesten toch voornamelijk bij festivals worden geboekt en we trekken gewoon veel minder publiek, omdat het publiek daar ook is.[...] In de zomer is 't bijna niet te doen om met een nachtclub open te zijn.
30. We hebben in juni, juli, augustus één plus één gratis gedaan. Dus als je met z'n tweeën kwam, dan hoef je maar voor één persoon te betalen en in het laatste jaar hebben we een korting prijs gedaan. Dus maar vijf of acht euro entree.
31. Het is denk ik echt heel belangrijk dat je als club in dit segment, dat je gewoon een goed netwerk hebt, dat is gewoon cruciaal.
32. 50 a 60 mensen zitten in die groep en dat is online op Facebook. En dan zeg je gewoon van *joh wat willen jullie zien?* En dat zijn vooral gewoon vrienden en kennissen en mensen die graag naar de club komen, en dan zeggen zij een aantal naam en dan gaan we kijken of dat haalbaar is en of dat een beetje bekend is en als die nog niet geboekt is dan zijn we best wel bereid om dat te boeken.

33. We hebben een fysiek promotieteam en een online promotieteam. [...] Ze krijgen iedere week opdrachten om dingen te delen of om events gewoon op te hypen. [...]. Ongeveer zes van hun die worden zo nu en dan gevraagd om dus fysieke promo te doen. Dus om flyers op te hangen of uit te delen bijvoorbeeld.
34. Wat wij ook vaak doen is dat de line-up wat meer bij dat festival aansluit [...] Dus bijvoorbeeld wat minder hardere duistere techno op een avond wanneer er een wat vrolijker housey festival is in de stad, zodat het ook publiek trekt van het festival, en dat ze niet in een keer naar huis gaan op het moment dat ze binnen komen.
35. Kijk, het ziet er af en toe gewoon niet zo uit, maar over ieder klein dingetje wordt toch wel gewoon echt nagedacht.
36. Wij wilden een hoge kwaliteitsmuziek ervaring voor bezoekers en daar ligt dan vooral de focus op. Dus dit betekent dat we voor de ruimte waar wij inzitten een heel zwaar geluidssysteem hebben. Vrij veel speakers voor hoe klein het eigenlijk is.
37. Wat ik denk dat heel belangrijk is als een club is dat je echt een ervaring aanbiedt. Dan gaat het of je geluidspan goed is, dat je looproutes leuk zijn, dat je barpersoneel scherp is. Mensen betalen toch wel entree. [...] Je moet gewoon zorgen dat je een fijne avond heb, dus dat de mensen zich veilig voelen. Dat is ook heel belangrijk.
38. Kut toiletten
39. Banaal
40. Dat werkte eigenlijk beter dan heel veel avonden met een credible, intelligente Line up.
41. All-nighter
42. de mensen weten dat alles rondom één artiest gaat, tien uur lang en that's it. Met dezelfde vibe en je komt een beetje vroeg binnen, je gaat pas aan het einde weg want je wil het hele verhaal horen. Dat zijn concepten waar heel veel mensen zich tot aangetrokken voelen
43. Ik vind de School dat ook wel heel goed heeft gedaan, door wel echt een stap verder te gaan in wat ze aanbieden. Door in de nacht maar ook zeker in de ochtend te gaan zitten en weekenders aan te bieden – en echt een hele eigen clubbeleving aan te bieden die zo uniek is, dat het echt wel wezenlijk anders is dan wat je bij een festival kan krijgen.
44. Sterk
45. [Onze club] is binnen het aanbod van de stad wel echt heel anders dan de rest. Zolang je op die manier je blijft vernieuwen, of in ieder geval blijft afzetten tegen de rest, dan blijven de mensen wel komen. Gewoon omdat je een dusdanig ander product kan leveren
46. Je moet goed voor jezelf opschrijven; Waarom komen mensen naar deze club eigenlijk? Wat zoeken ze hier? Dat zijn maar een paar groepen en die moet je allemaal bedienen.
47. ik denk dat dat heel erg heeft te maken met uniek te zijn en het is gewoon heel erg anders in vergelijking met eigenlijk al het andere aanbod. Dus ik denk dat dat de voornaamste drijfveer is voor mensen om zich zo te binden, aan [onze club]. Het is echt iets heel erg compleet apart.
48. Dan haal je allerlei partijen binnen, en dat kunnen festivals zijn maar ook andere culturele partijen. Op die manier denk ik dat clubs makkelijker publiek naar binnen kunnen trekken. Want anders moeten hebben van je eigen, vaste clubje mensen die gewoon iedere week komt en dat is gewoon moeilijk te bouwen in deze tijd.
49. Omdat je niet bekend wilt staan als een verhuurschuur
50. Ik denk als je een club wilt die heel het jaar goed gaat draaien, ja, dan moet je iets hebben [...] met een toffe binnenruimte en de buitenruimte, dan kun je in de zomer ook gewoon goed draaien, dus inderdaad dat je die festivalsfeer ook in de zomer kan aanbieden.
51. Dat dj's gewoon heel erg graag bij ons willen draaien, dus ook de groot deejays en dan hoeven we minder te betalen omdat ze graag bij ons willen draaien.

52. we hebben een heel hoog aaibaarheidsgehalte en een hele hoge gunfactor bij bijvoorbeeld partijen als Dekmantel, waardoor we toch nog wel boekingen konden doen in overleg met hun, terwijl er soms dan wel naar exclusiviteit deal was.
53. Goodwill die krijgen we natuurlijk ook van de bezoekers, ook omdat de club omdat we niet een hele dure club zijn, dus dan denken ze gewoon van; *Ja, oké, vanavond was het 'm niet, maar dan kom ik morgen gewoon weer terug.*
54. Die is niet oneindig, weet je wel. Dus je moet wel uitkijken met prijzen verhogen, want ik bedoel je gunfactor ben je zo weer kwijt, denk ik.
55. Ik zeg je heel eerlijk, we hebben de afgelopen jaren wel vaak gedacht van. Dit is ons laatste weekend.
56. Het aantal clubs, ja, je ziet al Jaren dat da teen hele lastige business is. Zeker hier in Amsterdam, maar ook in Rotterdam zie je dat het leven van een club niet heel lang is. En de clubs die succesvol lijken zijn aan de achterkant ook nog de eindjes aan elkaar aan het knopen is
57. Maar het echte geld is het wel echt bij de festivals. En daar gaat het gewoon echt om miljoenen.
58. Dus ik verwacht dat dat evenwicht de komende Jaren nog wel hetzelfde zal blijven. Anders misschien wel te nadelen van de clubs.
59. Wat ik zelf zou willen zien is dat er minder festivals komen, meer betekenisvolle festivals overblijven. En dat de clubcultuur, waarin je veel meer kan ontdekken en wat er ook voor zorgt dat je een veel diverse aanbod kan krijgen op festivals. Dat dat meer levendig gaat worden.
60. Zichzelf verwennen.