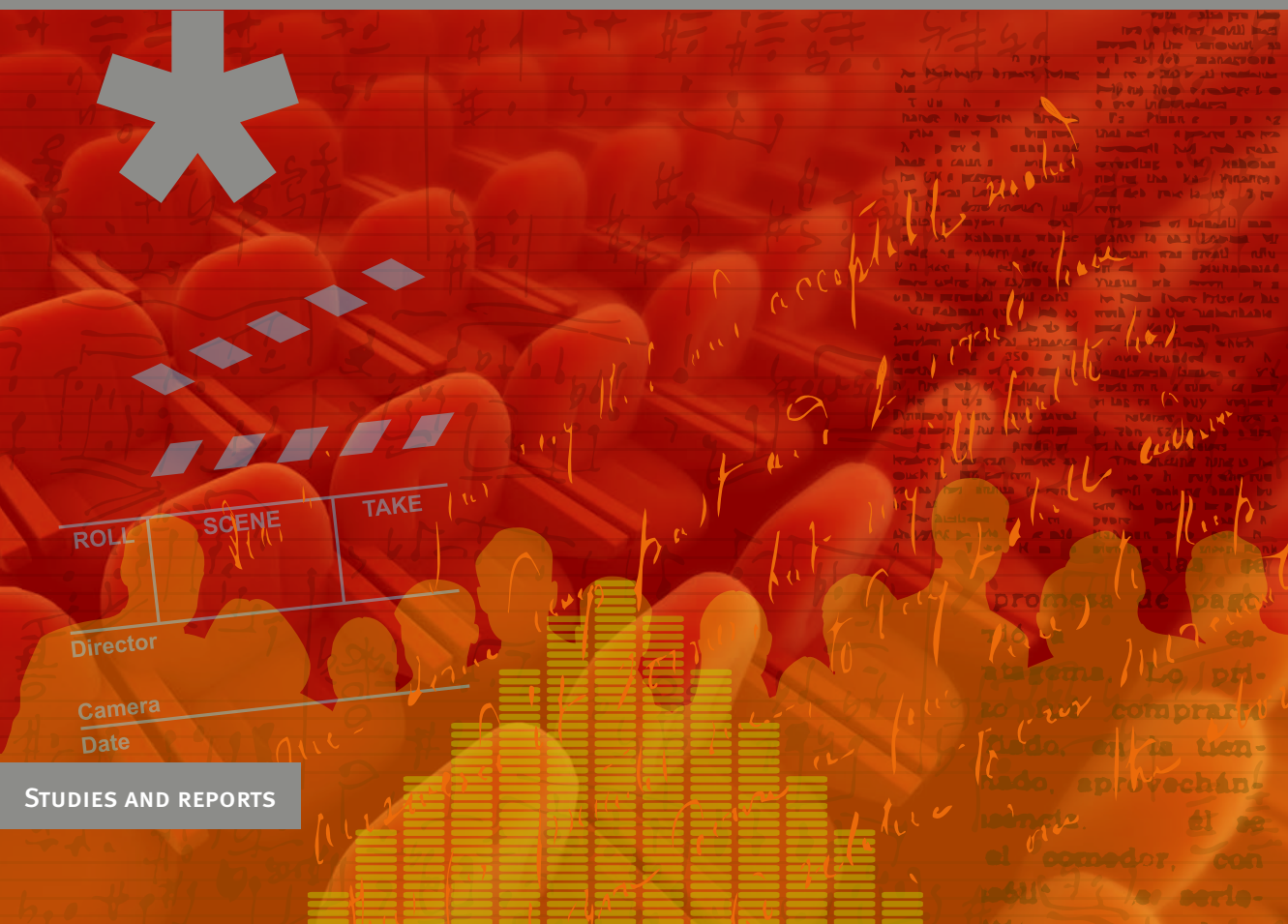


European Arts Festivals Strengthening cultural diversity



EUROPEAN COMMISSION

Directorate-General for Research & Innovation
Directorate B — European Research Area
Unit B.5 — Social sciences and humanities

Contact: Andreas Obermaier
European Commission
Office SDME 1/18
B-1049 Brussels

Tel. (32-2) 29-96520
Fax (32-2) 29-79608
E-mail: andreas.obermaier@ec.europa.eu

European Arts Festivals

Strengthening cultural diversity

**EUROPE DIRECT is a service to help you find answers
to your questions about the European Union.**

**Freephone number (*):
00 800 6 7 8 9 10 11**

(*) Certain mobile telephone operators do not allow access to 00 800 numbers
or these calls may be billed.

Neither the European Commission nor any person acting on behalf of the Commission is responsible for the use which might be made of the following information.

The views expressed in this publication are the sole responsibility of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the European Commission.

More information on the European Union is available on the Internet (<http://europa.eu>).

Cataloguing data can be found at the end of this publication.

Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2011

ISBN 978-92-79-19569-3

doi 10.2777/48715

Cover picture: © Shutterstock

© European Union, 2011

Reproduction is authorised provided the source is acknowledged.

Printed in Belgium

PRINTED ON PROCESS CHLORINE-FREE RECYCLED PAPER (PCF)



5 Preface

6 Introduction

11 **A celebration of the word and a stage for political debate:
Literature festivals in Europe today**

Liana Giorgi

25 **Music festivals as cosmopolitan spaces**

Jasper Chalcraft, Paolo Magaudda, Marco Solaroli and Marco Santoro

37 **International film festivals in European cities: Win-win situations?**

Jérôme Segal

47 **Festivals in cities, cities in festivals**

Monica Sassatelli and Gerard Delanty

57 **Music festivals and local identities**

Paolo Magaudda, Marco Solaroli, Jasper Chalcraft and Marco Santoro

68 **Conclusions and policy recommendations**

70 References

The Euro-Festival Consortium

With the contribution of: Liana Giorgi, Jérôme Segal, Gerard Delanty, Monica Sassatelli, Marco Santoro, Marco Solaroli, Paolo Magaudda and Jasper Chalcraft.

Acknowledgement

This monograph has been prepared in the framework of the FP7 project 'Arts Festivals and the European Public Culture' (Grant No. 215747, project acronym: Euro-Festival). The project consortium would like to use this opportunity to acknowledge the European Commission and, in particular, the 'Social Sciences and Humanities' Programme for supporting the Euro-Festival project and also for making the present publication possible. Thanks are also due to the three external project reviewers, Jim English, Nikos Papastergiadis and Maurice Roche, who have accompanied the project and provided it useful advice and guidance since its begin. The Euro-Festival project was carried out collaboratively by the Interdisciplinary Centre for Comparative Research in the Social Sciences (ICCR) of Austria, the University of Sussex of UK and Istituto Cattaneo of Italy.



Preface

Social Sciences and Humanities (SSH) are an essential part of the European Union's Seventh Research Framework Programme and the European Research Area. SSH help us to better understand societal phenomena and therefore to prepare our societies, economies and political systems for the future. The European Commission funding does not only support excellent research, its key priority is to inform and support policymaking at all levels – local, regional, national, European and international.

The Euro-Festival project, funded under the topic 'Creativity, Culture and Democracy', achieves both excellence and policy relevance. This publication presents some of the main research findings related to the issues of interculturality, interdisciplinarity, innovation and general openness towards the new, promoted through festivals, as well as the tensions between commercialisation of culture and its artistic values.

Festivals are a very interesting object of study, and not only because of their constant increase in number. Who is the main driver of the process of cultural integration? The nation state, the European Union or private initiatives? Do we need more European initiatives in the area of festivals, and if yes, how should this be supported? What is the purpose of festivals? Branding, urban regeneration and democratisation, or rather transmitting the ideas of openness, dialogue, curiosity, cultural diversity, internationalism and critical inquiry? These questions, amongst others, are being addressed by the Euro-Festival project.

This publication will be of interest to colleagues in various European institutions as well as policymakers at the national and subnational level, those engaged in the culture sector and citizens involved in cultural events.



Introduction

This monograph is based on the research carried out by the Euro-Festival project 'Arts Festivals and the European Public Culture' supported by the Seventh Research Framework Programme of the European Union and specifically the latter's 'Social Sciences and Humanities' (SSH) Programme.

What do arts festivals have to tell us about European society, its culture, politics and the role of cultural policy? How do arts festivals mediate, present and celebrate diversity? And what is the role of arts festivals for their specific locations but also for the exchange of ideas across borders and boundaries? These are some of the questions of the Euro-Festival project.

The project's aim was to examine the role of arts festivals as sites of trans-national identifications and democratic debate. This is not the mainstream way of looking at arts festivals – or festivals more generally. Cultural studies consider festivals mainly as manifestations of urban regeneration; and political sociology often neglects the role of arts for the democratic public sphere, other than in the rather simplistic assumption of thinking of the arts as 'essentially' critical thus conducive to democratic debate. The Euro-Festival project has sought to fill in both of these gaps by moving beyond the mere consideration of culture and the arts as mere depictions of social reality towards their analysis as autonomous fields and, thus, agents of cultural policy (McGuigan 2004). It is in this sense that we also use the term of the aesthetic public culture (Chaney 2002; Delanty, Giorgi and Sassatelli 2011).

Festivals are an important expression of aesthetic public culture:

- * This is because festivals are spaces and times of concentrated debate and social effervescence. In recent times, moreover, these debates are about issues of representativity (gender, ethnic, age-groups) and thus very relevant about what constitutes access to creativity.
- * At another level, festivals are interesting examples of those sites in society where the performance dimension of culture is emphasised more directly than in other situations. The performance dimension of culture has been emphasised in recent cultural sociology to highlight culture as a symbolic domain of practices that are enacted in the public domain (Alexander et al. 2006).
- * Finally, festivals are good examples of the ways in which local cultures get expressed using other cultures. Aesthetic cosmopolitanism as a new way of expressing or reshaping one's own culture in light of the culture of 'others' or the 'outside' (Regev 2007; Papastergiadis 2007) is of particular relevance to European identity by reason of the latter's equal emphasis on diversity and tolerance. In the festival different elements are drawn together from different cultures, including global culture. In this sense the festival differs from the cultural form of the exhibition in that it is based on hybridisation, cross-fertilisation and mutual borrowing.

Against this background, the overall aim of the Euro-Festival project was to analyse the way in which mixed- or single-arts festivals constitute sites of cultural expression and performance of relevance for European identity-in-the-making and for the European public sphere. More specifically, the project objectives were to: (1) Explore how festivals use aesthetic forms

to symbolise, represent and communicate social and political life from the perspective of different actors, including programme directors, funding promoters, performing artists and the audience; (2) Study the way in which festivals frame the discourse of identity in relation to arts with particular attention to the local / national / supra-national and local / global interfaces as well as the conundrum of difference (diversity) and similarity; (3) Analyse how festivals represent sites of competition for access to resources, status and power and how this competition impacts on debates about representation, openness and the public sphere.

The project looked at four types of festivals in order to draw comparisons across different dimensions such as organisational format and orientation, artistic forms, different European (cultural) capitals, historical backgrounds as well as different traditions. The festivals under study were:

- 1 Urban mixed-arts festivals
 - a Venice Biennale
 - b Brighton Festival
 - c Vienna Festwochen
- 2 Film festivals
 - a The three main European festivals of Venice, Berlin and Cannes
 - b The smaller Jewish film festival in Vienna
- 3 Literature festivals
 - a The Hay Festival of Literature and the Arts (multi-national sites)
 - b The European Borderlands Festival
 - c The Berlin Literature Festival
- 4 Music festivals
 - a The UK WOMAD festival of world music
 - b The Umbria international jazz festival
 - c The Barcelona Sonar festival of electronic music

Our choice of European arts festivals for detailed study was not meant to be representative. Rather we intentionally focused on some of the more prominent of contemporary European arts festivals across genres as representative role models for the many festivals currently emerging across the European space and beyond. Considering that so far there has been little research on the cultural significance of festivals and how this interfaces with their commercial and economic role, we thought it important to explore how some of the forerunners have defined themselves in this respect and how this has changed over time. Thus our study can also be read as one setting benchmarks – both theoretically and empirically – for the study of arts festivals today and in the future.

The Euro-Festival project employed several social scientific methodologies and tools such as case studies, historical analysis, interviews, fieldwork observation, network and organisational analysis, focus group and media analysis. The project produced the following research reports (¹):

- * *European Public Culture and Aesthetic Cosmopolitanism* (November 2008)
- * *European Arts Festivals from a Historical Perspective* (July 2009)
- * *European Arts Festivals: Cultural Pragmatics and Discursive Identity Frames* (July 2010)
- * *European Arts Festivals, Creativity, Culture and Democracy* (December 2010)



It is of course beyond the scope of this short monograph to give thorough consideration to all of the project findings and, therefore, the interested reader is encouraged to also take a look at our research reports and also at the various other project publications, including an edited volume appearing with Routledge in 2011 and entitled *Festivals and the Cultural Public Sphere*.

The specific objective of this publication has been to provide a bird's eye view of the festivals under study across genres and, in so doing, to illustrate how these use local context, performance and ritual as well as reflection and debate to create and, over the years, reproduce a sense of community through aesthetic experience and communication. The identities crafted in festivals are not territorialised even if they are closely linked to their local settings or sense of place. They are also not fixed but rather transitory and ephemeral. Accordingly, festival identities are different from national identities which are another important vessel for cultural expression and display. It is this ephemeral and non-territorial aspect of festivals that lends support to the ideas of internationalism, cosmopolitanism and trans-nationalism as alternative frameworks for understanding their cultural and socio-political significance. And even if such theoretical frameworks are often found wanting for lack of completeness – probably the natural result of a cultural phenomenon that is transient, and so by intention – they are nevertheless interesting pointers for an ongoing transformation of values within the cultural sphere proper, but also at the interface with politics and economics.

The first contribution by Liana Giorgi entitled '*A celebration of the word and a stage for debate: Literature festivals in Europe today*', looks at the inception and evolution of the Hay-on-Wye Literature Festival, the International Literature Festival Berlin and the Borderlands Festival. The three festivals follow different agendas in terms of the types of literature (and language) they promote and represent, yet they display striking similarities with respect to what they reveal regarding structural developments within the literary field, and, specifically, the latter's relation to its readership, other artistic fields as well as politics. The contemporary literary field is significantly diversified, albeit not only in response to the segmentation of literary audiences (in accordance with the pluralisation of tastes and preferences). The diversification also reflects changes in the social profile and position of writers, which are occurring under the influence of globalisation. In conjunction with the democratisation of culture, this is bringing about a reconfiguration of boundaries away from the rigorous divisions between high and low-brow, between sub-genres, as well as between private and public forms of cultural policy. The result is not that of levelling off of difference towards the materialisation of the 'one-dimensional man' but rather that of re-framing the debate about the meaning and form of critical inquiry.

In the second contribution entitled '*Music festivals as cosmopolitan spaces*', Jasper Chalcraft, Paolo Magaudda, Marco Solaroli and Marco Santoro explore the capacity of music, and, by extension, music festivals, to cultivate cosmopolitan dispositions. Through their emphasis of the local and, at the same time, the international together with their integrating emotional power, music festivals act as translation spaces towards and for universality. Hence they support cosmopolitanism, that is, they forge trans-local identities and cultivate curiosity for the other. But this is nothing that occurs automatically or always. It is rather the result of the serious effort and commitment of organisers in conjunction with specific circumstances, often linked to the local setting and its particular social history.

In his chapter on film festivals entitled '*International film festivals in European cities – Win-win situations?*' Jérôme Segal explores the way in which the prototypical of film festivals, namely, Cannes, Berlinale and Mostra, inhabit the local or urban contexts that have brought them forth, and their love-hate relationships with local populations. At times, the choice of a specific location for a film festival may have been instrumental and to a large extent circumstantial, as with Cannes; at other times it might have been motivated by political and territorial reasons, as in Venice and Berlin. This lends long-lasting relevance to the historical perspective that ties the city to the festival but also explains the ambivalent relationship of the two.

The fourth contribution by Monica Sassatelli and Gerard Delanty entitled '*Festivals in cities, cities in festivals*' explores the relationship between cities and festivals further by taking a closer look at urban mixed-arts festivals, and specifically those of the Biennale, the Vienna Festwochen and Brighton. As many such festivals are conceived of – primarily or secondarily – as means for revitalising a city and/or advancing or re-discovering its identity, the question must be posed as to the cultural significance of festivals in themselves, and for the cities that 'author' them. It is easier to provide an answer to the question about the economic impacts of festivals – directly in terms of, say, tourist turnover or, indirectly, in terms of the extent to which they contribute to the city brand – than it is to measure their cultural significance. The latter relates to the way(s) in which festivals engage their mainly local audiences with international artists and, more generally, the cosmopolitan world of the arts. Even when the rationales of festivals differ, what they all share is a determination to expose their audiences to novel ways of looking at and judging the world, culture and the arts but also society and politics.

The final contribution by Paolo Magaudda, Marco Solaroli, Jasper Chalcraft and Marco Santoro entitled '*Music festivals and local identities*' also takes thrust at the relationship between the festival and its local identity context, albeit from the opposite view – namely that of showing how festivals confer identity to localities. Contrary to what one might have assumed, this is not achieved by branding the locality that subsidises the festivals' organisation or by promoting local artists, even if both of these actions are part of the festival repertoire to a certain extent. Rather music festivals will 'make' place by situating events, which they conceive of as 'collaborative identity projects', into specific locations which then assume themselves a specific identity as sites of memory and recall. Within the contemporary media world which often lacks a sense of place, such sites tend to gain in significance – and it is perhaps for this reason that festivals persist and continue to grow, including most within the world of the arts.

Finally, in the conclusions we try to extract some policy recommendations from the Euro-Festival project.

The present volume is an important contribution to the interdisciplinary study of arts festivals and will hopefully encourage further research into the subject as well as, more generally, the relationship between arts and society.

Endnote

1 All project reports are available for download at the project's website at <http://www.euro-festival.org>

**A celebration of the word and a stage for political debate:
Literature festivals in Europe today**



Liana Giorgi



At first sight, literature and festivals do not go well together. Literature is thought by most people a solitary experience, whether of the writer or of the reader whilst festivals are about entertainment and performance. And indeed, among the arts, literature is the one genre which has resisted to festivalisation the longest. The first still-surviving literature festival in Europe is the Cheltenham festival which was launched in 1949. But for several decades it remained also the only one besides book fairs with a long tradition such as in Frankfurt and Leipzig. However, book fairs are not the same as literature festivals: book fairs are trade events tailored to the needs of publishers while festivals are about the celebration of the written word in readings, discussions or debates.

Literature festivals took off in the nineteen-eighties in the United Kingdom. In 1983 the Edinburgh International Book Festival was launched, five years later Hay-on-Wye. Both festivals are today iconic in the field and their radius of influence has grown beyond their national borders. Other European festivals include Mantova in Italy, Cologne, Berlin and Hamburg in Germany and Borderlands in Eastern Europe. Several smaller literature festivals running for a couple of days during Spring, Summer or Fall are in the meantime also to be found in several smaller, second-tier cities in most European countries.

Cultural pessimists may think that the festivalisation also, at last, of literature confirms the decline of aesthetic culture brought through commercialisation. Yet the study of literature festivals reveals a much more complex picture, questioning the high-brow vs. low-brow distinctions and that these can be easily mapped against 'fields' (Bourdieu 1996) within either politics or the arts and by default cultural policy. This chapter aims to throw light on the social phenomenon of literature festivals and what this tells us about literature and the arts but also about modern society and politics. The discussion draws specifically from research on the Hay-on-Wye, Berlin and Borderlands literature festivals.

By way of introduction: the three festivals at a glance

Hay-on-Wye Literature Festival

The *Hay-on-Wye Festival* has grown into an iconic literature event in less than a quarter of a century after being launched in 1988 as a small-scale poetry festival with not more than a few hundred visitors. In 2009, it attracted over 90 000 participants, selling more than 185 000 tickets for close to 500 events featuring over 700 men and women of letters. Today, it is rightly thought of as the most successful of all literary events, not least for managing to maintain the flair of a community festival and the credence of conversation despite its corporate growth; and for representing a successful private initiative, as it relies only slightly on public subsidies.

There are three constants about the Hay-on-Wye Festival: its location – the 1 900-inhabitant book-town in the vicinity of Brecon Beacon National Park on the border between England and Wales; the timing – every year around the last long weekend in May; and its mission – to promote the exchange of ideas through conversation and the love of books. The festival has otherwise changed dramatically since its inception in 1988, and this change has been one of growth. Here are some facts:

- ★ In duration, the festival now lasts for a total of ten days including two weekends as compared with a long weekend at its outset.
- ★ The number of events runs into the hundreds; at the beginning it was less than twenty.
- ★ The festival originally took place at the youth and community centre of its host town; this is now only used occasionally as the site for the winter edition of the festival in late November. In the meantime, the festival has acquired its own area for putting up tents for five stages to accommodate between 120 and 1 000 people. These are also used for other events and activities throughout the Summer.
- ★ The festival operative budget runs well into the million – at the beginning it was into the few tens of thousands and was covered by regional subsidies (South-East Wales Arts and Mid-Wales Development) and local support (from the Hay Council and the district chamber of commerce). Today, ticket sales make up the lion's share of the festival budget in combination with high-brow media and corporate sponsorship (*The Guardian*, Sky Arts, Barclays Bank). Additional funding comes from the Association of 'Friends of the Festival' and the festival patrons.
- ★ The core festival team has also grown, even if it remains comparatively small with less than fifteen people. But during the festival time, the festival organisation mobilises several hundred volunteers and short-term workers for stage and sound management, ticketing, cleaning, information, bus and parking service and child-minding services. In addition, for a period of ten days, the festival site houses over 30 booths providing food, fruit, drink, local handicrafts, books and information (ranging from tourism in Spain to Welsh literature, the Sony e-book, ecological buildings or environmental foundations).



The growth of the festival has been accompanied by changes in its organisational format and its contents. Books – presented through readings or conversations with authors – are still the central element of the festival, but unlike the early years, which were dominated by poetry and fiction, today centre stage is taken by non-fiction books with relevance to social and political issues, past or present. The Barclays and Guardian Stages, which evince a capacity of 800 and 1 000 respectively, are also often used for stand-up comedy or music shows. The addition of these shows, like also children's activities, has contributed to the festival's publicity while helping to keep ticket prices low (mostly 1-5 GBP back in 1988, 5-10 today.) As a result, the festival has been able to maintain and even expand its reputation for openness.

The festival growth has also meant that it has been transformed into a 'brand', which can, in turn, be used to attract more sponsorship as well as promote similar events at Hay and in other countries. The spin-offs from the Hay Festival range from the smaller fringe philosophy and music festival 'How the light gets in' which takes place at the former Methodist Chapel parallel to the main event, to the Hay festivals in Alhambra and Seville (Spain), Beirut, Cartagena and Nairobi. The festival is also a significant source of income for the local tourism industry, comprising small hotels and guest houses for accommodation within a radius of up to twenty miles as well as pubs and restaurants. At the same time it is used for fund-raising purposes: hence, for instance, the money earned through the extra parking lots set up for the festival (and costing on average more than the council car park) goes to charity, whereas the ticket sales from specific events are allotted to other festivals, such as Nairobi, which do not attract as much corporate sponsorships.

The Hay-on-Wye Festival, its growth and character, is closely linked with that of its director Peter Florence. 'He is a canny entrepreneur' ⁽¹⁾; the type of man who 'does not worry about taking the devil's money and turning it into gold' ⁽²⁾; an extraordinary person with 'an aptitude for prophetic statements' ⁽³⁾. Florence, who studied modern and medieval literatures at Cambridge and the Sorbonne, then to take up an acting career, and who today belongs to the exclusive association of members of the Order of the British Empire ⁽⁴⁾, sees himself as someone who 'couldn't hack academic culture or acting and tried to find something that would play to the bits of both that I most enjoyed (...) Most of my mates from Cambridge went into Law or the City. Being at home seemed more fun' ⁽⁵⁾. That combined with a love of reading and the wish 'to hang around with [his] dad who was a professional Arts Magician' led him to the idea of launching the Hay Literature Festival – and then the Hay Festival Cartagena, Seville, Alhambra, Storymoja (Nairobi) and the Orange Word London. Peter Florence is an inquisitive nature, a social networker and a highly committed person, and these character traits have impacted on the festival since its inception. But perhaps the one characteristic that has been central to his success and that of the Hay Festival is his ability to gather around him other people sharing his visions and with a commitment to hard work. This extends from his colleagues at the festival office to his trustees and the board members of the company and charitable trust set up to manage and supervise the festival.

Indeed, Hay Festival's long list of vice-presidents reads very much like the 'Who's who' of British high society and the public intellectual scene and includes people such as Nick Butler (Cambridge Centre for Energy Studies and adviser to Gordon Brown), Geordie Greig (editor of *The*

Evening Standard), Sabrina Guinness (heiress of Guinness and head of charity Youth Cable Television), Rhian-Anwen Hamill (former director of Wales Millennium Centre), Brenda Maddox (biographer), Philippe Sands (Professor of International Law), William Sieghart (journalist), Jon Snow (journalist and presenter) and Caroline Spencer (Earl Spencer's wife). Among the festival trustees we find two women with a track record in journalism: Revel Guest, who in public events is often referred to as the Grande Dame of the festival, has a legendary aura as the youngest woman ever to run for parliamentary office in the UK back in 1955; and Rossie Boycott, who was the co-founder of the radical feminist journal *Spare Rib* as well as Virago Press, editor of *Esquire*, the first female editor of *The Independent* and also of *The Daily Express* and a media advisor for the Council of Europe. The head of the festival's supervisory board is Lord Bingham of Cornhill, who was Lord Chief Justice of England and Wales, High Steward of the University of Oxford from 2001 to 2008 and a member of the House of Lords.

The International Literature Festival Berlin

The comma is the logo of the International Literature Festival Berlin or the *ilb* - the acronym written in lower case to avoid a mix-up with the acronym of the Bank of the State of Brandenburg. The Berlin Literature Festival came to life in 2001 when Ulrich Schreiber, its founder and director, managed to obtain a grant from the German Lottery Foundation with the support of the capital city's public administration in charge of cultural affairs. Today, the festival forms part of the *Berliner Festspiele*, which extend throughout the year comprising several arts events, and are symbolic of Berlin's growth into a cultural metropolis of international standing.

Unlike the Hay-on-Wye Festival, the *ilb* is mainly funded through subsidies. Around 73 percent of the festival budget derives from public money administered federally or locally. Private sponsorships by banks, political foundations, embassies or cultural associations account for another 15 percent. The remaining 12 percent correspond to revenues from ticket sales, attendance running at a yearly average of 30 000. The patronage of the festival by the German UNESCO Committee has been instrumental in legitimising the festival vis-à-vis its various public and private sponsors.

A few changes are expected over the next couple of years as the *ilb* becomes fully integrated into the *Berliner Festspiele*. But insofar as the *Berliner Festspiele* are also an offspring of German cultural policy and dependent on federal funds (administered through and for the city of Berlin), not much will change in terms of the substantive form of financing for the *ilb*. The changes to come are likely to be more organisational in nature: up to now, the festival has relied on low-cost occasional employments and voluntary work; in the future it will be able to count on professional inputs, something that is considered especially important for logistics, publicity and public relations.

The integration of the *ilb* into the *Berliner Festspiele* was not intended from the outset but occurred naturally. Indeed, the success of the *ilb* has a lot to do with the fact that it takes place in Berlin – a decision originally made by chance as that was the city in which Schreiber was living. There is very much that speaks in favour of Berlin as the site of an international literature festival. First, it is perhaps the ideal place to launch a cultural activity based on public funding. Germany like other Central European countries and unlike the United States and the



United Kingdom displays generous funding for cultural activities and this is especially true of Berlin as the new capital of a unified Germany following the fall of the Berlin Wall. Indeed, much of the funds that are administered by cultural funds or foundations in Berlin come from a special budget line of the federal budget dedicated to promoting the physical and cultural re-invention of Berlin as a cultural capital of Europe. Second, as far as literature is concerned, Berlin displays a host of literary associations and organisations, yet did not have a literature festival till 2001. The many literary associations are also attractive poles for local and international writers, who, additionally, can obtain financial support for their stay from the many exchange programmes operating nationally or locally. Finally, as a capital and an international city with a long history of cultural exchange, Berlin is home to a significant foreign population which delineates a niche audience for international literature. This is also true of the 'Children and Youth Literature' programme of the festival which is especially successful because it works both with German- and foreign-language schools and with English classes.

Ulrich Schreiber was trained as an architect and also practised this profession for a while. But he had always had a foible for festivals and in the 1970s he embarked on organising cultural events such as on the Austrian writer and social critic Thomas Bernhard or the film-maker and journalist Pier Paolo Pasolini. In 2001, he moved to Berlin and founded the Peter Weiss Foundation as a platform for mobilising opposition to oppressive regimes at an international level and also as an institutional framework for organising the International Literature Festival Berlin. Peter Weiss was chosen as the eponym of the foundation by reason of his biography (as a Jewish émigré to London and then to Sweden in the 1930s) and his vocation (as a writer and dramatist).

Schreiber's vision of the International Literature Festival Berlin is that of a stage for the literatures of the world. This is broader than 'world literature' as used by Goethe to refer to canon literature and includes the 'diverse styles, colours and forms' of worldwide literary production⁽⁶⁾. Thus even though literary quality constitutes the most important criterion for the selection of artists it is not the sole one. A second principle is that of looking beyond one's boundaries and a third that of giving a voice to literary figures who are not only writers in the strict sense of the term but also political activists or, more broadly, persons with political or social commitment. This is also how the ilb has earned its reputation of the most political of all contemporary literary festivals.

The Borderlands Festival

The market is today the main vehicle for economic prestige also in the field of culture and the arts. But there remain several other means for supporting artistic initiatives. Traditionally, public subsidies have been used to support those genres, types or styles that were thought less likely to attract public interest on their own as well as for promoting younger artists or artists from less recognised countries, continents or languages. But as public subsidies have been reduced year after year, private sponsors or endowment funds have emerged to take their place. This has been evident for some time in the field of the visual arts, but the trend is also now beginning to spill over to the less performance-oriented or exhibition-contingent art forms, such as literature. The European Borderlands Festival, the third literature festival studied by the Euro-Festival project, is one such example.

Borderlands was launched in 2006 by the Allianz Cultural Foundation and the Literary Colloquium Berlin (LCB) with the aim of supporting young poets and writers working in Eastern Europe (both new EU members and non-members) and promoting networking among themselves and with their colleagues from Western Europe. The Allianz Cultural Foundation is the non-profit arm of one of the biggest insurance companies in Europe, namely Allianz SE. It was founded in 2000 with the aspiration of 'building bridges for the youth of Europe'. The Literary Colloquium Berlin is one of the oldest literature organisations in Berlin, established after the end of the Second World War in 1959 with funds from the American Ford Foundation and the objective to sustain cultural and literary exchanges within Cold War Europe. The Borderlands Festival continues this tradition in the new adapted circumstances of the enlarged European Union following the fall of the Iron Curtain.

As instituted by the European Union, the European integration project simultaneously implies a process of delineating new borders – also within a space which has historically belonged to Europe. It is these old European spaces that have been transformed into the European borderlands targeted by the European Borderlands Festival. The first festival edition in 2006 took place in L'viv in contemporary Ukraine, a Ruthenian town founded in the thirteenth century, which formed part of Galicia during the time of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire and was Polish in the inter-war period. This is a city with 18 names, wrote the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*: 'Lemberg (...) L'viv (...) one of [the names] was Löwenburg; in Sanskrit it is called Singapur' (7). In 2008 the festival began in Bucharest in Romania to move to the border city of Iași and then to the capital of Moldavia in Chișinău. In 2009 the journey took the festival from Vilnius in Lithuania, the Rome of the North and the Jerusalem of the East, to Minsk in Belarus, the 'dream city of the sun' (8).

Borderlands is thus a festival of and for the periphery – an attempt to re-discover and re-claim yesterday's cultural centres which are today's peripheral regions. At the same time it represents an attempt to keep alive the literary and cultural contacts within the former countries of the Communist Eastern bloc which were set aside upon the onset of the transition process as everyone oriented themselves towards the West. According to Michael Thoss, one of the two festival founders, Eastern enlargement has dispirited the East-East links between writers and translators and it is these links that the Borderlands Festival wishes to recuperate. According to Thoss, culture is the missing link of the European political integration project by reason of the fact that cultural policy remains subsumed under national sovereignty. It is thus left to private initiatives to advance the process of cultural integration (9).

Germany has a special position in this conundrum for two inter-related reasons. First, within the former political power geography, East Germany, or the GDR, represented a cultural pole through the Leipzig book fair. This link has been sustained by the Borderlands Festival, which, at regular intervals, makes an intermediate stop-over in Leipzig to present its authors and make publicity for the festival. These stops are also important as entry points for young authors originating from the East and seeking access to the European publishing industry. This is also the second reason for Germany's special role within the space being reclaimed by the European Borderlands Festival: the opening to the Eastern European borderlands represents simultaneously an opportunity for the German publishing market (and the German language) to assert itself on the European literary scene. The selection of the LCB to run the Borderlands Festival



was not incidental from this perspective. The LCB has long-standing connections with countries in Eastern Europe and has many guest scholarship programmes targeting authors from the East. In addition, it is the headquarters of the HALMA network of European literary centres and translators.

Literature festivals and field representations

What literature?

There are several trends that impact on literature today: The first is that of diversification. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, poetry was the high-prestige end of the literature field, with the novel and drama occupying the middle and lower levels, albeit with higher chances of economic returns. Today, and as predicted by Bourdieu, the field has grown as it has diversified. This is especially illustrated by the development of fiction. The novel is no longer a single category – besides literary fiction, which is located at the high end of the prestige scale, we find several genre types of literature which target different audiences and taste preferences and are more successful economically. But fiction is also slowly losing its lead as non-fiction grows in importance and attracts wider audiences. This is well illustrated by the development of the Hay Festival which today features an equal share of fiction and non-fiction besides music and comedy performances and children's events. Diversification has been instrumental for the publishing industry in the main European languages. Technological developments such as the e-book, which were first thought of as representing threats, have meanwhile been embraced as opportunities for attracting new audience segments thus encouraging further diversification.

Another trend which is growing in importance is that of hybridisation in terms of genres within fiction, but also between fiction and non-fiction and between literature and other art forms. This trend is corroborated by demographic changes occurring in relation to the sociological profile of the author or artist more generally. The most obvious of these trends is trans-nationalism. More and more authors display a multi-cultural background, albeit less as a result of exile as in previous generations, but rather as a result of their own choice and the rise of global mobility. Both the Berlin and Borderlands festivals capitalise on this author segment which primarily originates in the main European and North Atlantic metropolises and the main migration countries in the decades following the end of the Second World War.

A parallel and inter-related trend affecting authors – and one that can be observed in all three festivals – is that of inter-disciplinarity, which fits in well with the trend of hybridisation in the publishing industry. A large share of authors featured in all three literature festivals display inter-disciplinary careers with only very few being solely writers by profession or in any particular genre. This has in part to do with the growth of the literature field also in terms of writers and not only books published. But besides reflecting an existential reality, it draws attention to the demise of the solitary figure of the author/artist fully devoted to and absorbed by his or her artistic vocation based on inspiration. In turn this facilitates the hybridisation of styles in addition to strengthening the trend towards literature as performance on which festivals have come to depend.

The role of politics

All three literature festivals studied are political: both in following a political agenda of their own and in representing a stage for the discussion of politics and social issues.

All three festival directors have faith in the power of literature (and humanities and knowledge more generally) to expand and radicalise thought, empower action and overcome nationalist boundaries. The 'exchange of ideas' is the explicit objective of the Hay Festival; Berlin wants to overcome national boundaries; whilst Borderlands wishes to question the significance of European political boundaries in the East towards greater cultural understanding and exchange.

At the same time all three festivals create public spaces for discussing contemporary political and societal developments. Year in year out, thousands of people flock to Hay-on-Wye or one of its satellites around the world to discuss East/West relations, the role of religion, science and technology assessment, national, European or global politics and foreign relations – either in the framework of roundtable debates or in connection with a recently published book on the topic. The Hay Festival is the leader in this, its strong political agenda earning it the characterisation 'Westminster-on-Wye'. But the Berlin and Borderlands Festivals are following suit and also a more explicitly European agenda in this respect.

What festival audience?

The literature festival audience is high-brow, educated, middle class, with women being over-represented in fiction events and men in non-fiction. Otherwise, all festivals attract a mixed audience in terms of age and taste preferences, but more of the generalist than specialised type. A survey among 480 participants of the Berlin Festival organised in the framework of this study provided interesting insights into the literature festival audience and their perception of festivals which are generalisable, to all three literature festivals and arts festivals more generally.

Analytically: (1) Successful literature festivals are those which build up a niche audience over time, i.e. an audience which returns regularly to the festival: every second Berlin festival attendee in 2009 knew the festival from earlier editions; the share is likely to be higher in Hay. (2) A large proportion of festival participants is interested in other art fields: 63 percent in film, 50 percent in music, 48 percent in theatre, 40 percent in the visual arts. However only one in five is interested in all types of art forms, literature and theatre being a common orientation among the relative majority of the literature festival public. (3) The majority of literature festival participants report loving literature but the main motivation for attending literature festivals is hearing specific authors speak or read from their work. But once there, most participants attend more than one event. (4) Openness, internationalisation and cosmopolitanism are important associations with literature festivals. Interestingly enough, cosmopolitanism (and festivalisation) is distinctively associated with either multi-culturalism or with liberalism, i.e. it is either understood to mean multi-culturalism or liberalism, but not always both.

It is these distinctions within literature festival audiences that suggest that the latter are not as homogeneous as they appear at first sight in terms of key demographic variables like



status or education. This diversity is also what makes it possible for literature festivals to grow in a non-classificatory manner and still maintain their holistic identity in relation to literature.

What literature festivals tell us about culture, arts and society?

What does the study and sociological analysis of literature festivals in Europe tell us about contemporary culture, arts and society and their interfaces? I will attempt an answer to this question by comparing the three festivals from three inter-connected perspectives: the question of aesthetics, canon and quality in the arts, specifically the dimension of high- vs. low-brow culture; the question of value commitment and the links between politics and the arts; and the question of cultural policy (and public vs. private support of the arts).

High- vs. low-brow – or beyond

At a very superficial level, it is possible to say that the Hay Festival operates in the middle-brow area by promoting more popular forms of fiction and non-fiction, whilst the Berlin and Borderlands Festivals are to be found closer to the high-brow end of the scale in that they target ‘foreign’ or international literature in translation, which is a niche market. The detailed analysis of the festival programmes negates this conclusion. The programmes of all three festivals are in fact quite mixed. Literary fiction (as opposed to genre fiction) is prominent in all three festivals and all three are keen to promote literature prize winners: in Hay the holders or contestants of the Orange Prize of Literature and the Booker Prize; in Berlin and the Borderlands Festival the holders of the Leipzig prize and the German book prize. Both Berlin and Hay have featured Nobel Prize winners among their presenters; and a large number of the authors participating in all three festivals are recipients of one or more of the many national or international literature prizes currently in circulation. On the other hand, the more popular forms of genre fiction like ‘romance’ or ‘thrillers’ are absent in all three festivals; and, as far as non-fiction is concerned, those presented at Hay are in their majority well-known academics or journalists in their home countries and abroad.

The difference between the Hay Festival on the one hand, and Berlin and Borderlands, on the other, has rather to do with self-representation. The Hay Festival organisers are much more relaxed about discussing literary quality, canon and aesthetics tending to reject them as largely irrelevant or misleading classifications, albeit doing so from a position of prominence within the British intellectual scene. Peter Florence himself and his collaborators are graduates of the best elite schools in the country and hold several academic and other distinctions. At the other end of the scale, the founders and directors of Borderlands are keen to underline that literary quality is the sole criterion guiding their decisions and that they are best suited to make these choices because of their personal embeddedness in the literary and cultural studies scenes in their respective countries. The Berlin Festival is somewhere in-between: according to its founder, literary quality is still the most important criterion but it needs to be relativised by political and societal relevance – national or international. It is worth adding that this, in brief, is also the approach guiding the Nobel Committee when awarding the Nobel Prize for Literature.

With respect to the format of the festivals, Hay is again more relaxed about the concept of entertainment, accepting it as a legitimate dimension even when reading or discussing books

tapping on serious or complex issues. The two other festivals are more restrained in their 'treatment' of infotainment opting for formats that demand more from their audiences. Ultimately, however, all three festivals are trying to strike a balance between more and less popular forms of literature. The more popular forms are necessary for attracting crowds and publicity, thus also for long-term financial viability. The less popular forms are important in terms of prestige. This tends to support a segmented approach with different types of literature being promoted for different clienteles – all under the same festival umbrella. However, the diversification and hybridisation trends discussed earlier are beginning to blur these boundaries and this tendency is further supported by the festival event culture. This calls for a serious re-thinking of the high- vs. low-brow dimension as a structuring force within the literature field.

Value commitments

The Hay, Berlin and Borderlands Festivals are all festivals with a political mission related to critical inquiry. None shams political and social debate and all are keen to promote openness in relation to internationalisation and multiculturalism. In terms of its programme, its invitees and general orientation towards the arts, the Hay Festival is the more cosmopolitan of the three in that it seeks out and emphasises exchange and hybridisation even if operating mainly within national boundaries. The Berlin and Borderlands Festivals are more emphatic on inter- and transnationalism and multiculturalism but they adhere more firmly to the rules and procedures of distinction as they operate within national literary fields. It is worth noting nevertheless that the term 'cosmopolitanism' is not used spontaneously by any of the festivals in their own self-description and justification; 'international' is a more positively connotated term.

The ambivalence observed in relation to cosmopolitanism also applies to Europe. Only the Borderlands Festival has an explicit European agenda, both culturally and politically. The two other festivals are ambiguous about the relevance of the European agenda or rather that of the European Union. With respect to culture and the arts – in this case literature – this has largely to do with the prominent role of European literature in the international context; in other words, it is considered that there is no specific necessity to promote European literature, as it is predominant in any case, at least as far as the five main languages English, French, Spanish, German and Italian are concerned. EU politics are viewed with caution, as the European Union continues to suffer from the reputation of being a bureaucratic monolith among many figures on the literary scene.

Cultural policy

The Berlin Festival is an offspring of German cultural policy as it could not exist without the generous support of German public institutions. The Borderlands Festival does not receive any direct public support and is instead financially dependent on the subsidies of a private sponsor, the Allianz Cultural Foundation, one of many foundations of big insurance companies, banks or corporations that have emerged during the past decade to support culture and the arts. This said, Borderlands can maintain comparatively low costs as it relies on the Literary Colloquium Berlin for its organisation. In turn, the LCB is the recipient of generous federal and local public subsidies. Finally, Hay is again different in displaying a mixed funding basis, with the largest share of its revenues coming from ticket sales.



Are the different contents of the three literature festivals the result of their different funding bases? This, at least, is the view taken by the organisers of the Berlin and Borderlands Festivals who think that the 'niche' programme they advocate could not have materialised without public forms of support. The broader and more popular, or commercial, programme of Hay, on the other hand, can be upheld by the 'market'.

There are however signs of convergence with respect to the cultural policies of the public sector as opposed to the private sector but also those dictated by the market. The convergence of the goals of public and private sector cultural sponsoring is best illustrated by the likes of the Allianz Foundation and the newspaper *'The Guardian'* (the eponym of the Hay Festival). Both are private sponsors and keen to promote a liberal cultural and political agenda – in spirit similar to that adopted by the Cultural Fund of Berlin. That there is, however, also a convergence of these goals with those dictated by commercial success is shown by the growing emphasis on diversification and more openness to experimentation within the publishing industry. In a way this is one positive result of globalisation – because within a globalised world, even a niche market can suddenly grow into an important revenue component, thus allowing a more laissez-faire approach to cultural production which ends up advancing rather than restricting cultural diversity. Needless to say, it still remains to be seen how this will play out precisely in the future.

Endnotes

- 1 From interviews with authors in Spring 2009.
- 2 From interviews with authors in Summer 2009.
- 3 Attributed to Peter Strauss, editor-in-chief of Pan Macmillan till 2002 and now an agent – in a report published in the Guardian entitled 'Hay 21: Essential Reading' (May 27, 2008) and written by Aida Edemariam. The 'prophecy' referred to concerns books winning literature prizes.
- 4 The Order of the British Empire was established in 1917 by George V to make up for the lack of honours for people not coming from either the military or the civil service. Its most senior members may use the title 'Sir' or 'Dame'. Membership (MBE) was awarded to Florence in 2005.
- 5 Interview by email, December 9, 2008.
- 6 Interview with U. Schreiber, November 11, 2008.
- 7 Süddeutsche Zeitung, 23 September 2006, 'Brüchiges Papier, ungestüme Fans' by Jörg Magenau.
- 8 As described in the 2009 festival programme, see http://www.allianz-kulturstiftung.de/en/projects/literature/european_borderlands/2009_events/2009_trips_authors_minsk.html
- 9 Interview with Michael Thoss, Allianz Cultural Foundation, March 3, 2010.

Music festivals as cosmopolitan spaces



*Jasper Chalcraft,
Paolo Magaudda,
Marco Solaroli
and Marco Santoro*



Are some types of arts festivals more conducive to particular emotional experiences and social imaginaries than others? In particular: where does cosmopolitanism – broadly defined as an ensemble of dispositions characterised by openness to the diversity of the world and to ‘otherness’ – find itself? Music festivals are often spaces where a cosmopolitan gaze, feeling, and attitude develop. This capacity of music festivals to foster, and arguably cultivate, a cosmopolitan disposition can be resumed in at least three elements: music as a universal form of art, as intensely participatory, and as a cultural broker translating the culturally specific into a shared experience. We discuss each of these elements with reference to the three music festivals studied: Umbria Jazz, Sonar, and WOMAD. These three elements are of course interlinked, and each festival incorporates and exalts all of them to varying degrees.

The first of the three elements through which music festivals develop their cosmopolitan attitude is that music is probably the most universal form of art, ‘the most ‘spiritual’ of the arts of the spirit (...) the ‘pure’ art par excellence’ (Bourdieu 1984: 19). In this sense, music represents an art-form which is intrinsically more cosmopolitan than the written word, the narratives and dialogues of cinema, or the ‘spoilt-for-choice’ cornucopia of urban and local mixed-arts events. Regardless of the originating culture, music and rhythm comprise a potentially universal language that bypasses particular cultural boundaries and linguistic borders, even when full local meanings and nuances may evade cosmopolitan ears.

The festivalisation of cosmopolitanism

What are cosmopolitan spaces, and what do they mean for European culture? Firstly, a rough definition of cosmopolitanism could capitalise on the old-fashioned notion of a positive attitude toward international and translocal identity. This is still an important sense, as our field research has showed. Second, we can underline an attitude of curiosity and interest, both intellectual and emotional, for otherness: this is the 'omnivore' attitude, frequently highlighted by social scientists as the new form of cultural snobbery (e.g. Peterson 2005). But we have further ambitions for the word, following Delanty (2009), in seeing it as a new political imaginary, a new kind of cultural politics potentially conducive to a new, and stronger democratic world. Of course, identities are always bounded in some way, but the boundaries of identities are not fixed and could vary: Europe is closer to home than New Zealand, of course, but it is already a step toward an enlarged experience of our life boundaries. Furthermore, Europe is not without its moving borders, both symbolical and institutional.

Why music? Why music if we are talking of politics? This is not strange, if we think of the importance of music for national movements, and of musical creation and consumption for contemporary migrant identities in their struggle for recognition and survival. Indeed, music is a crucial ingredient of identity formation, and the politics of identity is well aware of the integrating powers of music. As an imaginary, cosmopolitanism develops and lives through ideational and emotional resources, including artistic and aesthetic ones. Indeed, we could envision a specific aesthetic cosmopolitanism, complementing the more immediately social and political discourses and imaginaries (e.g. Regev 2007). Music is one of those resources able to foster this kind of cosmopolitanism, grounded in emotions, feelings, expressivity and the sense of beauty.

Cosmopolitan spaces can be transient, ephemeral instances where art and ideals come together: music festivals are classic examples of participatory experiences that unite aesthetic and social ideals and imaginaries in discrete but temporary spaces. Such spaces also have other identities, a classic Italian hill-town (Perugia), a vibrant European tourist destination and regional capital (Barcelona), and a British aristocratic country estate (Charlton Park): whilst these spaces become subsumed temporarily by the influx of festival-goers, the festivals become markers in a cultural calendar that fixes these spaces within a global cultural cartography. Of course, the three music festivals discussed here are just a small part of the huge European music festival scene; importantly though, they are also all pioneers in festivalising their respective genres of jazz, electronic, and world music.

Umbria Jazz

This aspect can be easily exemplified by describing the case of the Umbria Jazz Festival, which takes place every year in July in the relatively small city of Perugia, in the central and hilly Italian region of Umbria. Founded in 1973, over the past three decades Umbria Jazz has become one of the most artistically important as well as publicly successful jazz music festivals in Europe, and arguably in the world. The ten-day long 2010 edition, for example, confirmed the festival's prominent role, with about 400 000 visitors for almost 400 concerts and total takings of more than one million Euros.



Historically, the socio-cultural context of the city of Perugia provided a very fertile environment for the development of a multicultural artistic enterprise aimed at putting jazz at its core. The architectural configuration of the public space of the historical centre, which appears to be naturally suitable for social interactions, turns out to amplify the socially collaborative relationships typically developed among jazz artists at the international level (thanks to the passion for the music, and notwithstanding the potential language barriers). According to renowned Italian jazz historian Adriano Mazzoletti,

Jazz is the most cosmopolitan music in the world par excellence. In my lifelong experience as an event organizer, having worked for TVs and radios, and directed a variety of festivals... I have always seen a sort of brotherly relationship among musicians from all over the world... They couldn't even verbally talk to each other because some of them couldn't speak English... and this happened with musicians as well as with fans and supporters. In the 1970s and 1980s among us, in the jazz world, there was a motto: 'jazz's mafia', because if one of us went to Norway or Finland or Thailand, he could be certain that there he could find at least four or five jazz lovers and he could consequently enter that world... This is the greatness of jazz, jazz does have this capacity to unite people in friendship, there's no racism, no envy, at the most there could be emulation. This happened in every festival I saw, but in Perugia this is far more evident. Why? Because the city of Perugia is 'suitable' for this, the whole festival takes place in a street that is less than one mile long. And the international jazz scene is all there. The city keeps on living, nothing is compromised by the event. And while you keep on going to work, to your office, as usual, you can meet Cecil Taylor, Stan Getz, Count Basie or Art Blakey, and all the greatest jazz players, at a bar on Corso Vannucci in the city centre, drinking a glass of wine or eating an ice-cream! Where else can you find anything like that? Nowhere else!

★ Adriano Mazzoletti, interview

Notwithstanding the unquestionable socio-cultural fertility of the historic environment of the city of Perugia, the organisers of the festival tendentially claim a peculiar social role for the event, from the point of view of both the artistic programme and the educational activities. On the one hand, in fact, artistic director Carlo Pagnotta has always strived to create, facilitate and offer to the audience artistically innovative interactions, such as when he invited Sting to play together with Gil Evans in 1988, or more recently, when he asked famous jazz piano players Chick Corea and Stefano Bollani to perform together on the same stage for the first time in their life and without any rehearsals during the 2009 edition of the festival.

On the other hand, the 'Umbria Jazz Clinics' (music workshops for international students yearly organised during the festival) come to represent an aesthetic incubatory laboratory for a sort of cosmopolitan sociability, which turns out to be potentially (and politically) very precious. The renowned Italian jazz double bass player Giovanni Tommaso, co-director of the UJ Clinics, explained how 'The Umbria Jazz Clinics are a sort of work in progress, a laboratory in which it is still possible to talk about cosmopolitanism, in the old sense of international identity (...) Here at the Clinics you can breathe it' (Giovanni Tommaso, interview, July 2009). Breathing this cosmopolitan air is a mix of students, roughly two thirds Italian and a third foreign; the festival's own surveys of their students show that it is this interaction between Italian and foreign students, and sometimes with the jazz artists from the festival itself, which makes participants so enthusiastic about the

experience. The informal nature of the Clinics – talking about music, playing together, jamming, going to performances together – creates a special atmosphere, one heady with cosmopolitan exchange: ‘This atmosphere is warm, it’s cosmopolitan, it’s jazz...’ (Giovanni Tommaso, interview).

Sonar

The second element useful for understanding how music festivals can help in developing a cosmopolitan attitude and context is how they produce different forms of intense and passionate participation in their audiences. Indeed, an audience’s participation and enjoyment of music and rhythms often involves dancing, singing, partying and taking pleasure in interacting with other people attending the festival. In this sense, participating in music represents one of those ingredients that enable a more direct form of interpersonal communication among audiences and produces a common terrain for the interaction between people originally belonging to different cultures and countries.

Music festivals’ ability to create the condition for a more direct interaction among audiences is well embodied by the case of the Spanish electronic music festival Sonar. Sonar takes place every year in Barcelona in June and is attended by more than 80 000 from across the world. Today, Sonar, which will hold its 18th edition in 2011, represents the most well known electronic music festival in the world, and this worldwide success has also enabled the festival to hold smaller events in other cities such as London, New York and Tokyo.

During the three days and nights of the festival, young people from different countries meet in Barcelona to listen to music and dance, to get to know people with different cultures and origins, and to enjoy together the joyful and sunny context of the city. In the case of the Sonar festival, electronic and dance music represent a strong cultural and aesthetic ‘catalyser’ which stimulates intense audience participation and a subsequent cosmopolitan attitude. Indeed, electronic and dance music represent, in a similar way to jazz music, a common language, especially for young people and new generations of festival-goers. Artificial sounds, electronic rhythms, as



*A moment of interaction
among students at Umbria
Jazz Clinics, 2009.*



well as the presence of technology and computers in the performance, constitute what can be considered a contemporary expression of a cosmopolitan cultural common language.

One way to understand the success of the festival as an international and cosmopolitan event is the way the different spaces and venues of the festival are chosen and managed in order to create the conditions for different forms of audience participation and involvement.

The Sonar Festival concentrates its events into two main and very different venues: the first is the artistic and cultural pole located within the inner city of Barcelona and constituted by the joined spaces of the CCCB (the Centre for Contemporary Culture), and of the MACBA (the Museum of Contemporary Art); the second is the city's huge trade fair, located on the city's periphery. These are two very different spaces, which enable not only very distinct performances by artists and notably different audience numbers, but more specifically a rather alternative way for audience to interact, meet people and actively participate in the festival mood.

The high-brow smaller and central cultural and artistic pole located in the central district of Raval, just on the left side of *La Rambla* hosts performances during the day and it is prevalently devoted to the possibility of discovering new musicians, to interacting with and meeting other people, and to relating with producers and manufacturers of electronic instruments. The main area is an outdoor square, covered with artificial green grass, which allows for an intense and intimate contact and interaction among the audience. The result of this close interaction of about 5 000 people each day is a great example of how people coming from different and often very distant countries become amalgamated into a cosmopolitan and international context.

The second main location of the festival is the space of the city's trade fair. It is a huge space which can safely hold as many as 40 000 people each night. In this context, the festival hosts the more appealing and famous performances, and the core attraction for the audience consists in active participation: dancing to the music mixed by the most celebrated international DJs. In contrast to the situation during the day, the night events hosted in the trade fair do not offer

Sonar by night.



a beautiful and scenic location: instead, it offers the possibility of a more intense and powerful experience for people attending the festival which lasts until the next morning.

In addition to these spaces, the festival also involves other places in the city both officially and in an informal way. This expands the intense emotional energy and social effervescence generated by participation in an intense musical experience to the broader city centre: bars, clubs, shops, and squares acquire the role of meeting places where festival attendees can meet and interact in the festival. In this sense, a wide and differentiated possibility for participation in an intense and concentrated musical experience together with people coming from different countries represents one of the ways in which music festivals allow and promote the development of a cosmopolitan attitude.

WOMAD

The third reason why music festivals present a direct relation with a cosmopolitan dimension relates to the fact that more than other kinds of art, music is able to translate the musical cultures of diverse places and people, and make 'universal' experiences out of them. Turning the culturally specific into a shareable experience appears to be a hallmark of 'world music' as a genre, and of WOMAD as a festival which occurs around the world.

WOMAD does this through different performance spaces (arena-type stages, intimate tents, etc.), Taste the World (!), ethnic food stalls, and relevant NGOs. WOMAD's festival culture maintains a cohesive identity even though it has various local identities in its different international locales and their varied publics. This is possible not because WOMAD is a 'brand' or franchise, but by the way it operates, and its founding ethos. In the metaphor of one of the WOMAD Foundation's directors, putting on WOMAD events is like a play, like theatre. Consequently, staging a WOMAD event requires the flexibility to perform the same script, whilst adapting to varied local contexts of production. This production, its funding, and its staging are radically different across the different WOMADs, even within Europe. Despite this, the experience, or 'vibe', can be remarkably similar. Amongst many factors as to why this should be the case, we can consider just two: the unity of the aesthetic product, and the festival's anti-racist ethos forged at its creation in the early 1980s. Key to how these two factors are brought together is the festival's educational work, which is both a fundamental part of the festival itself, with workshops and activities for children, but also extends beyond the temporal limits of the festival. The key demographic difference then between WOMAD and the other two festivals discussed here is that it is a family festival. Being a family festival and having a focus on multicultural educational activities and a participatory children's parade gives more unity of purpose to its attendees: inculcating new generations with a broadly shared ethical disposition (one that has clear origins in the British counterculture movements of the 1970s and 80s) seems to be as important as celebrating the music itself. Whilst the UK demographic is notably white middle-class, the Spanish WOMADs – which are free, ticketless events, both held in city centres – demonstrate a much greater degree of social mixing, a perhaps greater degree of the aggressive behaviour that characterises large urban events, yet are still steeped in the ethos of the festival.



The elements that make up WOMAD's cultural programming – music and dance performance combined with workshops, educational and outreach activities – mean that, despite pragmatically adapting to its individual localities, to local funding opportunities, institutional collaborations and partnerships, and varying criteria for cultural programming, something identifiable as 'WOMAD' does seem to exist, its multiple manifestations notwithstanding. Importantly, WOMAD is recognisable not only to its audiences, organisers, sponsors, and partners, but also to the artists without whom the festival would not exist. For artists, WOMAD seems to be more than just one gig amongst a string of European or Antipodean touring dates; rather, it confers status within the industry, as well as representing a particular kind of performance space. The particularity of that performance space is that the festival offers opportunities for interaction with different audiences (e.g. from the UK to Abu Dhabi, Australia to Spain), and with diverse artists behind the scenes.

Like Sonar and Umbria Jazz, WOMAD offers a source of legitimacy to artists within its genre. Most of the major names in world music have played at the festival, and it still represents the premier public showcase for the genre. As such, WOMAD is a truly international stage, with which artists, producers and promoters actively seek involvement. Whilst the locally and loyally experienced festival elements of WOMAD are clearly part of why this remains a vibrant event, its cultural cache – built up by actively shaping the world music genre, its numerous international events, its affiliated label Realworld, and links to Peter Gabriel – mean that it maintains a distinctly global profile. In interviews, artists from the UK, Cameroon, China and Mali all described how WOMAD launched their careers onto a global stage, whilst British and French producers related how their artists see WOMAD audiences as particularly discerning, as connoisseurs. The fact that world music is now a staple feature of numerous other music festivals – and indeed other cultural events, as well as the soundtracks of Hollywood movies – testifies to WOMAD's crucial role in demonstrating that there is a broad audience for world music and imbuing the genre with a symbolic weight that far outstrips the actual size of its audience. The obvious point that 'world music' is global, means that it is the ideal symbolic soundtrack for cosmopolitanism. As a symbolic soundtrack we need to be attentive to any possible inequities, to the dangers of a lightweight 'aesthetic cosmopolitanism' (Regev 2007) (?).



*Crowd at WOMAD
Charlton Park 2009.*

We need to ask whether world music festivals are a phenomenon whose cultural content transcends more boundaries than other genres, transforms more localities into a kind of cultural meta-space? Firstly, we need to remember that world music began as a marketing category, though this rather prosaic beginning does not detract from the actual heterogeneity of the genre: multiple musical traditions and varied music scenes stretching from the 'traditional' and 'classical' to the most innovative, politicised and groundbreaking. The genre itself has permeable boundaries and a review of WOMAD programming over nearly 30 years supports this: the festival has maintained a consistently heterogeneous and eclectic cultural programme, something exemplified by the collaboration during its first edition in 1983 between the Drummers of Burundi and the UK's Echo and the Bunnymen. In the accounts of festival organisers, producers and artists involved in WOMAD, such collaborative efforts are less about 'hybridity' or 'fusion' (terms which most involved seem to dislike intensely), but more about a natural organic desire to share one's art. Even though there are now recognisable 'canonical' WOMAD artists, by bringing heterogeneous forms of music together in one festival event, WOMAD dis-embeds its audiences, both from their national contexts, and also from the particular music-scenes that they may be part of. The experiential side of the event thus hinges on a mixture of novelty and a sense of community engendered by a shared political disposition, the second of which will now be considered in a little more detail.

WOMAD is a festival with intention. One of the WOMAD Foundation's directors claimed that the festival's programme choices are never deliberately political. This may be true, and it may well help the festival to operate in contexts as diverse as the UK and Abu Dhabi. However, a certain ideological bent has been present from the festival's beginnings. Peter Gabriel's words express this credo and the festival's founding ethos clearly: 'Music is a universal language, it draws people together and proves, as well as anything, the stupidity of racism'. In the context of the UK, the festival was born amidst the groundswell of the Rock Against Racism campaign in the late 1970s. Early on, WOMAD attracted involvement from NGOs like Amnesty International and Survival International; this was bolstered when the festival ran at Rivermeade in Reading, where the city council helped sponsor the One World Platform, a stage which programmed debates on political and development issues. Importantly, and echoing the differences in organisation and funding mentioned above, these NGO partnerships vary from country to country. Whilst Amnesty International, for example, remains a key presence at WOMAD in the UK, Las Palmas and Cáceres have created a strong link with Spain's national development organisation Casa Africa, which deals firsthand with the boatloads of African immigrants arriving in the Canary Islands, an uprooting known as *travesía*, but does so predominantly through culture rather than foreign policy.

These varied partnerships actually reflect a stronger underlying shared ethos, an engagement with issues that affect transnational communities. This is easy to find in the explicit politics of Gabriel's 1980 anti-apartheid song 'Biko', which brought South Africa's apartheid-era horrors into popular music. Significantly, he performed this song at the end of his set at the 2009 WOMAD Charlton Park festival in memory of the recently murdered Chechen journalist Natalya Esterimova, who was also a member of Gabriel's own NGO, Witness. WOMAD's founding goals of using music, art and dance for political ends – proving the 'stupidity of racism' – have clearly endured. One might argue that those who pay to attend WOMAD (broadly speaking, the events



in the UK, Australia and New Zealand), which is after all a festival of *world* music and dance, are unlikely to be racist bigots or neo-fascist sympathisers, so a cosmopolitan outlook is unsurprising. However, the significance of the festival – despite its flaws – is that it both relies on and yet creates a shared set of values. We can tentatively identify these as *cosmopolitan*, as an ensemble of dispositions characterised by openness to the diversity of the world and others. The reason that WOMAD is able to translate diverse artistic performances into shared experiences is of course partly because of the nature of music as an immediate and visceral art form, but given the radically different venues (muddy countryside in the UK, a UNESCO World Heritage city in Cáceres, a glittering new seafront promenade in Abu Dhabi), and the different ways that people attend and stay at WOMADs (from paid entry and camping to popping out of one's family home) the actual managed festival space is clearly not what creates the ethos, the cosmopolitan disposition. This lies in the interaction between the careful staging of the 'play' that is WOMAD and the diverse publics that get drawn into it, publics that become part of the performance, seeing themselves reflected in the diversity of the artists and the experience.

Conclusion: Music and cosmopolitanism

At an aesthetic level, music festivals are immediately engaging and frequently participatory, and the festivals we have considered here give a brief synopsis of how they achieve this in different parts of Europe (and beyond). To make the leap between these shared qualities of music festivals and a broader cosmopolitan culture or ethical disposition is not without its dangers, however, and has some limits.

Firstly, because there are some music festivals, and kinds of music, which are parochial, jingoistic, and 'exclusive' in their mission and outlook. As an abstract art, as the most abstract of all the arts, music can be filled with whatever content, including racism and xenophobia (Johnson and Cloonan 2009), as well as ambition and competition (e.g. Santoro 2009), and be transformed into a source of violence instead of social belonging and participation. Festivals are not immune to this kind of politicisation, and the festivalisation of this 'dark side' of music life could have an effect on public culture too. So, we should be always aware that the cosmopolitan disposition, and a cosmopolitan culture, is not inscribed in music festivals as such, but should be envisioned as an important possible dimension of a larger architecture which has to be cultivated and possibly promoted by public agencies through selective support.

Secondly, because the idea of 'universal' experiences necessitates glossing over important differences in both perception and experience, aesthetic as well as practical. As cultural producers, these three festivals offer powerful 'universal' experiences for much of their audience, but making these universal depends on an underlying imaginary which unites individual experience into a collective, shared meaning. For example, 'world music' as a genre explicitly implies shared mutual understanding and appreciation, whilst there is in fact an implicit (and troubling) universalising tendency in the very idea of world music itself: diverse musics are somehow seen as aesthetically accessible, regardless of the fact that amongst 'global' audiences knowledge of the cultures and socio-political contexts from which they originate may be patchy at best (?).

However, participation is real, and the tangible unity felt by festival-goers at Umbria Jazz, Sonar and WOMAD – no matter how much a result of careful planning, policing and pragmatics as much as an exemplary artistic programme – evidences the possibilities that such festivals engender. It seems unlikely that the cosmopolitan contexts and attitudes these three festivals encourage can be extended to music festivals generally, though whether other types of arts festivals are more or less favourable to cosmopolitanism remains open.

Endnotes

- 1 At the Charlton Park (UK) WOMAD this is an intimate experience in a small tented structure where musicians cook dishes from their place of origin and play music. Interaction between audience and artists is high, with the relatively small audience coming forward at the end to sample the food.
- 2 See also Paperstegiadis (2006) and Erlman (1999) on aesthetic cosmopolitanism and the dangers of over-romanticising world music respectively.
- 3 See Grolinski (2006: 263-66) for an interesting discussion of the different understandings of world music between foreign consultants and local organisers of Sarawak's Rainforest World Music Festival.

**International film festivals in European cities:
Win-win situations?**



Jérôme Segal



In a time of growing individualism, epitomised, among else, by the development of so-called 'home cinemas', the desire to collectively experience live events is partly satisfied by festivals. This is one reason that explains why film festivals continue to develop at a frenetic pace. Taking part in a festival means being a member of a community of people sharing similar interests, experiencing with others a festive event, having the opportunity to discuss the contents of the films with friends or strangers, feeling directly addressed by the media reports on the films watched the evening before, and also, later, sharing the memory of the event and associated experience.

The International Federation of Film Producers Associations, created in 1933, keeps a list of the most important film festivals. There are 13 competitive feature film festivals in the so-called 'A-list', and of these eight are located in Europe. The present chapter considers three representative festivals of this list, namely, the Berlin Film Festival (called the 'Berlinale'), definitely the most important festival taking place in a capital city, the Venice Film Festival – also known as the 'Mostra' – which is the oldest, dating from 1932, and, lastly, the Cannes Film Festival, which has rapidly become, after its two-times inceptions in 1939 and 1946, the most important festival for the global film industry.

These three film festivals all bear the name of a city in their title and largely contribute to the latter's image, although, as we consider in the first section below, each festival is representative of a different way of profiling the city image. In a second part, we will question the role of these festivals in the construction and transmission of an identity, which is more international and cosmopolitan than it is European. Lastly, relying on several interviews with festival specialists and lay-person attendants, media analysis as well as fieldwork, we will consider the way in which these festivals are perceived by their audiences – local and global.

A composite image with 24 images per second

A glamorous image at relatively low cost

There is a paradox about films: whereas the production of a film often amounts to millions, its screening in a cinema or in the framework of an international festival is comparatively inexpensive. Indeed, having theatrical groups come over for a festival is much more expensive than broadcasting a 35mm-film copy (and shipping costs can even be reduced to zero in the case of digital techniques). But film festivals are not just about the screening of films; they are also – or perhaps even more – about the staging of events with prominent people, press conferences and numerous social events. Therefore, even when film festivals are first launched on small budgets or mainly with regional funds, their long-term financial sustainability quickly turns into a state affair, with the Ministry for Culture or equivalent organisation taking over as main public sponsor. Yet as they grow – in terms of contents, scope and publicity – film festivals also become more attractive for private sponsors. Today, the Cannes Film Festival, which has a budget of 20 million Euros, derives half of its earnings through private sponsorship. The share of private sponsorship is about a third in the case of the Berlinale, which evinces almost the same budget as Cannes (18-19 million Euros), and around a quarter for Mostra, which has an overall budget of 10 million Euros.

In Cannes, the city and region are also in charge of the festival's main infrastructure site, the *Palais des Festivals*. The small city of Cannes, with a regular population of 70 000 inhabitants, largely benefits from the event by way of tourism: alone during the festival the city population grows to 160 000; but clearly the publicity effect is larger and more long-lasting. According to David Lisnard, deputy mayor and also in charge of the *Palais des Festivals*, in 2009 during the festival season, the city attracted 30 000 professionals and 120 000 tourists, accruing revenues ranging between 170 and 200 million Euros. This is a huge return for the 2.2 million subsidy granted to the Festival by the city of Cannes (!). In other words, Cannes is dependent on the festival for maintaining its glamorous reputation, over and above its location in the famous Côte d'Azur.



The identity of Cannes is closely linked to that of the festival – here a telephone booth made up in film reel.



Touristic interests

For a capital city like Berlin or a historically legendary city, like Venice, the film festival is perhaps not as important in terms of tourism as it is in Cannes, but it is certainly significant in terms of image and branding. The awards associated with the festivals are, at the same time, the emblems of the cities – the bear in the case of Berlin and the lion in the case of Venice. These insignias are omnipresent throughout the city as in Berlin, or at the main festival site, as in Lido, in the case of Venice.

In Venice, the Lido is commonly known as the venue of the Mostra, like the *Croisette* is where it all happens in Cannes. Both have become ‘lieux de mémoire’ in the sense of Pierre Nora or ‘memory site’. People visit these sites also outside the festival season and because they have acquired a special identity as festival sites (Beeton 2005: 180). In Cannes film stars even like to leave their handprints in the pavement like they do in Hollywood. In her book on film festivals, Marijke de Valck (2007: 138) had this to say about the Mostra as a cultural memory of space: ‘Festival memories are lost time that go through a Proustian retrieval each year during the festival because the historical locations trigger the past. The vaporetis (sic) or water taxis between the Lido and the mainland, instantly remind of earlier festivals, as do the lines of beach houses along the south shore of the island.’

European, international and cosmopolitan

Film festivals do not only contribute to the image of their host cities; they are also reference symbols or signs against a wider backdrop. What are the geographical or territorial identities of film festivals? The interviews carried out in the framework of our research show that the European dimension is relatively absent – or, rather, that it is mostly present in instrumental terms, i.e. in relation to funding. In terms of identity, film festivals prefer to define themselves as ‘international’, also reflecting a kind of cosmopolitanism which goes beyond state boundaries, even if the influence of national politics remains an issue, especially in Italy. The three festivals under consideration are part of an international film circuit, which has at least a 60-year old history. At the same time, they are embedded in their immediate local or urban context in which they also take place.

Festivals in the history of the city

The Berlin Film Festival was founded by the US occupation forces in 1951. Its history and development is closely associated to that of the city. Three main events played a constitutive role in the festival’s timeline: the construction of the Wall in 1961, which put an end to the special screenings organised for East-Berlin residents; the fall of the Wall in 1989, immediately followed by the re-opening of the festival to the East-Berlin and, more generally, the East-German, audience; and the creation in 2000 of the Potsdamer Platz, where the Berlinale now has its headquarters. The Berlinale managed to grow with the city and it has become an important event for all its residents, who also constitute the vast majority of the purchasers of the 300 000 tickets sold in February 2010.

In Venice, formally known as the ‘Most Serene Republic of Venice’, the festival always takes place on the Lido but some events are still staged in the main city. In 2004, the last production of

Dreamworks Studio, *Shark Tale*, was screened on the Piazza San Marco, the Lions were awarded in the freshly renovated *Gran Teatro la Fenice* and a candle-lit dinner was given in the Doge's Palace for a thousand exclusive guests after the ceremony. The same 18th-century theatre la Fenice was also used two years later for the world premiere of Kenneth Branagh's *The Magic Flute*, but these have remained isolated initiatives, the festival clearly belonging to the Lido. The construction of the new *Palazzo*, on the Lido, is expected to reinforce this fact. Venice, on the other hand, remains a giant museum bogged down in mass tourism. It is more in the backstage of the Mostra, and in its relation to the Biennale, the mother organisation, that the festival evolves.

Cities and countries

The Mostra is still a major national prestigious event. Since this festival is heavily dependent on public support (more than Cannes or Berlin), it has also become the instrument of national cultural policy and is often contested at the political level. This is also why the Berlusconi government has since 2006 been heavily supporting the Rome Film Festival which it helped establish. Directors of the Mostra have often suffered from this dilemma. The current Mostra director, Marco Müller, who has held his position since 2004, declared shortly before the renewal of his mandate, in 2006: 'The pessimism of reason should lead us to declare that the time for festivals is coming to an end. Whether we like it or not, we must accept the fact that we will see many festivals continuing to brood over their own touristic and promotional original sin, that of being a window display and launch pad for the most visible, often most showy part of film-making.'⁽²⁾

This pessimistic view of the future of film festivals in view of the growing role of commercialisation, and calling for the latter's renewal through greater autonomy, was also motivated by the growing influence of politics – formal and informal, including of the civil society – on the Venice festival. In 2004 for instance, 'Global Project', a federation of NGOs, organised a 'global beach' as an alternative sidebar. Roughly equipped with a restaurant, a camping site, a few showers and a screening room, this mini-alternative-fringe-festival was run on a co-operative basis by anti-globalisation protesters and included a few demonstrations in front of the main entrance of the Mostra as well as the public screening of two festival films, namely, *The Take* by the Canadians Avi Lewis and Naomi Klein, and *Embedded*, by the American Tim Robbins.

Can a festival overshadow a city?

Berlin, Venice and Cannes are three cities of different sizes: Berlin has three million inhabitants, Venice 270 000 and Cannes 70 000. The Cannes Film Festival has become more important than the city itself and many festival-goers are critical of the city's high proportion of elderly extreme right-wing voters⁽³⁾. Even though the city benefits from the income generated by the festival, many residents do not appreciate the cosmopolitan spirit that comes with it and prefer to leave the city during the festival season. A great diversity of people and ideas is conspicuously displayed during the twelve days when the *Croisette* is occupied by festival-goers. During this time, political issues are imported in the city and it is common to see gay activists or environment militants using the high media exposure for their own aims. This is not surprising considering that the publicity outreach attributed to Cannes is only second to the Olympic Games.



The city authorities must find a way to keep their voters satisfied and still please the festival team – in recognition that the two communities are quite distinct in both political and socio-cultural orientations. During the last festival, and as a symbolic gesture of affinity with the local population, the mayor and several city officials took part at a demonstration against one of the films shown in competition, namely, *Hors-la-loi* (Outside the Law) by Rachid Bouchareb. The film dealt with the Algeria war, which continues to remain a taboo subject for many French. It is about the foundation and evolution of the Algerian ‘National Liberation Front’ as well as the Sétif and Guelma massacre events of 8 May 1945, when the French army killed about ten thousand Algerian civilians who used the opportunity of the official end of the Second World War to demonstrate for national independence. Already prior to its world-premiere and without having seen it, a French right-wing deputy, Lionel Luca, expressed harsh criticism of the film as ‘anti-French’. Subsequently, a national controversy broke out – still the mayor of Cannes did not hesitate to participate at a demonstration on the *Croisette* against the film staged by the descendants of the ‘Pieds-Noirs’ – former Algerians of European origin – in collaboration with the notorious ultra-right wing party *Front National*.

Most national and international newspapers criticised the city officials for their stance and the city’s image suffered from this negative publicity. One of the most influential weekly journals within the film industry, *Variety*, quoted André Mayet, a city official in charge of the ‘Pieds-Noirs’ community, as saying that ‘the festival should pull out of the film screening’ (Hopewell and Kesslassy 2010). In response and in condemning this defensive approach, many representatives of the film industry expressed the fear that in the future lead production companies would think twice before submitting films for screening at the Cannes Film Festival. Martin Moszkowicz, head of film and TV at the independent German producer and distributor Constantin, was quoted in the same article as saying ‘Save for a few exceptions, there’s a huge gulf between movies made for audiences and movies made for festivals, and that gap is getting bigger and bigger’.

The negative critique some films receive during the festival – for instance, due to local or national tensions – do not necessarily influence their box-office results following their release. *Da Vinci Code*, for example, which was the opening film of the 2006 Cannes festival, was harshly criticised and nevertheless became a blockbuster in most countries. Moreover, festival organisers know how to use the scandals to boost the media interest in the festival. Thierry Frémaux, who has been directing the Cannes Film Festival since 2004, said he thought it a good thing when the film selection entailed a ‘negative integrator’, a management term he is fond of, used here for a film which ‘unites opposition against itself’ (Ferenczi and Murat 2009).

Local, international and professional audiences

As already noted earlier, cities will often benefit from international film festivals both with respect to their image and in terms of the revenues accrued through visitors. At the same time, the festival audience is not always welcomed by local residents who either feel disturbed by the crowds or object to the latter’s diversity on ideological grounds. One way to avoid this conundrum, thus achieving a win-win situation, is to make the screenings public, i.e. accessible also to lay-persons, hence also the local population. Following this idea, upon occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Berlinale, Dieter Kosslick, its director since 2001, organised a program entitled ‘Berlinale goes Kiez’, which expanded the presence of festival films throughout the city. A ‘flying red carpet’ was

moved about the city, laid down for one evening in small art cinemas in districts of Berlin usually not involved in the Berlinale (in 'Kino Toni' in Weißensee, in 'Neues Off' in Neukölln and in 'Union Filmtheater' in Köpenick). As a result of this, the Berlin Film Festival established a new world record of 299 478 tickets sold during the eleven days of the 2010 festival.

The public character of the Berlinale is not always appreciated by the professionals attending the festival under one or other form of accreditation: they are not able to book tickets more than one day in advance and often have to queue. This is unlike the case in Cannes, which is conceptualised and, accordingly, designed primarily for film professionals. Generally, publics of the main international film festivals are composed of critics, film professional, and 'notables', invited by the film industry or state institutions. In Cannes, lay persons can only get to see films running under the official selection in the big auditorium Louis Lumière (2 281 seats), if they manage to obtain a ticket through a journalist. Many journalists register to watch more movies than they can attend; yet if they fail to show up they lose accreditation points as a penalty. Therefore, if they cannot attend, it is in their interest to give the tickets away, usually for free. Since the demand is much higher than the supply, those keen to get tickets must be creative and original.

The Cannes Film Festival attracts around 30 000 professionals. They are sorted out and accredited following a strict hierarchical system comprising more than 30 types of accreditations. These levels of accreditation are coded with colours which were explained to us as follows by one of the journalists: 'The people 'in white' – the VIPs, often media moguls or TV presenters – can access everywhere, even parties, at any time, without queuing in front of the cinema. Those 'in pink with dots' are treated almost as well, but have to let those 'in white' go in first. The people in 'pink' must wait for those in 'pink with dots' to enter, those 'in blue' must give precedence to those 'in pink', and those 'in yellow' must allow those 'in blue' to go in first. All this is done with the hope that the people of the previous category will not take up all the vacant seats. For photographers and cameramen, the pass is orange.'

These accreditations are proudly worn during the festival and differentiate the professionals from the local audience, as well as the professionals among themselves. Moreover, the nationality of the holder is represented by a small flag – a piece of information that conspicuously displays the festival's international outlook and composition. Many festival-goers add to their accreditation other badges that they obtain for special booths or to access party areas.

In all three festivals, in order to obtain accreditation, professionals must submit an application and also pay a fee which varies according to the type of accreditation received. In addition they receive a shoulder bag or backpack with the festival's logo or brand. These bags also go on sale and constitute an important merchandising item which is then transformed into a publicity item, thus contributing to the festival's branding within the city.

Festivals are held over a relatively short period of time in a confined area that gathers an important cosmopolitan audience with tremendous press attendance. During this time, the festival cities resemble the Tower of Babel with people from different countries and cultural backgrounds meeting and communicating before, during or after the screenings. This internationalism has,



at the same time, an important long-term impact on the identity of the host city – over and above the more immediate tangible impacts relating to tourism. The host city thus turns into the centre of the world – a favourite theme for festival posters.

Ultimately, however, the success of a film festival also in this respect depends on its ability to balance the interests of two distinct communities: those of the festival visitors from abroad and those of its local residents. The Cannes Film Festival has the most difficulties achieving this because it basically targets the film industry and the professionals, but also because Cannes is a comparatively small city. The organisers try to solve the problem by screening films for free on the beach (often classics). The sidebars like the Critic's Week or the Directors' Fortnight are more accessible to the general audience and the glitz and glamour are on offer for anyone and everyone strolling on the *Croisette*. In Venice, and even more in Berlin, the infrastructures of the festival enable the organisers to include the general audience to most of the screenings.

Conclusion

Each couple made of a city and a festival has found a way to benefit from the large interest for film festivals. The choice of location is sometimes instrumental, like in Cannes, at other times motivated by political calculations. But over time the love of and for film overrides all other considerations and brings about a remapping of location and space through the lens of film culture and its celebration by the festival.

Endnotes

- 1 <http://tinyurl.com/34f5znm>
- 2 Parts of this speech were reproduced in a newspaper article and completely translated into English on a website (<http://www.carnivalofvenice.com/argomento.asp?cat=135&lang=en>). See Armocida, P. (2006), *Alla Mostra dei nuovi mondi c'è la riscoperta dell'America*, *Il Giornale*, July 28.
- 3 In an interview he gave to this project, the film historian and critic Antoine de Baecque referred to Cannes as an 'ugly city with only elderly people who vote 40 % for the National Front [ultra-rightist party]'.

Festivals in cities, cities in festivals



*Monica Sassatelli
and Gerard Delanty*



Arts festivals celebrate the arts – often a single form, genre or artist, more frequently more than one discipline or art (PAYE 2008; Allen and Shaw 2000; Rolfe 1992). Multi-disciplinarity is evident in the many terms used to refer to these predominant festivals: combined arts, general arts, multidisciplinary, multi art and mixed arts are among the most common expressions. All point to the specificity of these festivals in combining several artistic forms and types of events. This is also reflected in an equally multifaceted mix of venues, audiences and aims. The mixing of artistic and social activities put this type of contemporary artistic festival on a continuum with earlier, community-based festivals. So, whereas most festivals often actually stage events of more than one discipline (e.g. literature festivals often have a cinema section, music festivals include visual arts exhibitions, etc.), in mixed arts festivals no single genre dominates and defines the festival as a whole. As a result, many of these mixed-arts festivals define themselves by referring to the place that hosts them, most often a town or city. The urban dimension is therefore a defining feature of most mixed arts festivals. Urban festivals are not simply festivals happening in cities but festivals of the cities; they are multi-dimensional, complex events held together by their drawing on urban identity, urban lifestyles and values.

This synergistic relationship between the festival and the city works, we might say, like a chemical reaction. This is difficult to unpack or 'artificially' reproduce as if in a laboratory, as many not so successful attempts at launching a festival in recent decades show. The trigger of the reaction lies in how the festival's 'sense of place' combines with an intense encounter with outside artists, cultures and even publics. These may not seem quantitatively dominant, but they are like the active ingredient in the formula, whose even tiny drop marks and flavours the final mix and makes it 'work'. However, behind the halo of quasi-alchemic mystery lie mechanisms that are at the basis of contemporary, urban culture more generally and which can be sociologically investigated. Festivals provide a concentrated version of that cultural encounter which enlarges a city's own identity, often explicitly connected to an official discourse of cosmopolitan trans-cultural exchange. With various degrees of self-consciousness and explicit narratives, city festivals thematise the art of living together that the city has always represented – from Georg Simmel's depictions of the role of the foreigner in the turn of 20th century metropolis to contemporary theorists of the global city. They thus claim a special tie with cosmopolitanism (Sennett 1990; Westwood and Williams 1996; Parker 2004).

This is the lead we have taken in our research on urban mixed arts festivals, also in consideration of the limited available literature on the subject. Previous research has recognised the specificity of urban festivals, but as exemplified by Gold and Gold's (2004) overview of the role of the Western city as the scene of staged cultural events, it has mainly adopted a historical or geographical approach. Sociological research on mixed arts urban festivals is even more scarce. On the one hand, this is because of the 'residual' nature of mixed arts festivals, which means that they are not linked to any specific sectorial body of literature (e.g. music studies, film studies, art history, etc.) or genre development. On the other hand, given that some of the major festivals in Europe are genre-specific, empirical research has often concentrated on this type, either focusing on single festivals or comparing a few of them. There is also a growing amount of reports, publicly available but often of quite limited circulation, commissioned by national or international festival associations, by national bodies in charge of cultural policies or by single festivals; it is among these that mixed arts urban festivals are a focal point⁽¹⁾.

The majority of these works open by stating that in the past 15 years there has been a remarkable rise in the numbers of arts festivals in cities throughout Europe, and elsewhere. The current success of urban festivals, and in particular their great increase since the late 1970s and 1980s, is linked to the industrial to post-industrial shift of many big European cities, and their search for ways to 'regenerate' themselves. Indeed the culture-led urban regeneration approach is today the dominant one in festival research⁽²⁾. Still, the actual capacity of festivals to meet regeneration objectives remains an open issue, with quite a few researchers arguing that using festivals for city marketing and place distinctiveness may be counter-productive (Richards and Wilson 2004; Evans 2001). Others think this only happens when festivals fail to understand local particularities (Rowe and Stevenson 1994). Available evidence concentrates on the economic impact, downplaying other types of impact and, in particular, cultural impact (Quinn 2005)⁽³⁾. This has led to a rather dichotomised, or simplified debate, revolving around whether or not festivals have regeneration effects, whether or not they are sites of more open cultural politics, and whether or not their association with tourism, commodification and globalisation necessarily implies a loss of authenticity, specificity, and identity. In this black and white picture – enhanced by the almost exclusive methodological reliance on mainly quantitative, economic indicators – there is usually little space for nuanced analysis.

If the 'state of the art' is still fragmented and lacking clear theoretical basis, it has however accumulated an increasing set of data that are helping question previous assumptions. It is on this basis that we can say that the pursuit of a piecemeal measurement of discrete types of 'impact', however important, overlooks the cultural significance of festivals and their implications in terms of more long term and strategic policy development. To directly address the cultural significance of urban festivals research needs analytical concepts that can account for the complex, relational and processual nature of festivals, both as organisations and as experiences.

As for the urban dimension, what seems to hold the key for the interpretation of the specificity of city festivals is an attention to the ways in which festivals are linked to the social and spatial organisation – and therefore the related cultural politics – of the place that hosts them. In short, we could say with Willems-Braun (1994), that this means to focus on the festival's 'topography' as a key to enquire into how cultural practice, social identities and place relate. Moreover, the proliferation, and transformation, of festivals' fringes⁽⁴⁾ also provides a key perspective to study the cultural politics of festivals as arenas where claims for allegedly countercultural, alternative access to cultural consumption and production are displayed.



Venice, Brighton, Vienna

The case studies chosen to represent urban mixed arts festivals within the Euro-Festival project are the Brighton Festival, the Venice Biennale and the Wiener Festwochen. Three very different festivals and contexts that help envisage the wide range of events that go under the label of urban festivals.

The oldest of the three, the Venice Biennale, is also one of the oldest contemporary festivals in general. La Biennale di Venezia, Venice Biennale: this is a name that everyone in the art world knows, and many more outside it. The first of its kind in the visual arts, it created a genre and exported the 'Biennale' brand. As its 53rd edition of the Art Exhibition was due to open in 2009, the *Sunday Times* listed the Biennale among the unmissable cultural events, describing it as the 'Olympics of art and its World Cup (...). Anyone with the tiniest interest in modern art has to see it' (*Sunday Times* 4/1/2009, p. 13). Ironically, the Biennale actually pre-dates all the mega-events cited as models, including Cannes, the arch-rival of the older Venetian Mostra. Many of the characteristics of mixed arts urban festivals are found in the Biennale in an explicit and sometimes particularly critical form: the balance of the different genres and creation of a coherent identity; the link with the city that hosts it; the progressive institutionalisation; the multilayered structure of claims and agendas; and the role among a particularly European festival field. Today the Biennale is a major festival institution. Activities include the Art and Architecture Biennales, as well as the Dance, Music, Theatre and Cinema festivals (most of which are yearly events) and the Historical Archives.

Brighton Festival too has its own primacy, being the biggest in England and second only to Edinburgh in the UK. It has an articulate structure made up of several 'festivals', with a focus on performing arts but important sections also in literature and visual arts. It is officially 'international' and aspires to showcase exceptional work. It has, in short, many characteristics of exceptionality and singularity. It is a good example to study ideal-typical contemporary urban mixed arts festivals: a medium sized seaside town or city wanting to regenerate itself, an active city council and a socio-demographic situation varied and wide enough to stimulate 'fringe' mobilisation and to provide a responsive local audience. The festival rush that many observers have detected in recent decades sees many cities with similar ingredients and circumstances, although not always with equally successful results. Established in 1967 and therefore approaching its 45th anniversary, Brighton's is among the well-established European festivals, although its reputation remains mainly local and national. As festivals go, nearly half a century is a respectable longevity, one that allows for traditions to be established as well as observable changes and shifts at various levels as also shown by the Wiener Festwochen.

Officially, the Vienna Festival was launched in 1951. Following the end of the Second World War, it represented an endeavour to help Austria re-enter the international stage, both politically and culturally. At the time Austria was still under the jurisdiction of the Allied Forces, Vienna being divided into four zones: British / American / French and Soviet. For the first director of the *Festwochen*, Hans Mandl, city councillor for the Social Democratic Party, the festival was an opportunity to put Vienna back on the map of European culture and the arts. This date is however contested, as the festival builds on the ideas propagated and partly realised in the

mid-1920s during the legendary days of 'Red Vienna'. In its early years, the Vienna festival was an instrument for re-establishing Vienna as a music and opera capital, but as Vienna recovered its reputation in this respect (especially through the re-invention of powerful cultural institutions such as the Concert Hall and the Vienna Opera House), the Wiener Festwochen gradually turned its attention to other genres and dared become more experimental also with respect to music and opera. Even though performances of classical music and opera continue to accompany the Wiener Festwochen, they no longer comprise the focus of the festival. The shift of the festival's attention to experimental forms of art (in music and theatre) is especially evident since the late 1990s, and progressively saw the Wiener Festwochen develop into one of the world-acclaimed urban festivals for experimental art across genres.

As is evident, the three festivals differ quite extensively: not only do they take place in different countries, they also display different thematic specialisations and genre orientations. Yet with respect to organisational set-up and evolution they display many similarities that are at the core of what makes an urban festival, notably in terms of its place within the cultural life of a city, in a contemporary, global, context.

Inside the urban festival

All three festivals began as public initiatives and some are still physically residing within the premises of local institutions. Over time they have been transformed into private, not-for-profit institutions and receive substantial amounts of public funding from local and national funds. In other words, they are all well-established in their local and national contexts and also internationally. But they all began as personal initiatives of charismatic figures. The origins are covered by an almost mythical aura: sometimes as the result of a contested starting point (as in the case of Vienna, where the official 1951 start date is contested by those who see it in continuity with pre-war festivals dating from the 1920s); other times by creating semi-legendary figures of the first directors and funders (as in the case of Mr Festival in Brighton). Rapid institutionalisation in the context of a constant process of reform is another common trait with the Biennale being the extreme case with its many overhauls and continuous small amendments. As non-profit organisations, they share a similar structure, made of a permanent management staff and a governing body. The latter are variously composed of members of relevant 'local' organisations and stakeholders. People in charge of the actual programming form a third category and include artistic directors. These are usually appointed on a fixed term or work as freelancers. Presently, directors tend to be professional managers rather than cultural entrepreneurs – this distinction was blurred in earlier times and especially so for the founders.

Despite their institutional embeddedness, all three festivals remain small organisations in management terms and, as such, they are highly connotated by individual figures and their personal preferences and inclinations. Even in the Biennale the senior figures see themselves as a 'little group of old friends'. The resulting institutional instability is not the only effect: personal networks are, for good or worse, at the core of the functioning of these organisations. Personal networks are, in fact, more important than institutional ones. In the digital age, these often take the semi-formal shape of more or less frequently updated 'portals', with newsletters and occasional meetings in the 'real' world. Formal networks, like the International



Federation of Cinema Festivals, are far outnumbered by informal networks and especially by the chains of personal relationships that link directors, curators, artists and promoters. It is not rare to find the same person covering two different roles, in different organisations, so these chains are rather dense and close, rather than open and fluid as the external impression might suggest. These 'networks' do indeed have global reach, but that does not make them 'open': possibly because they are personal, but also in connection to the structure of the different art-worlds, they essentially function as gatekeeping devices, as witnessed by the fact – observed by many – that the same artists are found again and again at different festivals.

Branding the festival, branding the city

These three case studies can be said to have quite different overall rationales: the Biennale still claims an 'encyclopaedic' function, of establishing the 'state of the art' and thus possibly indicate new avenues; in Vienna democratisation of art as well as cultural diplomacy sit, more or less comfortably, together; in Brighton, which is in a transitional phase with a new director, raising the profile of the festival and finding its specific voice is central. However, what all urban festivals share is the fact that the 'overall rationale' is actually just a perceptual and temporary surface balance of what, underneath, are a number of different agendas struggling to emerge.

More than other cultural industries or institutions, urban festivals elicit a strong, local feeling of ownership that festival organisers recognise – although the radius of 'local' can vary greatly. The several, precariously balanced agendas are thus linked with the strong but often also conflicting relationship of urban festivals with 'their' place. What is a typical configuration is the creation of whole new sections within the festival devoted to either more maverick, or more outreach events. Sometimes the resulting incremental structure, where previous approaches and parts are not abandoned but juxtaposed with the new ones, is described through ecological metaphors, as an equilibrium of parts that requires the contribution of all and a circular relationship rather than a linear one, between city and festival.

A recurrent theme is that of the *brand*. Branding the city and branding the festival go hand in hand: the festival is seen as fundamental for the city profile, and vice versa, festivals and their host cities are linked by a symbolic (rather than causal) relationship. For instance, landmark buildings as festival main venues or head quarters are important as they contribute to the profile of the organisation. The importance of this branding component for a cultural sociology of festivals is difficult to grasp with a superficial notion of city-branding that emphasises the exploitation of a city's (and festival's) identity in terms of consolidated traditions or heritage. While still a phenomenon of commercialisation, looked at from another angle, a festival is also not just a commodity being produced, sold and consumed (Lury 2004; Lash and Lury 2007). Instead, like a brand the festival is not for sale – although it is really what people are buying (into). And this is linked to its multi-form, 'poietic', narrative, and singular nature. An interesting way these festivals are increasingly like brands is in their use of themes. These are increasingly used as framing devices, as verbal logos that work both as an organisational and as an artistic device, allowing however a substantial degree of variation and interpretation. 'The brand is like an organism, self-modifying, with a memory' (Lash and Lury 2007: 6). However, by spilling over outside the corporate domain, and being associated with a 'place'

(as a cultural object) the brand itself may not go un-changed. A city (or a festival) as a brand, cannot be subsumed by a single *corporate* 'identity' or strategy. Fringes, an almost ubiquitous counterpart of urban festivals, exemplify the forms of resistance and attempts of re-appropriation of the festival brand as expression of hegemonic culture and inequalities. To what extent this effectively happens or succeeds, how the balance is struck, is an empirical question to be answered every time anew.

The cultural public sphere of urban festivals

Our three case studies all started as mono-genre (classical music, de facto if not officially the core programme in both Brighton and Vienna, visual art in Venice) and then developed into the fully fledged multi-genre festivals they are now. Still the balance of genres remains a difficult issue for these festivals, as the predominance of one genre can be detrimental, in the long run, to the festival's overall cohesiveness. Directors and managers, in particular, seem to struggle with this, and have found different solutions. In Brighton genres are currently kept in control by organising the programme in diary form, based on date, rather than divided by genres, in an attempt to bring the guest artistic director's unifying vision to the fore. But it is probably in the segmentation of the audience that the composite nature of these festivals emerges. Still, the perception of the audience that guides the organisers is one of a possibly segmented but certainly committed audience, and a 'trained' one in many senses: although there are different audiences for the different genres, these are also specific 'festival' (and biennale) audiences, that value (also critically) the programmer's choice and therefore follow their programmes as a whole, people that go 'to the festival/biennale', rather than to single events⁽⁵⁾. As a result, festival goers may not be 'omnivorous' in the strict sense of being able to appreciate and integrate in their habitus a vast range of genres, but during the festival they are (made into) risk-takers willing to have 'encounters' with experiences that challenge their preferences and habitus. These quite high-brow festivals are certainly not as much a rite of passage into adulthood as some of the pop music festivals seem to be, but enduring some intellectual as well as physical discomfort, being prepared for 'marathons' of events is part of what makes the role of the audience an active one in festivals, and what makes a festival, not only in the performing arts, a 'live', transformative *experience*.

When this contemporary wave of post-traditional festivals started, post-World War II, an essential component of this 'encounter' with the new was their international qualification. The Biennale, with its inception at the turn of the 20th century is among those we could call the precursors of the contemporary, post-traditional festivals (the oldest probably being the Bayreuth Festival that started in 1876). They became a phenomenon in the second half of the 20th century, which is when most of the now major festivals were established (Edinburgh, Avignon, Vienna) as well as the European Festivals Association (1954). To this day, 'international' remains by default associated with artistic quality, whereas the 'local' components tend to be justified more in terms of community, out-reach, and social objectives. Today however, 'international' is by no means a sufficient mark of distinction or 'alternative', as the national level has lost part of its hegemonic grip on cultural life. 'Encounter' with the new remains central, but is now complemented by something else, some other inter-, especially inter-disciplinary and inter-cultural.



At the same time, the very idea of 'new' has been somewhat undermined by instant global communication. As we have seen, many of the key festival actors are well aware of – or even more, they are part of – a global public sphere, although global by no means stands for equally covering the four corners of the world and all the stratified layers of the different locales. Instead, global means fragmented and polycentric, whilst at the same time characterised by circulation and repetition of the same contents. Because of this, and seen from the outside, framing festivals within the increasing commercialisation of the public sphere appears sufficient. But, if we want to avoid these dismissive mainstream accounts that see contemporary festivals in terms of what they lack compared to their forebears, we need to apply more nuanced and focused conceptual tools.

In particular to overcome the narrative of lost grace from a culture debating to a culture consuming public sphere, of which festivals would be a prime example, the notion of *cultural public sphere* (Delanty, Giorgi and Sassatelli 2011) can be helpful, as it points to other dimensions of experience than rational debate, that is to say to affective and aesthetic dimensions. This allows for a more complex conceptualisation of cultural change and its political and social significance. In terms of the cultural public sphere festivals are not described by those dichotomies and shifts. Rather, they are places and times where their opposite poles find an unstable but also dynamic equilibrium. Discursive neutralisation and practical juxtaposition are at the basis of the festival experience as encounter. Practically festivals juxtapose the contradictory elements and this creates an aesthetic solution. This is also justified through an aesthetics where openness, innovation, hybridity, and change are constitutive and not derivative of cultural identity or specificity.

Endnotes

- 1 In Europe, this literature seems to have been mostly developed and made available in the UK and within networks and European associations. Key examples are: Rolfe (1992), Allen and Shaw (2000, contains a 2002 update), Maughan and Bianchini (2003), Klačić et al. (n.d.), Silvanu (2007), Ilkzük (2007). See also the European Festival Research Project (efa-aef.org/efahome/efrp.cfm).
- 2 As an example, also thematising the city imaginary, see Weiss-Sussex and Bianchini 2006 as well as Quinn 2005, see also Waterman 1998.
- 3 Within culture-led regeneration, some authors have distinguished two approaches, one defined 'festival marketplace' and the other 'cultural planning' (Rowe and Stevenson 1994). Given their primary context of origin, these two have also been defined Americanization and Europeanization: 'Americanization ... pivots on the construction of spectacular spaces, frequently located on the waterfront ... Europeanization ... focuses on local cultural industry development and is frequently undertaken under the banner of cultural planning (Stevenson 2003: 100), further elaborating that 'cultural planning based on the European model of city life is conceptualized as the means by which "the walls" which separate urban dwellers can be removed' (Ibid.:110), asking for a reconsideration of the public sphere.
- 4 Unlike 'official' festivals that are curated – with artists invited by the festival organisation – so-called fringe festivals are open-access events that often emerge in combination and reaction to a festival. Everyone can perform or exhibit, usually on the basis of payment of a fee to be included in the fringe festival's programme. Normally just a small festival team to manage these is in place, and generally events are self managed by the companies and artists putting them on. Whilst the term 'fringe' itself developed in particular in the English speaking world of alternative theatre, similar phenomena often accompany contemporary arts festivals in general, especially in urban settings with an active local artistic scene.
- 5 This refers here to the representation of the audience that informs the key producers' (organisers, directors, artists) choices and rationales, as it is formed by their own means of observation, that sometimes do include a festival's own survey on publics, but is also often based on a quite direct relationship with at least the most vocal part of the public (such as the Festival Friends Association).

Music festivals and local identities



*Paolo Magaudda,
Marco Solaroli,
Jasper Chalcraft
and Marco Santoro*



Sound makes places, and as organised sound music contributes to the sonic organisation of place. Some sounds, some music genres, make places more than others. Think of folk or ethnic music. As they emanate from shops, cars, or radios, the sounds of folk and traditional music genres typically demarcate neighbourhoods, cities, even whole countries, by signalling that these places 'belong' to a specific cultural space (Stokes 1995). Also life-style subcultures often work in this way, that is, by demarcating places in different urban settings. Venues for youth are often characterised by the loud music associated with their subcultures, which in this way reclaim certain urban places as their 'natural' habitat (Bennet 2000; Connell and Gibson 2002). In sum, we can say that music works as a cultural tool in the construction of locality, in the domestication of space, transforming it into a place that could be associated with, and claimed to belong to, particular groups – be they age groups, ethnic groups, or social classes. Anthropologists, ethnomusicologists, geographers and sociologists have documented how music can help define the cultural ownership of space by ethnic, regional, generational, national and even economically based groups (e.g. Mitchell 1996; Leyshon, Matless, Revill 1998; Connell and Gibson 2002; Krims 2007). We suggest that with respect to place, music works like architecture or public art: while buildings, posters or graffiti create particular semiotic spaces, loading them with special meanings, music can function as a marker of specific meaningful places inside geographical spaces.

Festivals are among the most effective venues where and through which this place-making role of music occurs in our social environment. As localised occasions of sociability and cultural participation, festivals contribute to the production of local places and their public representation – a function which is very often witnessed by the same name of festivals as 'festivals of' some regional or urban spaces. While localities contribute to the identification of festivals, the latter contribute to the local identification of the places which host them. Festivals work in this sense as local, sometimes translocal, scenes (Bennett and Peterson 2004).

Historically, the relationships between arts festivals and the diverse geographical and socio-cultural environments in which they take place have repeatedly been claimed to be crucial. Festivals are also often founded and organised in order to increase the touristic value and consequently promote the commercial attractiveness as well as the public image of specific, sometimes only relatively known or appreciated, local contexts (e.g. Gibson and Connell 2007). The relationships between the organisation of such a cultural manifestation – which in some cases can be expected to become, over the years, highly significant in terms of funds, artists and audience – can thus be structured on the basis of at least three interweaving dynamics: a macro cultural-institutional policy aimed at promoting the name of a specific region or city, often by contributing to the funding of the events, especially during the inception period; a variety of artistic-managerial choices aimed at developing an organisational structure which could prove fertile both in terms of success of aesthetic performances and valorisation of specific local venues; and finally a peculiar focus on the potential attractiveness (and thus the cultural marketing) of the festival in the eyes of an increasing (and increasingly international and varied) audience.

Notwithstanding these general and common trends, nowadays these kinds of relationships between the arts festivals and the localities in which they take place appear quite diversified and mutable at the same time. In particular, on the one hand many festivals remain intrinsically embedded in a specific local context, through which their identity is strategically constructed, promoted and defined, while on the other hand, especially over the last two decades, an increasing number of such cultural manifestations have adopted a consciously planned cosmopolitan as well as 'glocal' perspective, by developing their ramifications at the international level and in front of an increasing international audience. This diversified and mutable scenario is quite explicitly represented by three music festivals which have been studied within the Euro-Festival research project: Umbria Jazz, Sonar and WOMAD.



Umbria Jazz

Since its foundation in 1973, the Umbria Jazz festival has shown a very peculiar characteristic which has then proved to be crucial over the years. As the name itself reveals, the festival has always had an inextricable relationship with its territorial context, the Italian central and hilly region of Umbria. Even if over the last decade, following a global trend in the field of arts festivals, Umbria Jazz has increased its international activities and side-projects, especially in the US, the relationship with the local cultural-political institutions remain indispensable both in terms of funding and, above all, institutional guarantees for the preservation of the event in the future. It is however possible to distinguish at least three main domains through which the Umbria jazz festival is locally embedded.

First of all, the history of Umbria Jazz clearly shows the relevance of the local *political-territorial* networks. The festival could not have even been funded and developed in the 1970s without being strongly embedded within the urban and regional webs of political power. The festival's local insertion proved particularly crucial during the inception period, but equally it still remains extremely relevant today. Also, given the success gained over the years, and despite the constant tensions concerning the economic sustainability and the formal-political recognition of the territorial value of the manifestation, it is clear that the relationships between the festival and the local institutions cannot be set aside.

Secondly, such a major yet scarcely autonomous festival as Umbria Jazz very much depends on developing and maintaining the *economic* relationships necessary to its realisation and continuity over the years. For an organisation relying so heavily on private sponsorship, these networks turn out to be indispensably precious in order to secure financial resources. For both the realisation of the festival and the international activities of the Umbria Jazz Foundation local entrepreneurs and firms have always constituted crucial interlocutors. Since the early 1980s the festival organisers were able to attract both local (e.g. Perugia, Buitoni), national (Alitalia, Barilla, Telecom, Peroni, Conad, Fiat) and international (Heineken, Marlboro, Daimler-Chrysler, Nestlé) firms and corporations. This local embedding can prove to be a determining factor, as it was in the case of Alitalia in the 1970s, Perugia in the 1980s, and more recently Aria, a relatively new Umbria-based broadband internet provider (whose CEO is a huge jazz fan as well as a close friend of artistic director Carlo Pagnotta).

Thirdly, the artistic director and the managerial staff of the festival have always carefully organised the manifestation by exploiting and valuing the symbiotic relationship with its highly peculiar *socio-cultural* context. In the words of the well-known Italian jazz historian Adriano Mazzoletti:

The city of Perugia is 'suitable' for this sort of manifestation, because the whole festival takes place in a street that is less than one mile long. And the international jazz scene is all there. The city keeps on living, nothing is compromised by the event. And while you keep on going to work, to your office, as usual, you can meet Cecil Taylor, Stan Getz, Count Basie or Art Blakey, and all the greatest jazz players, at a bar on Corso Vannucci in the city centre, drinking a glass of wine or eating an ice-cream! Where else can you find anything like that? Nowhere else!

★ Adriano Mazzoletti, interview

In fact, the primary and most peculiar historical characteristic of Umbria Jazz is represented by its contextual formula: the festival takes place in the mediaeval and relatively small city of Perugia with music performances which last uninterrupted from late in the morning until late at night in many different locations. The biggest music events usually take place at night on the main stage, but there are also daily and nightly shows within the city's historical theatres; night events in the clubs; concerts within the National Gallery Museum of Umbria; and two major stages in the public squares of the city with free concerts from midday to midnight. In the afternoon there is also an itinerant marching band. As a whole, this context produces a very unusual mix of events, in which the background of the whole historical centre of the city becomes the stage for the different performances, and the whole population (both residents and tourists) turns out to be in the centre of this mix itself.

During the ten days of the manifestation, the 'population' of the festival includes local residents and national and international tourists, besides artists and their working staffs. Official data collected by the Italian National Statistical Institute (ISTAT) and by the Umbria Region show that the amount of tourists going to Perugia for Umbria Jazz represents about one third of the total amount of tourists annually visiting the region of Umbria. According to the festival organisers, over the last five years the amount of audience was annually on average significantly more than 300 000, in a few cases around 400 000. In more qualitative terms, the most recently available data on the audience of Umbria Jazz suggests a profile of the visitors of the festival as follows: the Umbria Jazz audience is on average 39 years old (50 % of the audience between 30 and 47); coming mainly from Italy (more than 80 %); and from well-educated upper-to-middle classes (50 % with a B.A. (*laurea*) degree).

By the audience as well as the organisers, nowadays the Umbria Jazz festival is widely perceived as a potential incubator room for cosmopolitan social interactions developed both among the artists, and between the members of the audience and the local residents. Even if it has never been explicitly and strategically employed in the marketing of the manifestation, this role has been intrinsically searched for since the inception, as, in particular, co-founder of the Umbria Jazz Association, Paolo Occhiuto, has underlined, recalling how the organisers were somehow conscious of the social potential of the manifestation even during the very first years: 'From a certain point of view, and maybe unconsciously, this was the mainspring of the birth of Umbria Jazz. To open up a public square, to open it up for everybody, and to say: 'go and listen to the music, no matter who you are and where you come from ... Still today the audience is widely heterogeneous' (Paolo Occhiuto, interview).

In this sense, it is arguable that the Umbria Jazz festival has greatly benefited both during its inception period and, then, over the years, from the socio-cultural configuration of the local context of the city of Perugia, which has always shown and valued a peculiar cosmopolitan orientation (it is sufficient to recall here that Perugia hosts a historically prestigious University for Foreigners). On the other hand, in turn, over the years the festival and its social practices have greatly contributed to concretise, crystallise and renew the local identity project.



Sonar

The relationship between Sonar and the local identity of the city of Barcelona represents a relevant aspect of the festival's life and development. Indeed, on the one hand during the research for Euro-Festival it clearly emerged that Sonar has gained part of its appeal from the local identity and the cultural context of the city. On the other hand, the festival itself has played a role, over almost twenty years, in contributing to the strengthening of the identity of Barcelona as a touristic, innovative and youthful city. In this sense, the festival and local identity are bound together in a double-side interaction: we can see the relationship between the Sonar Festival and local identity as a useful example from which to develop a better understanding of the complex articulation between festivals, local identity and the global circulation of culture.

The contribution of the festival in the development of the city's cultural imaginary has been widely recognised by local and by public institutions. Indeed, local institutions consider Sonar as a very important festival in its wider regional festival system, a specific cultural policy on festival that since 2007 consisted of 41 different music festivals throughout the whole territory of Catalonia. In this system, Sonar is considered as one of the key musical and international events of Barcelona in relation to its capacity to develop an international projection both in terms of foreign audience attendance, and international press coverage and representation. This point was clearly addressed during an interview by the representative for the department of culture of the City Council of Barcelona:

I want to really insist on the issue that for us the Sónar Project is very important because it is an international project that is 100 % Barcelonan and Catalan [It is a project that] is very connected with local culture and which is based on a model looking at the international context [...] it has not imitated foreign models, it has not tried to do things developed in other places and has developed a specific style and moreover it has been able to develop forms of cooperation and to open themselves toward the international audience.

★ *Representative of City Council of Barcelona, interview*

The relevance of the festival for the city is recognised by public institutions and can be seen in the support they give to the festival. The actual Catalan Regional Government introduced Sonar as a key festival in the strategic development of its regional cultural policy with the goal of internationally promoting Catalan music and Catalan artists. This is only one of the tangible examples of the ways in which the festival is actively used by local authorities and public institutions to develop the local cultural identity outside.

This attention paid by institutions to the relevance of the festival is also connected with the fact that the Sonar Festival organises other musical events held in different cities over the world yearly. These events are called *A Taste of Sonar* and have regularly characterised the festival's activities over the last eight years. In 2009, these events were held in New York, Washington (USA) and London (UK). These events clearly represent a useful tool to project not only the festival, but more in general the local identity of the city of Barcelona all over the world.

A different level of connections between the festival and local identity are the ways in which Sonar is also important for strengthening the local identity of a network of professionals working on the urban and regional levels in the field of electronic music. Indeed, there is an entire electronic music industry in Barcelona, covering the creation, the promotion and the consumption sectors. For all the local music-related activities, Sonar represents the 'peak' period and is commonly referred to as *Sonar Week* in flyers and programmes of clubs and bars. In this respect, it should be noticed, for example, that the Barcelona edition of Time Out magazine makes a special feature for Sonar Week, which is distributed free in three languages wherever all the electronic music *aficionados* are to be found (from record stores to boutiques and restaurants).

However, it is also to be considered that Sonar's identity is not only a projection of the local identity but rather represents a mix of different identities that goes from the very local identity of the district in which the main events of the festival are organised to the global identities of electronic international music production. In this respect, the festival strategies are directly related to both the local context and the global cultural flow of the electronic music scene, bringing them together. The different geographical level on which the Sonar identity articulates have been clearly addressed by Georgia Taglietti, in charge of the festival's press office: 'Sonar is a Catalan festival with a Spanish and European dimension and is clearly an example of its genre at the global level, especially of what has developed in electronic music and electronic culture' (Georgia Taglietti, interview).

This last perspective given by one of the festival's organisers reminds us that the relationship between the Sonar festival and local identity, being a crucial element in the development and successfulness of the festival, nevertheless represents a negotiated space, one in which multiple belongings and identities are constantly at play and which cannot be fully ruled from above.



The square in front of the Museum of Contemporary Art in the centre of Barcelona during Sonar 2009.



WOMAD

If the relationships between arts festivals and their localities is a crucial one, what are we to make of a festival that has moved many times within its original host country, and puts on multiple events all over the world? WOMAD, World of Music and Dance, represents just such an enigma, an itinerant festival whose ethos and themes chime with the identity politics of our age, and yet relates to its diverse local sites whilst also maintaining its own distinct identity. In some ways then, this festival exists beyond place; however, the festival has various local identities amongst the varied audiences which attend it, from Abu Dhabi to Sicily, from Australia to Spain. We will consider just a few aspects of these below.

Considered chronologically, WOMAD grew alongside the development and consolidation of the 'world music' genre. From its first event at the Royal Bath and West Showground in the UK in 1982, it moved around the UK before exploring multiple international sites, a trend that started back in 1988 with events initially also staged in Denmark and Canada. Since that first UK festival in 1982, the organisers have held more than 160 festival events (around six a year, sometimes as many as ten) in 27 different countries. The range of countries is heavily weighted towards the affluent world, but still represents remarkable global coverage for a festival tied to a musical genre whose largest following lay for the most part – as it still does – in Europe.

WOMAD operates pragmatically in slightly different ways around the world. In the UK, the festival is organised by WOMAD Ltd. (the festival company), whilst educational activities remain the domain of the WOMAD Foundation, a registered charity. For its two ongoing Spanish festivals (in Las Palmas and Cáceres), WOMAD Spain is run by an independent production company and has its own director, though educational activities are still centrally organised by the Foundation. Unlike the WOMAD at Charlton Park in the UK, the Spanish WOMADs enjoy substantial financial support from their host city councils, as well as local media and other sponsorship. Like Spain, the WOMADs in Australia and New Zealand are so well established that they, too, have their own directors, their own sponsorship and institutional support, and very much their own identity. In fact, WOMADelaide is the largest WOMAD worldwide, attracting attendances of 75 000 against Charlton Park's 30 000 in the UK. These are, of course, licensing issues, but they also directly reflect institutional subsidy and regional political and media profiles. WOMADelaide – rather like WOMAD Taranaki in New Zealand – has enjoyed political support from the highest level, as well as direct funding from the national arts body. By contrast, the UK's Arts Council only directly funds some of the educational activities of the WOMAD Foundation, and when WOMAD in the UK left its old site at Rivermeade in Reading, it lost the financial support that the city council had offered it since 1990, something it has not yet managed to re-establish in rural Wiltshire. WOMADelaide is also established enough that it now runs its own educational programme, successfully including a number of aboriginal groups. Even in Abu Dhabi, WOMAD's newest locality, the UK-based Foundation operates an extensive educational programme, as it did in WOMADs that no longer run, such as Singapore and South Korea. Artistic content, too, has a local flavour with the directors of both WOMAD Spain and WOMAD Abu Dhabi detailing in interviews how they have considerable control over artistic content. For Spain particularly, this means a quota of local acts have to be included, and anecdotal evidence has it that the situation is similar for Australasian WOMADs.

What this suggests is that the WOMAD 'formula' is sensitively pursued in its different locales: it takes account of and uses local artists, local politics and policies, local production crews, and so on. In doing so, by allowing itself to be shaped by these local cultural, economic and political forces, it starts to become part of the local cultural landscape: discussed by artists and audiences, funded by local institutions or sponsors, attended by locals, nationals and internationals. And for those places (e.g. Cáceres, Las Palmas, Adelaide, Abu Dhabi) that find in the festival a manifestation of the identity they believe they have, or wish to have (Abu Dhabi), that feature of the landscape becomes part of their local identity. That this identity might be explicitly 'glocal' in some of its aspects should not detract from the degree to which it is felt and experienced locally. Also, it has not always been an easy process, with a schoolteacher from Cáceres who translates for the festival describing how the sceptical attitude of locals in the festival's early years in the town has gradually transformed into overwhelming support and local cultural institutionalisation.

Looked at slightly differently, WOMAD itself is a cultural product of transnational hybridity and identification, of identities that celebrate rootedness and yet are thought of as beyond boundaries. What is interesting is the number of places which have identified with this cultural product and its ideals, and have turned this into successful and popular events. There is clearly an economic element – festivals are big business – yet it seems the pervasive WOMAD ethos which appears to help ground this mutable and adaptive festival in its various local contexts.

Conclusion

This chapter has described how these three different music festivals incorporate and exhibit the spectrum along which festivals are caught up in the processes of local identity formation. The question we ask of each of them is how 'local' they are, in terms of both support from local institutions and identity politics. A fundamental point is that none of these three festivals really promote and support a 'local' music (even though, of course, some of the music performed may be locally produced). Given this rather obvious point, it is unsurprising that the identities of the festivals have been tied to broader internationalist, if not cosmopolitan, ideals. This is the nature of their musical genres, but it is not the whole story.



The WOMAD lion, its emblem since its beginning, is encapsulated by two cigüeñas (storks), potent local symbols of the city: banner made by local schoolchildren as part of the 2009 workshops of WOMAD Cáceres.



Festivals are key events in themselves, but they are also constitutive of the music scenes that they celebrate. In the past, for long-running festivals like Umbria Jazz, this meant a direct contribution of the urban culture to the local (i.e. Italian) history of jazz (Mazzoletti 2010). Meanwhile, for Sonar and WOMAD their success has been tied to the expansion and consolidation of the genres they epitomise: electronic and world music. Moreover, as music scenes have become increasingly virtual through Web 2.0 social media and file-sharing, their fan-bases and followers have become increasingly transnational. The localities where these festivals take place willingly associate themselves with this transnational fan-base – most evidently in the case of WOMAD and Sonar – borrowing a default cosmopolitan identity from the music itself. Be they associated with transnational, national or local audiences, festivals happen in spaces and contribute to their identity. The relationship is indeed reciprocal, as a festival contributes towards a place's identity at the same time that a place (be it a region, a city, a neighbourhood) contributes to a festival's identity. Sometimes adding a name (Festival of...), sometimes providing the festival with the architectonic and geographical space which help define what the festival is, and how appealing it is. Umbria Jazz is not only a festival for jazz lovers but also an organisation of urban space which capitalises on the Medieval and Renaissance history of the city of Perugia. Sonar is not only a festival for electronic music fans but also an opportunity to visit and spend time in one of the most fascinating cities of the Mediterranean, Barcelona, nowadays famed also for its cultural effervescence and social cosmopolitanism. Festivals are essentially dynamic collaborative identity projects located in spaces: they follow – and contribute to – their transformations. If, as has been famously argued (see Meyrowitz 1986), there is 'no sense of place' in contemporary media worlds, we can argue that this is possibly one important reason why festivals persist and even spread as institutional forms and cultural organisations: because they foster that sense of place that humans need in their social life.



Conclusions and policy recommendations

Festivals are enjoyable and entertaining events, opportunities for celebration and sites for exchange, learning, debate and community-building. Each festival has its own story to tell and perhaps the nicest part of studying festivals is reading this story, learning its characters, discovering its plots and conjuring its prospects and future trajectory. Furthermore, each festival tells a story about a particular art genre (or genres), one about its locality and, not least, one about the organisation that created it. It is the combination of these narratives that delineates what is interesting about festivals from a social science perspective. It is the way(s) in which cultural events enter specific physical spaces and occupy particular aesthetic fields to be transformed into structuring agents for the arts and for society, thus transcending the original boundaries. It is this which also defines the cultural significance of contemporary arts festivals.

That the modern art world but also the creative industries would seek to instrumentalise festivals in order to promote their specific agendas is as unsurprising as the instrumentalisation of festivals by local authorities or national funding bodies (public or private). In other words, like other cultural activities, festivals are symptomatic for a specific way of looking at the arts, namely as means to achieve one or several ends of socio-economic or political significance – branding, urban regeneration, and democratisation representing the most important functions of contemporary festivals. Unveiling the processes and mechanisms underlying these phenomena is the easier part of social scientific analysis. The far more difficult job is getting behind the ‘other’ ideational meaning of festivals and gauging the latter’s impact. Because festivals are also about transmitting ideas, more specifically the ideas of openness, curiosity, cultural diversity, internationalism and, last but not least, critical inquiry. Therefore, the attendance of an arts festival also signifies, even if not always embodying, a wish or determination to learn about the other and to critically reflect about contemporary developments in politics and the arts. The proliferation of arts festivals in Europe today has therefore also to be understood as a growing demand for content that matters, and also for the presentation of this content in specific settings, namely, in venues that facilitate physical (and not solely virtual) interaction and community-building among strangers. The demand for such public spaces and for this form of public culture says a lot about the integration dynamics inherent in our modern societies. At a time when we appear convinced that disintegrative, nationalist and insular forces leave little space for cross-border or trans-national communities, it may be valuable to pay attention to what is going on at arts festivals – less for recovering hope but more for gaining insight into what moves modern citizens and how it might be possible to transcend the gasps of alienation.

What policy recommendations are to be drawn from our research?

European arts festivals are important expressions of cosmopolitan dispositions, bringing together artists and audiences who are interested in diversity as knowledge, experience and exchange. It is this openness and intrinsic international spirit pervading arts festivals that also makes them attractive as carriers of cultural policy and for both public and private sponsors. In addition, several arts festivals are used as platforms for conveying political messages or for discussing contested issues. This is particularly but not solely the remit of literature festivals.

More and more festivals will today use the display of art, the reading of a text, the screening of a film or the performance of music as an opportunity for raising awareness about or discussing specific topics. The heightened interest in discussions in the framework of artistic events is also symptomatic of the growing importance of social and political issues within the contemporary arts world – a social fact that is in line with the changing profile and role of the artist as a public intellectual.

Contemporary European arts festivals are European in being located in Europe; and by addressing issues relating to diversity, human rights, openness and democracy that are at the core of European values. But Europe (as in the European Union), like the nation-state, is often a suspect category as representing specific vested interests. The internationalism of festivals is a far more important category both ideationally and as an organisational format than Europe and this is unlikely to change in the near future. The absence of the European Union as sponsor, however – other than occasionally and on a low level – also means that the EU cannot even benefit from arts festivals in terms of ‘branding’ in the way that regions or cities are doing by providing support to festivals.

The cultural leverage of the EU as representing something distinct and beyond national cultural policy would benefit by being present in arts festivals through the sponsoring of specific debates or events or by supporting specific activities such as mobility and exchange programmes of specific groups of artists. This would provide visibility to the EU’s educational and cultural role and complement the educative function of several arts festivals. For example, the European Union could provide support to festivals for featuring women, young artists or artists of specific ethnic or trans-national backgrounds, or for promoting activities which target children. Or it could sponsor discussions about the role of the European Union with reference to topical subjects as addressed by specific artistic productions.

But perhaps the most important policy-relevant finding of our research is that as fertile soils for the creativity and the exchange of ideas among artists but also with the audiences, arts festivals have emerged bottom-up, and it is this which makes them important as public sphere arenas. Ultimately a public sphere as an arena for bringing together citizens for discussing issues of common (public) interest only functions if it has emerged spontaneously rather than top-down through direct state intervention. Arts festivals are in many respects driven by their intermediaries, the many artists and cultural managers who are personally and professionally committed to democratic values and the role of arts in society. But once established they acquire a dynamic of their own. It is this that is valued by their audiences and the reason why they can be genuinely said to represent public spheres. In this context, the role of policy should primarily be to help sustain the external or institutional conditions that make the emergence of such public spheres possible. This can be achieved by providing infrastructure and financial support to cultural intermediary institutions and their workers; or by helping establish legal and regulatory frameworks that facilitate the establishment and operation of such organisations. In democratic societies the state has a key role in supporting civil society, but the indirect means of doing so are often much more conducive to the democratic idea per se. The case of arts festivals is a case in point.



References

- Allen, K. and Shaw, P. (2000), *Festivals mean Business. The shape of Arts Festivals in the UK*, London: British Arts Festivals Association.
- Alexander, J. C., Giesen, B. and Mast, J. L. (2006), *Social Performance; Symbolic Action, Cultural Pragmatics and Ritual*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Beeton, S. (2005), *Film-induced Tourism*. Multilingual Matters Limited.
- Bennett, A. (2000), *Popular Music and Youth Culture: Music, Identity, and Place*. Basingstoke: Plagave.
- Bennett, A. and R.A. Peterson (eds.) (2004), *Music Scenes*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984), *Distinction. A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* London: Routledge.
- Bourdieu, P. (1996), *Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*, Stanford University Press.
- Calhoun, C. (2002), 'The Class Consciousness of Frequent Travelers: Toward a Critique of Actually Existing Cosmopolitanism', *South Atlantic Quarterly* 101(4).
- Chaney, D. (2002) 'Cosmopolitan Art and Cultural Citizenship', in *Theory, Culture and Society*, 19 (1-2) 157-174.
- Connell, J. and C. Gibson (eds.) (2002), *Soundtracks. Popular Music, Identity, and Place*. London: Routledge.
- Delanty, G., Giorgi, L. and Sassatelli, M. (eds.) (2011) *Arts Festivals and the Cultural Public Sphere*, London: Routledge, forthcoming.
- Delanty, G. (2009), *The Cosmopolitan Imagination: the Renewal of Critical Social Theory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Erlman, V. (1999), *Music, Modernity and the Global Imagination. South Africa and the West*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Evans, G. (2001), *Cultural Planning: an Urban Renaissance*. London: Routledge.
- Ferenczi, A. and Murat, P (2009), 'Thierry Frémaux: La sélection est plus drôle qu'à l'ordinaire', *Télérama*, 29 April 2009.
- Gibson, C. and J. Connell (eds.) (2007), *Music and Tourism: On the Road Again*. Clevedon: Channell View Publ.
- Gold, J.R. and Gold, M.M. (2004), *Cities of Culture: Staging International festivals and the Urban Agenda, 1851-2000*, London: Ashgate.
- Gorlinski, G. (2006), 'Engagement through alienation: parallels of paradox in world music and tourism in Sarawak, Malaysia' in, M. White & J. Schwoch (eds) *Questions of Method in Cultural Studies*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hopewell, J. and Keslassy, E. (2010), 'Cannes films get burnt by the press – Some pics get bashed before the reviewers ever see them', *Variety*, 8 May 2010.
- Ilkzuk, D. (2007), *Festival Jungle, Policy Desert?* Research report, Cultural Information and Research Centres Liaison in Europe – Interarts.

- Johnson, B. & Cloonan, M. (2009), *The Dark Side of the Tune. Violence and Popular Music* Ashgate.
- Klaic, D., Bollo, A. and Bacchella, U. (n.d.) *Festivals: Challenges of Growth, Distinction, Support Base and Internationalization*. Department of Culture, Tartu City Government, Estonia.
- Krims, A. (2007), *Music and Urban Geography*. London: Routledge.
- Lash, S. and Lury, C. (2007), *Global Culture Industry: The Mediation of Things*, Cambridge: Polity.
- Leyshon, A., D. Matless, J. Revill (eds.) (1998), *The Place of Music*. London: Guilford Press.
- Lury, C. (2004), *Brands: the Logos of the Global Economy*, London: Routledge.
- McGuigan, J. (2004), *Rethinking Cultural Policy*, London, Berkshire, Open University Press.
- Maughan, C. and Bianchini, F. (2003), *Festivals and the Creative Region*: Leicester: University of Leicester/Arts Council England.
- Mazzoletti, A. (2010), *Il jazz in Italia*. vol. 2. Turin: Edt.
- Meyrowitz, J. (1986), *No Sense of Place*. New York: Oxford UP.
- Mitchell, T. (1996), *Popular Music and Local Identity*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.
- Paperstergiadis, N. (2006), *Spatial Aesthetics: Art, Place and the Everyday*. Rivers Oram Press.
- Paperstergiadis, N. (2007) 'Glimpses of Cosmopolitanism in the Hospitality of Art', *European Journal of Social Theory* 10 (1): 139-52.
- Parker, S. (2004), *Urban Theory and the Urban Experience. Encountering the City*, London: Routledge.
- PAYE (Performing Arts Yearbook for Europe) (2008) Manchester: Impromptu Publishing.
- Peterson, R.A. (2005), 'Problems in comparative research: The example of omnivorousness.' *Poetics*. 33:257-282.
- Quinn, B. (2005), 'Arts Festivals and the City', *Urban Studies*, 42(5/6): 927-43.
- Regev, M. (2007), 'Cultural uniqueness and aesthetic cosmopolitanism' *European Journal of Social Theory* 10, 1: 123-38.
- Reily, S.A. (ed.) (2006), *The Musical Human: Rethinking John Blacking's Ethnomusicology in the Twenty-first Century*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Richards, G. and Wilson, J. (2004), The impact of cultural events on city image: Rotterdam, Cultural Capital of Europe 2001, *Urban Studies*, 41(10), pp. 1931-1951.
- Rolfe, H. (1992), *Arts festivals in the UK*, London: Policy Studies Institute.
- Rowe, D. and Stevenson, D. (1994), 'Provincial Paradise: Urban Tourism and City Imaging Outside the Metropolis', *Journal of Sociology*, 30 (2): 178-193.
- Santoro, M. (2009), 'The Dark Side of Festivals' paper presented at the workshop 'Public Culture and Festivals', February 26-27, Vienna.



Sennett, R. (1990), *The Conscience of the Eye. The Design and Social Life of Cities*, London: Faber.

Silvantu, S. (2007), *Helsinki, Festival City*, Helsinki: City of Helsinki Urban Facts and the City of Helsinki Cultural Office.

Stevenson, D. (2003), *Cities and Urban Cultures*, Buckingham: Open University Press.

Stokes, M. (1995), *Music, Identity and Place*. Oxford: Berg.

Valck, M. de (2007), *Film Festivals: From European Geopolitics to Global Cinephilia*. Amsterdam University Press.

Waterman, S. (1998), 'Carnivals for elites? The cultural politics of arts festivals', *Progress in Human Geography*, 22 (1) 55-74.

Weiss-Sussex, G. and Bianchini, F. (eds.) (2006), *Urban Mindscapes of Europe*, Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Westwood, S. and Williams, J. (1996), *Imagining Cities: Scripts, Signs and Memories*, London: Routledge.

Willems-Braun, B. (1994), 'Situating cultural politics: fringe festivals and the production of spaces of intersubjectivity', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 12(1) 75-104.

Authors' institutional affiliations

Liana Giorgi was Vice-Director of the Interdisciplinary Centre for Comparative Research in the Social Sciences while working on the Euro-Festival project. She is currently researching and writing on a freelance basis.

Jérôme Segal is Senior Research Fellow at the Interdisciplinary Centre for Comparative Research in the Social Sciences (ICCR).

Gerard Delanty is Professor of Sociology and Social & Political Thought at the University of Sussex.

Monica Sassatelli is Lecturer in the Sociology Department at Goldsmiths College, University of London. The research for the paper in this volume was done while she was Research Fellow at the University of Sussex.

Marco Santoro is Associate Professor at the University of Bologna and Research Coordinator at Istituto Cattaneo.

Marco Solaroli recently completed his Ph.D. at the University of Milano and is Research Fellow at Istituto Cattaneo.

Paolo Magaudda is Post-doctoral Research Fellow in Sociology at the University of Padua and Research Fellow at Istituto Cattaneo.

Jasper Chalcraft is Visiting Research Fellow in the University of Sussex's Department of Sociology.

European Commission

EUR 24749 – European Arts Festivals: Strengthening cultural diversity

Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union

2011 — 72 pp. — 17.6 x 25 cm

ISBN 978-92-79-19569-3

doi 10.2777/48715

How to obtain EU publications

Free publications:

- via EU Bookshop (<http://bookshop.europa.eu>);
- at the European Commission's representations or delegations. You can obtain their contact details on the Internet (<http://ec.europa.eu>) or by sending a fax to +352 2929-42758.

Priced publications:

- via EU Bookshop (<http://bookshop.europa.eu>);

Priced subscriptions (e.g. annual series of the Official Journal of the European Union and reports of cases before the Court of Justice of the European Union):

- via one of the sales agents of the Publications Office of the European Union (http://publications.europa.eu/others/agents/index_en.htm).

The *Euro-Festival* project – funded under the Social Sciences and Humanities theme of the European Union's Seventh Research Framework Programme – presents some of its main research findings in this publication.

Who is the main driver of the process of cultural integration? The nation state, the European Union or private initiatives? What is the purpose of festivals? Branding, urban regeneration and democratisation, or rather transmitting the ideas of openness, dialogue, curiosity, cultural diversity, internationalism and critical inquiry? Do we need more European initiatives in the area of festivals, and, if yes, how should this be supported?

This publication addresses these and other questions that will be of interest to policymakers at the EU, national, regional and local level, those engaged in the culture sector and European citizens.

