Festival Policy: a typology of local urban festivals and their policy implications
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Abstract
This paper proposes a framework for understanding the relationship between a festival's values, its production processes and its potential integration into local urban policies by identifying three types of festival: aesthetic, commercial and civic. By exploring the differences between festivals, better understanding of their potential to achieve different economic or social impacts is possible. After decades of neglect, the festivalisation of city policies is a growing area and this is, therefore, an opportune time to ensure that the variety of festival types is clarified and their potential within various policy domains more clearly defined. Given the complexity of the urban policy environment, it is unsurprising that there is a lack of understanding about the potential of different festivals to achieve non-cultural policy objectives. The festival types identified aim to help local authorities to integrate festivals more successfully into their policies by distinguishing their potential economic and social effects.

Key words: festival, typology, urban policy, cultural policy

Word count: 7897

Introduction
Festivals and festivalisation are growing features of urban policy as local politicians have become convinced of their potential to boost economic growth (Roth, Frank 2000, Prentice, Andersen 2003, Pejovic 2009, Quinn 2010). The austerity measures imposed on councils in the UK since 2010 have increased pressure to reduce expenditure on non-statutory services such as culture (Roth, Frank 2000, Hall, Hubbard 1996) and festivals can appear to be an alternative to funding expensive building-based cultural venues, whilst offering high-profile activities and often attracting more business sponsorship and media coverage than other arts organisations. Although cultural policy can be undertaken by a range of different governmental and non-governmental organisations (McGuigan 2004), as different departments have included festivals within their policy domains, this instrumental narrative of festivals as generators of economic regeneration has come to dominate (Quinn 2010, Evans 2001, Evans, Shaw 2004). This paper argues that, if festivals are to be an effective part of cultural and wider urban policy, they must be conceived of in socio-cultural as well as economic terms; terms that consider their potential to create and change group identities and perceptions of public space through shared experiences (Bakhtin 1994 [1965], Turner 1982) and take into account the agency of the festival-producing organisations themselves

Festivals have traditionally been perceived as non-utilitarian (Pieper 1999), but the economic impact evaluation industry that has grown up as a result of New Public Management approaches (Talbot 2004) indicates a desire amongst policy makers to harness the value that cultural activity adds to society. As with other forms of cultural activity, the hand of the market means that festivals have become commodities in the marketing of cities and the mega-event festivals such as the European Capital of Culture (Garcia 2004, Lee, Taylor 2005, Getz 2007). Yet festivals have not entirely lost their symbolism for communities as sites for celebration, or reinforcing of traditions and the making of new forms of social interaction, and this paper proposes a framework for understanding the relationship between a festival's values, its production processes and its potential integration into local urban policies.

The apparent lack of elitism associated with festivals (Pieper 1999) makes them an attractive vehicle for policy makers wanting to appeal to the residents and voters in their cities (Hitters, Richards 2002, Hitters 2000). The growth in the number of festivals and their increasing policy and sociological importance has led to the growth of a small but developing body of literature on urban festivals (Giorgi, Sassatelli & Delanty 2011, Quinn 2010, Sachs Olsen 2013), but not as yet a clear theoretical framework for distinguishing *between* cultural festivals. Given the complexity of the policy frameworks to which cultural activity and festivals in particular are frequently attached (Gray 2004), and the variation in festival values, without such distinctions the contemporary cultural significance and policy ramifications of festivals will continue to be murky, fractured and problematic (Sachs Olsen 2013, Maughan 2009, Getz 2009, Quinn 2010).

Methodology
This study draws on the growing literature on cultural festivals from a variety of disciplinary perspectives including urban, cultural policy and event studies. Considering case studies that are developed from the author's experience of working with and knowledge of UK festival contexts, supplemented with 26 semi-structured interviews undertaken with staff, founders, funders and audience members at Buxton Festival, Leicester Comedy Festival (LCF) and the City Festival in Leicester since January 2010. Interviewees have been chosen using a snowball sampling methodology or starting with festival founders or leaders and then collecting contacts from their networks (Bryman 2008). The purpose of developing a typology is to abstract the notion of festival so that the specific details or contexts of particular cases do not distract us from the underlying logic that causes social process to progress in particular ways. The contrasting case studies approach was chosen in order to illuminate patterns of behaviour or perceptions. The variety of events that are claimed as 'festivals' means that the connections between the activity, the policy drivers and the outcomes are cloudy. The structural and agency effects of different production modes should be evident in the design of a festival and the meanings ascribed to it. Using an institutional approach (Lowndes, Leach 2004, González, Healey 2005) to derive a Weberian typology of local cultural festivals, the study identifies

three festival types that can be distinguished through the ways that their explicit and implicit value systems are expressed through the production cycle: aesthetic, civic and commercial, which are then applied to case study examples from the East Midlands of England.

Festivals and Policy Domains
Although neo-liberal policy arguments about festivals as tools for tourism and regeneration and entrepreneurship have been dominant in urban policy (Sachs Olsen 2013, Getz 2010, Quinn 2010), historically festivals have also fulfilled other policy agendas. Autissier (2009) highlights three policy dimensions associated with festivals in France in the 1990s: access, promoting national or regional identity and tourism. Within cities in the UK, these can be seen in the use of festivals to engage diverse communities, boost civic pride, encourage use of neglected areas and in city marketing.

The capacity of festivals to engage diverse communities in a common shared experience is one that has been noted and used in national policy for some time (Matheson 2005). The proliferation of festivals in Europe as nations rebuilt in the aftermath of Word War II (Finkel 2009, Allen, Shaw 2000) was an opportunity for governments to highlight and affirm national values amongst displaced and demoralised communities. Edinburgh International Festival is an example of an event that was started at this time and is typical in its focus on 'high arts', associated as they are with traditional social structures that reaffirm established elites. The free festival movements of the 1970s and rave culture in the 1980s and 1990s led to festivals being considered a threat by the authorities, as they were attractive sites examples of the cultural public sphere where anti-establishment groups could meet and alternative policies emerge (McGuigan 2005). Politicians in cities such as Liverpool and London were not slow to understand the power of these events to bolster local identities and create civic pride and developing (Quinn 2010). Their potential to help develop cohesive social groups with a shared identity was highlighted by the race riots in many English cities in the early 1980s and amongst Asian young people in Oldham, Burnley and Bradford in 1995. Newbold and Kaushal (2014) discuss the roles that melas, a form of cultural festival from South Asia, now play in cementing and promoting Asian identity and legitimacy in towns such as Bradford, where it has been incorporated into the Council-supported Bradford Festival.

Fabiani argues that festivals seek to 'magnify the genius loci, to bring about some effervescence, in the Durkheimian sense, and to transform rather mundane settings into unique places. … festivals try to preserve the genuine atmosphere of original and somewhat unlike encounters' (2011 p.92). These encounters imply a mixing of audiences, artists, producers and participants that is specific to festivals; artists often use the opportunity to see work by their peers and audiences are invited to talks or to vote in festival competitions. The consequence of direct communication between artists and their audiences is that audiences become active participants and co-creators rather than passive spectators. In an attempt to enable access to culture to all of their residents, local authorities now support comedy, and pop and rock, as well as opera and theatre festivals.

Elsewhere, festivals are seen to be the catalyst for the growth of a cultural infrastructure that can operate year round. Chichester, Edinburgh and Malvern all have Festival Theatres that have grown out of annual events. Sachs Olsen (2013 p.483) posits the notion that some festivals, those she calls 'heterotopic', operate as places for the testing of new social orders, so becoming the catalyst for creativity across a range of policy areas. Hitters discounts this effect, arguing that the 'attribution of long term economic and social effects to one-off cultural events is questionable both on methodological and theoretical grounds' (2000 p.197). This study does not, however, consider festivals as one-off events, as there is an on-going production cycle that sees the festival organisers working with city authorities, sponsors, artists, venues and educational institutions for several months of the year. This hidden activity connects festivals to the various urban policy domains discussed above.

Despite the level of urban policy interest in them, festivals are not, in the main, founded and produced for policy purposes. Quinn (2010) maintains that festivals develop out of local community initiatives, or are centred around groups of artists wanting to share their work. The centrality of the art and the

artistic community is something that is missed by researchers considering festivals from tourism, events or urban policy perspectives, but is fundamental to understanding some festivals' values and production choices. The rationale for founding and producing cultural festivals, their communities of interest and their symbolic meanings are inherently linked. Hewison's (2006) institutional value thesis highlights the importance of subsidised cultural producers earning the public's trust by reflecting their norms and principles. Collaborative partnership working between festivals and city policy makers is likely to be more successful where both organisations share values and purposes (Sachs Olsen 2013). Where policy makers are inexperienced in the cultural domain there is potential for confusion about rationales and, subsequently, policy failure. This paper proposes a framework that could connect the structures, working practices and values of organisations that produce festivals with the decision-making procedures and likely policy implications with the aim of supporting specialists and non-specialists who are seeking to integrate festivals into their policies.

Aesthetic Festival Type
Aesthetically driven festivals are those that place artistic quality, art form development and art appreciation at the centre of their work (see Figure 1 below). Historically the Arts Council in the UK has not directly funded many festivals. Former Finance Director Anthony Field explained in a conversation in May 2010 that the Arts Council of Great Britain's policy throughout the 1970s and 1980s was to subsidise touring companies and the occasional arts festival that appeared to have a clear link to an artist or artistic movement. This can be most clearly seen in the fact that composer Benjamin Britten's festival at Aldeburgh was funded, but the opera festival at Glyndebourne was not. Festivals were perceived to be largely of local interest, as celebrations of local culture and, as such, local authorities and the regional arts boards were considered to be the appropriate funding bodies. The centrality of local policy agendas rather than aesthetic values amongst many cultural festivals in the UK can be found in this policy.
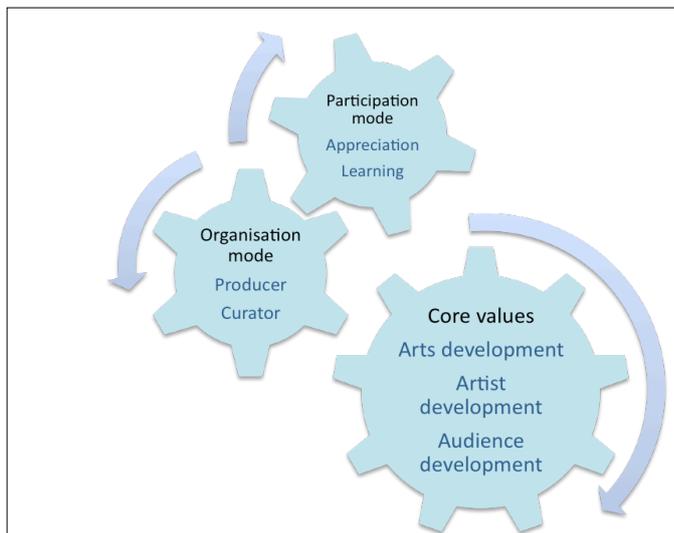

Figure 1: Aesthetic Festival production values

Production
Aesthetically driven festivals prioritise curation and their relationships with artists, leading them to value professional development for artists and support for the sector. Links to educational institutions are evident in many and provide both support for emerging artists – and a source of cheap talent. If the festival also works with established artists who attract critics, festivals become places where emerging artists are spotted and develop their networks.

Aesthetic festivals tend to be either independent not-for-profit organisations and charities, or associated with an arts venue that uses the festival as an opportunity to undertake work in other places, or that is of a different type to its usual programme. Whether or not the festival produces is

own productions, the programme will be curated to reflect the Artistic Director's vision, rather than in response to market or political pressures.

Buxton Festival in Derbyshire is a charitable organisation that receives funding from Arts Council England, High Peak Borough Council and the Friends of Buxton Festival. Founded as an opera festival in 1979, by Malcolm Fraser, an opera producer who worked at the Royal Northern College of Music in nearby Manchester and Anthony Hose, a Music Director at Welsh National Opera, the festival has, from the start, insisted on producing unique world-class fully-staged in-house operas featuring international singers. Although Buxton Festival takes place primarily in the spa town's 1,000 seat Opera House, it is a separate organisation, as the founders felt that retaining their respective jobs meant they maintained their international opera networks whilst working part-time on the Festival. In an email on 24 July 2010, David Rigby, the Festival's first Chairman, explained that from the start, the founders were intent on producing a festival that attracted opera and arts audiences from across the UK rather than local people.

The Festival's imagery and messages remain focused on the artistic product. In Artistic Director Stephen Barlow's 2014 brochure introduction he states, 'opera production is the central pillar of the Festival', explaining the curation process and artistic choices that have been made and highlighting the fact that artists and audiences tend to mix in the festival atmosphere (2014). Audiences are treated as knowledgeable and interested, the festival presented as an opportunity to learn in an informal atmosphere.

This developmental strand is essential to aesthetic festivals. The existence of the Royal Northern College of Music in Manchester, where Fraser taught opera production, was crucial to the start-up, providing skilled technical staff and talented singers as chorus members. Fraser and Hose used their personal networks to attract high quality performers to Buxton in the summer at less than their normal fees. The festival atmosphere and opportunity to socialise with other artists meant that even some well-established artists would visit Buxton for five full weeks.

An important distinction between an aesthetic and commercial or civic festival is the centrality of the artistic vision and the unwillingness to reject this for business or political purposes. The artistic team at Buxton, for example, insisted on producing a fully staged version of Cimaros's *The Secret Marriage* and a children's opera, despite the previous edition having nearly ground to a halt when the technical staff heard there might not be enough money to pay them. This decision to focus on artistic excellence and raise the money to produce it remains the festival's modus operandi to this day.

The festival has a small full-time staff team led by the General Manager, who is responsible for the administration and the Artistic Director, who oversees the entire programme and produces the Festival's in-house operas. Since 2000, the Festival Friends, an independent charity numbering over 3,000 members, has raised over £100,000 to support the Festival each year, about 10% of its turnover. This money is used to enable the production of a third opera. The fundraising effort has been an essential facet of the sense of belonging that many of Buxton Festival's Friends feel.

Participation
Of course, not everyone wants to be such an active participant. A willingness to engage in public discussion and debate demands self-confidence and knowledge of the cultural forms and might have a tendency to limit the audiences for aesthetic festivals. This might explain Fabiani's research findings into the audience at Avignon Festival, one of the most aesthetically demanding theatre festivals in France. 'Teachers (primary and high school), university professors, various scientists and high-tech professionals and people holding higher occupations in culture and arts, information and communications together make up 60.6 per cent of the total sample'. This is in contrast to the 'celebrities and notables' he observes at cultural centres in Paris (2011 p.95). The predominance of educationalists and cultural industry professionals provides us with an insight in to the valuable role that this festival is seen to have in cultural reproduction, but also its tendency to be seen as elitist.

Audiences at Buxton Festival differ from those in Avignon in that they are older (66% are retired) and, of those still working, almost a quarter are in the private sector areas of real estate, renting and business activities. Over three-quarters are not from Buxton (Maughan, Bianchini 2004a). Local residents were never the target audience, although the founders did encourage the development of a Fringe that they felt would benefit both the festive atmosphere in the town, and appeal to those who might otherwise be resentful (Buxton Fringe Festival 2011).

In addition to the fundraising activities, volunteers at aesthetic festivals are often drawn from amongst those aspiring to work in the sector. Buxton Festival has worked since its inception with the Royal Northern College of Music. There is a synergy between the festival's focus on artform development and the volunteers' educational and career objectives that is less obvious in commercial and civic festivals.

Commercial Festival Type
Commercial festivals are usually found within the unsubsidised creative industries such as film and TV, gaming, book publishing or commercial music. These festivals are part of sectors that have to establish exchange values for symbolic goods, whether virtual or tangible. What a reader is willing to pay for a book rests on the quality of the writing not the value of the binding. Book festivals that bring together editors, publishers, booksellers and the trade press provide a rare opportunity for different parts of the sector to discuss and negotiate the 'worth' or a particular book in the marketplace. Such festivals often exclude audiences, being run exclusively for those who work in the background of the industry, but they have an influence on the artistic decisions that are made subsequently, as the taste-makers' decisions sway choices in the wider field (Moeran, Strandgaard Pedersen 2011). There has been little consideration of the symbolic meanings of commercial festivals that operate in the performing arts, such as comedy or music, and engage directly with audiences. How does the commercial ethos of such industries influence the production cycle?

Production
Commercial festivals may or may not have a festival director, but this role tends to be administrative and marketing focused rather than curatorial. In order to understand this, it is important to have an understanding of the production process; how is the festival programmed?

Leicester Comedy Festival is run by a charitable organisation, the Big Difference Company, which operates as a not-for-profit events company using comedy instrumentally within the health and education sectors. It has a festival director, one of the festival's founders, but he does not select or curate the programme for the festival. Promoters undertake the selection of work. Inclusion in the festival brochure is through the payment of a fee to the Festival, amounting to a paid advert that allows the promoter to associate the event with the festival brand. This model is common in 'fringe' style festivals and means that financial risk is shared between the festival organisation, which pays for the development of an attractive brand, and the event promoters. As Figure 2 illustrates, a commercial festival of this sort is essentially a distribution channel; it operates much as a retailer, providing a convenient, branded, space for products that have been created by others to be viewed and purchased (Smyth 2014).
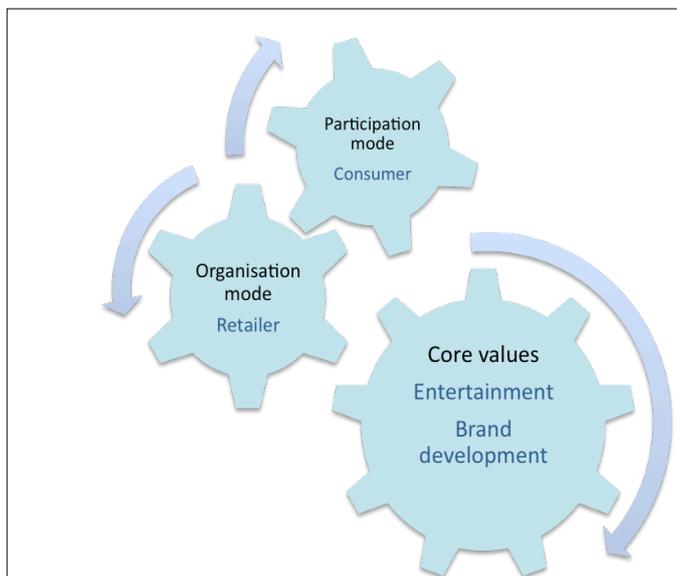
Figure 2: Commercial Festival production values

Financial concerns are at the forefront of the minds of Comedy Festival board members. When asked what they were most proud of in relation to their involvement with the Festival, two board members first response was to discuss the organisation's finances (interviews 14 January, 23 April 2014). Whilst this might be unsurprising from those charged with the festival's governance and financial probity, it is more surprising to hear it from artists. In an interview on 1 April 2014, performance poet and comedian Rob Gee rejected the idea that cultural institutions should respond to instrumental policy agendas. 'One of the pleasures of comedy is that you don't have to worry about whether or not the Arts Council will like it, whether the 'right' people are in. It's purely a question of how many of them are there?'

Festivals are inherently financially risky concerns and it is interesting to note that, even in the commercial sector, it is individuals and organisations who are involved in the sector or commercial sponsors that provide much of the investment. Leicester Comedy Festival's first investors were the city's subsidised arts venues which all programmed comedy for the first edition, as an opportunity to run profitable events. These venues have since been joined by comedy promoters and agents, comedians themselves, pubs, clubs and community centres that pay a fee to LCF for marketing and box office services and retain the money earned in ticket and merchandising sales. Their motivations are commercial. One pub manager interviewed on 14 February during the 2014 edition, said: 'The Comedy Festival is great for us. We're a bit off the beaten track and the Festival brings in people who would never find us otherwise – and some of them come back afterwards.'

In 2012, Dave TV became the Festival's main sponsor. Commercial sponsorship is, as McGuigan reminds us, never disinterested (2004). Known for its archive comedy programming, but wanting to produce new programmes, the tie-in gave Dave access to the festival's contact book. LCF became Dave's Leicester Comedy Festival (DLCF) and gained a national profile that has increased its brand standing amongst comedians. In the commercial cultural sector, high status festivals can provide validation of an artist's worth (Moeran, Strandgaard Pedersen 2011). Whilst the Edinburgh Fringe is still the UK's main comedy showcase, one Nottingham-based act with a national reputation felt that, as a result of the Dave TV sponsorship, 'Leicester Comedy Festival is now one you have to play' (8 Feb 2014).

As with other commercial products, festivals operating in this field seek to reduce costs and increase efficiency. Richards and Wilson (2006) identified that commodification of cultural products within tourism was reducing the unique appeal of particular cities' cultural offer. Festivalisation as a cultural policy is doomed to fail if every city is attracting the same performers who tour from festival to festival throughout the summer. Yet this is the logic of audience-focused commercial festival production. The Reading and Leeds music festivals are run by Festival Republic, a commercial festival production company. The two festivals run over the same weekend and have the same line up,

with the acts that play at Reading on the first night, appearing at Leeds on the second and vice versa. The ability to pay for two performances rather than one gives the company an advantage in their negotiations with an agent who is booking a tour. Whilst there are aesthetic choices made about the artists who are programmed, Festival Republic's priorities are about exchange and use values rather than aesthetics. Which headliners will justify asking for a particular ticket price? Which will encourage sell out crowds? Which will have the audience on their feet and cheering at the end of the set, feeling bonded to other fans?

For a commercial festival of this sort, the value of place is purely instrumental. Does it have the requisite capacity or venues? Can audiences travel there easily? Is the local authority welcoming? The importance of the latter can be seen in the uneasy relationship between the Gilbert and Sullivan Opera Festival, which quit Buxton after 20 years to stage its 21st festival in Harrogate because of a perceived lack of support from the Council (Christiansen 2013). The willingness to pick up a festival and move it to a new location in a different town, illustrates that there is little integral commitment to the local community; in fact, a festival in this position becomes a commodity for local authorities to compete for.

Participation
Market research at rock and pop music festivals indicates that participation at commercial festivals is a form of consumption; consumer market, segmented by lifestyle affiliations, are provided with an event that targets their sub-cultural preferences.

Gelder and Robinson discovered that three-quarter of attendees at Glastonbury were aged 25 – 34 and the top two motivations were 'atmosphere' and 'socialising with friends/family' (2009 pp.88-89). The fact that festivals such as Glastonbury sell most if not all of their tickets before the programme is announced denotes that audiences value something other than a specific artistic experience.

This doesn't mean that commercial festivals are not interested in development; rather that it's market, not arts, focused The protection provided by the festival's brand means that audiences are more likely to sample new events and artists. Research undertaken in 2011 at Leicester Comedy Festival shows that audiences visit the festival because it 'gives me the opportunity to go to shows I wouldn't normally go to' (Big Difference Company 2011 p.50). Promoters who take acts to LCF take advantage of this by advertising 'work in progress' shows, where comedians can test out their material and audiences can see relatively big names such as Radio 4 stalwart Josie Long for £5. The 2014 edition of the festival advertised 52 shows in this way (Big Difference Company 2014). The size of the festival (over 600 events in 2014) and its support for new talent are key messages in its marketing (Big Difference Company 2014 p.7), playing to its audience's desire to be in the know about up-and-coming acts.

Volunteering is a common form of participation at commercial festivals, but the relationship is more transactional than at civic or aesthetic festivals, with many commercial festivals actually charging volunteers a deposit for the privilege (Festival Volunteer 2013). The Sundance Institute (2014) highlights the 'exciting benefits, such as being among the first to see the best new independent films, sit in on panels and enjoy live music events' that are available to volunteers. Exclusive access to the production process and a sense of involvement is exchanged for free labour, an exchange that is often seen as good value by both parties. @CitizenNate tweeted 'I volunteered @LeicsComFest years ago and went out with Mark Lamarr and Ben Norris – great night' (Big Difference Company 2011 p.63). The exploitative nature of the creative industries has, of course, been commented on elsewhere (McRobbie 2011, Hesmondhalgh, Baker 2011, McGuigan 2010), and unpaid internships are not exclusively a problem of commercial festivals. It is interesting to note, though, that festivals in commercial sectors are manipulating the ability of cultural events to cement social identity in order to encourage people to work for free.

Civic Festival Types

Civic festivals are those that attempt to address local policy agendas most explicitly. Whether they are produced in house by local authorities, or by independent organisations with a community agenda, there is an imperative to integrate the festival's values with that of the local community and with the municipal authorities' aims. These agendas might be driven by economic development departments, or by concerns over social cohesion, or by a need to develop a sense of community and civic pride (see Figure 3 below). Civic festivals are more likely to have a community co-ordinator than an artistic director.

As with other areas in the cultural sector, festivals operate in a complex environment that requires them to address the needs of their audiences, their funders or investors, their artistic fields, the local residents and the public sector more generally. Cultural organisations of all types have to gain and retain the confidence of their communities if they are to justify public sector funding and wider support (Hewison 2006). Civic festivals value this complexity, using the production process as an engagement device, as different sectors of the community are given space to participate.
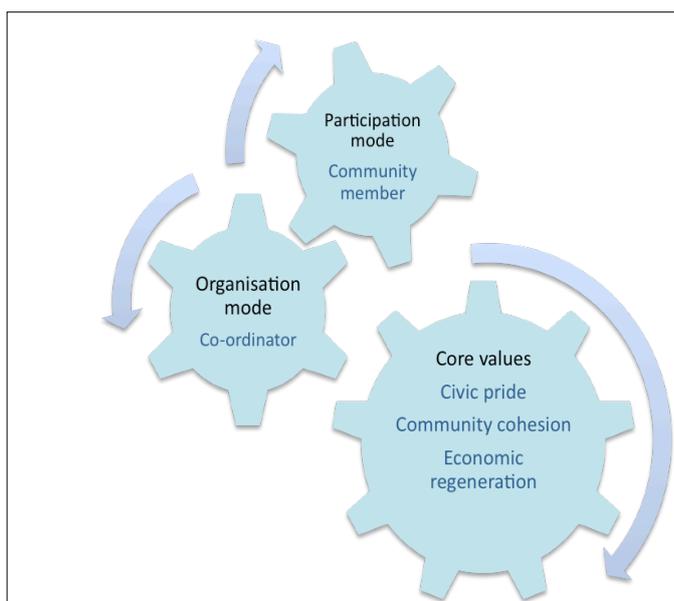

Figure 3: Civic Festival production values

The policy narrative that is most commonly used when discussing whether or not a festival should be supported is its positive economic impact; that it brings in tourists, or increases footfall to a neglected part of town. Leicester City Council's 2012 Festivals Review used these criteria when deciding which events it should continue to support (Leicester City Council 2012). It is rare, however, for festivals in regional cities and towns to attract tourists (Maughan, Bianchini 2004b). Despite the fact that economic impact is a weak argument, the festivalisation of urban policy is increasing. The question is whether there are other policy agendas that festivals support more effectively. Creation of civic pride, or the positive feelings residents have about their area (Wood 2006), is a traditional reason for public celebrations. A community festival encourages civil society groups to participate in creating parades or shows that family and friends then attend. The participative nature of the production of civic festivals is one if their key features; the role of the festival producer is to co-ordinate rather than curate. The aim is to ensure that the festival is an event that residents can be proud of.

Civic festivals aim to create and cement good social relationships in an area, to create a sense of community. McMillan and Chavis define communities as groups where people feel that they are members, that they have influence over the group, that their needs will be fulfilled through the group and that they have a shared emotional connection (1986 p.9). Shared artistic experiences can be

effective in creating a sense of belonging and emotional connection, so it is unsurprising that local politicians should want to use them to bolster community cohesion.

Production

Civic festivals are produced in house by municipal councils, or by independent not-for-profit bodies. Where they are independent they may or may not have paid staff. The Barnaby Festival in Macclesfield, a market town Cheshire in the UK is run entirely by volunteers, for example, (Macclesfield Barnaby Festival Ltd. 2014), whilst the City Festival in Leicester is run by the Festivals and Events Team of Leicester City Council. In neither case is there an artistic director; the role of the organisers is to coordinate activities that are produced by others.

This co-ordinating role means that civic festival organisations are high profile within their communities. Because they often work with a number of venues and in municipal spaces they are well networked within the city and are perceived as part of the public sphere (Giorgi, Sassatelli & Delanty 2011). They act as a place for dialogue between different communities to take place and within which civic issues can be articulated as interest groups and individuals engage with the wider social structure that they are a part of (Giorgi, Sassatelli & Delanty 2011). The concept of institutional value asks us to consider both how festival organisations produce and propagate images of their society and cities, and how trusted they are by these communities to do so (Hewison 2006).

Professional values are also important to civic festivals. Whether it is the professionalism of the festival producers themselves, or of the artists performing, festivals provide an image of the locality that might encourage companies to relocate or students to attend university, as well as encouraging exchanges between those participating. Many festivals work with colleges to provide work experience and to stage platform events for their students who want to work within the sector, and there is often a relationship between the existence of a thriving festival, relevant educational opportunities and a successful cluster of companies working in associated areas.

The newly established City Festival in Leicester, one of the UK's most ethnically diverse cities, is a useful example of a civic festival. Born out of the Council's 2012 Festivals Review and given high profile support by the elected City Mayor, it was launched in August 2013 as part of Leicester's campaign to be 2017 UK City of Culture. It has clear objectives linked to regeneration, community development and civic pride. Operating without an artistic director, it is coordinated by the Council's Festivals and Events team and combined seven pre-existing events, such as the Belgrave Mela, and the refugee art festival, Journeys, amongst others, into one city centre event over August bank holiday weekend (Leicester City Council 2012). The Festival promotes itself as a celebration of Leicester's diversity and encourages the use of areas of the city centre that are underused, thereby supporting the authority's community cohesion and economic development objectives (BBC News 26 August 2013, Visit Leicester n.d.).

Participation

Participation in the City Festival comes in a number of forms: audiences, volunteers and organisers of the various sub-festivals. The Belgrave Mela, now a core event in the City Festival, has 500-600 participants and, in 2012, claimed over 20,000 spectators (Newbold, Kaushal 2014). The Journeys Festival is run by ArtReach, a charitable arts development agency, which worked intensively with 60 refugee artists in the city to produce work for the festival (ArtReach 2014), whilst the Old Town Festival is run directly by the Council with very little community participation in its production.

One policy aim of combining the various festivals was to encourage diverse local communities to visit the city centre at the same time, to share an experience and create a sense of a 'third place'; in this case a neutral public space that is accessible to all of the City's residents, regardless of their group affiliations (Oldenburg 1999). The production processes of combining a number of existing events that had a strong community ethos did mean that the audiences at the Mela were more ethnically mixed than in previous years, but it did not reflect Leicester's demographics. This is, however, a new

event and it remains to be seen if a shared 'Leicesterite' identity and willingness to access the central urban areas can be enabled.

The Barnaby Festival, which started in 2010 with an agenda to drive footfall into a declining market town, has found that that its most significant effects have been a positive change in the town's image amongst festival-goers and an increase in the strength of community ties (Macclesfield Barnaby Festival Ltd. 2013).

Conclusion
It is this paper's belief that the values of the organisations that produce festivals must influence its decision-making and production processes and, consequently, the type of work it creates. The aesthetic, exchange, existence, institutional, professional, place, social and use values identified in this paper, allow us to distinguish three festival types: aesthetic, commercial and civic. Each of these has a different relationship to its host community and different policy potential for local policy makers.

Aesthetic festivals focus on concerns such as art form and artist development that would traditionally be considered part of cultural policy. It is interesting to note that in the English East Midlands it was only the aesthetic Buxton Festival that attracted a significant number of visitors (Maughan, Bianchini 2004a). The unique productions are both artistically and economically important, yet it is unlikely that policy-makers within the tourist or economic domain would consider this.

Commercial festivals, whilst not primarily concerned with artist development do have a role to play, as they encourage audiences to experiment. The development of high status festival brands is also important within the industry as it provides a site for the negotiation of agreement about questions of quality and worth. The success of a new artist at certain events provides validation and a higher price for their work.

Where the brand of a commercial festival is particularly strong, as in Cannes in the film world, a city will attract significant numbers of industry visitors and, potentially, become an industry centre. Again, without a framework to connect policy domains and festival types, these effects are likely to be overlooked.

The community development focus of civic festivals is probably better understood within the urban authorities than the aesthetic or commercial festivals' values are. The perceived success of Liverpool's European Capital of Culture year in 2008 and of Edinburgh's ongoing festivals has made festivalisation attractive to those responsible for tackling city centre decline. This has been reinforced by a growing interest in the potential of events to drive footfall into post-industrial, post-retail city centres (Pine II, Gilmore 1998) and the potential of the creative economy (Landry, Bianchini 1995, Florida 2002). Whilst some festivals clearly do attract significant numbers of tourists, these are in the minority. Policy makers hoping that investment in a civic festival will support their visitor economy are likely to be disappointed, but it might be successful in engaging hard to reach communities or supporting community cohesion efforts.

The policy domains that festivals engage with are those to do with economic regeneration, through tourism or the rebranding of declining areas; civic pride; and community development and cohesion. Some festivals, those that are funded by specialist cultural agencies, are also concerned with questions of artistic quality and arts development. Given the complexity of this policy environment, it is unsurprising that there is a lack of integration between the festival type and the policy objectives it is asked to achieve. By exploring the differences between festivals, better understanding of the potential of festivals to achieve different economic impacts is possible. The homogenised nature of the programming at commercial festivals might deter tourists, but if it can achieve the status of a trade show within the industry, then hotel rooms can still be filled.

Similarly, an aesthetic festival that attracts significant media attention because of its unique programming can increase local pride, even amongst those who don't attend. Existence value, the

notion that individuals value a resource whether or not they personally make use of it, is a factor in civic pride and is politically, economically and socially important. Whether individuals attend or not, the fact that their city has a festival that others have heard of, or that they could attend if they wanted, is something that residents value (Bahkshi, Freeman & Hitchen 2009).

Festival policies are a growth area in metropolitan areas after decades in which they have largely been ignored (Ilczuk, Kulikowska 2007). This is, therefore, an opportune time to ensure that the variety of festival types and their potential within the various policy domains is more clearly defined and better understood. More research needs to be undertaken to develop this model, from the participation perspective and to map the typology more closely on to the various domains; it does, however, serve as a starting point for those wishing to employ festivals within their city policies.

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