THE ART OF SELLING THE ARTS: SHIFTING FRINGE ARTS STRATEGIC MARKETING TO THE DIGITAL SPHERE

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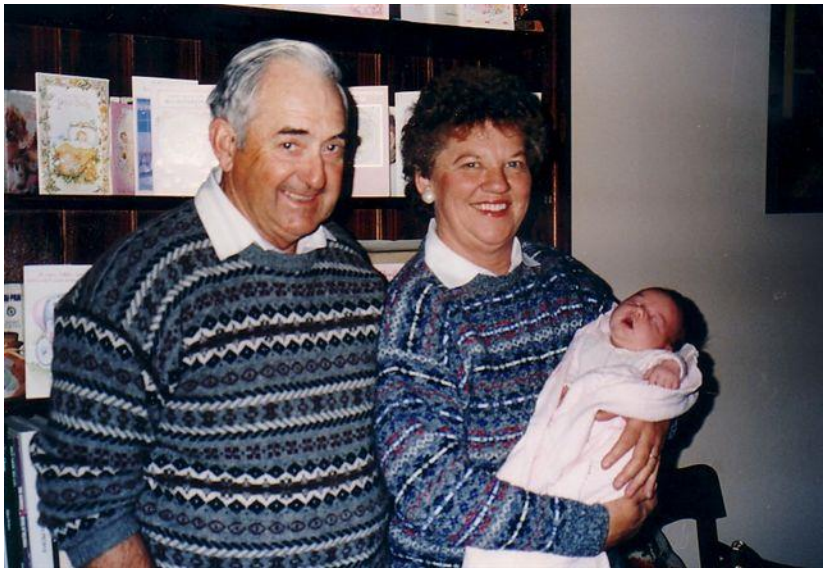
“You’re ’right this way.”



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Abstract

This thesis examines the role of marketing within fringe arts festival environments, which are known for their open-access model, cross-genre programming, and rapid expansion in both popularity and size. Looking specifically at the two largest fringe arts festivals in the world – the Edinburgh Festival Fringe and the Adelaide Fringe Festival – this thesis provides insight into the different stakeholders within fringe arts environments, and how each of these stakeholders has a particular motivation for the use of, and practice in executing, strategic marketing.

This project uses an ethnographic research framework which includes participant observation research, in-depth examination of key marketing touchpoints from the 2018 Edinburgh Festival Fringe and the 2019 Adelaide Fringe Festival, and semi-structured interviews to study the current state of marketing within the fringe arts festival industry. Coming from a perspective of curiosity rather than with the intent to test a hypothesis, this type of examination of the Fringe festival marketing environment has not, at the time of writing, been conducted to this extent before in academia. Fringe arts festivals are complex environments, with interconnecting international networks, competing financial interests, and multiple stakeholders seeking different outcomes from the same event. With intrinsic cultural ties and community values in Fringe arts festivals, marketing different forms of content within these environments is a delicate operation that requires strategic planning. Audiences are increasingly seeking participatory experiences, and Fringe arts marketers are required to provide opportunities for engagement whilst also cultivating a brand personality that audiences can trust, particularly as what is being marketed is an intangible good.

What emerges from this work is threefold: firstly, a framework of understanding for the roles of key Fringe stakeholders, and how they position their brand within the festival landscape. Secondly, the interviews reveal the need for a shift in understanding when it comes to best practice for marketers in fringe arts festival contexts. Often over-worked, under-paid, and under-resourced, Fringe arts marketers within a number of institutions are required to complete a large amount of work in a short timeframe. Not only does this indicate the potential need for restructuring within fringe arts festival work cultures, it also highlights how marketers have had to shift towards a predominantly digital media strategy in order to achieve the greatest results with the resources available to them. Thirdly, this thesis proposes a new, qualitative methodological approach to festivals marketing – one that seeks to examine the lived experience of people working directly in the field.

Using theoretical approaches from cultural and media studies, this thesis examines the marketing mixes within the 2018 Edinburgh and 2019 Adelaide fringe festivals, the purpose(s) behind these mixes, the shift towards digital media marketing strategies, and the implications of using data collation and analysis tools to segment and target desired audience streams. Patterns form within these two environments, and as the Edinburgh Festival Fringe has provided the framework for fringe arts festivals worldwide these findings can provide indications of trends within fringe arts environments around the world.

Keywords: Digital media, fringe arts, festivals, audience engagement, brand relationships, marketing mix.

Thesis Declaration

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name, in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission in my name, for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint-award of this degree.

I give permission for the digital version of my thesis to be made available on the web, via the University's digital research repository, the Library Search and also through web search engines, unless permission has been granted by the University to restrict access for a period of time.

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Signed,

Amy Nancarrow
Dated on the submission of this thesis: 8 May 2020

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Chapter 1: Understanding the Impact of Fringe Arts Festivals

This study examines the current role and practice of marketing in the two largest Fringe festival landscapes in the world, the Edinburgh Festival Fringe (hereafter referred to as Edinburgh Fringe) and the Adelaide Fringe Festival (hereafter referred to as Adelaide Fringe). These festivals are complex cultural environments where artists and creatives, audiences and local communities, government officials, and commercial bodies come together in one performing arts melting pot, each with their own vested interests and goals for participating in the festival. Both Fringes are overseen by organisational bodies – the Edinburgh Fringe Society and the Adelaide Fringe – and are open-access, which means that there is no curatorial influence. This model opens up avenues for creativity and artistic development, but also presents the potential for oversaturation of content, as no one entrant can be regulated. Within the Edinburgh Fringe and Adelaide Fringe, there are a number of competing stakeholders that have a financial interest in the success of the events; for this reason, strategic marketing in these overcrowded festivals is a necessity in order to stand out from the crowd and create strong and lasting brand relationships that last for years into the future.

Though approaching research with a curiosity rather than a hypothesis, the overarching research aims for this project are to:

1. Explore processes of decision-making in the creation and engagement of marketing strategies within the Adelaide Fringe and Edinburgh Fringe festivalscapes;
2. Examine the festivalscapes themselves from an academic context, and to understand key stakeholders, relationships, structures, organisations, and power relations within the festivalscapes;
3. Explore the role of marketers within the festivalscapes, and how they attempt to sell an intangible brand with which most consumers have a unique relationship;
4. Understand how digital data – such as social media and eDirect Mail (eDM) analytics – influenced and altered strategies not only on a daily basis, but for future work;
5. To create a study that benefits both the Fringe arts industry, and academia.

Using an ethnographic approach, this thesis examines how organisations, venues, and artists conduct their marketing within these landscapes. Participant observation research is utilised in order to attempt to convey the nature of these chaotic, unique landscapes, building a more comprehensive understanding of the importance and practice of marketing within these festivals. Semi-structured interviews with current industry professionals based in Edinburgh or Adelaide indicate core marketing

trends, including the prevalence of digital marketing and the necessary use of a comprehensive communications mix and strategic plan. Issues of marketing best practice are raised by participants, as well as concerns about the personal stress felt by marketers who must be on call at all times throughout the festival.

Comparing the two festivals highlights international marketing practices, as well as differences in opinion about digital marketing practice between marketers who are often within the same festivalscape. This highlights the ever-changing nature of the digital sphere, as well as the fact that many platforms – particularly those that analyse and filter data – are in their infancy, and the long-term validity and ethical implications of these platforms are not yet known.

Additionally, comparisons between the festivals demonstrate a similar issue: the rapid expansion of Fringe festivals, and the effect and strain this potentially has on local infrastructure and audiences. Some participants indicate that local communities need to be engaged to a greater extent to mitigate any issues caused by this expansion. One way to facilitate this local engagement is to use effective marketing strategies to develop positive brand relationships that create a long-lasting feeling of trust, whilst simultaneously positioning the festivals as a necessity within social life throughout their duration.

This chapter outlines the high/low art divide that is historically closely tied to socio-economic status. Moving through the cultural theories of Pierre Bourdieu, Theodore Adorno, and Antonio Gramsci, I proceed to outline the creation of Fringe arts festivals as we know them today, specifically detailing the two festivals that are examined within this thesis. Providing this context is important, as it assists in understanding how the Edinburgh Fringe and Adelaide Fringe have developed their social and economic impact, and provides a comprehensive framework within which discussions about marketing of the festivals can be presented.

Before proceeding, some key terminology must be defined. Henceforth, the term ‘festivalscapes’ will be used as an amalgamation of the phrase ‘festival landscapes’, and refers to environments where “festival benefits are produced and consumed” (Todd 2015, p. 3; also, Lee & Chang 2017). ‘Fringe arts’ refers to community-based, grassroots artistic practice (Shrum 1996, p. 67), and ‘Fringe arts festivals’ refers to open-access festivals that are companions to their curated counterparts – for this thesis, the counterparts are the Edinburgh International Festival and the Adelaide Festival of the Arts. The word Fringe will be capitalised when discussing the organisations, as the organisations who facilitate the

festival capitalise the word in their communications (Adelaide Fringe 2020; Edinburgh Fringe Society 2019). Further term definitions can be found in the Glossary in Appendix A.

1.1 Cultural Theories

Before examining the practice and impact of marketing within the Edinburgh Fringe and Adelaide Fringe festivalscapes, it is worthwhile to consider cultural theories that could explain the connection between socio-economic class and the arts. This discussion will help to develop an understanding of how fringe arts festivals came to exist, and will contextualise debates within these festivalscapes about their rapid expansion and reliance on economic capital over artistic integrity.

The arts are a valuable and important part of an individual's social and cultural world. Culture is connected to politics, economics, religion, and identity, and cultural theorists and sociologists have debated the effect that cultural participation has had on (predominantly Western) communities and their wellbeing for decades. The notion of culture as we know it today has developed rapidly since the 17th century, when the divide between 'high' and 'mass' culture was first definitively documented (Bourdieu 1998; Shrum 1996). Also stylised as the 'high/low divide', high culture was conceptualised as synonymous with those within the upper socio-economic classes, and mass culture was attributed to the working classes (Blau, Blau & Golden 1985, pp. 311-312). The development of this divide was accelerated in the 19th century, as industrialisation took hold (Garnham & Williams 1980, p. 216). Due to this industrialisation, culture became commodified and in itself an industry, and began to function "no different than the economic and political fields" (De Valck 2014, p. 76).

The connection between economics and culture has intensified with the increasing commodification of the arts and media. In the case of this thesis, the mere presence of marketing within the Edinburgh Fringe and Adelaide Fringe festivalscapes suggests that artistic and creative practice has increasingly become commodified; here, arts and culture are not exempt from the economic pressures that pervade every facet of Western life, and festival stakeholders must strive to make a profit. For this reason, it is practical to examine the relationship between economics and culture to better understand how the two festivalscapes within this study function, and how they have grown to become the two largest arts festivals in the world. Chapter 2 discusses the theories of Pierre Bourdieu, whose work *Distinction* (1984) outlines the idea of 'cultural capital' and how this concept is linked with financial capital, education, and socio-economic class. *Distinction* originally frames high culture as elitist and having a reductionist view of mass culture, although in his later life Bourdieu shifted his perspective to include a more sympathetic discussion of high culture and the intelligentsia that perpetuate it. Following on from

the discussion of Bourdieu, Antonio Gramsci's 'hegemony' and Theodor Adorno's critique of mass culture are introduced, both of which see mass culture as mind-numbing and leaving the working class vulnerable to derision and deception by the bourgeoisie. There are, of course, countless cultural theorists within whose perspectives the Edinburgh Fringe and Adelaide Fringe festivalscapes could be examined (Raymond Williams, Louis Althusser, and Dick Hebdige to name a few). However, as mentioned above, the perceived necessity of marketing strategies for several stakeholders within these two festivalscapes indicates an economic force within them. For this reason, it is wise to contemplate these theories that explore this connection in depth, and the works of Bourdieu, Gramsci, and Adorno fulfil this purpose.

In the section 1.1.1 below, the terms 'popular culture' and 'mass culture' will be used to reflect the language used by each theorist; however, these terms can be used interchangeably to indicate an oppositional position to 'high culture'.

1.1.1 Mass Culture

In many ways, mass culture is inherently tied to, and derivative of, high culture. Macdonald believes that mass culture is dictated by high culture – and that those within the high cultural sphere decide what is and is not culturally 'good' (1998, p. 23). In the late 19th century, mass culture as we know it emerged as a result of the industrialisation of cultural processes through advancements in technology. With a reduced cost of production, novels, news publications, magazines, music, images, and architecture – all of which were previously inaccessible cultural practices – were made available to the mass public (Macdonald 1998, p. 22). This mass culture was an evolved form of folk culture, which was the "culture of the people" (Macdonald 1998, p. 23), and since its development there has been a decrease in smaller communities or cultures due to "urbanisation, industrialisation, and the rise of national markets and mass communications" (DiMaggio 2004, p. 436).

The shift from agrarian capitalism towards industrialism throughout the 19th and 20th centuries triggered a period of social structural change (Hall 1998, p. 444). During this time, culture and the economic and social worlds became intertwined, and high culture became "an instrument used by the educated and middle classes to maintain their ideological authority by defining 'good' and 'bad' culture" (Jenkins, McPherson & Shattuc 2003, p. 27). Economics held great influence in cultural spheres, and for this reason Hall believes that mass culture contains elements of manipulation and control on the part of the upper classes, who seek to perpetuate their position as elites (1998, p. 442). However, Hall challenges the idea that mass audiences have no agency at all, or that mass cultural products do not contain any

meaning or value. Indeed, mass audiences are "perfectly capable of recognising the way the realities of working-class life are reorganised, reconstructed, and reshaped by the way they are represented" in mass media (Hall 1998, p. 447). Mass culture also can be seen as "a form of liberation from the top-down strictures of high culture" (Jenkins, McPherson & Shattuc 2003, p. 27). However, as the dominant economic class often own the means to control this process, this can lead to a 'struggle' within cultural spheres (1998, p. 447). This struggle is a central experience in the development of mass culture, particularly as it has close ties to socio-economic class, and that for this reason mass culture "is the arena of consent and resistance" (Hall 1998, p. 453).

Hall charts how the increase in accessibility of mass media press led to a reconstitution of the dominant cultural force in society. This provided a platform for education and politics that had not before been possible for the majority of the public (Hall 1998, pp. 444-445). In the 21st century, this accessibility occurs through a range of media platforms, including radio, television, and now, by extension, digital media. This has led to the profiling of different voices and opinions, opening up mass culture to become more diverse. As the human experience is nuanced and deeply entrenched in subjective socio-economic values dependent on the culture in which we have been educated and raised, "we can't simply collect into one category all the things people do" into one mass culture (Hall 1998, p. 448). Whilst Macdonald believes mass culture is harmful in that it provides a less-intelligent form of culture to the mass audience, he does believe that it has the potential to be "democratic" and a "dynamic, revolutionary force" within society, albeit with some restructuring and a reduction in the industrial influence on mass culture (1998, p. 25).

The concepts of both high and low culture can be examined from many different perspectives. Williams outlines three ways to view culture: from the ideal, the documentary, and the social perspectives (1998, p. 48). Each of these provides different insights into the importance of both high and low culture. The ideal view sees culture as "a state or process of human perfection", where culture depicts human values as they should strive to be through various works (1998, p. 48). Alternatively, the documentary view believes cultural objects see humanity as it is, through the accurate recording of experience and human nature in various forms of cultural practices and works (1998, p. 48). The social view clarifies the meanings behind works in a particular culture, but does so with the understanding that these meanings will be different in other social environments (1998, p. 48). Williams sees merit in each definition, and acknowledges that due to the complexities within different cultures, a singular definition of culture is impossible (1998, p. 49). He also highlights the historical contexts of culture, and that it is necessary to understand that culture is a "selective tradition", and that no one work of art or group of

works can fully and accurately portray a particular culture (1998, p. 54). What is evident in each of Williams' perspectives is that the social world is at the core. A person's lived experience – which includes their upbringing and socio-economic background – directly affects their cultural work, and this cannot be separated from cultural practices.

Part of the high/low art debate is the constant renegotiation of the definition and validity of mass culture – at times called popular culture or low culture. Macdonald terms mass culture as a "vulgarised version of high culture" (1998, p. 25), as it often appropriates or alters certain forms of high culture into its own practices. However, that is not to say there is no merit within mass culture. Hall sees the defining of mass culture as an evolved folk culture as too simplistic and descriptive (1998, p. 448). Gripsrud believes that the high/low art divide is outdated and inaccurate, particularly after the surge in popular culture productions throughout the 1960s and 1970s (1998, p. 532). Similarly, Fiske asserts that viewing mass culture as reductive in any way is inaccurate, as the 'masses' are a complex group of cultures and subcultures, and this changes over time; anything that can be so multifaceted should not be disregarded as unworthy of the same academic attention as something deemed 'higher' (1998, p. 504).

The definition of high culture as a positive force has been skewed by academics and culture makers for over 100 years (Frith 1998, p. 573), and mass culture has consistently been derided as a negative force within society (Bennett 1998, p. 217). Frith sees the academic as a "knight riding forth to rescue the innocent artist from the clammy, corrupting hands of the popular paper, the popular magazine, the popular reader" (1998, p. 581). This is a common thread throughout academic studies of popular culture, particularly during the early 20th century, and is something that is worth bearing in mind when examining the work of scholars discussed in this thesis, including Bourdieu and Adorno. However, Bennett notes that a shift has occurred within academia towards a positive view of mass culture, and that mass cultural products are more often being examined with an open mind (1998, p. 218). Jenkins, McPherson and Shattuc believe that popular culture can only be understood "within the complex historical context of its use" (2003, p. 27), and for this reason a restructuring and reframing of ideas around high and mass culture is necessary as cultural studies progress over time (Frith 1998, p. 578).

The high/low divide is centred on the fact that culture cannot be considered as separate to financial economies (Fiske 1998, p. 511). How much financial capital we have will ultimately affect which parts of the cultural world we will interact with, and this is something for which the masses should not be judged – it is a natural reality of Western capitalism (Gripsrud 1998, p. 538). Frith notes the influence of

economics within cultural spheres by the use of data to measure 'success' in cultural products, including television ratings or box office figures (1998, p. 572); in a festival context, a similar process is present through the use of ticket sales data as a measure of the success of a show. This struggle between economics and culture is a core consideration for this work due to the need to create financially stability in order for festivalscapes to continue, and marketing is an avenue that helps to gain funding and brand awareness to ensure that stability.

In this chapter, the work of scholars including Pierre Bourdieu and Theodor Adorno will be discussed; specifically, their views on mass and high culture, and the connection between culture and the rest of society. Before this discussion, the work of Antonio Gramsci, an Italian social theorist whose work continues to influence social and cultural studies to this day, is outlined in section 1.2.2 below to establish the basis of many cultural theories: the (cultural) dominance of one socio-economic class over another. The consideration of mass culture is important for this thesis, as Fringe arts originally arose out of a rejection of 'low' or 'mass' culture by those within the high art communities in the United Kingdom. These communities are complex, diverse, and representative of the melting pot that is the 'masses', and the first Fringe festival emerged from a feeling of underrepresentation of the modern Scottish culture within a high arts event. For the purposes of this research, to understand the perspective of those that created the first Fringe this thesis will move forward with the view that mass culture is not reductive, nor is it primarily used as a way to 'dupe' the masses. However, mass culture in this context is economically driven, as demonstrated not only by the presence of marketing in the festivalscapes, but also the view that a successful Fringe arts festival is one that exceeds ticketing box office targets with every passing year.

1.1.2 Hegemony & The Power of Culture

An academic whose work is based in "absolute historicism, meaning that morals, values, truth, standards, and human nature itself are products of different historical epochs" (Fontana 2009, p. 82), Antonio Gramsci is renowned for his theory of hegemony. Gramsci's hegemony is a widely debated concept within cultural studies; for example, Gottdiener (1985) believes the concept is reductionist in its understanding of mass culture, whereas Tomaselli and Tomaselli (1981) believe it to be a useful tool in examining power struggles that emerge within society. Considering that the following theoretical analysis focusses on the intersection of economics, social structures, and culture, it is useful to discuss the concept within this work.

In Gramsci's view, social life is shaped by the socio-historical context of the time (Fontana 2009, p. 83). Within any context, one class could achieve hegemony over another. Hegemony serves to perpetuate "ideals that value certain kinds of work and people over others" (McKenna 2011, p. 93). The people that are most valued are the upper classes who hold the most power within society, known in Marxist terminology as the 'bourgeoisie' (Hodkinson 2011, p. 106). The bourgeoisie seek to "liquidate, or to subjugate" the masses and perpetuate their omni-powerful hegemonic discourse within society; this is done primarily through their economic power, but also can be achieved through political and, at times, military power (Gramsci 1998, p. 210). Marx states that this power ensures that the bourgeoisie "compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production" (1978, p. 477).

Creating discursive hegemonic dominance is the process through which "the entire ideological complex of beliefs, values, and perceptually based attitudes that function for the reproduction and sustenance of the ruling class domination comes to saturate every aspect, particularly the social institutions, of society" (Gottdiener 1985, p. 982). In Gramsci's view, hegemony is created by the bourgeoisie, for the purposes of continuing social, political, and economic dominance over the working class, who Marx terms the 'proletariat' (Hodkinson 2011, p. 106). This hegemonic dominance becomes common sense for the proletariat, in "the uncritical and largely unconscious way of perceiving and understanding the world that has become 'common' in any given epoch" (Tomaselli & Tomaselli 1981, p. 5). Foucault termed this process as creating a 'regime of truth', where "a discourse is accepted as true and an interlocking complex of social institutions and processes then functions to make it true" (Jackson 2011, p. 391; 397). The understanding that hegemonic dominance occurs 'unconsciously' as common sense and permeates throughout every facet of society is important to consider for this thesis. With the intersection of the cultural, social, economic, and at times political spheres, festivals are unique environments that have to potential to influence and inspire a call to action – or, a call to consumption.

In Gramsci's view, creating hegemonic dominance is a process that occurs through corporate ownership. As the capitalist class own the means of production, they are able to disseminate content that perpetuates their preferred hegemony (Gottdiener 1985, p. 982). Whilst historically this predominantly referred to ownership of factories and other means of physical production, as the 20th century developed it came to include both broadcast and digital media, with media ownership becoming a battleground for hegemonic debate (Sallach 1974, p. 44). Gramsci presents cultural arenas as ripe for hegemonic dominance, including schools, popular writing and theatre, religion, community groups, and even simple conversations (Landy 2009, p. 111). Jhally sees cultural institutions, including the mainstream broadcast media, as complicit in promoting hegemonic discourses, as they "work to

legitimate the existing distribution of power by controlling the context within which people think" (1989, p. 67). In this way, the media become a 'consciousness industry' where its function is to "produce the appropriate consciousness in the majority of people to ensure the reproduction of what is essentially an exploitative system of social relations" (Jhally 1989, p. 68).

Theorists have not only seen the potential for hegemony in broadcast media. Kumar identifies Gramsci's hegemony within the use of online surveillance and data gathering, citing that users are "deconstructed, classified and archived in databases which serve…the profit drive of the market" (2011, p. 36). Audiences are commodified and monitored through this process, and construct the self "as a commodity by showcasing it as a cyber-shop window or web page, and publicising the personal through what seems a process of compulsive social networking" (Kumar 2011, p. 37). In this instance, hegemony reinforces a dominant discourse, commodifies (or in Gramsci's language, exploits) the masses that use these digital technologies, and makes it the new normal, and common sense. Understanding the media's potential for perpetuating hegemonic discourses within society is important, particularly when examining marketing strategies, as the purpose of marketing – particularly in brand development – is to make consumers feel as though a product, service, or event is natural and necessary to them, without explicitly telling them that this is the case.

Gramsci's work provides insight into how various aspects of society can directly influence and affect how the proletariat think, act, and live through mass cultural hegemonic dominance. Gottdiener defines mass culture as:

> …everything from perceptual products (a television program) to highly substantial experiences (Disneyland)…the distinguishing characteristics of mass cultural forms are found in the means by which its objects are produced and distributed, that is, by mass marketing industries and in the nature of their use primarily, though not exclusively, for entertainment (1985, p. 979).

In Gramsci's view, the masses are easy to control through hegemonic dominance by controlling the production, distribution, and permeation of these cultural entities within society. However, this viewpoint fails to take into account both the potential value of mass cultural products, and the ability of the proletariat to have any agency within this process. Gottdiener refers to Gramsci's hegemony as "reductionist because of its primitive understanding of human subjectivity" (1985, p. 982). Whilst Gramsci acknowledges the presence of competing hegemonic discourses within societies, he sees these smaller competing groups as full of "incoherence and disorganisation", which ultimately leads to

their dominance by the more powerful elites (Fontana 2009, p. 85). What emerges is seemingly a lack of faith in the ability of the working class to break out of the hegemonic dominance of the wealthy class.

That is not to say that those within the working class could not, instead, assimilate into the dominant class. Gramsci saw hegemonic dominance not only through exclusion, but also through the process of 'transformismo'. In this process, members of the mass working class are 'absorbed' into the upper classes in a way that continues to reinforce hegemony by the promise of inclusion with the elites and intellectuals (Landy 2009, p. 112). Whilst the intellectual has developed to include not only academics, but also those with "specialised expertise tied to cultural and political functions" (Landy 2009, p. 117), the insinuation of elitism remains; these new intellectuals developed through transformismo become heteronomous and are what Kumar terms "organic intellectuals" (2011, p. 40). This is in opposition to "traditional intellectuals", who are wealthy and attain their power and knowledge through 'legitimate' channels (Tomaselli & Tomaselli 1981, p. 6). Each group – whether the dominant, or the dominated – will have their own intellectuals who educate their citizens, and potentially align with other similar groups to consolidate power and drive their interests (Gramsci 1998, pp. 212-213). The state is the most prominent educating force, and one of the "most important functions [of the state] is to raise the great mass of the population to a particular cultural and moral level…which corresponds to the needs of the productive forces for development, and hence to the interests of the ruling classes" (Gramsci 1998, p. 214). This process of state-led education through a number of channels creates an 'organised' consent or false consciousness, where the masses engage in practices that are controlled by the dominant class, but which they believe are natural or even beneficial to their lives (Gramsci 1998, p. 215).

Whilst acknowledging the merit of utilising the concept of hegemony in cultural studies, Bennett states that Gramsci's theory is at times too expansive, and is "over-totalising in its analytical claims" (1998, p. 222). Something else to consider here is that Gramsci himself sees the intelligentsia as the core group able to assist the working class in understanding not only the fact that hegemony exists, but also that it serves to achieve dominance over the masses in a coercive and insidious way (Fontana 2009; Hodkinson 2011). Landy notes that this is part of Gramsci's 'passive revolution', where he saw academics as on the front line against hegemonic coercion (2009, p. 111). However, this kind of elitism and perceived removal from the entire hegemonic process is presumptuous, and neglects to acknowledge any potential positive forces within mass culture. This is something to bear in mind when examining theories of culture, particularly in regard to this thesis, which examines Fringe arts festivals as complex and meaningful environments.

From Gramsci's hegemony we can see the core understanding that cultural products and practices are not only connected to socio-economic class, but are also deeply influential in shaping and perpetuating a person's worldview, morals, and social life. Whilst Gramsci's work positions mass culture as inherently negative, and as the primary way that most of society is coerced and manipulated, it is useful to understand the base theory here to proceed with an understanding that culture is not a frivolous aside to economics, politics, and other areas of society, but is indeed a driving ideological force.

1.1.3 Adorno, Serious Art, and Mass Culture

A member of the Frankfurt School, Theodor Adorno is perhaps the most widely-contested cultural theorist emerging from the School's extensive work in cultural studies (Fianco 2017, p.3). With a focus on mass culture and the socio-historicism of the arts, Adorno examines 'popular' or 'mass' culture as harmful to the advancement and enlightenment of Western society. This work has drawn criticism for its perceived elitism and oversimplification of mass culture, but nonetheless Adorno's work remains one of "the most powerful and comprehensive theories of culture to emerge from modern society" (Gartman 2012, p. 41).

Adorno's theories of the 'culture industry' emerged in his work with Max Horkheimer, a fellow alumnus of the Frankfurt School, in *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (Martin 2009, p. 16). As a new term, the culture industry encompassed the commercialisation of a range of different forms of the arts, and formed the basis for Adorno's overarching view of mass culture, which is also termed interchangeably as 'popular' or 'low' culture (Witkin 2003, p. 2). Overall, Adorno rejected mass culture as vulgar and derivative (Witkin 2003, p. 1), and saw the culture industry as containing work that "reduces its audience to a thoughtless passivity" (Markus 2006, p. 68). Conversely, Adorno saw high arts as 'serious art' that disengaged from the world, examined it as it was, and challenged society to enact positive change (Fianco 2017, p. 2). Serious art is viewed positively because it invigorates the human spirit, and is seen to create internal, spiritual harmony within those who consume it (Witkin 2003, p. 11), as well as providing an "irreplaceable source of wisdom" (Shusterman 1993, p. 44).

Serious art is separate from the restraints of artistic commodification through capitalism (Fianco 2017, p. 2). Gartman asserts that the commercialisation of the arts led to the cultural impact and value of art being diminished, as "when culture becomes just another money-making industry, there is an inevitable tendency to reduce cultural expression to products that offer immediate pleasure and eliminate the painful reminders of oppression and ugliness" in the world (2012, p. 44). Ultimately, Adorno saw the

culture industry as a tool of control, in that it "creates a psychological constitution that conditions and cultivates the passivity of individuals" (Markus 2006, p. 74), and cultural products can become "ideological propaganda" that are transmitted to the oblivious mass population (Fianco 2017, p. 2). In this way, the culture industry and its products are the "final insult flung at those whose sensibilities have already been discouraged and blunted" through other socio-economic channels (Ryle & Soper 2009, p. 27).

In *On Popular Music* (1998), Adorno demonstrates the relationship between 'serious' and 'popular' culture through a comprehensive analysis of music. Adorno recognises that popular music is "characterised by its difference from serious music" in composition (1998, p. 197). However, any differences between forms of music are distinctive but well-known, taken for granted, and deeply engrained as 'natural', and are therefore rarely challenged (Adorno 1998, p. 197). As popular music follows well-known formulae, it becomes standardised, and lends itself to imitation as opposed to innovation (Adorno 1998, p. 198; 202). The standardisation of music keeps the audience "in line by doing the listening for them" – music is homogenised underneath the 'popular' banner, and to remain competitive within the popular culture market it must adhere to certain characteristics that enable it to be easily consumed by the mass market (1998, p. 203). However, a process called 'pseudo-individualisation' is woven into the distribution and marketing of mass cultural products, and convinces the mass audience that what they are listening to is not standardised, or "pre-digested'", but is instead unique and new (1998, p. 203).

Adorno claims that the standardisation of popular music has eventuated as a result of the changes in the production, promotion, and distribution of music, which has become industrialised as a result of the emergence of cultural capitalism within the mid-to-late 19th century (Markus 2006, p. 72). Using jazz as an example – something that he believes was once serious music – Adorno outlines how modern jazz has become available to the masses. Through the distribution and promotion of jazz music, its form has necessarily become subject to homogenisation, even to the point where even 'improv' follows similar patterns, rhythms, and melodies (Adorno 1998, p. 203). In Adorno's view, this form of standardisation is not possible in serious music, as the varying, intelligent forms of music that require active thought and composition are often not as widely distributed, understood, or liked by the mass public – as opposed to the passive consumption of repetitive, standardised content (1998, p. 201).

Adorno also believes that the masses are essentially placated and, therefore, controlled through the consumption of popular culture. This is partially due to a need to relax and escape from the hard

realities of everyday life (1998, p. 205). This form of distraction allows audiences not to think, analyse, or decipher – everything is laid out before them in a format that is familiar and comfortable (1998, p. 205). This, again, is connected to the forms of mass production, which in Adorno's time often included harsh manual labour, and the unease and anxiety that came from the possibility of unemployment, a loss of income, and war (1998, p. 205). In short:

> People want to have fun. A fully concentrated and conscious experience of art is possibly only to those whose lives do not put such a strain on them that in their spare time they want relief from both boredom and effort simultaneously (1998, p. 205).

Fiske asserts that it is important to consider why the masses wish to escape, rather than merely chastising those who seek to remove themselves from their everyday lives (1998, p. 511). Those behind the dissemination of mass cultural products do not attempt to stop this process; indeed, they perpetuate the process under the assumption that they are giving the audience what they want (1998, p. 205). Here, popular culture is seen as an escape and an opportunity to not think; producers, marketers, and even artists see this as an opportunity to create cash flow, and to do so with the intention of providing a cultural service to society. Additionally, consumers need to avoid thinking about their lives and the issues within them, as "if art were to have any real effect on [the masses] it would be that of instilling a sense of loathing, which is the last thing they want" (Adorno 1998, p. 24). In Adorno's view, the arts should be a direct reflection of the world, even the traits that are hard to face – serious, 'high' art "hold[s] out the promise of human happiness in their beautiful forms…by revealing life could be happy, but is prevented from being so by an unjust society, disinterested [serious] art delegitimates existing inequalities and stimulates social change" (Gartman 2012, p. 43).

Evident in Adorno's work is his clear view that he is not one of the masses that are duped and placated by culture, and this is demonstrated through his dissociation from the mass public within his writing. It is certainly worth acknowledging Adorno's own elitism here. Gartman highlights Adorno's own socio-economic privilege, particularly his upbringing in a wealthy family and the opportunities afforded to him to pursue education as a result of that wealth (2012, p. 49). Ryle and Soper also highlight Adorno's privilege, stating that he has long been criticised as "a dead white male in his ivory tower" (2009, p. 26), and Rayman believes that Adorno's upper-class background needs to be taken into account when examining his theories of cultural class (2014, p. 402). Ryle and Soper also criticise the heavy reliance on Adorno's theories in modern culture, stating that his work is "not relevant" in the field of identity studies, nor does it take into account ethnicity, gender, or religion (2009, p. 27). However, despite the

many criticisms of Adorno's perceived elitism, he nonetheless is "one of our most important and radical contemporary critics of culture" (Shusterman 1993, p. 26).

Adorno's theories of serious and popular culture demonstrate one of the common thought processes behind the high/low art divide: that mass cultural products lack intellectual or artistic integrity, and are a lesser form of high art. Genres or works that imitate high cultural products are mere copies of the original, and serve to placate the mass audience, who will receive the messages within mass cultural products with little resistance. Within this is the understanding that there are larger structures at play: those forces that perpetuate mass culture, such as socio-economic or political structures, determine what content is contained in those mass products.

1.1.4 Bourdieu's Cultural Capital

In his work *Distinction* (1984), cultural theorist Pierre Bourdieu presents what he perceives as the impact of socio-economic class on the cultural sphere. *Distinction* draws a direct and clear line between economic forces, structures of power, and socio-cultural life, and is described as a "frontal assault upon all essentialist theories of cultural appropriates (taste) and cultural production (creativity), upon all absolute, universal cultural values and especially upon the intelligentsia and ideologies of intellectual and cultural autonomy from economic and political determinants" (Garnham & Williams 1980, p. 210).

In Bourdieu's view, just as any member of Western society can have economic capital, they can also accrue other forms of capital including political, social, and cultural capital. At the outset of Bourdieu's theories, we can see connections between economic and cultural spheres: through the use of the term 'capital' – and other economic terms such as 'profit' and 'investment' – as well as the framing of culture as having value that can be acquired (Garnham & Williams 1980; Bonanno 2018). It is the economic and cultural forms of capital that will be discussed in depth below, although these were not, in Bourdieu's view, the only forms of capital present and important within society.

Shrum (1996, p. 8) states that within cultural life:

> Spectators and buyers confront cultural objects against a background of factors that predispose and shape their responses in particular ways. Some of these influences are as a result of past socialisation and education, based on exposure and experiences with arts that produce various kinds of "cultural capital".

This effectively sums up Bourdieu's central thesis: that through economic positioning, social practice, and education, a person will amass cultural capital that determines not only whether they sit within high culture or popular culture, but how they interact with other parts of the socio-cultural world. Bourdieu sees cultural capital as contingent upon the socio-historical context of the time, and what is and is not considered high or mass culture is dependent upon this historical context (Bonanno 2018, p. 386). When discussing his understanding of the high/low culture divide, Bourdieu suggests that popular culture must be "judged relative to workers' social position", and should not be compared to high culture as being 'lesser than', but as 'different' (Gartman 2012, p. 50).

Cultural capital is identified through the "judgement of taste" that "defines the accomplished individual" (Bourdieu 1984, p. 11). Taste is considered a sign of nobility that indicates where one sits in the cultural chain. In the case of *Distinction*, music and the dramatic arts are primary sources of analysis (Bourdieu 1984, pp. 11-12). In most cases, taste – and cultural capital generally – is developed mostly through education during childhood, as "each generation inherits particular 'immanent regularities of the social world' that came before" (Bonanno 2018, p. 386). All of our preferences in the culture we consume are "closely linked to educational level", in both formal education and the education we receive through our upbringing (Bourdieu 1998, p. 431). Our level of cultural capital is dependent on that of our family, social circles, education, and exposure within cultural fields. However, Bonanno notes that Bourdieu was at heart a "neo-capitalist theorist" who believed that whilst cultural capital is primarily accumulated through this early exposure, the possibility to acquire cultural capital by altering socio-economic situations does exist. Being born into a particular socio-economic environment does not necessarily mean that one must stay within that structure indefinitely (Bonanno 2018, p. 386).

The connections between Bourdieu's cultural capital and the socio-economic environment are apparent, and this connection begins from birth within what Bourdieu terms as the 'habitus'. The habitus is a "unifying phenomenon…it produces an ethos that relates all the practices produced by a habitus to a unifying set of principles" (Garnham & Williams 1980, p. 213). An "internalised form of class condition" (Bourdieu 1984, p. 101), the habitus is a "regulating mechanism" (Garnham & Williams 1980, p. 212) that solidifies class distinctions and world views. We learn our place in the world through the habitus, and this is reinforced through a series of repetitive practices that result in an internalised cultural understanding that is "shaped primarily in early childhood within the family by the internalisation of a given set of determinate objective conditions" (Garnham & Williams 1980, p. 212). As conditioning within the habitus begins early in life, it is often conducted through family and social spheres, where reinforcement of our ethos occurs subconsciously (Garnham & Williams 1980, p. 213).

Interactions within the habitus include participation within a number of 'fields': the political, social, legal, literary, economic, and bureaucratic fields. These are all spaces which are "multidimensional structures of domination and struggle defined by the possession of one or more form of capital" (Atkinson 2019, p. 953). Habitus directly informs which fields – and to what extent – one interacts with, and this creates a doxa, or "taken-for-granted knowledge" about the world, and the appropriate way to interact within certain fields (Atkinson 2019, p. 953). Bourdieu's doxa aligns with Gramsci's notion of false consciousness – both are subversive and deeply entrenched in people from early in their lives. A doxa is internalised and is not openly described within society – one must achieve it through repeated experience and education within the habitus (Bourdieu 1984, p. 471).

Additionally, through the habitus and the fields that operate within it, Bourdieu makes evident the divide between high and mass culture. As the habitus is constructed on an economic base at its core, the logic of practice within the habitus "operates with such simple dichotomous distinctions such as high/low" (Garnham & Williams 1980, p. 213), already distinguishing itself from what it is not, and what is considered beneath it. Certain cultural practices are positioned within the habitus as 'logical' and appropriate in relation to the habitus as a whole (Garnham & Williams 1980, pp. 214-215). It is through the habitus that the high/low art divide begins, and is made to feel natural and unchangeable. Within each field that comprises the habitus are similar structures that reinforce this divide; the social, cultural, economic, political, education, and power fields all intertwine, affecting each other and reinforcing hegemonic discourses within all aspects of society.

O'Hara notes that "all [of Bourdieu's] fields are subsumed by the social field", and that the social field is then "subsumed by the field of power" (2000, p. 43). Social knowledge and status directly influence the cultural power that we have, and in Bourdieu's view, one of the primary ways that cultural capital is developed is through education (1984, pp. 12-14). Through educational opportunities, we learn which cultural practices are considered legitimate, and with the right opportunities we can be educated to understand and interpret those ideal practices (1984, p. 14). Through education, one can develop a sense of cultural taste, but educational opportunities are often open only to those who can afford them financially (Bourdieu 1984, p. 12). Gartman agrees that there is a direct connection between economic status, education, and cultural capital (2012, p. 45). Whilst this may seem like common sense, Bourdieu stresses that intelligentsia must be careful of an overreliance on "self-evident" facts (1984, p. 471), and that even though this connection seems obvious, it is necessary to examine it carefully and critically.

To summarise Bourdieu's framework, members of society struggle within several fields of knowledge and participation to obtain 'capital' – both tangible and intangible – that can be used to convey our socio-economic and socio-cultural position within society. The process of understanding our place within the cultural world occurs through creation of an assumed doxa within the habitus, and this process occurs internally and from birth. Our cultural capital is, in Bourdieu's view, the product of our direct social and economic surroundings.

Bourdieu's work, though celebrated as a coherent and detailed socio-economic cultural theory, has its share of critics. Noble and Watkins state that Bourdieu's work puts too much stock in external overarching structures, and does not allow for conscious thought within the process of acquiring cultural capital (2003, pp. 524-525). Similarly, Ihlen disapproves of Bourdieu's suggestion of a lack of agency on the part of individuals, particularly in regard to the idea of the habitus, where "behaviour has its causes, but actors are not allowed to have their reasons" (2009, p. 10). Atkinson states that "there is a sense in which Bourdieu…sometimes pushes his case too far" (2019, p. 954), and that in particular his ideas of habitus and fields do not take into account how we might escape the confines of our upbringing. Gartman notes that though Bourdieu originally was wary of previous theorists who he considered elitist through their lauding of high culture, towards the end of his life he shifted his thinking to examine high culture as indicative of artistic superiority (2012, p. 53). Though *Distinction* views mass culture as worthy of unbiased examination and the consideration of mass culture as important, by the time of his 1998 work *Practical Reason,* Bourdieu viewed the validation of mass culture as enforcing the domination of the working class by "accepting or obscuring the inequality of economic resources that gives rise to class differences in culture to begin with" (Gartman 2012, p. 53). Whilst this crucial shift in Bourdieu's framing of high and mass culture contradicts or alters some of the ideas in *Distinction*, this does not mean that the principles of cultural capital are invalid.

Bourdieu connected socio-economic status with cultural knowledge, education, and various 'fields' within society, including political and social spheres. Through Bourdieu's work, there is a clear connection between economic capital and cultural capital, as those who have economic capital are often able to afford education, will work and socialise within certain social environments, and participate in a habitus that reinforces particular ideas of taste. Taste, in turn, determines which forms of culture are considered legitimate and worthwhile, and this is determined by those with power – economic, political, social, and cultural. The upper class 'bourgeoise' determine what is culturally appropriate, and this is repeated and reinforced through internalisation in the habitus, creating a doxa of cultural assumptions. From this framework, we can see how the high/low divide has been perpetuated. It is

from this divide that Fringe arts festivals were created as a response to the perceived elitism and inequality within the Edinburgh arts landscape during the planning of the first post-war Edinburgh International Festival in 1947. This is discussed further below in section 1.5, but before this discussion can commence it is important to examine the connection of economics and culture, to more fully understand the high/low culture divide.

1.2 Becker's Art Worlds

Artistic practice encompasses a range of participants, including artists, producers, investors, organisations, government bodies, and audiences (Becker 2008, p. 2-4). Groups of participants can also be referred to as stakeholders, or people who "can affect or is affected by the achievement of [a] firm's objectives" (Andersson & Getz 2008, p. 201). These stakeholders work within the same environment, and arts professionals must collaborate with, and engage, various stakeholders to "ensure sustained support and resources" throughout the course of an event, series, or practice (Todd, Leask & Ensor 2017, p. 495).

This collaboration between stakeholders takes place in what Becker terms 'art worlds', which "consist of all the people whose activities are necessary to the production of the characteristic work which that world, and perhaps others as well, define as art" (2008, p. 34). Whilst artists are typically seen as the centre of an art world, Becker believes that the audiences have greater power, as "if no one supports [art's] doing, it will go unsupported…it will go unappreciated" (2008, p. 5). In this way, audiences are primarily responsible for the cultural and economic success of an art world (Becker 2008, p. 214). This is particularly accurate within festivalscapes, which rely on audience engagement and attendance to thrive and grow. However, there is evidence of a high/low divide within art worlds, as those audiences that have the financial and social means to move freely and frequently within art worlds become more knowledgeable, and those audiences that only occasionally participate have a lesser understanding of the art world, and move less freely (Becker 2008, p. 48).

Within art worlds, there are organisations that act as professional intermediaries to facilitate the selling or promotion of artistic works and practices. These organisations "keep the process of production and distribution more or less orderly and predictable, so that they can continue their operations and thus continue to serve audiences and artists while profiting themselves" (Becker 2008, p. 108). These are what Becker terms 'public sale systems', and he outlines the basic structure of these organisations and their processes:

1. Demand is generated by people who will spend money for the artwork;
2. Audience demand is based on what they have learned to enjoy from previous experiences and education;
3. Prices will vary depending on audience demand and quantity of the product;
4. Artworks handled within this system are those that are able to be distributed effectively in order for the organisation to stay in operation;
5. The intermediaries rely on the fact that enough artists will participate within the art world, and contribute work (2008, p. 108).

Those artists that cannot fit within this system will more often than not find other means of distribution for their artwork (2008, p. 107-108). It is from this capitalistic system that Fringe arts, and other forms of community arts, were created. In this way, the influence of economic capital within Becker's framework aligns with the cultural theories discussed in section 1.1.

When intermediary arts organisations consistently present similar content, audiences will know what to expect. Audiences will buy tickets to artistic experiences based on their conventional understanding of the art worlds (Becker 2008, p. 121). For long-functioning arts worlds – such as arts festivals – the intermediary organisations can train audiences from a younger age to mould their tastes to what the organisation presents (Becker 2008, p. 122). Both the Adelaide Fringe and the Edinburgh Fringe Society can be considered intermediary organisations that facilitate a connection between artists and audiences within Fringe arts worlds.

1.3 Defining Fringe

Festivals are events through which people can explore and express their social identities, where "history, cultural inheritance, and social structures…are revised, rejected, or recreated" (Quinn 2005, p. 928). Fringe arts festivals are a unique type of festival that is multi-faceted, vast, and difficult to define. A simplified way to describe Fringe festivals is as "an 'alternative' form of culture and conceptualised as outside the 'mainstream'" (Hollands 2010, p. 382). As not-for-profit community-based organisations, Fringe festivals are modelled on the Edinburgh Fringe. The Edinburgh Fringe was the first Fringe festival of its kind, and has set a structure that is followed by many other Fringe festivals worldwide, the largest of which are the Brighton Fringe (UK), the Prague Fringe Festival (CR) and the Adelaide Fringe (AUS). The Edinburgh Fringe is a worldwide cultural leader, and has set the stage for a mass expansion of festival culture across the globe (Carlsen et al. 2010, p. 123).

Hollands defines a Fringe festival as "retain[ing] a diverse and 'open-access' policy… it has a relatively flat administrative structure, and it can claim to transform the space of the city and relations between performers and audiences somewhat (2010, p. 382). The open-access nature of Fringe festivals promotes "accessible, inexpensive, and fun performing arts attendance" (Bushnell 2004, p. 4). Fringes are often held alongside a curated festival – for which they are the 'fringe' – and position themselves as "oppositional and intentionally anti-elitist, dedicated to operating as an inclusive rather than an exclusive festival" (Carlsen et al. 2010, p. 128). Anyone who can pay the registration fee for the festival can join, no matter their public profile or artistic specialty. For this reason, Fringe festivals are seen as more diverse, as there is no single curator deciding what is and is not included in the program.

Most Fringe festivals receive state funding, and are reliant on that financial support as "many events would not be staged without some form of government subsidy" (Carlsen 2003, p. 252). Fringe festivals are not-for-profit organisations, but are run on minimal resources and staffing, relying instead on volunteer labour. This can help the staff and volunteers who work on the festival to feel a sense of community and ownership of the festival, and to strive harder for its success (Hollands 2010, p. 382). Many Fringe festivals cannot survive without generous funding from local, state, and national governments, and this funding is supplied with the expectation of return-on-investment (Felsenstein & Fleischer 2003, pp. 385-386). Furthermore, public funding is a necessity to build tourism income, as it often allows for improvements in facilities and services (Felsenstein & Fleischer 2003, p. 385). This form of cultural tourism – tourism that revolves around large, impactful cultural events – is seen to be both socially and economically beneficial for both the event and its host city (Raj 2004, p. 66). Fringe festivals can be sources of innovation, and successful fringe festivals "are those that can attract creative individuals – innovators in cultural, technological, and social development" (Carlsen et al.. 2010, p. 123). In a Fringe festival, innovation can be seen in a range of areas; for example, it can be seen directly within a festival's programming, which will often set up the festival performances to take place at any time of day, in smaller, site-specific venues that can also act as meeting places for performers and audiences alike (Hollands 2010, p. 382). Innovation and creative rivalry can also lead to unsustainable growth and unhealthy competition, which can alter the long-term successes of a Fringe (Carlsen et al. 2010, p. 123).

Fringe festivals have deep community roots, and are duty-bound to "provide social and cultural benefits to the local community, and to people who live in the cities where they take place" (Hollands 2010, p. 383). As festivals "play a significant role within ordinary citizens' everyday lives" (Stevens & Shin 2014, p. 1), Fringe festivals provide physical and digital spaces within which people can develop their social

worlds and create personal identities through shared cultural experiences. This process is particularly the case in Edinburgh and Adelaide, where the Fringe festivals are prominent cultural events that dominate their host cities and the lives of their citizens.

1.3.1 Criticisms of Fringe

The rapid expansion of Fringe festivals worldwide has been met with some criticism. It is understood that festivals have a significant impact on "local, state, and national economies through investment, employment, and income" (Carlsen 2003, p. 247). A core criticism is that the 'alternative' festivals have fallen victim to capitalism and become 'mainstream' in pursuit of economic success (Hollands 2010, p. 382). Because of the influence of economics, Fringe festivals have been accused of allowing revenue-raising initiatives to overshadow their cultural diversity and artistic integrity (Felsenstein & Fleischer 2003; Sutton 2017; Gardner 2019).

Large-scale Fringe festivals – particularly the two largest, the Edinburgh Fringe and the Adelaide Fringe – have been criticised for their impact on local communities. Negative environmental impacts, changes or temporary displacements for local communities due to festival expansion, traffic congestion, and high prices on real estate, accommodation, and entertainment throughout a festival's run are all cited as negative social and economic impacts of the Fringe festivals (Felsenstein & Fleischer 2003, p. 386). The host communities within festivalscapes can grow to resent the festival and the artists within it, creating negative interactions between hosts and guests; this can be extremely problematic for festival organisers, as "in any location, harmony must be sought between the needs of the visitor, the place, and the host community" if the festival is to find success (Raj 2004, p. 69).

Carlsen et al. (2010) also posit that the modelling of Fringes worldwide on structure of the Edinburgh Fringe has led to "imitation rather than innovation" (p. 129), and that this increases the chance of homogeneity and laziness on the part of festival organisers. Fringe festivals around the world have indeed followed the same structure that the Edinburgh Fringe developed in its early stages, and some artists follow the festival circuit and perform their show at each Fringe. Whilst this can have benefits for artists looking to hone their craft, it can also lead to a standardisation of festival content. However, despite Carlsen et al.'s concerns, the Edinburgh Fringe is still considered the pinnacle of Fringe arts around the world.

1.4 The Edinburgh Festival Fringe

The Edinburgh Festival Fringe was the first modern fringe festival in the world (Hollands 2010, p. 382). Beginning in 1947, the Edinburgh Fringe was created because of the perceived elitism of the Edinburgh

International Festival, which was the first UK-based international cultural event launched after World War II (Edinburgh Fringe Society, 2019). As a new festival, the Edinburgh International Festival's ultimate goal was act as a channel to "encourage international friendship between artists and arts enthusiasts" (Frew & Ali-Knight 2010, p. 232): an important venture after the conclusion of WWII, which left the world, and Europe in particular, fractured and exhausted from years of conflict. The Edinburgh International Festival sought to create "a platform for the flowering of the human spirit" (Edinburgh International Festival 2019) to bring people together and pay homage to "the harmony that lies in the heart of creation" (Bartie 2013, p. 49). This optimism ensured that the Edinburgh International Festival became "a kind of post-war rallying point" and "an international artistic celebration of the potential of peace after the horrors of war" (Harvie 2003, p. 14). Global conflicts, relationships, and reparations were played out on the literal stages within Edinburgh.

Despite the optimism at the heart of the festival's ethos, the event was a gamble, and not much hope of success was placed on it. This was due to the host nation's "so called 'dour' Scots!", who were stereotyped as "reticent [and] wind-bitten", and seen as not fully grasping the cultural importance of what would be populating Edinburgh's concert halls (Bartie 2013, pp. 1-2). At the outset, there were preconceived notions of how Scottish locals would respond to cultural acts from around Europe arriving on their doorstep, and these concerns were well-recorded and widely publicised in national UK publications at the time (Bartie 2013, p. 2). Additionally, Scottish theatre was considered "undistinguished and derivative" for a long time, which formulated a view of Scots as being uninspired in their cultural pursuits (Shrum 1996, p. 64). From this, cultural divides between the festival and the local communities began to form, and eventually would lead to rebellion through the creation of the Fringe.

There is also evidence of a cultural dominance by the British bourgeoisie within the 1947 Edinburgh International Festival environment, and this has been cited as the catalyst for the birth of the modern Fringe festival. Scottish artists resented that their contribution to the festival was derided by Edinburgh International Festival Director Rudolf Bing as "regimental sword dances, Scottish folk dances, and bagpipe music", and that festival officials were purposely downplaying Scottish involvement in the event (Bartie 2013, p. 52). From this clear rejection in 1947's festival programming, a group of eight Scottish theatre guilds banded together to perform a series of shows alongside the Edinburgh International Festival (Edinburgh Fringe Society 2019). These performers felt excluded from a festival within their own community, and thus "created their own rather make-shift and more affordable event" (Hollands 2010, p. 382). The festival was first coined the 'festival fringe' by journalist Robert Kemp, who is quoted

as saying “Round the fringe of the official Festival drama there seems to be more private enterprise than ever before” (Shrum 1996, p. 64). The ‘Fringe’ moniker was solidified after being geographically identified by other journalists as being on the ‘fringe’ of the city (Shrum 1996, p. 65). Thus, the Edinburgh Fringe was born. It continues to provide arts opportunities to artists from around the world as part of an annual program of events, and even “dominates the festival it fringes” (Shrum 1996, p. 64). This domination of Edinburgh and its artistic industry has not changed in the 24 years since Shrum’s analysis.

From the outset, connections were made between the Edinburgh International Festival and its potential economic contribution, and as Bartie states, “culture was…viewed as a useful new economic tool in the burgeoning tourism industry” (2013, p. 2). Scotland was not the only option for the festival’s location, and Edinburgh was selected as the site partly due to it having come through WWII relatively physically unscathed, with most of its concert halls and theatres surviving the extensive bombing that the UK suffered during the war (Harvie 2003, p. 14). This proved to be a stroke of luck for Edinburgh, as the festival industry has grown to now accommodate five separate festivals in Edinburgh during August (Robertson & Wardrop 2012; Edinburgh Festival City 2020). The economic impacts of the festival season are enormous for Edinburgh, and the festival industry “translate[s] into an annual injection of visitor expenditure of £125 million and 2,000 new jobs” (Felsenstein & Fleischer 2003, p. 386). These figures have continued to rise, with a 2015 audit of festival economic contribution concluding that £143 million in net profit is annually recorded during August in Edinburgh (BOP Consulting 2016, pp. 13-14).

Tourism income alone is evidence of the economic contribution of Edinburgh’s festival industry. The population of Edinburgh triples throughout August, and the contribution of tourism to Edinburgh’s annual economy is more than £2.2 billion (Robertson & Wardrop 2003, pp. 116-117). The tourism industry in Edinburgh experienced a rapid growth throughout the 1990s, and as government agencies and private entrepreneurs saw the increasing economic value of festivals, they began funding a number of festivals throughout the year, of which the Edinburgh Fringe was one (Robertson & Wardrop 2003, p. 117). From this point, festival officials within the Edinburgh International Festival, Edinburgh Fringe, and Hogmanay began to think more strategically about festival programming and marketing, and look towards the long-term objectives of festivals as opposed to viewing them as short-term, money-making ventures (Robertson & McMillan-Wardrop 2003, p. 121). Festivals in Edinburgh became more visible on the world stage as a cultural leader, and the Edinburgh Fringe began to grow in size, both in the quantity of programming and its number of annual visitors. Tourism is seen to have played a large role within the success of both the Edinburgh International Festival and the Edinburgh Fringe, as the

"unique heritage and rich cultural history" of the city itself has enhanced the festival experience for tourists (Raj 2004, p. 72).

The Edinburgh International Festival was seen at the outset as a commodity, where artistic works could be promoted, sold, developed, and leveraged within an international market. For this reason, Edinburgh's festivals are "much more than cultural events" (Felsenstein & Fleischer 2003, p. 386). This view of Edinburgh's festivals as not just cultural but important economic events increased exponentially, as both the Edinburgh International Festival and its Fringe continued to grow throughout the course of the 20th century, with the latter eventually outgrowing the former (Shrum 1996, p. 64).

The high/low art distinction between the Edinburgh International Festival and the Edinburgh Fringe was evident from the beginning. Shrum terms the Edinburgh International Festival as "upscale compared to its poor relation", and the Fringe was described by former Edinburgh International Festival director Jonathan Miller as "condescended to, looked down upon, and even rather hated by organisers of the official festival, something which polluted the main event" (Shrum 1996, pp. 65-66). The two festivals began the struggle for cultural relevance and dominance early on, and though the Edinburgh International Festival aimed to maintain its position as the high arts festival in Edinburgh, the Fringe became seen as "risk takers", and provided "opportunities to challenge the status quo and push out boundaries" (Bartie 2013, p. 6). The Edinburgh International Festival's autocratic curation – as opposed to the Edinburgh Fringe's open-access model – "has been criticised as presenting 'a conservative and elite menu'" of art, and as having a gender and ethnicity bias, as all of the Directors of the festival have been Caucasian males (Frew & Ali-Knight 2010, p. 235). The Edinburgh Festival Fringe offered something different, and "produced itself as specifically oppositional and intentionally anti-elitist, dedicated to operating as an inclusive rather than exclusive festival, and presenting a broader range of work, by a greater range of companies, for a more diverse audience" (Harvie 2003, p. 21).

As the Edinburgh International Festival's aim is to "present arts of the highest possible standard" with "a humanist agenda based implicitly on improving its audience" (Frew & Ali-Knight 2010, p. 235), the festival clearly seeks to position itself as the leading cultural force within Edinburgh during August of each year. The Fringe's rapid expansion, and its unavoidable presence within Edinburgh through the festival season, indicates that the International Festival may not be the main driving cultural force in the Edinburgh landscape. The Edinburgh Fringe "now dwarfs the International Festival in terms of both numbers of performances and tickets sold, as well as being recognised internationally as a tourist attraction" (Hollands 2010, p. 382). However, the two festivals are still reliant on each other both

structurally and culturally, and "each is now unthinkable without the other, and each is in great part the product of the other" (Harvie 2003, p. 22).

1.5 The Edinburgh Fringe Society's View of Itself

An important way to understand an organisation, particularly one that promotes an intangible and changeable cultural product, is through its own words. Immediately, we can recognise the central ethos of the Edinburgh Fringe Society through its 'Fringe Blueprint', which outlines the core values of the festival:

1. The open Fringe - Remove barriers to entry to ensure that everyone is welcome at the Fringe and anyone can take part.
2. The world's Fringe - Develop the Fringe's international reputation as the place to discover talent.
3. The affordable Fringe - Tackle the rising cost of attendance at the Fringe to ensure the festival is affordable for all.
4. The Fringe home - Secure a new home for the Fringe to provide year-round assistance to participants and support a vibrant Fringe community.
5. The inspirational Fringe - Foster a lifelong passion for the arts amongst Scotland's young people and champion creative learning in our schools and colleges.
6. The street Fringe - Support and develop the world's greatest street festival at the heart of the Fringe.
7. The green Fringe - Reduce the festival's carbon footprint and champion initiatives that limit our impact on the environment.
8. The Fringe Story - Tell the remarkable story of the Fringe and build awareness of, and support for, our charitable mission all over the world (Edinburgh Fringe Society 2019).

Clear within this blueprint is the desire to remain a festival of the people, and to continue positioning the Fringe as an international cultural force. Connecting with current social trends such as environmental sustainability and event accessibility, the Edinburgh Fringe Society is evidently trying to maintain its 'Fringe' status as being inclusive, affordable, and for the mass public by aiming to be representative of many cultures and accessible to as many people as possible.

In this thesis, the 2018 Edinburgh Fringe will be used for analysis. In 2018, the Edinburgh Fringe's 'Into the Unknown' year saw the Edinburgh Fringe Society reach its highest number of performing artists,

shows, venues, and box office figures on record at the time. 2018 recorded 32,697 artists within the festivalscape in 3,548 individual shows, taking place in 317 venues throughout the city of Edinburgh (Edinburgh Fringe Society Annual Review 2019, p. 1). The Edinburgh Fringe's 2018 Annual Review indicates that, whether culturally or economically, the Edinburgh Fringe Society values local Scottish influences within the festival. Figures cited in the Annual Review include 900 Scottish shows within the program as a whole, comprising 25% of the total program. Additionally, over 600,000 tickets were sold to Edinburgh residents at the 2018 Fringe (Edinburgh Fringe Society Annual Review 2019, p. 4). The Edinburgh Fringe Society state that one of their ongoing commitments is to "work closely with many communities across Edinburgh to enable participation and attendance for those who, for many reasons, do not traditionally engage with the festivals" (Edinburgh Fringe Society 2019, p. 6). There are also efforts to engage local artists within programming. The Made in Scotland program celebrated its 10th anniversary in 2018. This program supports "over 140 artists to deliver 200 shows at the Fringe" and promotes international touring of these shows (Edinburgh Fringe Society Annual Review 2019, p. 4). In 2018, there was clearly a push from the Edinburgh Fringe Society to engage with local Edinburghers, and to re-engage audiences that perhaps shy away from Fringe content.

The prominence of ticketing figures within the 2018 Annual Review indicates an economic drive within the festivalscape. Further evidence of an economic influence within this cultural event is the Arts Industry Program, which assists producers, programmers, artists, and other arts industry professionals to network, create touring opportunities, and interact within a cultural marketplace. At the 2018 Edinburgh Fringe, 1,360 arts industry 'delegates' from 40 individual countries participated in this program (Edinburgh Fringe Society Annual Review 2019, p. 10). The push for a successful international artistic marketplace within the Edinburgh Fringe demonstrates how modern festivals act as economic institutions, and the commodification of culture within festival environments requires researchers to "rethink their conceptual understanding of festival events" to understand how some festivals occupy "leading positions as marketplaces and media events" (De Valck 2014, p. 83).

From the information available from the 2018 Edinburgh Festival Fringe Annual Review, as well as an outline of the historical context of the festival, we can see not only patterns of the high/low art divide evident within the Edinburgh International Festival and Edinburgh Fringe relationship, but also how economics and culture meet in these festival environments. The lack of local Scottish cultural representation led to the creation of the Fringe in 1947, but since that time the festival has become an economic, cultural, and social force to be reckoned with. It also served as the structural framework for other Fringe festivals around the world, including the second within this study: the Adelaide Fringe.

1.6 The Adelaide Fringe Festival

The creation of the Edinburgh Fringe assisted in structuring and launching a similar festival, the Adelaide Fringe, in 1960. The first Adelaide Festival of the Arts (hereafter referred to as Adelaide Festival) was held in that same year, and was programmed with shows of the "highest artistic quality" (Christmas 1995, p. 75). At the time, the Adelaide Fringe provided a platform for local South Australian artists to form a "creative community" within the festivalscape that expanded exponentially with every passing iteration, particularly between 1962 and 1972 (Christmas 1995, p. 76). Through the differences in programmed content, the high/low arts divide was created between the two festivals. This was heightened by the presence of Edinburgh International Festival Director Ian Hunter, who assisted with structuring the Adelaide Festival, and sought to bring prestige and artistic excellence to Adelaide (Caust 2004, p. 105).

The Adelaide Festival was instrumental in creating South Australia's "Festival State" moniker, and shifted Adelaide's cultural reputation from highly conservative to innovative (Thomasson 2017, p. 88). Indeed, whilst Adelaide has endured a negative reputation as "beautiful one day, comatose the next", the cultural identity of the city as central to a festival state has assisted in boosting Adelaide's national and international reputation (Rofe & Stein 2011, p. 339). This has developed throughout the past 60 years, and together the Adelaide Festival, Adelaide Fringe, WOMADelaide, Adelaide Writer's Week, and the Superloop Adelaide 500 car race (formerly the Clipsal 500) make up 'Mad March' in Adelaide's cultural calendar (Thomasson 2017, p. 188).

For its first 10 years, the Adelaide Fringe was very much a part of the Adelaide Festival programming. However, in contrast to the tenuous relationship between the Edinburgh International Festival and the Edinburgh Festival Fringe in the UK, the Adelaide Festival and the Adelaide Fringe shared Adelaide's cultural landscape harmoniously, even when the Adelaide Fringe separated to form its own festival in 1974 under the guidance of inaugural Director Don Quinn (Christmas 1995, p. 78-79). This occurred with support from then-Adelaide Festival Director Bruce Macklin and others:

> We believe that the Fringe enriches our Festival by providing more enjoyment for everybody at prices ranging from free to very moderate, and by drawing attention to the increasing growth of activities in the performing and visual arts often missed by 'locals' and critics alike at Festival time (cited in Christmas 1995, p. 78-79).

Both festivals were biennial until 2007, when they became annual festivals (Adelaide Festival 2019; Adelaide Fringe 2020). Whilst still running concurrently, they are now two separate festivals with a key difference – the Adelaide Festival is curated and artistically programmed, whereas the Adelaide Fringe "sees itself primarily as a service or facilitating organisation and follows a policy of 'open-access'" (Glow & Caust 2010, p. 416).

For the Adelaide Fringe, moving to an annual schedule began a period of exponential financial growth, particularly in 2016 with the installation of new Director and Chief Executive Officer, Heather Croall. The Adelaide Fringe is the second largest arts festival in the world after the Edinburgh Fringe (Caust & Glow 2011, p. 1) and incorporates several smaller festival events after the main Fringe, including Fringe in Mount Gambier, Fringe on Tour in Kangaroo Island, and uneARTh Festival in Whyalla (Adelaide Fringe 2019). The Adelaide cultural environment throughout February and March is similar to Edinburgh's in July, where there are several festivals occurring at one time. In an Australian context, this is different from other states and territories, where one or two large-scale festivals a year are the norm (Eltham 2009, p. 49). Much like the Edinburgh Fringe Society, the Adelaide Fringe receives state funding for the festival (Caust & Glow 2011, p. 4), and for the South Australian Government, "the return on investment in purely economic terms is impressive" (Eltham 2009, p. 46).

1.7 The Adelaide Fringe's View of Itself

For this thesis, the 2019 Adelaide Fringe was researched both during and after the festival, which ran from Friday 15 February to Sunday 17 March 2019. The 2019 Adelaide Fringe Annual Review (2019) states that there were 7,012 artists performing in 1,318 events, and that this festival delivered the largest ticket sales figures to date, with 828,563 tickets sold for $19.5 million in box office revenue (p. 4). This was an overall ticket sale increase of 17.4 percent, and the Annual Review states that "ticket sales have doubled" since 2012 (p. 7), with box office figures increasing by approximately $10.5 million in the past seven years (p. 6). It is worth noting that precisely what data is included, and how this data is collected and collated, is not outlined in the Annual Report, however these figures do indicate a significant increase since the Adelaide Fringe shifted to an annual festival.

Additionally, the Adelaide Fringe Honey Pot arts marketplace program – Adelaide's version of the Edinburgh Fringe Arts Industry Program – hosted 256 delegates from around the world. The Adelaide Fringe claims that at June 2019 approximately $3 million worth of touring and producing deals had taken place as a result of the program (Adelaide Fringe Annual Review 2019, p. 11). Whilst some of these figures are accurate only as at June 2019, they indicate an international economic exchange

within the Adelaide Fringe environment that is worth examining when discussing the connections between culture and economics within the Adelaide Fringe.

Similar to the Edinburgh Fringe's Blueprint, the Adelaide Fringe has a Manifesto listed on its website. This manifesto outlines the company's beliefs, and this was reiterated in the 2019 Annual Review, along with the Adelaide Fringe 'Mission and Goals" (2019, p. 17):

1. We believe in challenging artists to be brave and audiences to be braver. Be brave with us.
2. We believe that we can inspire audiences to take risks, be inspired and DO IT AGAIN!
3. We believe in collaboration and that we can only push creative boundaries and innovate if we work together.
4. We are committed to cultural diversity, inclusivity, acceptance and continuously educating ourselves and others.
5. We believe in the cultural, social and economic force of the Fringe and the Arts.
6. We believe the Fringe is an important driver for South Australia – it drives outcomes for artists, venues, communities, businesses and the state.
7. We are committed to delivering a Fringe that offers the best possible experience to artists, venues and audiences.
8. We believe in the WOW! … a festival should transform a place and can transform your mind.
9. We are committed to minimising our impact on the environment and maximising our social impact on peoples' lives.
10. We listen and we are committed to continuous improvement.

Goal 1: Fulfilled Artists
Attract a diverse range of cutting edge artists who leave the festival fulfilled, happy with the connection they made and the audiences they attracted.

Goal 2: Thriving Venues
Have as many full houses across our diverse venues throughout SA as possible.

Goal 3: Engaged Audiences
Maximise audience satisfaction and ease of festival program and navigation.

Goal 4: Wow

Surprise and wow audiences and be the most talked about festival in the world.

Goal 5: Financially Stable

Have a strong and diversified financial base.

Goal 6: Agile Orientation

Be a successful, flexible, and adaptable business and agile organisation.

This Manifesto and Mission Statement not only highlight the organisation's desire to remain accessible, but also indicate the Adelaide Fringe's desire to be financially successful. Similarly to Edinburgh, this suggests an economic pressure within this cultural environment. The Adelaide Fringe outlines these as self-imposed aims to increase overall audience attendance, and to continue to drive economic growth within the festival environment.

1.8 Summary

Both the Edinburgh Fringe and Adelaide Fringe are cultural events that have function in the artistic and economic worlds of their home regions. Because of the economic impacts of these festivals, some academics have claimed that Fringe festivals have moved away from their inclusive community roots, and now favour big acts that can afford the mammoth cost of performing in a big venue (Howard 2016; McDonald 2016). However, working with Shrum (1996), Becker (2008), and Bartie's (2013) criteria for Fringe and community arts-based practice, evidence is presented suggests that despite new economic pressures within the festival environment, both the Edinburgh Fringe and Adelaide Fringe, for the most part, remain true to their mission statements.

This thesis presents a definition of Fringe festivals as: inclusive of all artists using an open-access platform, egalitarian, diverse in content, participatory in nature, innovative, grassroots and community-based, not-for-profit, and having an intermediary organisation that is unbiased and removed from the artistic process to ensure that the festival is self-regulatory and a more artistically-equal marketplace. To date, both the Edinburgh Fringe and Adelaide Fringe remain open-access, and any artist may pay the registration fee and present their work. The organisations provide ticketing and arts industry assistance, but do not promote individual shows. Because of the open-access structure, there is great diversity in content, and the organisations attempt to connect with local communities and encourage artistic development, networking, and engagement with audiences.

However, the ever-increasing size of the festivals, and the need for each artist to make themselves known within the crowded festivalscapes, has led to the creation of highly competitive environments (Shrum 1996, p. 67). Those acts with large budgets, connections to larger venues, and pre-existing audiences tend to be more successful within Fringe festivals (McDonald 2016, p. 1). Similarly, the presence of awards programs within the festivals can lead to further competition: whilst awards programs in Edinburgh are run by independent organisations such as *The Scotsman* newspaper, the Adelaide Fringe facilitate awards that are bestowed by a panel of judges, most of whom are participating within the Honey Pot program (Adelaide Fringe 2020, p. 1). In this case, the Edinburgh Fringe Society seemingly remain that extra step removed from the artists and their financial and artistic success.

To summarise, the Edinburgh Fringe and Adelaide Fringe festivalscapes are complex environments that, due to their history, are tied to the high/low culture divides within their host cities. Whilst similar, each has its own politics, its own social networks, and its own norms. With the intersection of the cultural and economic spheres within the festivalscapes, the importance of marketing within these festivalscapes is evident. Whilst there have been studies about artists (Glow & Caust 2010; Caust & Glow 2011), audiences (Todd 2015; Rofe & Stein 2011), critics (Shrum 1996), and cultural norms (Harvie 2003; Eltham 2009) within these festivalscapes, there is a gap in literature when examining marketing within the Edinburgh Fringe and Adelaide Fringe environments; it is the aim of this thesis to begin bridging that gap. Chapter 2 below outlines several theories of marketing and communications that are necessary to consider for this research.

Chapter 2: Marketing and Brand Relationship Theoretical Framework

Chapter 1 established the role of economics in cultural spheres, where culture is commodified and sold to audiences and other stakeholders within what Becker terms an "art world" (2008). Establishing a theoretical framework rooted in cultural studies assists in understanding the history and process of the commodification of culture, which has led both the Edinburgh Fringe and Adelaide Fringe to become spaces where the commodification of culture is present. Marketing is utilised by a number of stakeholders within the festivalscapes, and primary objectives are both to enrich the cultural spheres of Edinburgh and Adelaide, and to make money through increasing net box office profits and brand awareness. Marketing strategies within these festival environments are utilised with the aim of making the festival larger each year, and both the Edinburgh Fringe and Adelaide Fringe have seen a rapid growth in net box office revenue, artist engagement, venue engagement, and audience attendance since over the past five years.

The following chapter examines academic works within the fields of marketing and digital engagement, and outlines a key theoretical perspective in this study: brand relationship theory. Susan Fournier's 1998 study examines how consumers engage with brands by constructing brand relationships that mimic human interactions. This is used to discuss the function of marketing strategies within Fringe festivalscapes, as well as the work of other scholars who have utilised brand relationship theory within their own research in the fields of arts and festivals marketing, digital media marketing, and brand and audience engagement (Hudson & Hudson 2013; Todd 2015; Hudson et al. 2016; Gretry et al. 2017; Jain et al. 2017). Whilst some general marketing research has been consulted, particularly in relation to brand development and stakeholder theory in section 2.1 below, the majority of the literature consulted specifically focusses on marketing the arts.

Before this, the chapter first contextualises the role of marketing within the arts, the use of a communications mix, the role that digital and social media play within strategic communications, and how audiences use social media to create connections with brands. Additionally, the use of digital analytics to quantify consumers and their behaviour – in this case, festival audiences – is discussed.

2.1 Marketing the Arts

As culture itself becomes an increasingly important part of "creating a more inclusive and sustainable community", the arts are beginning to be seen as not only a part of the social world, but as tools to connect communities (Ali-Knight & Robertson 2003, p. 6). The arts "stimulate the growth of regional and local economies" and have become a core part of a cultural industry that is interconnected with

tourism, entertainment, and hospitality, as well as government and public purpose initiatives (Botha, Viviers & Slabbert 2012, p. 22). Naturally, with economic pressures placed on arts organisations, the need to create income to sustain arts products is now of paramount importance. Because of this, marketing and promotions have become an increasingly important part of any festival, as in the end "it's no use having a[n]…arts festival if no one comes" (Rentschler 2000, p. 20).

To do this, arts marketers must create a strong brand presence for their organisation, develop long-lasting relationships with audiences to make sure they are repeatedly engaged, and contribute to the cash-flow of the organisation by marketing shows and events to encourage ticket sales. Marketing, promotions, and brand development can assist growth and evolution in a festival's artistic vision and content (Rentschler 2000, p. 20). As audiences increasingly seek to "actively connect to art – discovering new meanings [and] appropriating it for their own purposes" (Walmsley 2016, p. 68), marketers have had to create innovative ways to facilitate that connection and develop audience relationships with festival brands. In recent years, arts organisations have started to shift towards "mega-marketing" campaigns that use several channels to target different audience segments (Vel & Sharma 2010, pp. 371-372). These types of campaigns focus on the "cultural consumer", and develop arts brands that are recognisable and intricately tied to their host city's cultural world (Rentschler 2000, p. 16). A shift towards more diverse arts programming in Australia throughout the 1980s and beyond has meant that marketers must develop more intricate strategies to create connections that cater for niche audiences in a way that was never before done (Rentschler 2000, p. 16). To connect with those smaller, niche audiences, digital technologies can be used to tailor communications directly to those groups (Rentschler 2000; Hede 2013; Walmsley 2016).

Marketing the arts is not without its challenges. As an intangible good, arts festivals "need to be experienced to be consumed" (Wilks 2013, p. 335). Audiences will come to arts festivals to escape from their daily lives (Wilks 2013, p. 336), and so the full festival experience is not usually available to those who are not physically located within the festivalscape. As festivals are "community oriented" events that "tap into a sense of personal identity values and loyalty" (Preece & Wiggins Johnson 2011, p. 20), the festival brand is intangible and must be flexible so as to appeal to as many different audience segments as possible. This is made more difficult by the ever-changing nature of a festival brand, as certain visual imagery or copy will be altered with each festival, which can change the entire brand personality (Rentschler 2000, p. 29). This can confuse audiences that are not established brand loyalists, as they may be unsure of how the festival brand aligns with their own experience.

Change is not only visible in the branding, but also in the content, both year-to-year and on a daily basis. Artistic practice is fluid and can be different from performance to performance, which makes each audience member's experience slightly different – two comedians are unlikely to approach their practice in the exact same way. This changeability is great for artistic innovation, but can prove challenging for marketers who are trying to maintain consistent branding over a festival, as they are unable to present audiences with a concrete understanding of content (Preece & Wiggins Johnson 2011, p. 20). This can greatly affect repeat audiences, who may make a decision on a festival brand and the entirety of its content based on a singular experience. Audiences continue to attend performances that they know to be of high quality, or those that have the endorsement of someone they trust. One bad experience can have a long-term effect, meaning festivals marketers must work harder to maintain positive overall audience experience within the festival environment to mitigate this situation (Preece & Wiggins Johnson 2011, p. 20). Additionally, some arts organisations or practitioners also prefer to "preserve their authority" over a festival, and dislike bringing audience opinion or interaction into the festivalscape (Hede 2013, p. 151). This can be a challenge for marketers, as in festivalscapes the best way to engage and retain audiences is to make them feel like a part of a festival community where their voice is heard.

Other practical factors also pose challenges for arts marketers. Limited resources and staffing are common challenges, as is the need for consistent external funding – either through government bodies or sponsors – to mitigate these limitations (Rentschler 2000, p. 29). In cities such as Edinburgh and Adelaide, where several arts festivals or events occur at one time, the market is saturated to the point where several different organisations compete for the minimal funding available (Botha, Viviers & Slabbert, p. 22). This can create pressure for competing festival or event marketers, who must engage a range of other stakeholders to supplement gaps in funding and resources (Andersson & Getz 2009; Todd, Leask & Ensor 2017).

Particularly in the case of arts festivals, organisers rely on stakeholders to assist in the financial and logistical running of the festival; these stakeholders range from sponsors and partners, to volunteers, staff, and artists (Andersson & Getz 2009, p. 852). Marketers must "grow, develop, maintain, or abandon" stakeholders (Andersson & Getz 2008, p. 201) that provide opportunities funding or resources. In addition to contributing financially and logistically, arts marketers can engage stakeholders to enhance brand recognition; here, marketers can both utilise different stakeholder groups to actively contribute to an overall brand identity, as well as train stakeholders in effective brand communication that best serves the arts product (Suomi, Luonila & Tähtinen 2020, p. 211). Through

engaging stakeholders, arts marketers can mitigate issues of diminishing resources, funding, and brand recognition or substance.

Resources are not the only constraints placed upon festivals marketers. Festivals are also subjected to "constrained availability", as they often run for a small number of weeks each year (Preece & Wiggins Johnson 2011, p. 19). Within these weeks, there are often familiar fixed times and locations in which performances occur, further constraining the availability of a festival (Preece & Wiggins Johnson 2011, p. 19). Some audiences may live rurally but still want to be involved in the festival atmosphere and process, and aside from live video streaming and other social media coverage it is not possible for audiences to be directly involved within a festivalscape without being physically in the location of the festival. Here, temporal and geographical factors become constraints. This is a challenge for marketers who must make the festival brand visible year-round, not just in the lead up to, or during, the festival itself (Hede 2013, p. 153). Social media can assist in this process and help to develop a relationship between audience and brand that can last longer-term.

The core challenge is that festival brands, and their content, ultimately must align with consumer values in order to have a successful and long-lasting brand relationship with audiences, which can be hard to achieve if the content is niche, or if resources are limited (Wilks 2013, p. 340). It often means that marketers have to create wide-spread, yet targeted, marketing campaigns to ensure that they are aligning with the values of as many audiences as possible. To achieve this, marketers compile a marketing mix and utilise a range of channels and platforms to facilitate these connections.

2.2 The Marketing Mix

Van Zyl states that "marketing cannot satisfy everyone, but it should try to satisfy most" (2012, p. 25). The aim for marketers in any organisation is to attract as many consumers as possible to the product or service they are offering, and retain those consumers over a long period of time, resulting in repurchasing and positive word-of-mouth. To do this, marketers must create and drive a detailed marketing strategy. Stanciu (2011) states that a company's marketing strategy must express the "philosophy of the organisation" as well as shape its "existence and evolution" (p. 1292). A necessity in successful strategic marketing is the combination of the theoretical strategy with the practical expertise of those developing it, in order to adequately provide for the consumers that it seeks to engage (Stanciu 2011, p. 1292). Within marketing strategy is the use of a marketing mix. Also called an "Integrated Marketing Communication Plan" (Naumovska & Blazeska 2016, p. 177), a marketing mix is a "set of

variables controllable by the organisation, combined, designed, and integrated in different proportions" within a campaign (Stanciu 2011, p. 1293).

Traditionally, the marketing mix has consisted of the 'Four Ps': product, price, place, and promotion (Horner & Swarbrooke 2005; Ruskin-Brown 2006; Stanciu 2011). Each of these factors determines a specific part of the marketing process. Product refers to the product or service that is being sold to the consumer; Price is the financial cost of the product or service; Place refers to the 'market place', where the product or service resides; and Promotion refers to process through which the consumer learns about the product or service (Ruskin-Brown 2006, p. 68). However, Ruskin-Brown believes this model is "no longer sufficiently useful to describe the marketing process", and instead proposes the 'Five Ps' of marketing: product, placement (which functions similar to place), promotion, price, and STP, which refers to 'segmentation, targeting, and positioning' (Ruskin-Brown 2006, pp. 68-69). STP is a strategic part of the mix that examines audiences, segments them into groups, and targets communications specifically to those groups (Ruskin-Brown 2006, p. 69). Tracy (2014) also promotes a modified marketing mix, titled the 'Seven Ps': product, price, promotion, place, packaging (the visual impression of a product), positioning (a brand's reputation), and people (the salespeople, whom customers build a relationship with, as "people do not buy products from companies. They buy products from the people in those companies") (pp. 29-31). Whereas previously the marketing mix has revolved around the product or service, at the centre of these new variations is consumers: audience segmentation and targeting feature more heavily, as do the relationships that consumers form with brands.

With a range of technologies and promotional tools available to marketers, a varied "media mix" or "communications mix" is used to promote a product or service (Vel & Sharma 2010, p. 372). In the communication mix is a range of promotional tools, including "advertising, public relations, sales promotion, direct marketing, and personal sales" (Naumovska & Blazeska 2016, p. 175). These promotional tools come together to achieve the strategic aims of a campaign, and can be used to target various audience segments. This approach is part of an integrated marketing communication process, which brings various internal and external touchpoints together to create "more personalised, customer-oriented, technology supported marketing systems" (Varey 2002, p. 250). A "largely media oriented approach" that requires planning and strategic development (Vel & Sharma 2010, p. 372), integrated marketing communication is a "research-based, audience-focussed, result driven, communication planning process" that aims to achieve "short-term financial gain and long-term brand equity" (Ang 2014, pp. 4-5).

Wood (2003) believes the first step in creating the marketing mix is information sourcing, and ascertaining the current competitors, trends, and active markets within an industry (p. 131). Knowledge of audiences and their interests or goals helps to develop an understanding of not only what content to program in a festivalscape, but also how to promote this content and encourage people to engage (McDonald 2000, p. 59); this is considered a "key strategic asset" for marketers (Wood 2003, p. 133;136). Analysing the audience experience can help marketers identify which elements of previous campaigns have not succeeded, and figure out how to enhance audience engagement. This process of knowledge gathering can be hindered if there are not adequate resources to facilitate this research (Wood 2003, p. 133), and many arts organisations struggle to be able to gain adequate information for use in creating strategy. Additionally, the most effective way to gain an understanding of the audience experience is through personal interaction, including focus groups, surveys, or interviews, which can be difficult to facilitate on a wide-spread scale (Wood 2003, p. 131). However, digital media – with their ability to not only facilitate conversations, but also to disseminate surveys and other interviews on a wide scale – have provided opportunities for marketers with the capacity to conduct this research, even on a smaller budget.

Wood outlines the need for a clear understanding of marketing objectives (2003, p. 134). This can only occur after ascertaining the effectiveness of previous, similar campaigns, and gauging how these campaigns could have been improved. Marketers need to create "triple bottom line" objectives – economic, social, and environmental – and this often comes from creating a cost/benefit analysis for a product or service (Wood 2003, p. 134). Marketing for festivals and events requires a slightly different strategic approach, as the campaign is a "continuous process" that moves from evaluation to strategic creation on an ongoing basis (Wood 2003, p. 135). Again, the data gathered from digital media platforms assists in this process, as the platforms often collate large amounts of data and report these quickly in simple, succinct ways. Digital tools such as social media, websites, analytics, and other tools that gather numerical data assist in obtaining audience feedback for strategising (Preece & Wiggins Johnson 2011, p. 26). This data, and other forms of research, can help create tactical plans and help marketers make informed decisions based on tangible evidence as opposed to gut instinct (Wood 2003, pp. 137-139). What is also required is a willingness on the part of audience members to engage and participate in these data-gathering initiatives, which can be time consuming and perceived as invasive (Preece & Wiggins Johnson 2011, p. 30). Understanding audiences is the first and most important step to determining what platforms and channels will comprise the communications mix: once a marketer knows their audience, they can determine how best to target them (50MINUTES 2015, p. 10).

A communication mix is comprised of many different intersecting channels which engage audiences through a range of media. Advertising is conducted with three purposes: “informing, persuading, and reminding” (Naumovska & Blazeska 2016, p. 177). Typically utilising mass media channels such as television, radio, and print news media, advertising is a one-way medium and consists of a sender, a message, and a receiver (Naumovska & Blazeska 2016, p. 177); this is reminiscent of the Transmission Model of communication (Holmes 2005, p. 6), which is commonly associated with the mass media industries of the 20th century. Alternatively, sales promotions are slightly different to advertising, and involve business-to-consumer interaction on personal channels such as social media platforms. These communications aim to push consumers in the direction of purchasing, or indeed of interacting with other marketing streams (Naumovska & Blazeska 2016, p. 177).

However, excessive sales promotion is not advised, particularly “when the long-term branding strategy is considered”, as overly used sales promotion can cause consumers to turn off of marketing content (Naumovska & Blazeska 2016, p. 178). A more direct form of business-to-consumer sales marketing is through personal selling, which is often achieved through one-on-one communication – or, perceived one-on-one communication – between a marketer or salesperson and a consumer. Whilst this more personal interaction between brand and consumer can yield greater trust between the two parties, it is time consuming and can account for only a small number of people at any one time (Naumovska & Blazeska 2016, p. 178). This direct marketing is a part of both personal selling and sales promotion, and is the “fastest growing component of the mix” (Naumovska & Blazeska 2016, p. 178). This part of the mix includes electronic direct mailouts (eDMs), electronic commerce platforms (eCommerce), and digital advertising that elicits an immediate response from the consumer (Naumovska & Blazeska 2016, p. 178).

Public relations is a part of the mix that controls the interpretation of a brand within the public sphere, and includes “third-party outlets, networking, events, [and] word-of-mouth” (Naumovska & Blazeska 2016, p. 181). As elements of a public relations strategy within the communications mix are often disseminated through third-party organisations, this area of the mix is more covert, and consumers will often trust these seemingly objective sources more than the brand itself. Therefore, if brand perception is positive within the public sphere, consumers will likely create a more trusting relationship with that brand (Naumovska & Blazeska 2016, p. 181). Naumovska & Blazeska (2016) attest that public relations efforts are only effective if all other aspects of the communications mix are optimised and working successfully (p. 178).

For much of the 20th century, advertising was the primary area of the communications mix towards which marketers directed their budget. However, this has begun to shift with the introduction of digital media (Naumovska & Blazeska 2016, p. 176). As consumers become more aware of the overt presence of advertising in the digital space, they are turning away from that sales content, as well as becoming more adept at recognising advertising on other marketing channels (Naumovska & Blazeska 2016, p. 176). This means that marketers must create a positioning that "involves developing and communicating the attributes of a key product or service, rather than creating advertising images" (Van Zyl 2012, p. 43). As overt advertising is rejected by consumers, marketers are instead shifting towards public relations content that is disseminated through third-party media channels; this content, under the veil of being journalistic in nature, is more effective at winning audience trust (Naumovska & Blazeska 2016, p. 176). For this reason, public relations have become a vital part of a communications mix.

The communications mix includes not just the usual digital and social media channels, traditional advertising, and media, but also internal promotions such as "pricing policies, CEO's public exposure…employee behaviour, packaging [and] designs" (Naumovska & Blazeska 2016, p. 176). This is evident in spaces like the Adelaide Fringe, where current CEO Heather Croall makes a distinct effort to be noticeable in the festivalscape, not just in the media but also physically in local festival spaces. Part of an integrated marketing communications approach, internal or discreet communications assist in maintaining cohesive messaging and help build a brand's personality, even though consumers may not overtly see this communication occurring (Varey 2002, pp. 250-251). Every interaction that a brand has with the public, no matter how great or small, will have an impact on the consumer's opinion of that brand, and so it is imperative that all aspects of that communications mix contribute positively to the brand's overall personality (Naumovska & Blazeska 2016, p.176).

In their research into marketing communications at music festivals, Hudson and Hudson outline the consumer process as a four-step model (2013, pp. 210-213). First, the consumer "considers" a product, service, or set of brands to choose from within their desired field. This is based on "brand perceptions and exposure to recent touch points" (p. 210), and then leads to "evaluation", where consumers will increase or decrease their list of choices based on the information they have been able to gather, or from shopping around in the market. The consumer will then ultimately select a brand and purchase or engage with a particular product or service, from which point they – if the experience with the brand is positive – will build expectations and continue to engage with, and be an advocate for, the brand they have chosen. This process continues with each new product or service, and in the final stage

consumers will advocate for the brand on social media, and either form new or join existing brand communities. Marketers can then use this as a form of "crowd-sourcing innovation", where the audience feedback on these channels can assist in developing brands and their content further (Hudson & Hudson 2013, p. 212). Applying this in a festival context, Hudson and Hudson find that festivals can utilise this consumer process in a similar way, and be a part of the advocacy portion of the cycle by managing social media channels and using the data from these channels to inform future campaigns (2013, p. 213). However, they also contend – using the assertions of d'Astous, Colbert and Mbarek (2006) – that festivals have other characteristics that alter the consumer process slightly, and that an adaptation to include the limited time period and emotional nature of festivalscapes would be appropriate (2013, p. 213). Whilst they do not expand on what this adaptation would look like, it is nonetheless an interesting model that provides a basis for understanding audience behaviour in festivalscapes.

Whereas arts festivals were previously seen as just arts festivals, without any strong distinction between them, they have begun to narrow their focus and strategically target specific audiences through their marketing strategies. Focusing campaigns on niche audiences or genres represents a change in the way marketers strategise and use a comprehensive communications mix. Finding a point of difference in an arts product, and marketing it towards the audiences that will be most receptive to that content, has been a major development in the promotion and rapid development of arts festivals (Rentschler 2000, p. 26). Marketers use various areas of the communications mix to target certain demographics or pockets of consumers. This is often done through consumer segmentation, which is "the basis for positioning, branding, and communicating" to its various audience segments (Van Zyl 2012, p. 45). In a festival context, no single event can satisfy every person within a community or city, but marketers must attempt to achieve market saturation where possible. A 'golden thread' of marketing throughout the festival's run can "make an arts festival successful or an event possible" (Van Zyl 2012, p. 45). In a festivalscape, this golden thread can be visual branding or a consistent brand presence within the host city.

Within the arts, a common communications mix involves a combination of print, digital, advertising, outdoor, activation, and media-driven content. Preece and Wiggins Johnson (2011) believe that for a festival, a marketing mix must create a "persistent presence" (pp. 21-22). This persistent presence is achieved through five areas; the first is "Facilities and Signage", which provide a tangible and visible presence within a physical landscape (p. 21). This is a "concrete representation" of the festival brand, and should be present in both outdoor and in print material, such as brochures and posters (p. 21).

Further to this, festivals should have “Seasons and Performances”, which create consistency from festival to festival, and provide a format with which audiences are familiar; this includes regular performance times and duration of shows, as well as common venues (p. 21). Aligning with this is the “Artistic Product”, which is the need to have high-quality – and consistent – programming, including standardised genres or repeat artists whose reputations audiences know well (p. 22). “External Validation” through publicity and media coverage, as well as advertising on various media channels, also provides an indication of quality to audiences of the product in a festivalscape, and assists in profiling the organisation facilitating the festival (p. 21). Finally, the use of “Personalities”, or famous and well-known people, to promote the festival and its content are another channel of the mix that can help profile the festival to national and international audiences (p. 22). Preece and Wiggins Johnson believe that this combination of marketing initiatives is one way that festivals marketers can gain more widespread awareness within a festival marketplace.

Digital media have become an increasingly prominent part of the communications mix in many different industries, but particularly within festivals marketing. The “declining availability of traditional communication tools” (Hausmann 2012, p. 174) for both marketers and audiences, has led to more cost-effective digital platforms, particularly social media, becoming the preferred channels within the communications mix to profile various forms of content. The arts, which are often visual or experiential, are an ideal candidate for using digital media as a prominent part of a mix, as they can provide ample imagery or audio-visual content that can be used on a range of channels (Hede 2013, p. 151). Word of mouth, which is a primary marketing channel within a festivalscape, can easily transfer online and become e-Word of Mouth (eWOM), as audiences often want to offer up opinions of their experiences within a festivalscape and social media offer an accessible avenue to do this (Hede 2013, p. 157). This can provide opportunities for viral marketing, which is the ideal form of eWOM, provided it is with a positive angle (Hausmann 2012, p. 174). As intangible offerings, festivals also have a greater need to adapt to new marketing channels, whereas other products or services can take longer to transition to digital platforms or perhaps see more benefit from traditional channels (Hede 2013, p. 151).

Sponsorship is a core element within Fringe marketing campaigns due to the limited resources available to arts organisations. Whilst resources are limited, external sponsor investment in arts events is becoming more common (Ali-Knight & Robertson 2003, p. 10). In the arts, there are several competing festivals or events that apply for already-limited government funding, which creates competition amongst organisations (McDonald 2000, p. 52). Further competition comes in the form of corporate sponsors, who are also often approached by multiple arts events or organisations to obtain

additional funding for festivals (McDonald 2000, p. 53). Crowdfunding is another way that arts organisations will attempt to raise additional resources, and also serves as a way to strengthen brand relationships between audiences and donors, and the organisation itself (Hede 2013, p. 153). Without external funding, arts organisations cannot reach the same number of audiences – not only because of a lack of financial resources, but also because reaching wider audiences is more possible with other brands endorsing content through sponsorship. This is even more potent when audiences are the people who are endorsing the festival and its content.

Communications need to be integrated and consistent in the marketing mix – both on- and off-line – in order for a campaign to be successful and recognisable in the larger market (Hede 2013, p. 157). Consistent use of imagery and key brand messaging helps marketers create a consistent tone of voice and brand personality, and this helps audiences differentiate one brand from another within a landscape (McDonald 2000, p. 59). This is particularly important within an oversaturated Fringe festivalscape, where venue and artist branding can become lost in the noise of the festival. Creating this brand personality is also one of the first steps in creating a brand relationship in a festivalscape (Preece & Wiggins Johnson 2011, p. 21). Having a clear brand personality assists in connecting with audiences, particularly those that have a long-running emotional connection with the brand. However, yet again this can be a challenge for festivals marketers, as creating this personality and building brand relationships takes both time and resources, both of which festivals marketers can struggle to gather (Preece & Wiggins Johnson 2011, p. 22).

2.3 Digital & Social Media Marketing

Traditional forms of marketing still have their role in a festival campaign, however, many marketers are shifting towards predominantly using digital media – particularly social media platforms – to execute campaigns and connect with consumers. These digital channels are becoming the dominant communications channels that marketers leverage to encourage consumer consideration, purchase, and evaluation (Hudson et al. 2016, p. 27). From a consumer standpoint, digital media channels are spheres where opinions can be created and shared, and brands can receive feedback from consumers about their services (Jain et al. 2017, p. 64). In this way, a two-way dialogue is established between brand and consumer, opening up a range of opportunities to create loyal brand relationships that ensure repeat purchasing and interactivity (Hudson et al. 2016; Gretry et al. 2017).

The following section discusses digital media as a part of the communications mix, with a particular focus on social media platforms, primarily due to the fact that 88% all of organisations are using social

media as a large part of their strategic marketing (Jain et al. 2017, p. 63). The term 'digital media' refers to any marketing platform used within a digital space, and is inclusive of social media, eDirect Mail (eDMs), gamification, mobile applications, publicity listings, and websites. The term 'social media' refers to platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, LinkedIn, and any site that classifies itself as a social networking site.

2.3.1 Digital & Social Media

Digital technologies have provided people with an increased capability to communicate, learn, connect, and attain a sense of voice (Miller et al. 2016, p. 196). Advances in networked technologies, as well as the proliferation of smartphones, have led to a context collapse, where previous boundaries in communication have been dissolved or restructured (boyd 2007, p. 3). Traditional societal structures still shape digital communication to an extent, as "the internet mirrors and magnifies social life" (boyd 2007, p. 5). However, there is no denying that digital technologies have altered how we communicate and how we share information, create connections, and portray ourselves, and a key reason that we have a vast bank of digital content is precisely because users are sharing on a constant basis (Belk 2013, p. 484)

"Media shape our thoughts and practices" (Lanzara 2010, p. 1), and the every-day thoughts and practices of Western citizens have been altered by the development of digital technologies. The shift from web 1.0 to socially driven web 2.0 digital technologies in the mid-2000s was profound, with 90% of the world's smartphone users now accessing mobile internet platforms (Marwick 2013, p. 206). Because of this saturation, users of digital technologies are creating new social worlds through the use of increased interactivity online (Nisar & Whitehead 2016, p. 743). Marketers are "web 2.0 party crashers" in these digital spaces (Leigh & Thompson 2012, p. 317), and have begun to harness the interactivity that digital media provide to access their consumers at all hours of the day in two-way dialogues, keeping consumers engaged and interacting with brand content (Nisar & Whitehead 2016, p. 744). A "growing culture of participation" online has led to a "co-creation of meaning and value" (Walmsley 2016, p. 68-69). This co-creation has allowed consumers to "engage, collaborate, [and] interact", and marketers are able harness this collaboration to inspire and inform their own content and strategy (Kumar & Pradhan 2015, p. 47), and "enthuse audiences and mobilise them to action" (Hede 2013, p. 157).

Social media are cost-effective and efficient digital marketing platforms that are now a core part of any communications mix (Nisar & Whitehead 2016, pp. 743-744). There are more than 1 billion consumers

globally using social media sites (Gretry et al. 2017, p. 77), and the development of these web 2.0 applications "enable and support the communication, interaction, and creation of relationships between users" (Hausman & Poellmann 2013, p. 144). Social media encapsulate a range of multimedia forms, and bridge spatial and temporal gaps that previously made it difficult to communicate on a worldwide scale. Social media are also informational tools, offering users the ability to access news content instantaneously (Przybylski et al. 2013, p. 1841), as well as disseminate informational mass messaging on a widespread scale. Social media "allow the creation and exchange of user generated content" (Ho & Wang 2015, p. 3). Anyone can create imagery, video, written work, audio content, and a range of other forms of media, and distribute these online via social media. The participatory nature of social media platforms has resulted in "a transformation from the passive consumer into an active (co-) producer, a 'prosumer'" (Hausmann 2012, p, 174). Indeed, Hinton and Hjorth assert that "if there's one word that summarises the particular quality of social media, it would be 'participation'" (2013, p. 55).

The creation of social networking sites in the early 2000s steered the course for what we now recognise as cultural and social drivers such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube and more (Jain et al. 2017, p. 63). Originally emerging in sites such as Friendster, social networking provided the opportunity for the creation of online communities through networking, communal forums, and dating sites (Donath & boyd 2004, p. 71). Social media "have made it easier than ever to know what one's friends, family, and acquaintances are doing, buying, and talking about" (Przybylski et al.. 2013, p. 1846), and this digitised social world has led to new ways of interaction. Indeed, in boyd's view, the term social media refers not only to the sites and technologies that form the social media landscape, but also "a set of tools, practices, and ideologies" (2015, p. 1), as these sites have restructured how society interacts on a daily basis. Consider the psychosocial effects of a deletion of 'friendship' on Facebook, an 'unfollow' on Instagram, or the dreaded 'seen zone' on Messenger: social media are affecting interpersonal relationships in the real world, and vice versa. Social life has a new home in the digital sphere, and with this comes a brand-new set of rules, regulations, and norms.

Digital platform interfaces encourage this social connection. The programming of social media has led to new coded languages, database functions, digital architectures, and a greater ability to provide analytics (boyd 2015, pp. 1-2). In 2018, Facebook altered its platform architecture to facilitate "meaningful social interaction" between users in a way that de-prioritises sponsored or branded content (Wong 2018, p. 1). Users will use digital platforms in a fluid way, and will have different experiences and interactions each time they log on (Miller et al. 2016, p. 195). However, these interactions are not limited to a singular platform. Social media users are "active on multiple platforms", and each platform

will require adaptations of content and practices due to its architecture (Highfield & Leaver 2016, p. 51). With some platforms – such as Facebook and Instagram – owned by the same parent company (Rodriguez 2019, p. 1), this interaction can be more integrated and consistent across different platforms. For Fringe marketers, the ability to have cross-over interaction within brand communities can serve to strengthen parasocial relationships between audiences and brands, as constant communication and interactivity leads to audiences thinking that the festival brand is "listening and responding directly to [them]" (Labreque 2014, p. 136).

The shifts that social media platforms have caused extend beyond the social realm. Industries such as journalism, visual media, research, and technological development have all been affected by the changes brought about by social media platforms. The ease of access to social media has caused a power shift away from massive media conglomerates and privately owned companies controlling these spheres – particularly with journalism and content creation – to smaller media start-up companies, publicly created content, and blogging that relies on user generated content (Hausmann & Poellmann 2013, p. 144). Social media users are contributing to this new form of user generated digital news content by using tools such as micro-blogging site Twitter (Marwick 2013, p. 206). As mobile technologies and social media platforms began to become especially prominent in the mid-to-late-2000s, "social media emerged as the new paradigm for connecting to information, people, and ideas" (boyd 2015, p. 2). Fundamentally altering the way that we communicate, social media platforms allow users the affordance to access information and social connections at the touch of a button, anytime, anywhere (Labreque 2014, p. 134). These rapid technological developments have meant that social media now dominate a new type of social life that is rooted in the digital sphere (Miles 2017, p. 2). Considering this, social media have become an influential phenomenon within the marketing sphere and have altered how marketers strategise their traditionally outbound strategies (Leigh & Thompson 2012, p. 317).

Digital technologies are continually and "fundamentally changing consumer behaviour" (Belk 2013, p. 479), and marketers can now listen to their consumers online in a way previously impossible (Nisar & Whitehead 2016, p. 744). The traditional one-way communication of broadcast marketing has been challenged by digital media, and social media open the lines of communication so that marketers and consumers can interact directly with one another (Leigh & Thompson 2012; Labreque 2014). Consumers are now turning to digital platforms for information and updates about brands (Nisar & Whitehead 2016, p. 743), as well as to form opinions about brands (Gretry et al. 2017, p. 77). Social media have changed how organisations can brand themselves in a wider market (Fournier, Breazeale

& Fetscherin 2012, p. 1), particularly in regard to the humanisation of their brands through the process of anthropomorphism, which is discussed below in section 2.4.2.

Social media assist in eCommerce, providing advertising platforms for organisations to leverage in creating revenue and increasing brand awareness (Ho & Wang 2015; Nisar & Whitehead 2016). Due to this, social media have altered consumer behaviour, and consumers devote one third of their time online to engaging with a brand on social media (Ho & Wang 2015, p. 2). As social media platforms are "'user-centered' as opposed to 'message-centered' technologies" (Ashley & Tuten 2015, p. 15), communications from brands must be specifically tailored to, and engaging for, the user. This challenges "the conventional notion that 'content is king'" (Gretry et al. 2017, p. 84), and suggests that instead that it is how a message is conveyed to consumers that will primarily engage users online. Additionally, marketers can listen to their audience using digital analytics, which are now available free of charge on many prominent platforms. In this way, marketers can "take advantage" of consumers' online activity, using this data to understand more about their particular consumer base (Nisar & Whitehead 2016, p. 744). Social media "digitize formerly ephemeral pieces of information" (Marwick 2013, p. 206), and analytical tools built into the platforms allow user interactions and behaviours to be quantified, studied, and leveraged for commercial gain. Marketers can make use of social media for "interpersonal, informational, and promotional" purposes (Thompson et al. 2018, p. 237), and develop relationships with consumers in new, more engaging ways.

However, the increased use of digital media leaves marketers open to a number of brand vulnerabilities. As a brand's social media use and engagement increase, so do the expectations of consumers – they expect greater engagement at all times (Labreque 2014, p. 134). Additionally, marketers are at the whim of negative eWOM, and excessive negative eWOM can cause a public relations nightmare and be detrimental to a brand and its relationship with consumers (Leigh & Thompson 2012; Nisar & Whitehead 2016). Marketers must have a firm grasp on the digital landscape in order to make effective use of the technologies and avoid any negative impacts on the brand (Labreque 2014, p. 134). This includes an understanding of both the affordances and constraints of each platform (Thompson et al. 2018, p. 237), and of how to communicate digitally with consumers in a timely and appropriate manner, "leaving the sledgehammer approach to product promotion at home" (Nisar & Whitehead 2016, p. 745). Therefore, whilst digital media provide a number of affordances for marketers, it is also important to understand that there are risks for brands that rely too heavily on digital media, and that marketers must be savvy in understanding digital technologies.

2.3.2 Social Media & The Social World

As the name suggests, social media offer opportunities for social connection, and provide "the ability to develop and maintain [users'] social spheres in interactive, multi-media rich online environments" (Buglass et al. 2017, p. 3). Within these digital social spaces, communication is "instant, ubiquitous, and mobile" (Donath & boyd 2004, p. 71). The use of digital platforms necessitates contribution on the part of the user in the form of creating online identities or profiles (Jordan 2015, p. 122). This requires users to provide personal information, images, and indications of existing social connections. As a social media platform "wants your friends to find you", it encourages users to give up accurate information that aligns with their real-world identities (Jordan 2015, p. 122; 127).

However, because digital identities are "mutable and unanchored by the body" (Donath & boyd 2004 p. 73), users are able to construct online personas that are different to their real-world selves. This can be done either in a way that resembles catfishing (creating a false identity online to deceive another person), or in a less-insidious way, where users can be ideal versions of themselves. Online identities can be unreliable and malleable, as they are constructed without the social checks that exist in real-world interaction (Donath & boyd 2004, p. 73). Construction of a digital identity occurs through platform interfaces, where imagery, written word, and other forms of media are used to create a "fuller reflection" of themselves (Belk 2013, p. 477). By creating virtual versions of the self, social media use becomes an "affirmation-seeking" exercise, where users see comments, sharing, and interactions with identity-driven content as reaffirming for self-esteem and reflective of real-world social skills and connections (Belk 2013, p. 484).

Once users have created their online identity – within the constraints of platform architecture – they must continually share content to become a part of online communities and networks. As social media are information-sharing platforms where people can form groups and connect with existing – if dispersed – social networks, digital communities can rapidly expand and hold influence (Boulianne 2014, p. 525). New conversations - often ones that are in-depth and last longer than face-to-face discussions - are able to influence networks and bring like-minded people together in a way that was not possible prior to digital networked media (Przybylski et al. 2013, p. 1841). Digital social interaction gives the appearance of social connection without the same spatial or temporal commitments (Miller et al. 2016, p. 195), yet these interactions can be more intimate, and more open with the information that is being shared than is typical with face-to-face or acquaintance-based social interaction (Belk 2013, p. 484). For this reason, creating an affirmation-driven identity on social media can be an emotional and difficult task, as the notion of being in a "virtual panopticon" (Belk 2013, p. 487) leads to behaviour

being shaped by existing societal structures and social networks. As Jordan states: “How does one exist in a [digital] social network? By being seen and read by a network of others” (2015, p. 128).

Social media have created “the new paradigm for connecting” in the 21st century (boyd 2015, p. 2), and are a key component of the virtual and physical social landscapes within Western society (Jordan 2015, p. 120). Jordan believes that smaller offline communities have moved online and become larger overlapping ones, where individuals can move freely and “act on their own” without as many pressures as in the real world (2015, p. 122). Within this movement are greater opportunities for individual freedom, but to achieve these requires effort on the part of the user to ensure that digital social networks are maintained and satisfied (Jordan 2015, p. 122). This process of networked individualism means that users form looser social connections online, but with a greatly expanded network. In order to facilitate these connections, users will naturally incur a loss of privacy to create their network, and Jordan sees this as “bargaining with the devil” (2015, p. 23). In this individualistic view of social networking, users will often construct digital communications to attract the attention of certain networks, particularly on sites such as LinkedIn, which are used to facilitate action or connection offline. In order to do this, users will create a view of their imagined audience, and act and speak accordingly (boyd 2007, p. 3).

Though users will approach social media from an individual perspective, they are acting within new networked publics, which are spaces that have been “restructured by networked technologies” (Jordan 2015, p. 124). A “collective that emerges as a result of the intersection of people, technology, and practice” (Jordan 2015, p. 124), networked publics have grown to be more expansive than the idea of a public previously allowed. The very ideas of public and private have shifted due to digital networked technologies (boyd 2007, p. 1), and through social media sharing networks have become “complex and substantial” (Jordan 2015, p. 129). Publics that are networked become environments where people can gather online through the use of digital networked technologies, and this process regulates society in new ways (boyd 2007, p.2). The alteration of how publics gather – and how individuals act and interact within these publics – is complicated through the use of digital technologies, but boyd states that, in many ways, users need to come to terms with this, as digital technologies are here to stay (2007, p. 7).

The alterations in how people gather together and approach social life have also affected how people interact with brands. Digital technologies have given rise to new business models and ways of connecting with consumers (boyd 2015, p. 2) in what Jordan terms ‘communicative capitalism’ (2015, p. 133). Here, the user-value of technologies has been translated to an exchange-value through various

commodification practices. Marketers can use these technologies, and the new space of consumerism that they enable, to incite fear of missing out (FOMO) in consumers. FOMO is defined by the "desire to stay continually connected with what others are doing" (Przybylski et al. 2013, p. 1841). Marketers can use social media to try to make consumers feel as though they are missing out on something fundamental and exciting, in order to entice them want to be involved with the brand, product, or service that they are attempting to market. Creating a sense of FOMO online can be detrimental to consumers' mental health, as FOMO is intended to make consumers feel pressure to keep up, and any happiness that one feels from consumption as a result of FOMO is fleeting (Miller et al. 2016, pp. 200-202).

Increased interactions with brands on social media that incite FOMO in a consumer have been linked with higher levels of anxiety and a negative psychological state, as well as an increase in "online vulnerability" (Buglass et al. 2017, p. 3). Przybylski et al. (2013) link increased social media use with increases in levels of FOMO, and decreases in levels of general happiness and satisfaction (p. 1842). Additionally, Buglass et al.'s research indicates that levels of self-confidence and self-esteem drop with increased social media use and increased FOMO (2017, p. 17). This creates a state of social surveillance, where consumers can both see and be seen, and can lead users into a spiral of behaviour, where consumers increase spending behaviour in the hopes of alleviating negative feelings (Miller et al. 2016; Buglass et al. 2017). However, Buglass et al. also highlight the potential for positive outcomes of inciting FOMO, including the use of online communities to increase support and self-esteem, or to increase participation in social causes (2017, p. 3). Whether a response is positive or negative, FOMO can actively help to build a brand relationship through inciting action and aligning use of the brand with potential future happiness; engaging audiences to actively participate in a festivalscape by positioning a brand as essential to the festival – and wider social and community existence – is part of the core aim for Fringe marketing strategies: creating brand-audience relationships that strengthen year-on-year.

2.4 Building Brand Relationships

Creating or contributing to a brand is a core goal of any marketing campaign. Branding develops an organisation's unique image in a market and aims to positively distinguish a company from its competitors (Nisar & Whitehead 2016, p. 746). Marketers must often cultivate their brand through both short- and long-term strategic campaigns and aim to have widespread brand awareness among consumers in a market (Thompson et al. 2018, p. 236). This process is known as brand management, and is "focussed on establishing identity, positioning, and marketing actions" (Thompson et al. 2018, p. 237) and solidifying and developing consumer-brand relationships (p. 238). The core goal of branding is

no longer to simply sell a product, but also to build consumer-brand relationships and ensure long-term consumer loyalty (Nisar & Whitehead 2016, p. 743). Due to this, brands are intangible yet important assets that have great value to an organisation (Thompson et al. 2018, p. 235).

As yet, there is no static definition of, or single way to obtain, brand loyalty in consumers. However, consumers are "more likely to depend on brands more in the online environment than in the offline" (Nisar & Whitehead 2016, p. 745). Thompson et al. (2018) believe that brand loyalty is obtained when consumers have a heightened knowledge and awareness of a brand and are able to identify with a brand's personality; this process occurs over time and can lead to repeat purchasing and long-term brand engagement (Thompson et al. 2018, p. 236). Jain et al. (2017, p. 65) define brand loyalty as "attachment/feelings toward a brand and company" that is shaped through both "behavioural and attitudinal response towards a brand over time". Nisar & Whitehead (2016, p. 745) develop definitions of these two separate elements of brand loyalty, terming "behavioural loyalty" as when consumers actively choose a particular brand when purchasing, and "attitudinal loyalty" as the feelings and emotional connections consumers have towards a brand. However, in their eyes, Nisar and Whitehead see 'true' brand loyalty as when "a consumer keeps interacting with a specific brand and becomes loyal to that company" over extended periods of time (2016, pp. 745-746).

Central to brand loyalty and consumer-brand relationships is a sense of trust, where consumers have a "perceived predictability of a brand's behaviour" and are familiar and comfortable in their interaction with a brand (Gretry et al. 2017, pp. 78-79). Consumers enjoy a feeling of familiarity with a brand, and trust is formed when consumers feel aligned with a brand's ethos (Nisar & Whitehead 2016, p. 751). A familiarity with, and understanding of, a brand and its products is necessary to create a trusting consumer-brand relationship and trust is "a basic need of customers" when they are making purchasing decisions (Jain et al. 2017, pp. 64-65). Brands can gain consumer trust by lowering the perceived risks for their customers, and once marketers earn that trust they can begin to form a consumer-brand relationship (Jain et al. 2017, p. 66). Earning a consumer's trust is a fundamental building block for a consumer-brand relationship, which creates a connection with a consumer's personal identity (Gretry et al. 2017, p. 78). Whilst creation of positive consumer-brand relationships can be initially challenging as they are constantly evolving, strong brand relationships can ensure that consumers remain loyal to a brand for years, and can increase a brand's reach through positive word of mouth (Fournier, Breazeale & Fetscherin 2012, p. 1; 10).

Brand relationships are “founded on meanings that resonate personally and culturally” with consumers (Fournier, Breazeale & Fetscherin 2012, p. 10). In this way, consumer-brand relationships are ego-centric, and “are of great significance to the persons engaging them” (Hudson et al. 2016, p. 29). The creation of a consumer-brand relationship is a “win-win” situation, as whilst the consumer gains satisfaction from purchasing goods and interacting with a brand, marketers are able to gain insights into their customer base and use these for future campaigns (Hudson et al. 2016, p. 28). Consumers can gain social recognition and enhancement, entertainment value, economic benefits, and practical and informational needs from brand relationships through both active and passive participation within a brand community (Ho & Wang 2015, pp. 4-5). Consumers who feel as though they can personally engage with a brand on an ego-based level are more likely to continue that engagement in a longer-term relationship.

The perceived alignment of a consumer’s identity and a brand’s identity assists in the consumer-brand relationship creation process. Brands that have an identity or a personality often have a “set of human characteristics associated with [them]” (Swaminathan & Dommer 2012, p. 16). Here, marketers are brand curators who develop and manage the brand personality over their tenure of employment, taking responsibility of marketers to retain authority over the brand (Leigh & Thompson 2012, p. 317), and to “evoke a certain personality, presence, and product or service in consumers’ minds” (Thompson et al.. 2018, p. 235). Research by Swaminathan & Dommer (2012) has indicated that when consumers feel a connection between their (self-perceived) identity, and the identity of a brand they are engaging with, a positive connection will be created (p. 21). As consumers use brand engagement as a form of self-expression through the process of “extending the self” through consumerism, marketers should aim to connect with overarching elements of their consumers’ identities (Swaminathan & Dommer 2012, p. 20). At times, brands may link with consumer identities through sponsorship, or the use of celebrities and social media influencers who are aligned with similar interests, causes, or attributes that the brand identity possesses (Leigh & Thompson 2012, p. 326).

When connecting with a brand’s identity on an interpersonal level, consumers can become part of a brand community. Brand communities can be both virtually and geographically located (Leigh & Thompson 2012, p. 333), and these communities form in a similar way to those within the social realm (Leigh & Thompson 2012, p. 318). Being a part of a brand community that aligns with their current or aspirational personal identity can also assist in building consumers’ self-esteem (Swaminathan & Dommer 2012, p. 22). Rather than creating a business-to-consumer relationship where communication is on an individual level, communities form around a brand in a way that the brand becomes a topic of

conversation or avenue of connection between separate sets of consumers (Leigh & Thompson 2012, p. 329). Adelaide Fringe's Fringe Membership Program is an example of this, where consumers come together as part of the Fringe Membership program (Adelaide Fringe 2020, p. 1) to share festival recommendations, participate in members-only events, and discuss the festivalscape with each other. Being a part of a brand community deepens the connection that consumers have with a brand, and so whilst the brand may not be directly communicating with a consumer, there are still valuable relationship-building practices occurring.

Consumer-brand relationships are theoretically conceptualised as being congruent with interpersonal relationships, with the key difference being the exchange of goods and financial capital (Swaminathan & Dommer 2012, p. 15). Consumers create relationships similar to friendships with brands and navigate their brand relationships according to their pre-existing knowledge of interpersonal relations (Swaminathan & Dommer 2012, p. 17). Marketing theorist Susan Fournier's research on brand relationships, discussed below in section 2.4.1, was the one of the first works to actively and succinctly align brand relationships with attributes of interpersonal relationships. Consumers align with brands and form relationships dependent on their "personal and social goals" and may create several different relationships with a brand over the course of their lifetime (Swaminathan & Dommer 2012, p. 23). Labreque (2014) believes that the parasocial relationships that are intrinsic within consumer-brand relationships assist with creating a sense of 'friendship' with a brand, where consumers feel like a part of a group or brand community (p. 136).

Parasocial relationships are an "illusionary experience", where consumers interact with brands as though they had the personae of humans, and as if the consumer was in a reciprocal relationship with the brand (Labreque 2014, p. 135). Consumers feel as though communications are directly tailored to them, and that brands speak back (Labreque 2014, p. 135). Indeed, when brands listen to consumers – or, are perceived to be listening – intense parasocial connections can be formed between consumer and brand (Labreque 2014, p. 145). Parasocial relationships and interpersonal relationships that consumers form with brands are the key to maintaining long-term, trusting brand relationships, and for festival brands, which sell intangible goods and cultural experiences, the creation of a consumer-brand relationship that feels interpersonal and interactive is of importance.

Due to the experiential nature of festivals and the arts, audiences will often create parasocial relationships with brands. Festivals are often tied in with social experiences, as well as a feeling of being a part of a larger organism. For audiences, it is a risk to engage in a relationship with any festival

brand, and to do so is often indicative of personal traits or beliefs, as consumer choices are often seen as an indicator of personal values (Preece & Wiggins Johnson 2011, p. 22). Experience and trust are key factors when creating festival brand relationships. When participating with a festival brand, audiences become "prosumers", where they have an equal stake in engaging with a brand as the brand itself (Hausmann 2012, p. 174). Creating relationships with festivals is a mutually beneficial exercise, and marketers must keep this in mind when creating their strategy (McDonald 2000, p. 63).

2.4.1 Fournier's Brand Relationship Theory

Susan Fournier's 1998 work *Consumers and their Brands* reshaped how marketing academics conceptualise the relationships that consumers have with particular services, products, or brands. Bringing together research from the marketing, psychology, and anthropology fields, Fournier's initial framework of understanding has been applied to a number of industries, including festivals, to understand the deep emotional connections that consumers have with brands. For this reason, Fournier's research is used as a theoretical framework within this project.

Fournier argues that brands serve as "viable relationship partners", contributing to a long-lasting relationship that is "valid at the level of lived experience" (1998, p. 344). Both brand and consumer must play an equal role in (re)negotiating a brand relationship, allowing it room to evolve with changing consumer and marketplace needs (Fournier 1998, p. 344). In this way, the brand relationships take on the characteristics of interpersonal relationships: they are relationships that involve a reciprocal exchange between two active parties. Relationships that provide meaning and value to those within them take place across many different areas of one's life, and are able to change over time (Fournier 1998, p. 344). Purposive brand relationships that add benefit to consumers' lives and "reinforce self-concept…self-worth and self-esteem" are powerful (Fournier 1998, pp. 345-346). Consider the pride of consumers when using eco-friendly products, or cosmetics that are not tested on animals – the alignment with a brand becomes combined with a delicate sense of self-understanding. Within this "psycho-social-cultural context" (Fournier 1998, p. 345), brands can become sources of social currency or self-pride.

To achieve a meaningful brand relationship with a consumer, a brand must be "animated, humanised, or somehow personalised", and must be anthropomorphised to take on human personality traits (Fournier 1998, p. 344). Brands can achieve this through the use of several strategic approaches, such as the use of celebrities or other well-known personalities as spokespeople, or by creating a mascot or logo that is imbued with a sense of humanity (Fournier 1998, p. 345). The use of brand ambassadors,

who are not directly involved with advertising campaigns but endorse the brand through personal use or profiling on other channels, is another way that brands can be aligned with human values (Fournier 1998, p. 345). In *Consumers and their Brands*, Fournier examines the relationships that three participants of varying ages and backgrounds have with homeware or homemaking brands, and how the use of these brands aligns with their personal values and how they aim to live their lives (Fournier 1998, pp. 348-359). These relationships change over time according to shifts within the participants' lives and identities, which was a primary finding in Fournier's research. The need to align with the emotional, human side of the consumer was evident within Fournier's data – if the three participants felt as though a brand aligned with what they needed in life overall, and they were happy to use it for the majority of their lives.

In a symbiotic relationship, the marketing practitioners who control a brand can affect a consumer's concept of themselves over time (Fournier 1998, p. 359). Consumers can align with brands that enable "projects of identity exploration, construction, and pronouncement" (Fournier 1998, p. 359). This includes aligning with brands that they see as congruent to their social worlds, as well as with the ideal self that consumers want to become, personally, socially, and emotionally. Brand relationships are not simply created because consumers like the product or service itself, but also to "benefit from the meanings they add into their lives" (Fournier 1998, p. 361). Creating a sense of meaning helps bind the consumer to the brand in an intimate way, where to endorse a brand is to promote an element of themselves and their personalities. In this way, "consumers do not choose *brands*, they choose *lives*" (Fournier 1998, p. 367).

Fournier asserts that brand relationships are more impactful and potent with female customers, as the "feminine identity is structured and sustained by themes of connectedness and relationality" (Fournier 1998, p. 367). Women feel a need to connect with ideas, people, and social causes to a greater extent than men, and Fournier quotes gender studies research that indicates that both women's connections to brands, goods, and services are stronger than those created by men (1998, p. 367). Women are also more likely to see alignment with certain brands as an outward expression of their identity, as "they emerge as key agents of social change through their dealings in the ordinary world of brand consumption" (Fournier 1998, p. 367).

Fournier's work succinctly brings together existing research in psychology, marketing, and social sciences to create an understanding of why consumers require, create, and actively contribute to brand relationships. Creating "preliminary frameworks for the execution, refinement, and extension" of building

consumer-brand relationships, Fournier's research is utilised in arts and festivals marketing academia to examine the relationships that audiences form with arts organisations. As emotion, connection, and self-identification are at the centre of the consumer-brand relationship, creating these relationships can benefit those arts organisations that survive on developing and retaining relationships with their audiences.

Marketers can leverage a brand relationship by evolving it over time, offering new and exciting experiences, and further encouraging consumers to make the brand a part of their social identity, primarily through the use of FOMO. As "relationship partners", brands must incentivise consumers to continue aligning the brand as part of their self-identification process, and must also attempt to control this process. This task falls on the shoulders of marketing teams, who attempt to control the brand, the channels that the brand is disseminated through, and how the brand is seen and spoken about in the greater market. This is a more difficult task in festival environments, which are constrained by time and resources, and are more deeply tied to emotional and experiential factors than goods or other services.

2.4.2 Digital Media & Brand Relationships

As established above, forming brand relationships that are emotionally-driven, consistently reinforced, and open to evolution is not only a key exercise for festival brands, but is also valuable to marketing any product or service. Because of the need to be ever-present, many marketers are shifting their strategies to incorporate greater use of digital media platforms to construct brand relationships with consumers (Hudson et al. 2016, p. 28). These technologies provide the opportunity to be omnipresent in a range of spaces within social communities. Digital media have permeated daily life for many consumers, and social media platforms have provided avenues for greater brand engagement. Labreque states that the interactivity of web 2.0 technologies assists brands in creating relationships with their consumers (2014, p. 136), and the more active consumers are with brands digitally, the stronger a brand relationship – and chances of repurchasing and creating positive word of mouth – will be (Jain et al.. 2017, p. 7). Because of this, the use of digital media to strengthen brand relationships has become common practice within marketing strategies in a range of industries, including the arts and festivals.

Marketing strategies are more effective when communications are a two-way process "built on trust and transparency" (Hede 2013, p. 152). In an experiential environment such as a festivalscape, this is especially important. When interacting digitally, consumers respond better to communications that appear more genuine. These consumers will demonstrate brand loyalty and trust through consistent

digital engagement, positive commenting, eWOM, and repeated online and physical purchasing (Ho & Wang 2015; Jain et al. 2017). As marketers are now able to better integrate marketing messaging into the daily lives of their consumers, digital media can be used to create stronger brand relationships that align with their lives and personal values through increased online engagement (Thompson et al. 2018, p. 237). Strengthening brand relationships online is a long term strategy (Thompson et al. 2018, p. 237) that requires marketers to put in great deal of effort to facilitate (Ho & Wang 2015, p. 12).

Brand relationships that are enhanced through the use of digital media are more effective when using the technique of anthropomorphism, or the attribution of a human form or behaviour to entities that are not human (Hudson et al. 2016, p. 29). Anthropomorphism of a brand's social media leads to greater quality within the brand relationship, and this is enhanced further if the process of anthropomorphism occurs prior to a consumer's online engagement with a brand (Hudson et al. 2016, pp. 37-38). Anthropomorphism occurs in two stages: in the first 'analogical' stage, a brand may not yet have strictly human characteristics, but has begun to gain the trust of the consumer. In the second 'additional' stage, the brand has gone a step further to give the perception of the brand as having human traits, and this triggers social and behavioural responses from consumers (Hudson et al. 2016, p. 30). This second stage assists in creating the illusion of an interpersonal relationship between brand and consumer (p. 30), and often this is constructed through the use of informal language in digital communications (Gretry et al. 2017, p. 77). Gretry et al. (2017) believe that the adage of 'content is king' is challenged in the digital sphere, with *how* something is said almost becoming more important than *what* is said (p. 84).

However, Gretry et al. caution against the overuse of informal language, stating that there is no academic evidence to suggest this is the best way to communicate; additionally, in some cases consumers expect more formal language to be used, at least in their first exposure to a brand's communications (2017, p. 78; 84). The process of anthropomorphism can only be achieved with commitment by marketers to consistently maintain a social media presence, and for all marketers within a team to commit to a particular tone of voice over various platforms (Hudson et al. 2016, p. 34). However, there is evidence to suggest that with this commitment anthropomorphism on digital communications can lead to higher brand engagement and trust (Hudson et al. 2016, p. 32), and that the more consumers can identify with a brand on a personal level, the greater the brand relationship will be (Ho & Wang 2015, p. 2).

Marketers must be cautious in utilising digital media, particularly social media, within their brand strategy. If the creation of a positive and meaningful consumer-brand relationship is imperative to maintain repeat business, marketers must refrain from relying too heavily on platform automation technologies, such as automated replies, scheduled posting, and working off a company-driven script (Labreque 2014, p. 135). Marketers also need to create different strategies for each platform, as each has its nuances (Thompson et al. 2018, p. 247). Overreliance on digital technologies also leaves a brand at risk of exposure to negative word of mouth, which can spread rapidly on social media (Hudson et al. 2016; Gretry et al. 2017). In a similar way, bombardment of messaging on digital media can incur negative word of mouth, as consumers may tire of, or be frustrated by, constant messaging (Hudson et al. 2016, p. 38). In a festivalscape, negative word of mouth can severely affect a brand's reputation, which in a fast-moving environment can be detrimental to the season, and to its long-term future.

Consumers are very aware of sponsored content or other advertisements online and are resistant to it (Gretry et al. 2017, p. 78). Jain et al.. caution marketers to not rely solely on digital media, as consumers may be loyal offline but not online, and vice versa (2017, p. 7). For this reason, a varied marketing mix is best for strategic marketing, as the use of multiple media and consumer touchpoints ensures saturation within a market and selected audience segments. Creating digital brand relationships is a time-consuming process, as digital technologies are "always there, constantly evolving, and perpetually generating forward momentum", and require consistent monitoring for both audiences and marketers (Preece & Wiggins Johnson 2011, p. 23). Creating a digital brand relationship requires a temporal investment for both audiences and marketers, and if audiences feel as though the investment is not a positive or effective one, they will switch off from content quickly (Hede 2013, p. 155).

2.4.3 Creating Brand Relationships between Festivals & Audiences

Creating relationships between audiences and festivals is an important exercise for marketers, but it is not an easy one. Audiences bring a range of factors into their festivals experiences, which makes them hard to control or predict (Botha, Viviers & Slabbert 2012, p. 23). Festivals have been termed "difficult brands" due to a number of factors: their intangibility as a product, the emotional and experiential nature of the audience experience, and the "psychological and sociological investment" that audiences have in a festival brand (Harrison & Hartley 2007, p. 286). When audiences make emotional investments in festival brands, they often receive social, cultural, and emotional benefits in return. Due to this, the choice of which festival to support and interact with is an important one for audiences, as they approach these festival brands as "extensions of themselves" (Harrison & Hartley 2007, p. 287).

The festival brands often evoke a sense of community and belonging (Harrison & Hartley 2007, p. 287). Audiences can find it difficult to choose which festivals or content they will interact with, and once they make an investment in a festival they will tend to stick to one genre, artist, or area (Markusen & Brown 2014, p. 868). Therefore, once audiences form a connection with a festival brand, the connection is often strong as it is related to deeply personal factors that resonate with who audiences are at their core. Knowing this, marketers can use this information and leverage it to promote certain content or keep audiences invested in the festival.

Marketers must work to create this connection in order to retain audiences over longer periods of time. Additionally, it is never guaranteed that audiences will completely enjoy their festivals experience every single time they attend, and this can damage a brand relationship. To mitigate this, marketers can create a "persistent presence" and "small worlds" within communications, and a range of digital media platforms can be used to do this (Preece & Wiggins Johnson 2011, pp. 21-23). Much of the research detailed above about the importance of creating interpersonal and parasocial relationships between consumers and brands is applicable within a festival context. For example, the creation of festival brand communities can not only help promote a festival brand through positive word of mouth – which artists thrive on – but can also translate offline into the social realm. By interacting within a festivalscape, audiences become members of that festival's brand community, and create a social bond and a "consciousness of kind" with fellow brand admirers (Leigh & Thompson 2012, p. 333). This consciousness of kind not only creates bonds between audiences themselves, but also creates parasocial relationships between the audiences and festival by shaping communities around brands and festival experiences.

Digital media allow for "engagement and collaboration" on a scale not seen previously (Hudson & Hudson 2013, p. 207). As engagement, trust, and experience are at the core of brand relationships, the constant presence of digital and social media aids the "development of brand communities where collaboration among members creates specific, or linking, value" (Hede 2013, p. 151). Not only do digital media open up opportunities for collaboration that marketers can leverage, they enable audiences and other consumers to facilitate interactions not previously possible, particularly from a customer service standpoint (Hudson & Hudson 2013, p. 206). Audiences have access to greater amounts of information and are able to gather this information from multiple sources, and in this way social and digital media have "fundamentally changed the consumer decision process" (Hudson & Hudson 2013, p. 206). Here, the mutual benefit of an "open-ended" digital brand relationship becomes evident (Hudson & Hudson 2013, p. 210): consumers have greater access to information, and

marketers are able to leverage the consumer's desire for this information by continually feeding the information they specifically want available to the public. Marketers are able to manipulate the information consumers receive, but ultimately consumers have power by deciding which brands they will engage with online.

The use of digital media – particularly social media, which allow marketers an avenue to interact directly with their audience base – assists in creating communities throughout a festival's run as well as year-round. Thompson et al. state that this consistent annual engagement is crucial for arts brands to captivate and keep their audiences (2018, p. 252). Audiences often create worlds where arts consumption enables the "forging of social bonds that extend beyond the performance event" (Preece & Wiggins Johnson 2011, p. 22). These can be created in both digital and physical spaces. Festival venues in particular are small worlds that are closely tied to the social worlds of festival communities (Markusen & Brown 2014, p. 868), and these communities will have "deeply-seated emotional feelings about arts spaces" due to their past experiences within them (Markusen & Brown 2014, p. 871). Festivals audiences are able to feel as though they are a part of the experience through frequent informational and behind-the-scenes updates on various social media platforms (Thompson et al. 2018, p. 252). Audiences seek an exciting, personal, and satisfying experience when they interact with brands within a festivalscape, and marketers have the primary challenge of ensuring that audiences' needs are met, whilst also maintaining that positive experience and positive brand relationship with consumers in each festival.

For festivals, brand relationships and brand loyalty cannot be measured in repeat purchasing as other products and services can – instead, they can be measured on repeat engagement, over a number of different events, communications channels, or overall word of mouth, both on- and off-line (Harrison & Hartley 2007, p. 286). Digital channels can assist in increasing overall engagement – and therefore overall brand loyalty and strengthen brand relationships – by creating consistent engagement online and keeping audiences invested by continually promoting festival content that audiences can access anytime, anywhere. For Fringe marketers – whose job it is to continually develop engagement with, and loyalty to, their brand – digital media provide the platforms to create connections with their audiences that last long after the festival itself is over. Before outlining the results of the exploration of marketing within the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringe festivalscapes, Chapter 3 below outlines the methodology for this research.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

This chapter discusses the methodology and data collection utilised for this study to examine the rationale and thought processes behind digital strategies used to engage with audiences in the Adelaide Fringe and Edinburgh Fringe landscapes. I begin by establishing the basis of 'curiosity' rather than hypothesis within the design, and outline key research aims and areas of interest. After describing my ethnographic research design, I outline the specific methods used for data collection, processes of data interpretation, and ethical considerations within this research.

This study's qualitative ethnographic approach differs from a number of other research designs commonly used in festivals marketing studies. These are often quantitatively-based (for example: Park, Kee & Valenzuela 2009; Ho & Wang 2015; Hudson et al. 2016), and analyse digital or survey data to determine the type, and success, of digital marketing strategies within festivalscapes. As this research sought to establish a sense of context behind on-the-ground, intuitive decision-making by industry professionals, a quantitative approach was deemed to be inappropriate.

In this and subsequent chapters, I will be using the first person to discuss various aspects of this study, particularly in regard to the research design. This practice is common within ethnography, and I have chosen to do so in order to create transparency and reflect my personal experience within the two festivalscapes, whilst acknowledging and attempting to mitigate any personal bias in analysis. As researcher bias is ever-present to some degree within all ethnographic research, the use of the first person helps to highlight this in an effort to increase reliability in research (Holloway, Brown & Shipway 2010, p. 82). In some chapters, I have formatted my personal experiences differently to other parts of this thesis in an attempt to increase transparency about what is my lived experience as opposed to theoretical analysis or the experiences of participants.

3.1 Research Aims

The overall aim of this study was to explore processes of decision-making in the creation and engagement of marketing strategies within the Adelaide Fringe and Edinburgh Fringe festivalscapes. From this broad aim, a number of areas of interest were considered, before narrowing the focus to more specifically explore how digital marketing techniques were used within an overall marketing mix, and to ask, at the heart of it, "why?" and "to what end?" are these techniques used.

To begin, a key aim was to examine the festivalscapes themselves from an academic context, and to understand key stakeholders, relationships, structures, organisations, and even power relations within

the festivalscapes. Creating a comprehensive modern understanding of these complex environments is something that has not yet, to my knowledge, been completed in academia, nor has a comparison of Adelaide and Edinburgh Fringe festivalscapes been recorded.

I aimed to explore the role of marketers within the festivalscapes, and how they attempt to sell a fickle, intangible brand with which most consumers have a unique relationship. Key here was to focus on the selling of overall brands, as opposed to individual shows or merchandise. I then narrowed this research to examine the use of digital media in marketing within the festivalscapes, aiming to understand their context within the communications mix and impact in the festivalscape as a whole.

As research developed, a new, secondary research aim became apparent: to understand how digital data – such as social media and eDirect Mail (eDM) analytics – influenced and altered strategies not only on a daily basis, but for future work. I wanted to speak with marketers to gauge how important this data was for them; this exploration arguably moves into the phenomenological field, but as this was a secondary aim, an overall ethnographic approach was used to achieve it.

On a personal note, as I approached this study from a mixed professional and academic background, it was a personal aim of mine to create a thesis that would benefit both industry and academic fields. This affected the choice of research methods to capture a more practical and on-the-ground perspective.

3.2 Methodological Framework

Arts festivals are complex, emotionally-charged environments. With a range of inter-connecting stakeholders that each demand their own particular gratification from festivalscapes, arts festivals, whilst emotionally and creatively enriched, are also chaotic and volatile. Fringe arts environments, with their open-access model, lack of censorship, and unrestricted programming, are even more mercurial and the relationships between stakeholders require greater attention and active engagement. In a similar way, digital media platforms are constantly changing, require consistent engagement from a range of parties, and involve personal connections that are emotionally charged. To explore the connections between these two unpredictable entities, and to understand the rationale and processes behind marketing, particularly in the digital sphere, within festivalscapes, in this research I take an ethnographic approach, utilising qualitative research techniques including interviews, participant observation, and textual analysis.

Qualitative research is typically used for "identification, description, and explanation", and "explores the meanings, variations, and perceptual experiences of phenomena" (Miller & Crabtree 1999, pp. 5-6). Qualitative research is reflexive, intuitive, and often conducted to establish context surrounding a particular environment, or community (Daymon & Holloway 2011, p. 7). Commonly used within social sciences, humanities, and psychological research, a qualitative design offers unique opportunities to understand a participant's perspective, lived experiences, and opinions (Jensen 2012, p. 285).

With a qualitative focus, ethnography is an "interdisciplinary research approach" commonly used within anthropology and the social sciences (Holloway, Brown & Shipway 2010, p. 24). An 'eclectic' methodology that involves situational research methods (Falzon 2009, p. 1), ethnography "enables researchers to explore both structures and interactions within their cultural context" (Holloway, Brown & Shipway 2010, p. 75). As ethnographic research design engages a range of methods within its framework, the breadth of data gathered is often extensive and multi-faceted, and can be overwhelming. Indeed, a core issue for the ethnographic researcher is the collection and collation of an overabundance of fieldwork and interview data, which may feel like an insurmountable task (Snow 1980, p. 105).

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) state that ethnography has been seen to have a naturalistic stance, as a core aim of ethnography is to observe a culture, community, or phenomenon in its natural environment (p. 7). However, as this study seeks to understand not only the overarching existing contexts of the festivalscapes, but also the perspectives and decision-making processes of marketers within those contexts, this research positions itself more in the field of cultural relativism, which focusses on the "perspectives and behaviour" of participants (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007, pp. 10-11). Approaching ethnography from a viewpoint of cultural relativism is an increasingly common practice, however as ethnography has no set framework per se – merely the core aim to explore human experience and participation within a particular environment (Bannister 1992; Glaser 1996) it can be difficult to concretely define. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) reiterate that being mindful of the various ways to construct an ethnographic research design is necessary for researchers.

When assessing appropriate methodological frameworks for this study, ethnography was chosen so that research could be conducted not on the basis of a concrete, measurable hypothesis, but instead with a curiosity or specific passion and interest in Fringe arts. This aligns with what Brewer terms as an inductive ethnographic approach, where the academic process commences without a central assumption or theory, but in a way that is 'discovery-based' (2000, p. 34). Strauss and Corbin describe

this inductive approach as one where "the researcher begins with an area of study, and allows the theory to emerge from the data (1998, p. 12). Within this inductive approach, it is prudent to use data to "derive concepts, themes, or a model through interpretations made from the raw data" (Thomas 2006, p. 238). This aligned with my approach to this study, and throughout fieldwork and further theoretical development, an inductive ethnographic approach – with its flexible and open design – presented me with a range of research opportunities that a rigid research structure may not have allowed.

Festivals are fluid, changeable entities. Jaimangal-Jones states that festivals and events are "fundamentally social constructions" that are "steeped in rituals, ceremonies, and symbolism which are highly significant and vested with meaning" (2014, p. 39). When applied to contemporary events, an ethnographic design can assist researchers to "construct a representation of the worlds in which [events] exist and interact" and to examine "both insider and outsider perspectives…to consider the entirety of the event experience" (Jaimangal-Jones 2014, p. 40). As festivals are events that are small pockets of culture played out over short but intense periods, an ethnographic approach that allows for a full-picture view of these festivalscapes helped me to gather large and varied amounts of data over a short amount of time.

There is precedent for engaging an ethnographic design for academic research in marketing, and indeed to examine consumer motivations in festival contexts. Elliot and Jankel-Elliot believe that ethnographic research in marketing "helps us to understand the symbolism and meanings of consumption behaviour" in a way that other research cannot (2003, p. 222). Holloway, Brown and Shipway state that previous research in the field has demonstrated the importance of ethnography in examining how marketing cycles influence consumer behaviour, particularly regarding "motivations for attending" events (2010, p. 76). Speaking more of a festivals context, Jaimangal-Jones states that ethnography can be used to examine the effectiveness of marketing strategies in changeable environments. This is increasingly important, as the effectiveness of marketing and public relations strategies within festivalscapes are "notoriously difficult to assess" (2014, p. 50).

3.2.1 Alternative & Previous Approaches to Research

In the early stages of research development, a mixed-methodological approach was considered. However, as the needs of the study progressed and evolved, it was appropriate to continue with a qualitative research design that would be exploratory, in-depth, and tailored to ascertaining a sense of context that could not be quantified using numerical data. Additionally, issues with planned quantitative resources – including data from a range of organisations – meant it proved difficult or impossible to

obtain; some participants were forbidden to disclose any quantitative data to this study, or felt uncomfortable doing so, even if initially confident that this data could be provided. Some independent data analysis was conducted; however, limitations in access and technological errors meant that this data was incomplete, and available only for one digital platform. For this reason, this data has been excluded from the analysis I report here to avoid inaccurate representation of organisational marketing 'success' on digital platforms.

Before deciding on an ethnographic approach, a phenomenological methodology was considered. As phenomenology focusses on individual, independent experience from the perspective of the participant through in-depth interviews (Daymon & Holloway 2011, p. 110), this was for a time to be the methodological framework used. However, after gaining a greater understanding of ethnography – particularly ethnography's focus on the community within its research design – it was determined that an ethnographic approach was an appropriate methodological choice. As an aim of this research is to understand the cultural and community contexts within the two festivalscapes, and then focus on a particular group of stakeholders within this community, selecting a methodology that allowed for this examination of a larger community ecosystem was determined to be the way to achieve the set aims. Additionally, ethnography's multi-method approach aligned with the methods that were preliminarily selected for use in this research. Were this research exploring the festival experience from the perspective of particular artists or producers, phenomenology may have been a more appropriate choice. Despite moving forward from an ethnographic perspective, due to phenomenology's close ties to ethnography, aspects of phenomenological design were incorporated into research preparation, including what Daymon and Holloway term the "endeavour to bracket [researcher's] own assumptions before delving into the lifeworld of participants" (2011, p. 110) and the utilisation of elements of thematic data interpretation (2011, p. 185).

3.3 Sampling

There are more than 250 Fringe arts festivals worldwide (World Fringe 2019), and each festival works within an open-access framework that encourages artists from a range of genres and disciplines to participate. Prior to participant recruitment, it was decided that the Adelaide Fringe and Edinburgh Fringe were the two festivalscapes to be included in this study. This was for two distinct reasons: primarily, that these two festivals are the two largest Fringe arts festivals in the world, with Edinburgh Fringe the largest performing arts festival in the Northern Hemisphere, and the Adelaide Fringe the largest performing arts festival in the Southern Hemisphere. Due to the collaborative partnership that was formed between the Edinburgh Fringe and the Adelaide Fringe with a Memorandum of

Understanding in 2016 (Brand SA 2016), it seemed a practical choice to include the Edinburgh Fringe within the sample. Additionally, this choice provided a practical course of action, as I permanently reside in Adelaide and have been attending the festival since my childhood; this allowed easier access to one of the festivals year-round, and ensured that content would be much easier to obtain. Due to economical and inter-personal reasons, I was unable to travel to other Fringe festivals outside of the outlined sample, and so the sample was decided as the Adelaide and Edinburgh festivalscapes.

In line with common sampling techniques in ethnography, the sample for this research was purposive and logical (Daymon & Holloway 2011, p. 153), although it is worth noting that Holloway, Brown and Shipway pose that in ethnography "all those involved in the scene" are considered a sample (2010, p. 77). Once the location sample had been chosen, the pool of potential participants was limited to those working within these two festivalscapes. A number of key organisations were identified, including the Edinburgh Fringe Society and the Adelaide Fringe, as well as hub venues and well-known producers. Larger venues were identified for the study as crucial participants, as these venues often hold higher overall percentages of programming within the festivalscapes, and their communications mixes are often larger, require greater engagement, and actively use digital technologies to a larger extent. Whilst smaller venues or lesser-known producers were not excluded from the sample, often potential participants in smaller entities were unable to assist or were unresponsive, as their workloads were greater due to the small marketing departments, limits in staffing, and financial budgets.

These restrictions in sampling did not immediately limit the potential diversity of the individual participants, as many festival marketers work on the 'festival circuit', completing short-term contracts and gaining experience in a number of areas within the arts industry – commonly ticketing, production, and arts administration. However, as participants would often refer me to their colleagues or peers, the sample ended as relatively skewed towards Australian, English, or Scottish marketers, as these participants often worked year-round or returned to their contracts annually, and were therefore more established within the festivalscapes than those completing once-off, seasonal contracts. This could potentially indicate a form of nepotism within the sample, but this snowball approach provided greater opportunities to gain the trust of potential participants as I, and my research, was vetted by people that they work with on a regular basis, and who are well known within the arts industries in each city.

3.3.1 Interview Participant Recruitment

As the research aims focus on marketers' use of digital technologies in festivals marketing, this naturally narrowed the sample to focus on marketers within the festivalscapes. As stated in section 2.1, arts marketers rely on stakeholders for funding, resources, and for contributions for brand recognition

(Suomi, Luonila & Tähtinen 2020, p. 211-212). Bearing this in mind, additional stakeholders such as producers, artists, media, other festival staff, or staff within other arts organisations in Adelaide and Edinburgh, were also recruited, primarily as their perspectives could contribute to the research outcomes. Consequently, some participants approached worked at other institutions such as the Edinburgh International Festival, Adelaide Festival Centre, and the Independent Arts Foundation of South Australia. From here, marketers were selected as the stakeholder group of choice for examination and analysis, as it was beyond the scope of this project to examine the perspectives of every active stakeholder within any festivalscape, as these stakeholders often include artists, producers, venues, festivals organisers, media, volunteers, a range of festival staff, and, of course, audiences - far too many perspectives to consider adequately within a doctoral research project.

Framing this research from the perspective of Fringe marketers provides a unique perspective that is not often explored within academia. Due to my own lived experience in the marketing profession, as well as my experience within a festival organisation (albeit in the Ticketing department), previous experience working with digital media both professionally and personally, and after an early investigation into existing research within festivalscapes, festival marketers were selected as the key stakeholder group to investigate as a research sample.

Within the organisations in the two chosen festivalscapes, it was necessary to select key informants to speak with in great depth to produce what Fetterman terms as a "cultural description" (2010, p. 4) of marketing within these festivalscapes. After establishing a location and organisational sample, the recruitment of a smaller sample of potential marketing-based interview participants flowed logically. Potential participants were often identified through profiles on their employer's websites, and were contacted via the generic email address featured on the website, through mutual connections, or through publicly-accessible LinkedIn pages. LinkedIn was chosen as an appropriate recruitment platform as the platform itself is marketed as aiming to "connect the world's professionals" (2019, p. 1), and contact was made only if the profiles were public. This proved to have only moderate success, as many of the generic emails or LinkedIn messages went unanswered.

A more effective method of recruitment in this research was to use a snowball sample, which relies on "personal recommendations by people whom [the new participant] knows the legitimacy of the researcher may be felt to be assured" (Bloch 2004, p.177). This allows researchers to enter cultural networks that may otherwise have been closed through existing participants. In the two festivalscapes in this study, professional networks are highly valued, and recruiting – or being invited to a networking

event by – a participant who is trusted or well-known in the industry more often than not led to further recruitment. Attendance at networking events proved to be invaluable, and invitations to these events followed a similar snowball fashion: the more events I was seen at, the more I was invited to, and my research was soon seen as increasingly legitimate within the industry.

My final interview sample was made up of 9 participants, with two from Edinburgh, and seven from Adelaide:

Ed Fringe Participant 1 (Also stylised as EFP1): Ed Fringe P1 worked as a venue Marketing Specialist in a venue during the 2018 Edinburgh Festival Fringe. They specialise in digital marketing and have been working in the festivals marketing industry for over a decade.

Ed Fringe Participant 2 (Also stylised as EFP2): Ed Fringe P2 worked as an organisation marketer during the 2018 Edinburgh Festival Fringe. With a background in tourism marketing, Ed Fringe P2 specialises in the use of digital media to engage audiences internationally as well as locally.

Adelaide Fringe Participant 1 (Also stylised as AFP1): Adelaide Fringe P1 has over a decade of experience working as a venue and organisation marketer within the Adelaide arts industry. They have a specialty in engaging audiences using traditional marketing mixes, and engaging audiences physically within arts spaces.

Adelaide Fringe Participant 2 (Also stylised as AFP2): Adelaide Fringe P2 has worked as a Digital Marketing Specialist for organisations within Adelaide's arts industry. They also have experience as a marketer in higher education, and strive to constantly conduct research into the latest digital marketing technologies, strategies, and regulations.

Adelaide Fringe Participant 3 (Also stylised as AFP3): Adelaide Fringe P3 worked as a Marketing and Publicity Strategist at a venue throughout the 2019 festival. They have worked in the arts and entertainment industry for over a decade and specialise in engaging and retaining audiences.

Adelaide Fringe Participant 4 (Also stylised as AFP4): Adelaide Fringe P4 worked as a Digital Marketing Manager for a venue during the 2019 Adelaide Fringe. They have experience in digital marketing for a range of industries, and specialise in connecting with audiences on an inter-personal level on digital media.

Adelaide Fringe Participant 5 (Also stylised as AFP5): Adelaide Fringe P5 has worked in politics, the arts, and the entertainment industry as a marketing and communications specialist. They worked as a Marketing Manager for a venue during the 2019 Adelaide Fringe.

Adelaide Fringe Participant 6 (Also stylised as AFP6): Adelaide Fringe P6 has worked in the arts for over a decade, focussing on overarching marketing strategies and creating a comprehensive marketing mix. For the 2019 Adelaide Fringe, they worked in marketing at a venue.
Adelaide Fringe Participant 7 (Also stylised as AFP7): Adelaide Fringe P7 has worked as a Digital and Data Analyst within the marketing department at an Adelaide-based arts institution. They specialise in collating digital and ticketing data to create greater understandings of audiences within arts landscapes.

Each of these participants has been anonymised, as 3 out of 9 requested anonymity in reporting; therefore, anonymity was utilised for all participants to ensure accuracy and consistency in reporting.

The skew towards Adelaide-based informants came down to the ability to connect with the participants. Potential participants in Edinburgh were less-contactable and available solely via email, or due to other seasonal employment were too busy to assist in the recruitment of further participants. Additionally, some who were initially recruited during fieldwork in Edinburgh and were positive about their involvement in the project dropped out of the study further down the track, or simply ceased correspondence. However, in Adelaide I was able to repeatedly see potential participants at networking events, and my research in Edinburgh assisted in creating a more credible and trustworthy reputation for the research in Adelaide. Due to direct similarities in organisational structure and content, and even employment cross-over between the two festivals, the slant towards Adelaide-based participants did not impede data gathering on the Edinburgh Fringe, as many Adelaide participants have also worked extensively on the Edinburgh Fringe circuit.

Over the course of the research, more than 15 festival marketers and five producers, artists, or other staff were contacted; the final sample consisted of 2 men and 7 women. The participant observation research in both festivalscapes, which consisted of non-recorded and informal conversations at networking events, provided further insight that helped contextualise the gender imbalance within the sample. The skew towards a female-dominated sample could indicate organisational or industry-wide trends in the festival marketing profession, however further investigation of this is beyond the scope of this study. It should also be noted that use of snowball sampling may have inadvertently meant that those employees who are less visible, including interns, work experience students, or administrators, were not considered for this study. Whilst this was not my aim, it may not have been possible to include invisible participants in any case, as the scope of the research would have to have been narrowed to include solely marketers or experienced festival staff.

3.4 Ethics

This research was conducted as per the guidelines of the University of Adelaide's Human Research Ethics Committee and was approved under project number HREC-2018-007. A number of ethical issues were addressed and accounted for within this study, including anonymity, the decision to conduct overt observation, past personal experiences in the field and existing networks within the Adelaide arts industry, and consent of online research collection.

It should be acknowledged that the researcher/participant relationship is, in some ways, inherently unequal due to the researcher's control and drive in the project (Daymon & Holloway 2011, p. 236). I tried to keep this top of mind throughout the research process as I wished to make this relationship – and my research – mutually beneficial for both myself and the participants. To achieve this, I maintained an open relationship with participants, offering to answer any questions and providing them with as much information as possible. From this, conversations about the research's value flowed naturally.

3.4.1 Anonymity & Employment

Anonymity was considered as a key ethical concern, and due to some participants wishing to remain anonymous, it was determined that it would be prudent to de-identify all data within the reporting and interpretation of this research. Participants were informed, both in person and through the Consent Forms (Appendix C) and Participant Information Sheets (Appendices A and B) that I provided to them prior to their participation in the research, that they could elect to be reported as per their legal name and job title, through a pseudonym, or in complete anonymity. This allowed participants to select their own level of anonymity with which they felt most comfortable. Participants were also given the option to review and alter transcripts as they felt necessary; this was to mitigate any feelings of unease about the effect that their comments could have on their employment within an organisation. Participants were also contacted numerous times via email to reiterate their rights to confidentiality of identity.

Some participants have since moved on, or been let go, from the professional positions they were in at the time of their interview. In certain cases where staff had been let go, due to their personal misgivings about those organisations these participants elected to stay anonymous in reporting. Others expressed that they felt they would feel disloyal if their current or former employer(s) did not have a chance to view their transcript for any information relating to their organisation. They were advised that they were within their rights to do so if they wished, but were asked to copy me into the email so that this could be monitored. This process of transparency and assisting participants to feel comfortable was important

within this research, as some participants felt both a personal and professional connection to the study, and were invested in its outcomes due to their own interests and passions within the festivals and marketing spheres.

Confidentiality was also crucial to maintain among the participants within their professional and social circles, as due to the dense and multi-faceted networks within the festivals industry, many participants queried me extensively about who else was involved in this study. It was imperative for me to remain non-committal in my answers, or – in some cases where participants were quite forward – to outright inform them that I was not able to reveal the identities of anyone else involved in this study. In the early stages, this proved a challenge for creating credibility for my research, but these challenges were often mitigated by speaking with people at networking events, where often two separate participants would know each other and actively disclose their participation in my research without my prompting them to do so or inadvertently revealing this was the case.

3.4.2 Overt Observation

A common ethical debate within ethnography is whether particular methods, such as participant observation research, should be conducted covertly or overtly. Covert observation is often seen to be unethical if conducted in a close, identifiable setting, and if participants are not able to remain anonymous within the study (Holloway, Brown & Shipway 2010, p. 80). Oeye, Bjelland and Skorpen champion the use of overt observation instead of working covertly, believing that "ethnographers are not exempt from obtaining informed consent" and that they should always disclose information to participants about the purpose, direction, and impact of the research (2007, p. 2301). The decision to conduct overt observation was solidified after consulting Holloway, Brown, and Shipway, who state that "the only ethically acceptable ethnography [places] informants as active participants within the research" (2010, p. 81). Despite some potential benefits of covert observation – including the ability to capture a more natural and unaltered picture of a culture or organisation – an overt observational approach was selected, and participants were disclosed the aim and progress of the research, whilst avoiding disclosing details about any other stakeholders or participants within the study.

3.4.3 Mitigating Potential Researcher Bias

As this ethnographic project included participant observation, which involves immersion in a community, it was imperative to ensure that researcher bias was reduced where possible throughout the course of the study. This arguably proves a challenge within qualitative exploration; Jaimangal-Jones takes the viewpoint that "the issue of personal experience will always be present throughout ethnographic work", and that this is something to be mindful of when formulating an ethnographic

research design (2014, p. 45). Additionally, as I have previous employment experience within the Adelaide festival industry as a Ticketing Assistant, I needed to be mindful of not assuming information or processes based on a previous, employment-based understanding of organisational or staffing structure. As the arts are an area of personal passion and interest for me, it was a constant task to avoid being swept up in the experiences I was having as part of this research. This was managed through diligence in field note-taking. Keeping my own biases under control was important within this design and also within my research practice, though it was acknowledged that bias would not be completely eliminated when using an ethnographic approach. However, though researcher bias may be partially present, Jaimangal-Jones believes that it is important for researchers to utilise as much reliable information as possible throughout the collection and interpretive phases, as it can provide valuable context for a festivalscape and should be embraced rather than discarded in the "misguided pursuit of objectivity" (2014, p. 45).

3.4.4 Gathering Digital Data

Some visual and textual data was collected on social and digital media platforms about key stakeholders within the Edinburgh and Adelaide festivalscapes. Often this was done to further investigate campaigns or visual techniques on social media that were detailed in fieldwork conversations or interviews, and was done so with the organisation's knowledge. In all of these instances, the profiles were publicly accessible. Additionally, information was sought from a number of publicly-accessible websites, including the names of employees within an organisation or personal information included in employee bios. eDMs were similarly received through public channels; in some cases, these were already being received through personal email accounts, and I was already familiar with common content and structure of these newsletters. In reporting, the names of organisations have been included in the screenshots, however, any communications that may reveal the names or positions of participants have been de-identified in reporting.

3.5 Data Collection

In line with an ethnographic approach, data was collected through a range of qualitative methods in order to create an in-depth understanding and examination of the chosen festivalscapes. Using an approach that included participant observation research, semi-structured interviews, and analysis of marketing collateral enabled me to form an understanding of "patterns and routines in a culture which are familiar and recognisable to people engaged in that community" but which are otherwise hidden or misunderstood by outsiders (Daymon & Holloway 2011, p. 155).

Collation of data within the festivalscapes included a significant visual research focus. Spencer (2011) believes that "research is often enhanced by the inclusion of visual material which gives a broader context, allowing a more detailed understanding" (p. 2), and comprehensive picture of an environment or phenomenon. In the context of this research, visual analysis refers not only to the observation within the festivalscapes, but also the analysis of digital imagery and other visual materials. Gong and Xiang state that "the human visual system is highly efficient for scanning through large quantity of low-level imagery data and selecting salient information for a high-level semantic interpretation" (2011, p. 3), and participant observation research, as outlined in section 3.5.1 below, is a core way that data on the festivalscapes was gathered and processed.

However, Spencer cautions researchers about taking visual imagery at face value. Images can be "manipulated and distorted" (2011, p. 38), particularly with the new photographic and editing services readily available to the general public. Furthermore, researchers can form relationships with their visual evidence, trusting its perceived subjectivity over their own observations (Spencer 2011, p. 40). To mitigate this, a combination of written notes, photographic imagery, audio notes, and interviews were used to formulate a recording of the festivalscapes that is as trustworthy as possible.

3.5.1 Participant Observation Research & Fieldwork

In ethnographic research, "your physical presence in the field is essential" (Daymon & Holloway 2011, p. 154). In situ fieldwork was conducted using participant observation, an "omnibus" research method that is considered a core component of ethnography (Jaimangal-Jones 2014, p. 41). Colloquially termed by Fenno (1990) as "soaking and poking", participant observation "provides the opportunity to study people in real life situations" (Berger 2014, p. 216). The aim of using participant observation within this study was to formulate a complete, detailed, and potentially more accurate depiction of stakeholder inter-relations, the ambient environment, and the inner workings of the festivalscapes themselves. Once this initial understanding of the festival structures had been grasped, some supplementary analysis was conducted of print and digital marketing materials, and participant observation research was then used to inform interviews; this is a process that is common in ethnography (Daymon & Holloway 2011, p. 155).

Presenting as "a field strategy that simultaneously combines document analysis, interviewing of respondents and informants, direct participation and observation, and introspection" (Flick 2014, p. 312), participant observation was carried out within the real-world settings of the festivalscapes. This approach is common in media studies, as it allows researchers to "research in natural (non-laboratory)

settings and obtain information about what people do, rather than what they say they do" (Berger 2014, p. 228). As I was examining the use of digital media in Fringe arts marketing strategies, using participant observation meant I was able to not only speak with professionals about their digital strategies, but also to experience them as an audience member, creating a dual perspective on digital marketing strategies for certain stakeholders.

Participant observation research was conducted in both the Edinburgh Fringe (1 – 27 August 2018) and Adelaide Fringe (15 February – 17 March 2019) festivalscapes throughout the entire run of the festivals. Throughout this fieldwork, I collected a range of print marketing materials, and assessed other forms of media engagement including outdoor advertising, broadcast media presence, digital media engagement, in-person practices such as venue activation, artist interaction (often through flyering, interactive shows, or simply seeing artists within the city centres), and customer service interactions. Inter-audience interactions were also observed, both inside shows and within more relaxed environments like venues or large-scale public events. I attended networking events in both festivalscapes, and had informal conversations with a range of stakeholders. This immersive experience helped me to gain a deeper understanding of the festivalscapes, and informed practice for the interviews that were to follow. Throughout the process, I maintained in depth fieldnotes, on paper, digitally, and through audio recordings. In the audio recordings, I would often describe the environment around me, rather than listing interactions or incidents throughout the day.

My position as a participant observation researcher was partially constructed through consulting Spradley's (1980, p. 78) definition of participant observation. Spradley's outline of six core facets of participant observation, including the reminder of the participant observation researcher's dual purpose and insider/outsider perspective, as well as the need to be constantly introspective and maintain thorough records, was valuable to my practice. Within the festivalscapes, I was constantly aware of a range of stimuli, and actively returning to Spradley's framework provided me with the necessary tools to remain on course as a researcher. At first, I struggled with negotiating the balance between objective researcher and industry insider, but the reassurance that this balance was a normal challenge for ethnographers was comforting and allowed me to focus on the task at hand.

In addition, Jaimangal-Jones' (2014, p. 216) approach to participant observation research was valuable in constructing a personal approach to the ethnographic process. In each festivalscape, I began the participant observation process, as many researchers do, as a 'complete observer', before transitioning through the 'participant as observer' phase to finish fieldwork as a 'observer as participant', bordering

on a 'marginal native' viewpoint due to my previous professional experience. Each of these phases as a researcher has affordances and constraints when collecting, collating, and analysing data (p. 43); however, remaining flexible throughout the research process is advised, as "different points in the research require varying approaches depending on the knowledge of the researcher and the issues under investigation" (p. 44).

Berger's focus on the 'participant as observer' and 'observer as participant' phases of participant observation research demonstrates that a shift to the latter signals that the researcher has become an 'insider', which is a necessary process for participant observation research (2014, p. 216). Whilst an insider stance can raise questions of reliability – the insider approach can be seen as lacking control or, on occasion, objectivity – becoming an insider within the community that is being studied can allow for greater understanding of a phenomenon or situation, and can be useful in event studies to understand the greater context and environment in which the event takes place (Glaser 1996, p. 533).

Throughout the participant observation research, key organisations were determined and marked to be examined in greater depth, and these were identified both through fieldwork conversations and brand prominence within the festivalscape. Inclusion of these organisations within the observational sample was not reliant on having a participant from them involved in the interview phase of this research. In Edinburgh, these organisations were: the Edinburgh Fringe Society, Gilded Balloon, Assembly, Underbelly, Pleasance Theatre, and Summerhall. Smaller organisations such as Dance Base, C-Venues, Space, and the Free Fringe program were also identified. In the Adelaide festivalscape, key organisations included the Adelaide Fringe, the Garden of Unearthly Delights, Gluttony, and RCC Fringe. Smaller venues such as The Bakehouse, the GC, and Tandanya, as well as media outlets such as Fest Mag, were identified as organisations of interest. Publications, digital information, and screenshots were collected for these organisations, and content analysis was conducted to gain greater insights into not only the use of digital media, but also how this fitted within the greater strategic marketing mix.

3.5.2 Constraints of Participant Observation Research

Participant observation presents a number of challenges. Ethnography, with its immersive and involved research techniques, is often criticised for a perceived lack of objectivity. Cole advises caution throughout participant observation to ensure that the researcher is not influenced by the social or cultural situation they find themselves observing (1991, p. 59). However, Denzin believes that this can be controlled by the researcher having a strong theoretical grasp of a community or phenomenon, as

this theoretical knowledge will help the researcher disengage from the subjects they are observing (1978, p. 256). Alternatively, Snow disputes the need for complete objectivity, stating that "several ethnographers have even gone so far to suggest that the quality of a fieldwork project is suspect unless the researcher has immersed himself/herself in the group or setting" (1980, p. 112). Scott agrees, although also advises that a continuous assessment of the relationship between researcher and environment is wise (2003, pp. 100-101).

Berger raises other constraints within participant observation. Whilst acknowledging participant observation as a core method within ethnography, Berger (2014) believes that the lack of control in the environment in which research is taking place is a constraint on participant observation research, and can potentially lead to unreliable results (p. 216). Berger also raises concerns about reliability and validity in participant observation, as the participants who are being observed are often aware that the observation is occurring, and can change their behaviour accordingly (2014, p. 233).

As the researcher is closely involved in the community they are studying, it can be hard for them to disengage from the participants and research environment, even when it may benefit the study to do so. In her research, Wax found that she was bound by an "irresistible urge" to stay longer within the field and collect more data, due to the ever-evolving connection she had with the community she was examining (1971, p. 45). Snow terms this feeling as 'unfinished business', and believes that it is natural and common for ethnographers to feel a sense of dissatisfaction or incompletion within their research (1980, p.105). A feeling of 'unfinished business' was present within this study; there was the constant feeling that there was always more to see, more data to collect, and more participants to interview, particularly due to the range of stakeholders and perspectives present within the festivalscapes.

Participant observation can also be constrained by a number of institutional factors, including deadlines, funding, or sponsor interests (Snow 1980, p. 106). Inter- and intra-personal factors influenced this research, including mental and physical health, capability to travel, and familial responsibilities. Funding was also a core constraint; as research in the Edinburgh Fringe festivalscape required international travel and institutional approval, the timeframe spent in Edinburgh was limited to the month of the festival itself. This provided challenges when scheduling interviews, as many participants were time-poor, and their attention was focussed on their employment commitments throughout the festival. In the Adelaide Fringe festivalscape, there were similar constraints in organising interviews, and most participants did not agree to an interview until after the 2019 Adelaide Fringe had

finished. However, as I was based permanently in Adelaide, time constraints did not prove as restrictive as in Edinburgh, as I was able to conduct interviews outside of the festival season.

In ethnography, it appears that forming a close, trusting relationship with participants is crucial to the collation of data in the field. Despite reservations about objectivity, Cole concedes that the wealth and depth of data afforded by participant observation can outweigh the risks, and by the researcher presenting themselves as scholarly from the outset of the research, the ethical risks – as well as any compromises in the validity and reliability of research – will be lessened (1991, p. 165). As the Adelaide and Edinburgh arts industries can be closed and exclusive environments, positioning myself as an insider in the industry and in the festival community was necessary in order to form trusting relationships and a professional reputation that would increase my legitimacy in the eyes of my participants.

3.5.3 Use of Participant Observation in Media Studies

Jensen states that "observation, with variable degrees of participation, has presented itself as the methodology of choice for studies of media use" (2012, p. 177). Participant observation is common in research into social media marketing in the arts, with scholars such as Hudson et al. (2016), Woosnam, McElroy and Van Winkle (2009), and Miles (2017) using an observational research design in their examination of digital media engagement in arts and music festivalscapes. Similarly, Glow and Caust (2010; as well as Caust & Glow 2011) used participant observation research in conjunction with in-depth interviews with participants to explore the role of artists in the Adelaide Fringe festivalscape. This ethnographic precedence within the study of digital media and the arts industry provided inspiration for the research design in this project.

Additionally, Glaser (1996, p. 533) outlines the benefits of participant observation research within fast-paced, time-sensitive environments. Considering the short time-frames of the Adelaide Fringe and Edinburgh Fringe, a participant observation method allowed for an immense amount of data to be collected within the small time available for active field-work.

3.5.4 Analysis of Digital Content

Textual analysis in the context of this research refers to the collation and in-depth examination of printed marketing collateral – including brochures, posters, and programmes – and digital content, such as eDMs, social media content, and, where possible, screenshots of mobile applications or other digital technologies. Commonly used in cultural media studies, textual analysis examines the "dialectical process between the text and the reader, which takes place in a particular social and historical context"

(Curtain 1995, p. 6). This type of analysis focusses on the "underlying ideological and cultural assumptions of the text" (Fursich 2009, p. 240). Whilst typically conducted with a particular hypothesis in mind, the textual analysis in this research is somewhat of a secondary method or subsection of participant observation that seeks to help establish the communications mixes and overall ambiance within the two festivalscapes, rather than to determine a particular answer.

When conducting textual analysis in the field, I focussed on materials that would be disseminated by marketers in key organisations. These included programmes of events, other supplementary guides, maps, and print magazines, and I examined if advertisements were taken out in external publications. I first gathered all available materials on venues within the festivalscapes, as well as from the organisation facilitating the festival. The aims of this were to firstly examine how the organisations portrayed themselves within the festivalscapes, and secondly to determine the scope of the communications mix. Both visual and textual elements were analysed, and a thematic analysis, as outlined in the section below, was conducted.

I then focussed on analysing digital material. I signed up to eDM alerts for all major organisations in the festivalscape, and monitored social media platforms, particularly Facebook, Facebook Stories, Twitter, Instagram, and Instagram Stories. Platforms such as YouTube and Snapchat were not included in this research for two reasons; firstly, throughout the course of the research many participants believed certain platforms to be near-obsolete and did not use them within strategy. Secondly, it was necessary to constrain elements of the study to make the data collation and analysis process manageable. Consent was not explicitly sought from organisations before the gathering of data began, however all profiles are public and considering the purpose of business digital communications is to be made publicly accessible, screenshots were collected in the absence of explicit consent. Participants were then made aware of this throughout the interview phase of the research. Instagram and Facebook stories were harder to collect; as content remains on these functions for one day, some content was missed due to researcher or technological error. Any content that remained in the 'Highlights' section of Instagram stories was able to be captured as this remains on organisation profiles beyond the usual 24 hour period assigned to stories.

The decision of what data to collect was entirely my own; at no point in the study did participants inform me of what data to collect and analyse. During the interviews, it was me who prompted discussion of certain campaigns, or exploring why certain tools were selected for use over others. I have de-identified comments in any included posts from users whose profiles may not be publicly accessible, although as

the content analysis is supplementary to the participant observation and interviews this did not need to occur on a regular basis, as more often than not screenshots were of the Instagram grid or Facebook post without comments included. The reasoning for not including comments was also decided due to the fact that as I am examining festivalscapes from a marketing perspective, and am seeking an overall insight into how marketing works within these changeable landscapes, I am merely looking to gauge the overall audience impression of content as opposed to specific experiences or opinions of audience members. That is not to say that an audience perspective is not valuable; it is simply that assessing all stakeholders within a festivalscape is beyond the scope of a study of this size. Indeed, this data collection was intended to be indicative of trends in the landscape rather than a complete representation, and I would instead propose that these perspectives be examined in further research.

3.5.5 Interviews

As is common in ethnographic research, in-depth interviews were a key method used to explore the research aims. Interviews are a qualitative method that "enable[s] researchers to obtain information they cannot gain from observation alone" (Berger 2000, p. 111). Interviews offer researchers the ability to explore in great depth the lived experiences of a participant, gain insights into their world and culture, and ascertain what they see as important to their community (Flick 2014, p. 208), as well as gain insight into a participant's "ideas, thoughts, options, attitudes, and what motivates them" (Berger 2014, pp. 161-162).

Taking place over two festivalscapes between 1 August 2018 and 31 May 2019, semi-structured interviews were conducted with marketers in a number of key organisations. Semi-structured interviews were chosen as their relaxed and open form of discussion is an approach that is commonly used in ethnography, and provides opportunities for conversations about topics that are not strictly set out in the interview questions, which can provide valuable data (Scott 2003; Holloway, Brown & Shipway 2010; Evans 2012). The decision to use a semi-structured interview format was operationalised using Berger's (2014) four interview frameworks. A list of questions was provided to each participant prior to the interview, although participants were notified that the interview would be conversational in style and flexible in content, with the questions acting more as a loose guide and an indicator of the kinds of content that would be covered.

Flick's (2014) approach to interviews was consulted, and a 'responsive' interview style was selected for this study. This reinforced the conversational style of semi-structured interviews, and complemented Berger's interview framework (Flick 2014, p. 227). As many of the participants were professionals within

the industry, Flick's 'elite' and 'expert' approaches were also considered, and elements were utilised when conducting interviews. As these approaches are commonly used when speaking with industry experts or staff within an organisation, this was an appropriate approach considering all participants were working within the arts industries in Adelaide and Edinburgh. Combining Berger and Flick's approaches meant that a semi-structured, responsive, but respectful interview approach was used in this research, and it seemed to be well-received by participants. Prior to formal interviews an informal meeting was conducted with each participant, and this was done to help put participants at ease about the project, as well as to establish a trusting relationship between participant and researcher.

The interviews allow for an in-depth understanding of the processes, procedures, and relationships witnessed within participant observation research. Using Glaser's (1996, p. 534) advice to remain flexible in interview structure to allow for discussion of phenomena witnessed in the observation fieldwork, I was able to specifically tailor elements of the interviews to discuss particular digital campaigns, examine the use of certain platforms or technologies, or understand why a particular marketing mix was used. This provided for ample discussion and greater understanding of the environment. It also prompted discussion about audiences from the marketers' perspectives, and of the festivalscapes as a whole.

As mentioned above, the final sample included 9 participants, with whom in-depth interviews, and often informal and non-recorded conversations, were conducted. Over the 9 interviews many of the broader questions were similar across the board, including questions about the marketing mix, overall strategy, types of digital technologies used, and the various techniques used. However, questions about specific campaigns were posed to relevant participants, and often discussion would shift according to the participants' personal background in the industry. Questions were added as the interviews progressed to reflect progression in the research and emerging themes, however this was monitored closely and where possible previous participants were contacted again to attempt to obtain their perspectives on these new areas of questioning.

Throughout the interview process, I attempted to remain neutral when conducting the interviews. This proved difficult at times, particularly when some participants were guarded or feeling embarrassed, and needed greater conversational engagement to relax into the interview. I kept in mind Glaser's advice to "reveal your purpose, not your opinions" (1996, p. 536), and tried to keep compliments, extraneous comments, or any action that may reflect personal opinion, to a minimum. However, I also wished to remain friendly and open about the research, and so finding the balance between outsider and insider

was a challenge, as it was within participant observation. As with anything, practice makes perfect, and after two or three interviews were completed I was able to manage that balance in a constructive way.

Where possible, I tried to conduct interviews outside of the festival timeframes, as participants were often stressed at the mere thought of completing the interviews during the festivals, or refused to be involved if this needed to occur during the busy periods. For this reason, I attempted to complete the Edinburgh interviews at the end of the festival's run, or over Skype. For Adelaide, I completed most interviews in December 2018 and very early January 2019, or in April and May 2019; the period from mid-January to early-April 2019 was considered too busy to participate in an interview. Indeed, participants at first were non-committal, stating that the interviews would only be able to take place in 30 or 60 minute time frames; more often than not, after participants had relaxed into the interview this timeframe was extended to over an hour. This bolstered my personal morale about the professional value of the research, and kept enthusiasm and motivation alive to continue with the study.

The interviews were always conducted at a location of the participant's choice, as a way to not only make the process as easy as possible, but also so that they would feel relaxed and comfortable in a place familiar to them. These locations included participants' homes, office boardrooms, or a nearby café. The interviews were digitally recorded on both smartphone and a laptop, and participants were made aware of this before the interview started. All consented in writing to this occurring.

Some participants elected to speak off the record about certain interactions, usually with customers, or in expressing opinions that they deemed to be controversial or potentially detrimental to their employment or reputation. Where this occurred, those sections of the transcripts were redacted and sent to the participant to view and keep for their own records.

3.5.6 Constraints of Interviews

Despite being a popular and common method in qualitative research, interviewing is not without its criticisms. Atkinson and Silverman (1997) believe that the interview has the potential to be used uncritically or, in some cases, overused, by researchers (p. 305). In some cases, researchers take what Atkinson and Silverman term a "romantic" approach to their participants, and the potential inaccuracy of the participant when answering interview questions may be overlooked (1997, pp. 305-306).

To overcome this, Daymon and Holloway suggest that researchers "validate the evidence [they] have obtained…by discretely checking statements or issues with others in the same situations" (2011, p.

238). This can occur through comparing interviews with various participants, or by using observation research. In this study, the use of participant observation, content analysis, and interviews as a mixed-method approach aimed to overcome any lack of critical analysis or participant error within interviews.

It was important for me to remain reflexive of the varying viewpoints within this research – not just between participants themselves, but also from my standing as a researcher. If there is no researcher reflexivity within the interview process, it is likely that there will not be any sort of critical analysis of the data that is produced. To mitigate this, Daymon and Holloway quote Rubin and Rubin who state that researchers must learn the "art of hearing data" (2011, p. 239), or the ability to be reflexive about the differing perspectives of participant and researcher in interviews. I therefore set my research schedule with time to 'hear' the data and to ensure that my research was as valid and thorough as it could possibly be.

3.6 Data Interpretation

In line with an ethnographic approach, data interpretation began with an inductive approach that involved me "find[ing] patterns, themes, and categories directly from the data – instead of imposing themes on the data that you decided upon before commencing your analysis" (Daymon & Holloway 2011, p. 303). This then ultimately became a deductive approach when analysing festivals and marketing literature, although I still maintained an inductive approach of 'curiosity' as opposed to direct hypothesis.

Interview transcripts and fieldnotes were compiled and, after a preliminary and surface-level analysis, a coding structure was developed using Nvivo coding to "disentangle the data and interpret intermediate results" (Stoffelen 2018, p. 4). Nvivo helped me to grasp a number of industry terms as I was forced to use them within their contexts and, as Daymon and Holloway express, helped "transport [me] directly into the world of [my] participants" (2011, p. 308). As an example, as the first step to personally grasp data and prepare for thematic analysis, each transcript was broken down using this coding structure. After this, interview content was grouped as a whole using these codes, and a larger thematic picture emerged. Figures 1 and 2 below demonstrate this process:

Timecode	Section	Codes/Notes	Thematic Overview
13:41:35	I think – I think there's an absolutely huge majority that enjoy it and are here for it and want it, but there is a small part of the local community who perhaps feel pushed out or not welcome or maybe they think it's inaccessible. And things like EIF have done this really wonderful thing this year where they've widened the spread, widened the footfall down to Leith, but they've done it in a really excellent way by bringing together the Leith community and working with Edinburgh local charities and local arts festivals to deliver a Leith-specific program, which I think is really, really important. My prediction is that in three years' time Underbelly, Assembly, Gilded Balloon, Pleasance, Free Fringe will all have a presence in Leith, because there is a real, you know, vibrant arts community down there, and it's a real wonderful, wonderful place. Like if you look at projects like Leith Late, which I was a founder of with a couple of other people, you know the whole purpose of that, the whole positioning of that festival was to pair international artists or local artists with local business owners. So, we would pair, you know, artists from Holland with a sports shop, like an independent sports shop owner. They would come	- Community engagement; - Local acknowledgement; - Appreciation of audience; - Strain on city; - Infrastructure.	The local community of a festivalscape can feel displaced within their own city during the festival's run, particularly if the festival's focus is to engage tourists rather than existing communities. For this reason, creating spaces where local communities can engage with festival content, or with festival artists, is important. It's also a way of thanking the audience for their investment and participation in the festivalscape, which is something that the Fringe Society (in the participant's view) attempt to do, but they often fall short or seemingly don't bother doing this throughout the whole festival (i.e., it's a singular event). The participant outlines some different campaigns in Edinburgh that have attempted to close the gap between festival and local community and makes predictions for the future.

Figure 1: Example of Preliminary Coding for Ed Fringe Participant 1 Interview

Date	Location / Event	Notes	Analysis
5 August 2018	Fringe Central, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh UK → Social Media at the Fringe (free public event)	Event at Fringe Central hosted by Daniel Saunders. Focussed on social media marketing within the festival. KEY POINTS: - SM requires users to 'opt-in' to your content; - The role of social media in a festival is to reach new audiences, retain long-term followers, create a 'free' form of self-promotion [Researcher's note: free in cost, but not labour?] - In the UK, Twitter reaches 40% of the population (just reach, not engagement) - Listening online is crucial – social media should not be used as a soapbox; - Collaboration with your competitors at the fringe can help bring in new audiences [RN: through cross promotion, etc.], so don't be afraid to lean into the social element of SM; **CONT →**	Social media needs to be ***social.*** It's important for all practitioners (in this context, audiences) to lean in to the social element of the platforms and communicate and engage with audiences online. D. Saunders outlined what he believed to be the key roles of social media within the festivalscape. These were mainly to reach and maintain audiences in the digital space and use the 'free' platform [RN: worth exploring the common misconception of SM being 'free' of cost by exploring labour? Perhaps in lit review?] Another crucial practice in Mr. Saunders' view is 'listening' to audiences online, communicating via comments, messages, etc. – SM is not a mouthpiece. Twitter is a massive platform in the UK, although Mr. Saunders did specify that this was just reach, not engagement [RN: cover the difference between these in the lit review?]. **CONT →**

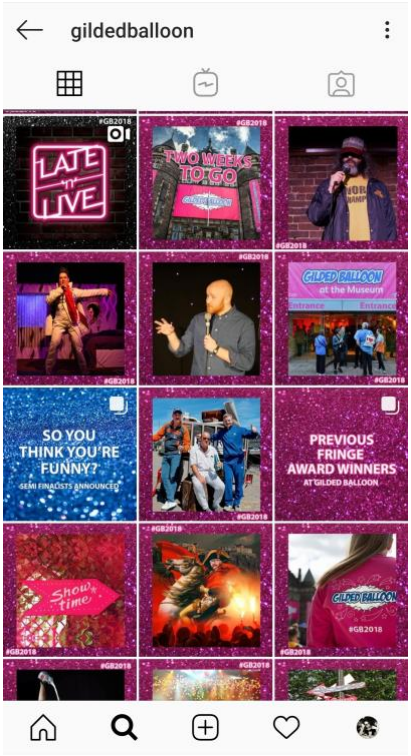
Figure 2: Example of Preliminary Coding for Field Notes

However, I was wary of missing extraneous phenomena that did not fit within the confines of the coding structure. For this reason, when grouping the concepts thematically, I created a separate section for what I termed 'Extras'. An example of this is seen in figure 3 below:

Timecode	Section	Codes/Notes	Thematic Overview
00:52:41	Yeah, sure, so been working with and in social media in the arts, specifically festivals, for just over 10 years – I think I counted it out after we spoke the other day! Yeah, so just over ten years. My background is marketing, I would say, and publishing but with a specific digital slant and social media slant. I feel like I'm not talking now the way I was the other day! Background is – I started doing social when nobody would pay me, so I kind of approached different festivals or large events and told them that they needed this thing, this add on to their marketing in terms of digital, and nobody believed me! So yeah, I just did it for free for a couple of years on the side of other stuff. And then got my first proper paid one at Hogmany, so was the Head of Digital there for about six years, and that was obviously dealing with massive communities and massive digital strategy, and then it kind of just went from there. Started working for Assembly, the [Edinburgh] International Festival, Gilded Balloon, Hidden Door Arts, Leith Late, Primavera, did Reading and Leeds Festival before, and yeah - so all that kind of stuff has come from doing it for free.	- Professional background; - Digital; - Social Media; - Communities.	- Professional context for participant that also provides indications about the interconnectedness of the industry; - Also indicates historical context for the evolution of the importance of digital media in overall marketing mix for festivals; - Provides legitimacy for participant's professional experience and expertise in the digital sphere.

Figure 3: Example of 'Extras' Concepts for Participant 1 Interview

No formal coding structure was used for the textual analysis, although commonalities were ascertained and then contrasted. For example, a particular thematic design for the 2018 'Into the Unknown' Edinburgh Fringe campaign was identified among marketing materials for a range of organisations in the festivalscape, and this was then compared and contrasted with a similar analysis for the 2019 'Accessibility' theme in the Adelaide festivalscape. Again, as the textual analysis was originally conceived as supplementary to the participant observation and interview data, I did not wish to constrain how this analysis occurred, as much of it was a part, or a result, of other methods involved in this ethnography. Nonetheless, an example of print and digital analysis is demonstrated in figure 4 below:



GILDED BALLOON – GRID LAYOUT

- Glittery background used in a variety of colours;
- Most are coloured pink, which is the colour of Gilded Balloon;
- Certain programs have different colours – i.e., 'So You Think You're Funny?' is blue, Late 'n' Live is black;
- Content varies from straight imagery, to image anchored with text, to just text – all examples here;
- Presents with a 'clean' grid layout, as images are all the same size with the glittery background, even though colours have changed;
- Presents with a particular aesthetic and visual unity on the platform;
- Content year-round does not use this grid; it is just used for Fringe;
- Does this come down to changing marketing teams, or simply wanting to distinguish Fringe content?

Figure 4: Example of Digital Analysis – Gilded Balloon -> Instagram -> Grid Layout

The coding process assisted in creating a way for negative cases, different themes, or alternative explanations to be identified. It was important to consider these, as if research is to be valid it must be critical in nature and consider all potential possibilities within the study (Daymon & Holloway 2011, p. 319).

3.6.1 Data Triangulation

Validity in ethnographic research is often increased through the practice of data triangulation. Triangulation is the cross-referencing of data within the various methods in an ethnographic research design (Daymon & Holloway 2011; Holloway, Brown & Shipway 2010), and in ethnography this

triangulation occurs "'within method' (observations and interviews) rather than between methods with different ideologies" (Holloway, Brown & Shipway 2010, p. 78). In this research, triangulation was achieved through the thematic comparison of participant observation, interviews, and print and digital textual analysis. I also attempted to increase the validity of the study through being mindful of generalisation, and when designing the research I actively attempted to take the stance of "theory-based generalisation" (Holloway, Brown & Shipway 2010, p. 81), which uses a range of theoretical concepts to contextualise and examine one setting. In the first chapters of this thesis, I outlined not only Fringe festivalscapes, but also their evolution from the high/low cultural divide and their socio-economic context. I also approached marketing literature from a range of perspectives and, though I eventually narrowed the focus of discussion to digital media, I established the position and function of digital media within a larger communications mix and strategy.

3.7 Conclusion

As discussed above, the research methodology in this project takes an ethnographic approach in an attempt to explore the decision-making processes behind the use of digital marketing strategies in the Adelaide Fringe and Edinburgh Fringe festivalscapes. By using a qualitative mixed-methods approach that seeks to first gain an understanding of the festivalscapes as a whole, before hearing from industry professionals about marketing within these environments, this project aims to explore the 'why' and 'to what end' of digital marketing in the arts, rather than looking at quantitative data. The following chapters detail the findings and analysis of this research design, in an attempt to explore marketing within these contexts in a new, exploratory way in this academic field.

Chapter 4: Participant Observation Research Results

So far, this thesis has outlined several theoretical approaches to examining festivalscapes and the use of marketing within these creative environments. Chapter 3 above outlined the methodological framework for this project, establishing the overarching project's ethnographic style, which supports the practical, exploratory aims of this research. This chapter details the results of the participant observation research in both Edinburgh and Adelaide, and assists in the exploration of the stakeholder groups and delicate ecosystems within the two festivalscapes, one of this project's key research aims. As this is based on personal experiences and observations of the festivals, the following chapter will use the first person tense to indicate a difference between my observations, and those of the interview participants, which follow in Chapter 5.

4.1 The 2018 Edinburgh Festival Fringe

Heading into my fieldwork research into the Edinburgh Fringe, I had already read extensively about the festival, its history, and the organisation that facilitates it, the Edinburgh Fringe Society. As the festival has a well-documented rich socio-cultural history, I was assured by numerous academic and anecdotal sources that I would not fully understand the Edinburgh Festival Fringe until I experienced it for myself.

As part of my ethnographic approach, I decided to do just that. From Wednesday 1 August to Monday 27 August 2018 I spent time observing, and participating in, the Edinburgh Festival Fringe (also known as Edinburgh Fringe or Ed Fringe). Throughout my month in Edinburgh, I spent time collating field notes, speaking with a range of festival stakeholders, collecting any marketing collateral I could get my hands on, attending networking events to recruit interview participants, and observing various aspects of the festivalscape. The aim of this was to fully understand the emotional connections that stakeholders form with the Edinburgh Fringe and that keep them coming back year after year.

On the day I arrived in Edinburgh, I walked to Bristo Square, one of the many venue hub areas throughout the Edinburgh Fringe. Even though the Fringe had not yet started (the official start date was Friday 3 August), Bristo Square, though damp with the daily sprinkling of rain, was filled with people. This gave me a minor indication of what would first strike me about the festival – the sheer size of it. With almost four thousand artists and hundreds of thousands of tourists interacting within the festivalscape, the Edinburgh Fringe is the largest arts festival in the world. From my first day, it was evident to me that this festival is in a league of its own.

Figure 5: Print & Venue Marketing at Pleasance Theatre: The Dome, Bristo Square

In the first few days, the festival's size was also evident based on the extensive brand promotion for the festival throughout the city. Year to year, the Edinburgh Fringe Society's campaign mix includes print materials (primarily in the form of the printed program, as seen in figure 7 below, but also in other collateral such as brochures and planning documents for artists), venue activations (including box office fit-outs, footpath decal stickers, posters and banners, and information booths; this can be seen in figure 5 above, and figure 6 below), branded street teams that assist with information about the festival, merchandise, events (such as the Virgin Money Closing Night Fireworks), and digital marketing. Each of these elements of the mix is expansive, and digital marketing in particular involves a variety of platforms. The Edinburgh Fringe Society's social media campaign includes a presence on Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and LinkedIn, and in 2018 each of these platforms profiled three hashtag-specific campaigns. In addition to this, there is the Edinburgh Fringe mobile ticketing application, which allows patrons to purchase and digitally store tickets. There was also an extensive, seemingly targeted eDM campaign that sent emails to subscribers daily. In 2018, this was the campaign just for the festival itself – within this, each of the venues had their own campaigns which included similar digital mixes, and artists also ran campaigns. All of that marketing collateral in one small city inevitably led to saturation within the market. An eye-catching and engaging brand presence was therefore needed to stand out from the crowd.

In 2018, the Edinburgh Fringe Society ran the 'Into the Unknown' campaign, which encouraged patrons to seek out performers or shows that they had not experienced before. A central campaign that was characterised by the symbol of a golden pigeon and a custom-built hashtag, 'Into the Unknown' was

prominently displayed throughout the Fringe Society's communications mix; the digital campaign #IntoTheUnknown was also profiled on all print material, campaign-specific merchandise, and signage. Characterised by a pale pink colour and imagery that evokes a sense of going down a rabbit hole, this thematic branding campaign was specifically designed for the 2018 Edinburgh Fringe.

Figure 6: Edinburgh Fringe 'Into The Unknown' Footpath Sticker

Figure 7: Edinburgh Fringe 'Into The Unknown' Programme Cover

Back to my first day, I had ended up at Bristo Square on the advice of my friendly Uber driver. True to his assessment, Bristo Square was a flurry of activity. Each of the Big 4 venues in the Edinburgh festivalscape has an activation here; around the square are the bright pink, yellow, purple, and red colours that dominate the landscape to represent Gilded Balloon, Pleasance, Underbelly, and Assembly respectively, the biggest venues within the vast festivalscape. From Friday to Sunday, it was nearly impossible to walk through Bristo Square from 4:30pm onwards. Revellers rush to the outdoor bars and eateries to enjoy the atmosphere, and maybe, if time permits, see a show. The Big 4, along with Summerhall off South Clerk Street and The Traverse near Edinburgh Castle, dominate the festivalscape and are home the hundreds of shows across their multiple locations.

To get to the main venue hubs in Bristo Square, I walked what would turn out to be a ritualistic daily journey. From my house in Haymarket, I walked down through Grassmarket, with its view of Edinburgh Castle (a prime spot for the nightly fireworks); up Victoria Street, which famously looks like something out of *Harry Potter*, and down the hill to Bristo Square with the towering Teviot Hall building in its centre (as seen in figure 9 below). Sometimes I would walk the other way: up Princes Street and through George Square, down through Princes Gardens, past the High Street and the Edinburgh Castle, down through Cowgate, and arriving at the base of Bristo. On my way back, I'd occasionally go through The Meadows near Summerhall, Bruntsfield Links, and back up Bruntsfield High Street. The common element between these locations was that there were always multiple Fringe venues or activations along these routes. North, South, East, West: everywhere you looked was Fringe.

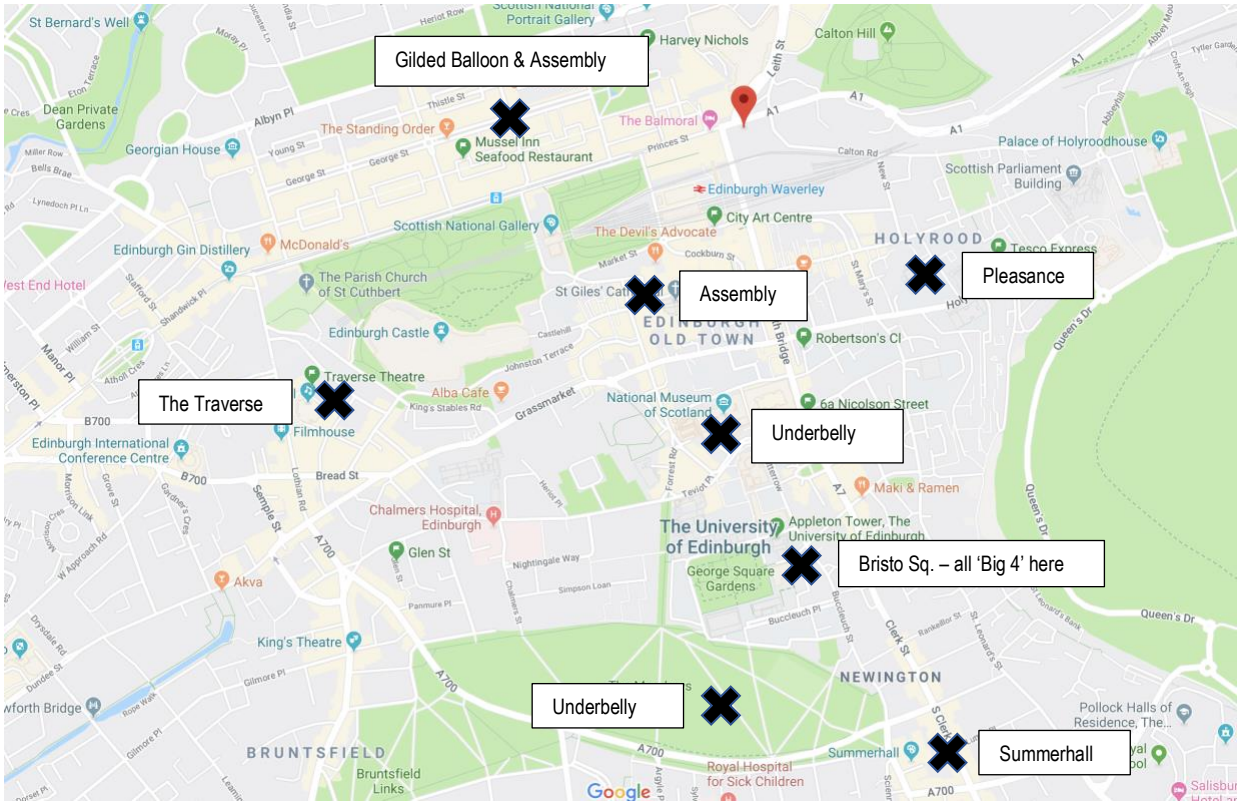


Figure 8: Edinburgh Central, featuring five major Edinburgh Fringe venues (the Big Five)

In this first week, I noticed that everyone was bright-eyed and ready to go – from artists to staff to patrons, the energy was high at the start of the festival. At Ed Fringe, the Edinburgh Fringe Society – an omnipresent force often unseen by the audiences that attend the festival – runs the show. Much of my first week was spent in Fringe Central, which acts as a hub in Bristo Square for a range of festival stakeholders. Run by the Edinburgh Fringe Society, the Fringe hub provides printers, stationery, and café services, and is always full of people from all around the world, particularly those who are relatively

new to the Edinburgh scene. I attended a range of free seminars throughout the first week, including the opening address of the Fringe on Friday 3 August, which was emceed by comedian Deborah Frances-White. Ms. Frances-White implored us to experience the festival in every possible way, and I recall feeling as though that was personally very fitting advice for my month ahead.

The next day, I returned to Fringe Central to attend a seminar on using social media to the greatest advantage in the Edinburgh festivalscape. Run by two members of the Edinburgh Fringe Society Marketing and Press Office, the seminar focussed on particular techniques and platform-specific information. It drew fewer people than I had expected. The second marketing-focussed seminar I attended the next day had a similar small number. When I spoke with the staff at the conclusion of the seminar they explained that, as the festival was barely a week in, most artists had not even arrived yet – and many of them are seasoned veterans of the circuit, and do not need as much assistance with marketing in a landscape with which they are so familiar. However they stressed that with the digital market – and the festival itself – constantly changing, they try to keep artists and producers informed about how best to utilise digital technologies to their advantage.

These two seminars provided interesting insights for me. Most prominently, I was struck by the prevalence of Twitter – one of the presenters stated that 40 percent of the UK population are on Twitter, although not all of those users are active. Active was the buzzword here – Twitter was deemed the most active platform due to its ability to facilitate instantaneous interaction and connection to all stakeholders in the festivalscape, including government and media. Instagram's active image-focussed 'Stories' function helped the Edinburgh Fringe Society's followership double on the platforms between the 2017 and 2018 festivals. In addition to digital channels, artists should also be active on the streets through flyering, postering, and street performing. The importance of 'active' platforms and content were threads that I attempted to follow throughout my month in the festivalscape.

Week one ended up as an establishing week. I managed to pinpoint the major venues, as well as the kind of content they specialise in, something that carries over festival to festival. Gilded Balloon's common specialisation is comedy, Assembly's is cabaret, Pleasance is overwhelmingly theatre-focussed, and Underbelly…well, it doesn't seem to know what it is. Someone I spoke with later in my fieldwork called Underbelly 'the Home of Drinking', which just about sums it up – the 2018 Underbelly grounds featured elaborate beer gardens, with a range of hidden spots for artists to party. Then there's Summerhall, which several people described as the next 'Big' venue – that is, the Big 4 of Gilded Balloon, Assembly, Pleasance, and Underbelly would soon be joined by Summerhall to create the Big 5

venues that dominate the Edinburgh festivalscape. Summerhall's specialty seems to be cutting-edge performance, with a range of artists from French clowns to Russian activist phenomenon Pussy Riot calling Summerhall home. There are a number of smaller venues, of course – the most prominent of which are the Traverse Theatre, C-Venues (situated in a range of smaller venues around the Edinburgh CBD), Space on Nicholson Street near the University, and Zoo, also on Nicholson.

Figure 9: Bristo Square (viewed from Underbelly)

In addition to the venues, throughout the festival is the Free Fringe, a polarising program that is run out of many bars and clubs across Edinburgh each year. Free Fringe waives costly venue hire and technical fees for artists, but also takes the majority of the show's profit – the program is primarily used as a springboard for artists to gain a following. As the artists in Free Fringe earn only a meagre cut of the funds, several people termed the program 'exploitative', whereas others credited it as allowing them to get their start in the Edinburgh scene. No matter which way these people fell on the spectrum of Free Fringe, they all suggested the same thing – it is not going anywhere any time soon.

This initial observational period was incredibly important. I needed to understand the festival in the same way everyone does during their first time in Edinburgh – I had to dive right in and see what I found. My first week was overwhelming and chaotic (particularly on the weekend), and I saw how Edinburgh Fringe takes over the city in its entirety. It brought out the best and the worst in everyone I

came across, particularly at 5am, when shows were still running. But, if I could describe it in one word, it would be intoxicating.

In the second week I started to hit the pavement. I spoke with anyone I could – from artists, to producers, to the barista at the café near my apartment: I wanted to know what people – particularly Edinburghers – thought of the Fringe. The overwhelming response from tourists and locals alike was that this festival was totally unique, and there was a sense of pride when speaking about it and how it elevates Edinburgh's cultural profile. However, some acknowledged the fatigue that the festival causes for all involved. Towards the end of the second week, the artists I spoke with indicated that the 'mid-Festival slump' was beginning. As Ed Fringe operates 7 days a week, with programming spanning from ten o'clock in the morning to 5am the next day, artists rarely get a day off, particularly if they are producing their own work. Quick turnarounds in the large venues mean that artists and producers have to be on the ball at all times. As an artist, you have to keep flyering, speaking, networking, and performing as much as you can, or the festival's sheer size will swallow you up. If you are lucky, you will win a Fringe First Award (The Scotsman newspaper's weekly award ceremony) and sell out your whole season. However, with approximately 10 Fringe Firsts awarded over a variety of genres each week, that's only 40 out of nearly 4,000 artists that get noticed. The odds are certainly against you, particularly if you are new.

Audiences started to swell in week 2. Londoners came up for the weekend, and with the first week over tourists started to arrive in droves just as the festival is in full swing. Ed Fringe is seemingly focussed on tourism, and much of the marketing exists to help patrons and artists navigate the unfamiliar festivalscape. The concurrently-running Edinburgh International Festival helps with this, along with the Edinburgh International Book Festival, the Royal Military Tattoo, and the Edinburgh Art Festival, which are all throughout the month of August. The city's atmosphere became increasingly frenetic. It was a struggle to walk along the street without being jostled or bumped – if you hate crowds, Ed Fringe would not be the place for you, and do not even bother trying to get a reservation in one of Edinburgh's favourite restaurants. Overall, though, people seemed happy. There was a drinking culture that radiates throughout the city, and revellers were often friendly and inviting. After I told a group of Londoners that I was a newbie to the scene and that I was doing my PhD on the festival, they ordered me a beer and gave me their recommendations for the city. People were open, joyful, and there's a real sense of camaraderie. Then there were the locals, who at this point were still tolerant of the festival and, more crucially, the tourists that flock to the city. Hotels, restaurants, cafes, bars, stores, and attractions are heaving, and staff are loving it. However, many did flag that this might not be the case by the end, and

told me I should check back in in a week or so to see if they were still feeling love for Edinburgh's festival season. By the time I did so in the final week, many locals I spoke with were ready for the festival to be over, and one stated that they were sick of tourists "overrunning" their city.

To summarise week 2, I took my observational research to the next level, actively participating in the culture and speaking with a range of different people, but remaining transparent about my desire to do so. My Edinburgh Fringe mobile ticketing application was getting a workout, and I attended shows in as many venues as I could to get the full experience. I even attended a show in a purpose-built yurt underneath a footbridge. Week 2 was about compiling and understanding opinions other than my own, and seeing how my observations match up against them.

The third week arrived, and the fatigue really set in, not just for the artists but also for me. This week seemed to drag, and it was the week where I got the least out of my participant observation research. I even had to spend a day in Glasgow to detox from the craziness of Fringe (only to find that a Bagpipe Festival was being held in Glasgow at the same time – a quiet day it was not). One thing that week 3 brought with it was networking. After being invited to one event I was soon invited to another, and then another. To be seen at these events was clearly a sign of status – everyone seemed to know each other, and the phrases "Were you at [insert event name]?" or "Did you know [person] is here? Do you know them? No? Allow me to introduce you" were commonly spoken. Those that did introduce me to their peers almost seemed to do so with a sense of pride, particularly as I was a relative newbie: to me, they seemed well-connected and worldly, and to their peers they were the one presenting the unknown commodity, the potential next person to know. I had a crash-course in networking during week 3, and experienced both positives and negatives from it. It introduced me to several potential participants, and, I will admit, helped solidify my drive to continue after several high-ranking industry professionals expressed interest in my research.

This was also the week where it was hardest to stay focussed. With a desire to eventually work in the arts, I received not one, but two job offers for 2019, and I would be lying if I said I didn't consider giving the entire thesis up to take those offers. For a few days, I was swept up in the festival, drinking more than I should have, attending as many shows as I could, and losing slight focus on the work. After a few days of pure fun, I realised that I had lost focus. Upon reflection, those days demonstrated the very nature of the festival. If you allow yourself to go down the rabbit hole, you can escape to a world full of culture, partying, fun, emotion, connection, and community. For those days, being shown around by a

friend of mine, I felt truly a part of the festival atmosphere, as opposed to someone just standing on the fringe of it, looking in.

Week 4, the final week, was my busiest. In addition to more networking, this was the week where some of my participants agreed to conduct their interviews. One was fresh out of hospital, recovering from a chest infection, but remarked that they had worked every day that they were in hospital. That sums up the pressure felt by many marketers and other staff within the Edinburgh Fringe festivalscape. The pressure to remain always on is omnipresent; the need to be working 24 hours, 7 days a week is just part and parcel with the job. 4 potential participants agreed to Skype interviews, however unfortunately I lost contact with them not long after I had left Edinburgh. This was one of the key constraints of my international research.

The final week also had an air of slight desperation. Artists were madly trying to get audiences into their performances to make as much last-minute money as they could. It was near impossible to walk from one end of Cowgate to the other without having your hands filled with flyers from a range of performers. It often was not even worth attempting to walk the High Street near the Castle; this major tourist spot was crammed so full of people – both performing and attending shows – that a normally 5 minute walk would take triple the time. Even South Clerk Street near Summerhall, which was normally fairly quiet, was full at most hours of the day. Most of my interviews were interrupted several times by artists attempting to flyer; one participant brutally rebuffed an artist, citing that it was foolish to bother flyering someone who, when wearing branded t-shirts and lanyards, was clearly an employee of a competing venue.

The culmination of the 4 stages of participant observation research at the Fringe provided me with an insightful 'insider' view of the festival. Observation research did not leave me immune to the feelings of fatigue and excitement that artists, producers, patrons, and employees feel as part of the Edinburgh Fringe community, but this proved to be an education in and of itself. By the end, I felt as though I finally understood the community and experience that I had been reading about for over a year. What was clearly evident was that you can't gauge a festival community from literature alone. To understand the environment requires attendance and participation within the festivalscape to completely understand why it's been engaging audiences – both local and international – for over seventy years. I will not deny it – I was swept away, charmed, and overwhelmed at times by this festival experience, but once I had stepped back to understand those feelings I realised I had achieved the very thing I went to Edinburgh to do: I finally understood what all the fuss was about.

4.1.1 Made in Adelaide (in Edinburgh)

Whilst in Edinburgh, I also spent time examining the Adelaide Fringe brand presence in the festivalscape. The Adelaide Fringe conducted a brand awareness campaign throughout the festival's run. This campaign included an on-site informational activation run out of a converted ice-cream truck that was staffed by Fringe employees flown in from Australia. In addition, there was a print advertising campaign in local publications and the Edinburgh Fringe printed guide, and a range of seminars were conducted by Adelaide Fringe staff, as well as several tourism-based events and the 'Late Night Party' at Summerhall, hosted by the Adelaide Fringe. The Adelaide Fringe also supported the South Australian Tourism Commission and Made in Adelaide campaigns by providing minimal on-the-ground support for those event partners.

Although I had done preliminary observation of the activation throughout the festival, I spent time in the final week at the Adelaide Fringe ice-cream truck in Bristo Square (as seen in Figure 10 below), speaking with Fringe staff who had come over from Adelaide. The purpose of the activation, according to these staff, was to bring Edinburgh patrons over to Adelaide. This was well and truly an international campaign, and included give-aways, mailing list sign-ups, a virtual reality activation, and merchandise. Towards the end of the festival, the staff seemed less enthusiastic about manning the activation, and merchandise and other prizes seemed to be thin on the ground; however, as the campaign had been running for nearly a month, this was to be expected to a degree.

Figure 10: Adelaide Fringe Ice-Cream Truck, Used for Activation in Bristo Square

Adelaide Fringe ran several seminars at Fringe Central, mostly centred on attracting artists and producers to Adelaide. Hosted by several Adelaide Fringe staff members, primarily from the Artists and Venues and Ticketing teams, the seminars highlighted the benefits of attending and participating in the Adelaide Fringe, repeatedly referring to it as the second-largest open-access festival in the world. Some staff already knew me due to my previous work in the Ticketing department in early 2017, but whilst they were cordial, they were somewhat reserved in speaking with me. In addition to these seminars, I attended the Adelaide Fringe Late Night Party at Summerhall, which was billed as a way to entice international artists to come to the Adelaide Fringe for 2019. At this event I found myself speaking with people from the Adelaide Fringe scene who happened to be in Edinburgh for the festival. People from government, employees of various arts organisations, and artists were all brought together to, realistically, party more than anything else. However, it did increase the Adelaide Fringe's overall presence in Edinburgh – and the Dissection Room above Summerhall was packed to the brim.

The Adelaide Fringe also assisted in profiling Made in Adelaide, a now-defunct initiative of the South Australian Government and Arts SA that aimed to profile South Australian artists within the Edinburgh circuit. The Adelaide Fringe activation in Bristo Square acted as a home base for SA-based artists, and the Fringe team – with the help of the SA Government, organised an event to profile the Made in Adelaide grant recipients. Made in Adelaide certainly seemed to have its favourites – such as cabaret and theatre artists Anya Anastasia and Joanne Hartstone – but nonetheless for the most part seemed to profile South Australian artists over the entire festival landscape, no matter the genre or venue in which they chose to perform.

This combination of events seemed to have a particular purpose: to forge a reputation for Adelaide Fringe within the Edinburgh Fringe landscape. As stated in section 3.3, the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringe festivals signed an MOU in 2016 that partners them as festivals, and this makes sense for both in their own ways; however, it is very clear that Adelaide Fringe wants to springboard off its Scottish progenitor to increase both audiences and artists in every way possible.

4.2 The 2019 Adelaide Fringe

In some ways, the participant observation research at the Adelaide Fringe was harder than the research in Edinburgh. As an Adelaide native, I have been attending the festival since childhood, with fond memories of seeing shows with my mum, and my brother Tom and I often struggling over the choice of the show that Mum agreed to attend. Visiting The Garden of Unearthly Delights is a rite of

passage; attending the now-annual Fringe Opening Night takes me back to my first opening night as a seventeen-year-old. It's my favourite time of year, where the city of Adelaide comes alive for five weeks and (apart from Mondays) is a city that does not sleep. I knew that in order to approach the research in a similar way to Edinburgh, I would have to attempt to put all of these memories, preconceptions, and experiences aside to approach the festival from a researcher's point of view.

However, it was inevitable that my approach to the research would be different in some ways. Comparisons began fairly early on, in a way that was not possible until research in Edinburgh had been completed. Despite being the second-largest open-access arts festival in the world (coming in second behind Edinburgh Fringe), Adelaide Fringe lacks the condensed, claustrophobic feel that plagues Edinburgh. Whilst there are elements of congestion – notably the East End and the University of Adelaide grounds, as well as the areas surrounding the Adelaide Festival Centre when the Adelaide Festival was also in operation – for the most part the Adelaide Fringe sprawls out throughout the Adelaide CBD, but also into the suburban areas of Adelaide, including Hindmarsh, Goodwood, Torrensville, Marion, and Stirling. The Adelaide Fringe has partner events in regional centres Whyalla, Mount Gambier, and Kangaroo Island both during and after the festival's run, in an effort to connect these areas to the Fringe. Much of the festival and event programming by Adelaide Fringe seems to attempt to engage with local South Australian audiences as opposed to just tourists, and overtly attempts to connect regional areas with the overall Fringe festivalscape. Similarly to Ed Fringe, the Adelaide Fringe is programmed around other major festivals occurring throughout Adelaide's 'Mad March', which includes the Adelaide Festival of the Arts, WOMADelaide, and the Adelaide Superloop car race. I noticed that the dispersion of festival content was the first major difference between Adelaide and Edinburgh, as in Edinburgh much of the Fringe programming was concentrated in the central part of the city and was directed towards engaging tourists.

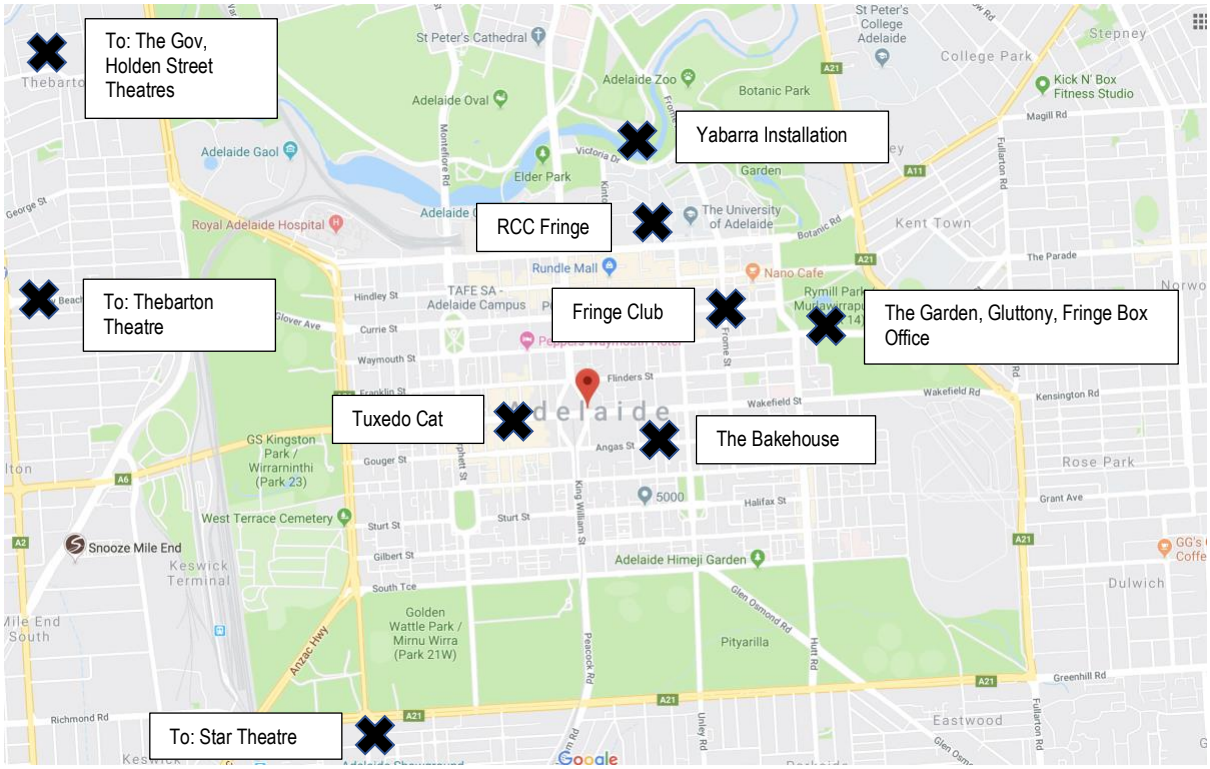


Figure 11: Adelaide CBD, featuring major venue hubs and Fringe Club

Whereas the Edinburgh Fringe Society hosted a closing night event in collaboration with Virgin Money, in 2019 the Adelaide Fringe hosted the Opening Night Street Party to promote both the start of the festival and a new lighting installation along the River Torrens, *Yabarra: Gathering of Light* (an example of which can be seen in Figure 12 below). Billed as a way to honour and acknowledge the Indigenous Kaurna heritage of the Adelaide city region, *Yabarra* was extended along the section of the River Torrens close to the University of Adelaide grounds, and ran for the entire month of the festival. In addition to *Yabarra*, in 2019 Adelaide Fringe also hosted Fringe in the Mall, an ongoing program of free, short performances from artists performing in the festivalscape. Similar programs were held at Adelaide Airport, and in a number of Westfield shopping centres throughout the Adelaide suburbs.

Figure 12: Yabarra: Gathering of Light

Viewing Adelaide with fresh eyes was vital for me not only to provide comparisons between the two festivals, but also to step outside of what is familiar and recognise and analyse elements of marketing within the Fringe landscape that I had not considered before. For the most part, the core mix remained the same as at the Edinburgh Fringe. The Adelaide Fringe brand had an extensive presence around Adelaide. With various forms of signage and multiple box office outlets, the Adelaide Fringe poster art was well publicised around town, as seen in figure 13. In 2019, the Adelaide Fringe also installed signs throughout the CBD to point patrons in the direction of major venues such as The Garden of Unearthly Delights, Gluttony, and RCC Fringe. Roadside banners, footpath and venue decals lined Rundle Mall and Rundle Street to lead patrons to the box office, and there were even Fringe-branded Lime electric scooters that staff used to move around central Adelaide. The 2019 Adelaide Fringe Accessibility logo (as seen in figure 13) was seen everywhere you looked in central Adelaide. There were also event campaigns (such as those described above), and digital campaigns that included a social media presence on Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and LinkedIn, as well as a targeted eDM campaign. In previous years, the GooseChase mobile game was used to engage patrons within the festivalscape, however this did not go forward for the 2019 festival; the reason for this was not discussed by participants.

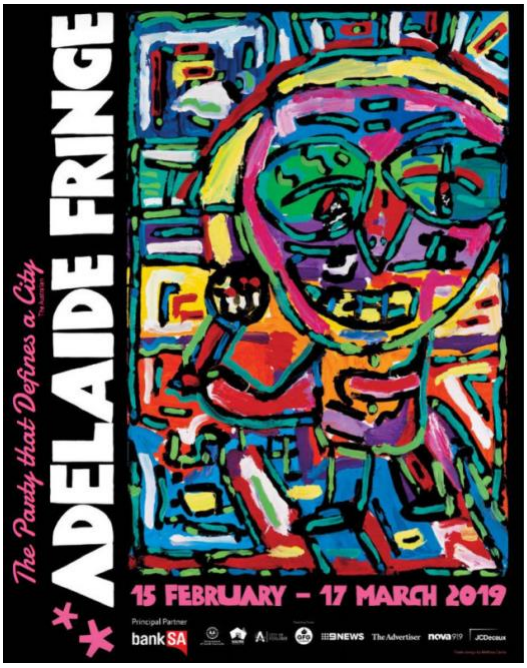


Figure 13: Adelaide Fringe 2019 Poster Art

A key difference between the Edinburgh Fringe and Adelaide Fringe campaigns was the overall branding for the event. Whilst Edinburgh had the #IntoTheUnknown campaign that attempted to elicit active engagement throughout the festivalscape (particularly on digital platforms), the Adelaide Fringe used the poster art as the core branding, whilst maintaining the use of the annual #ADLFringe digital campaign. Some interview participants flagged the use of an active campaign as a way that the Adelaide Fringe could improve its marketing strategy; this is discussed in Chapter 5 in the interview results.

Another major difference between the two festivals was the programs they ran for artists, producers, and media. In 2019 the Adelaide Fringe ran the Honey Pot networking program that acts in a similar way to Edinburgh's Arts Industry Program. In Honey Pot, artists, producers, venues, and programmers from around the world have the ability to collaborate and network with the aim of touring new work. Additionally, whereas larger venues in Edinburgh have their own exclusive, secret bars for artists, in Adelaide the Fringe Club (as seen in figure 14 below) was a central location for all artists and festival stakeholders to gather, perform, and party. Previously this club was a pop-up venue in the Adelaide Eastern parklands, but in 2019 the club was located in Roxie's Bar, a bricks-and-mortar establishment in Adelaide's East End near major Fringe venues. After being granted entry by a member of Fringe staff, I explored several seminars and stayed for the evening's festivities. On Saturday 23 February, I attended two seminars in Fringe Club – a Women in the Arts seminar and the recording of the Don't

Speak podcast. Both of these were very different to the seminars I attended at Fringe Central in Edinburgh; whilst the Adelaide Fringe did host networking events and up-skilling seminars, there were also a large number of cultural seminars that connect similar artists on panels to provide advice or assistance in performance and practice. The Fringe Club provided a central space for artists to gather in a way that Edinburgh Fringe did not, and this added to the overall ambiance of the festival and the sense of camaraderie between Adelaide Fringe stakeholders.

Figure 14: Signage for the Adelaide Fringe 'Fringe Club'

My first week was spent re-establishing my view of, and myself in, the Adelaide Fringe festivalscape. I attempted to attend as many venues as possible including the Big 3 in the Adelaide landscape – The Garden, Gluttony (as seen in figure 15), and RCC Fringe. For RCC Fringe, this was the first year of its rebranding strategy after well-publicised financial issues (Siebert 2017, p. 1), and the venue was relocated to the University of Adelaide grounds in what proved to be a controversial move (Nielsen 2019; Williams 2019). RCC Fringe was the one to watch in the 2019 Adelaide Fringe festivalscape, and unfortunately they had some issues at the start of their season. When walking through the venue on Friday 15 February after the Fringe Opening Night Party, it was evident that much of RCC Fringe's façade was not finished, and there were many tradespeople working well into the night (it was already approximately 10pm when I walked through the space). Speaking with several University of Adelaide students, it seemed as though the venue build was not completed until well into the first week of the festival. However, there is no doubt that RCC Fringe's rebrand was very striking throughout the city:

with its black-and-white themed marketing, the venue's branding provided a point of difference to the colourful collateral of the rest of the festival landscape.

Figure 15: Gluttony Venue Hub

The first week was a crucial point in the research as a whole, and I will not deny that it was difficult to dispel my previous opinions or personal connections to certain venues or content. It was also more difficult than I expected to branch out to a number of venues in the suburbs, and when I attended these venues they had a very different ambiance than the venues in Edinburgh: there was less of an electric atmosphere, and many felt like I was just attending any other gig at any other time of year. However, what I realised was that Edinburgh had crept under my skin – I was seeing Adelaide differently, and in some ways, negatively. I was glad that this happened in the first week, as it allowed me to shift my thinking to be more objective or , at the very least, to keep an eye on my subjectivity within the research.

Week 2 was when many of my contacts from Edinburgh arrived, which meant more networking. One in particular invited me with them to an industry event, which – as in Edinburgh – led to further interest in the research and more invitations to other events. The events that particularly interested me were those run by – or with assistance from – Adelaide Fringe staff, as mostly these were conducted by the Adelaide Fringe marketing team. As was widely discussed through the Adelaide arts network, the Head

of Marketing and Business Development had hastily left the Fringe in January, right before the festival. The marketing team at these events, which according to the Adelaide Fringe website featured both new and established marketing staff, seemed to do well, but it was evident over marketing collateral that there had been a changing of the guard, particularly when looking at digital media; for instance, the tone of voice had shifted slightly, and brand presence seemed to be smaller. However, after spending time observing the Fringe marketing team at a range of events, their professionalism in the face of this enormous pre-festival shift remained steady throughout. This was, understandably, something that was discussed throughout networking circles and overall the Adelaide Fringe marketing staff had a positive reputation within industry circles.

Attending networking events helped to recruit new participants to the research, and the more events I was seen at, the more 'legitimate' I and my research seemed in the eyes of the people I spoke with. If I knew a prominent Head of Marketing at a venue, or if I was seen speaking with a member of Fringe staff, my professional stock went up dramatically and I was granted coffee meeting after coffee meeting. Unfortunately, only some of these resulted in in-depth interviews, but those hours hitting the pavement were certainly worth it for the interviews I did obtain.

Week 3 was for diving head-first into the Fringe atmosphere, as it was in Edinburgh. Again, fatigue had begun to set in, and the late nights caught up with me. However, I collected every bit of printed collateral I could find, I attended several shows, I monitored multiple social media channels daily, and collected what quantitative data was available. I was determined to monitor the progress of posts and to watch the 'stories' of major venues and organisations, and kept a keen eye on all Adelaide Fringe marketing that was disseminated. I also read the online version of The Advertiser newspaper daily and performed my own form of media monitoring by keeping an eye on prominent news media social media channels. This process was crucial to gauging the reach of the Fringe – both the festival generally, and the Adelaide Fringe organisation – throughout the Adelaide media landscape. I started to notice certain marketing techniques that I had not noticed before; for example, the Advertiser's 'Hot Fringe Picks' were, I now saw, branded by Adelaide Fringe – they were paid advertising, constructed in a way that it seemed as if the Advertiser was picking these shows as the best of the festival. Whilst not technically misleading (the branding is quite prominent), recognising this guerrilla marketing was crucial to opening my eyes to other forms of marketing that I'd missed, including the use of the branded Lime scooters.

This discovery helped me reshape how I participated in, and observed, the Adelaide Fringe. For the first time, I stepped back and saw the vast commodification of this South Australian cultural landmark.

However, I did wonder – does this commodification negate the positive effects that the festival has on the city's ambience and general (cultural) well-being, or is it something that could and should be overlooked as both a necessary part of economic growth, and a sacrifice towards the greater good that the festival provides? Whilst this question is far too broad to answer within this thesis, starting to consider these ideas helped me understand how the research conducted throughout my literature review phase connects – and does not connect – with what I was seeing at the festival. I could see elements of cultural, socio-economic, arts, marketing, and digital media academic theories all coming together, and I finally saw how my project could potentially fit in within the academic landscape – although it did mean shifting focus.

The final week of Adelaide Fringe provided some challenges. Previously scheduled interviews were cancelled by tired festival workers, coffee catch-ups were pushed back, and previously-promised resources (particularly quantitative statistics) dried up. However, as the research had shifted and my focus had become sharper, the lack of quantitative data did not keep me down for long. I spent this week gathering as many field notes as I could. I conducted observation in various hubs, as well as the Fringe box office and review area on the corner of East Terrace and Rundle Street. It was interesting to note elements of digital engagement in these environments; patrons would take pictures of the reviews publicised on the boards provided by Fringe and the main ticketing box office, and used their phones to access the Adelaide Fringe sponsor scooters from Lime. I also overheard conversations of patrons with ticketing staff as they retrieved their tickets from their phone. To see all of this digital interaction take place in the one area was incredibly interesting, and simultaneously made me realise that not only were there ample opportunities for building brand relationships and creating subliminal marketing within these technologies, but that my research would barely scratch the surface of digital media interactions within the Fringe landscape.

Compared to the Adelaide Fringe activation in Edinburgh in 2018, the Edinburgh Fringe Society had a comparatively minimal brand presence in Adelaide. Aside from presenting a seminar for artists on performing at Ed Fringe, the Edinburgh Fringe Society had a fairly low profile within the Adelaide Fringe festivalscape. I spoke with one Edinburgh Fringe Society staff member who had travelled to participate in the Adelaide Fringe's Honey Pot networking program, but they mentioned that most of their staff are required to remain in Edinburgh and prepare for the coming season. They were a little cynical, which made me think that Edinburgh Fringe's reputation was so big that they simply do not need to have an overt presence in Adelaide. However, it was evident that, with so much artist cross-over between the

festivals, Ed Fringe don't have to work quite as hard to encourage people to come to Scotland in August; if anything, it seems like a rite of passage.

In many ways, my research in Edinburgh was very different to my research in Adelaide. This came down to not only my personal relationship with the festivals, but also because Edinburgh helped me develop my practice as a researcher and solidify much of what I had previously read about. Upon reflection, that might be the biggest affordance of the participant observation research within this project: it allowed me to conceptualise these large-scale cultural events in a way that is not possible from just reading about them. If arts festivals – particularly fringe arts festivals – are social, cultural, and emotional events, I was never going to understand their impact, and the role of marketers within the festivalscapes, if I didn't experience them for myself.

Chapter 5: Interview Results

The participant observation research described above was incredibly useful to understand the festivals themselves, and to gain first-hand knowledge about marketing in these contexts through the eyes of audiences. To gain a different view, I conducted in-depth interviews with 9 marketing specialists within the two festivalscapes. From these interviews, three core areas of analysis emerged: firstly, both positive and negative aspects of the festivals themselves, including rapid expansion and the impact of international festivals on local communities. Secondly, information about the practice of marketing within these contexts – including commonalities of the marketing mix in both festivals, the challenges marketers face, and the creation of brand relationships through detailed marketing strategies – emerged. Thirdly, the use of digital media marketing to not only facilitate the marketing strategies, but how these technologies provide new insights about audiences and enhance brand relationships to be ever-present and year-round, was highlighted. The following sections discuss each of these areas of analysis, as well as key themes that emerged within these. In many ways, the results reflect firstly what the festivals are at their core; secondly, the reasons why marketing is conducted; and thirdly, how marketing is conducted in both the Edinburgh Fringe and Adelaide Fringe festivalscapes.

5.1 The Participants

As stated in section 3.3.1, the final sample for interviews included 9 participants. These participants were engaged in detailed interviews, rather than those who were engaged casually throughout the participant observation research at networking events, public seminars, and other casual and non-recorded conversations. Participants have been anonymised in this study, and are listed again below:

Ed Fringe Participant 1 (Also stylised as EFP1): Ed Fringe P1 worked as a venue Marketing Specialist in a venue during the 2018 Edinburgh Festival Fringe.

Ed Fringe Participant 2 (Also stylised as EFP2): Ed Fringe P2 worked as an organisation marketer during the 2018 Edinburgh Festival Fringe.

Adelaide Fringe Participant 1 (Also stylised as AFP1): Adelaide Fringe P1 has over a decade of experience working as a venue and organisation marketer within the Adelaide arts industry.

Adelaide Fringe Participant 2 (Also stylised as AFP2): Adelaide Fringe P2 has worked as a Digital Marketing Specialist for organisations within Adelaide's arts industry.

Adelaide Fringe Participant 3 (Also stylised as AFP3): Adelaide Fringe P3 worked as a Marketing and Publicity Strategist at a venue throughout the 2019 festival.

Adelaide Fringe Participant 4 (Also stylised as AFP4): Adelaide Fringe P4 worked as a Digital Marketing Manager for a venue during the 2019 Adelaide Fringe.
Adelaide Fringe Participant 5 (Also stylised as AFP5): Adelaide Fringe P5 worked as a Marketing Manager for a venue during the 2019 Adelaide Fringe.
Adelaide Fringe Participant 6 (Also stylised as AFP6): For the 2019 Adelaide Fringe, Adelaide Fringe P6 worked in marketing at a venue.
Adelaide Fringe Participant 7 (Also stylised as AFP7): Adelaide Fringe P7 has worked as a Digital and Data Analyst within the marketing department at an Adelaide-based arts institution.

Below are the findings of interviews with the above participants, which along with findings in Chapter 4 inform the discussion for this thesis.

5.2 The Festivals

As discussed above in sections 4.1 and 4.2, the Edinburgh Festival Fringe and Adelaide Fringe Festival are both open-access festivals that grow to encompass the whole city, becoming immersive experiences for audiences. The rapid spike in population in both Edinburgh and Adelaide was evident in the participant observation, and artist practices appeared to be similar across the two festivals: flyering and postering was common within both the 2018 Edinburgh Fringe and 2019 Adelaide Fringe, as were the layout and programming structure of venues, and the competition between artists in similar genres. More than anything else, the participant observation research highlighted that in both festivalscapes the atmosphere of both host cities was transformed due to the festival, creating new opportunities for community engagement and tourism.

5.2.1 Standing Out at Fringe Festivals

Discussions with participants fleshed out this last observation to a greater extent. Ed Fringe P1 describes the Edinburgh Fringe as a "completely unique landscape", where patrons attend the festival not necessarily to see artists, but more to be part of the atmosphere of the festival. Because of this, venue and organisation marketers at the Edinburgh Fringe are "trying to sell an atmosphere", rather than tickets to shows, and therefore tickets become "a by-product of that atmosphere", a secondary aim in the marketing strategy (EFP1). In the festival environment, experiential marketing becomes the focus and the primary product to market becomes ambiance, atmosphere, and memory. Audiences attend the festivals to have a connection to community, experience, and excitement, and this is something that marketers can leverage and utilise to their own benefit (AFP3).

This can be difficult in the overcrowded and oversaturated festivalscape. Both Edinburgh Fringe Participants 1 and 2 indicated that this oversaturation at times led to confusion among patrons, and that most audiences were not aware of the different venues or organisations within the festivalscape as a whole. Speaking of this lack of differentiation, Ed Fringe P1 states that "You're just a really small fish in a really, really, really big overcrowded pond. Even if you are [venues] Gilded Balloon, or you are Underbelly, or you are Assembly…it doesn't mean anything to Moira who lives in Tolcross, it means nothing". Ed Fringe P2 sees it as their job to assist patrons in navigating this somewhat confusing space by providing digital and in-person marketing touchpoints, such as the printed programme and mobile application to assist in understanding and engaging with the festival. Visual branding is crucial to standing out in the Edinburgh Fringe, and venues will often have a particular colour associated with them. In 2018, Gilded Balloon was branded pink, Assembly was branded red, Pleasance was branded yellow, Summerhall was branded orange, and Underbelly was branded purple. Each of the major venue hubs uses colour to assist audiences in making a quick visual distinction between the big venues, and this ultimately helps them stand out and enhance their overall brand awareness. Strategies such as coloured branding are a necessity for standing out within overcrowded festival environments.

The Adelaide Fringe festivalscape faces similar challenges in that many audiences are confused about the open-access format, and who exactly facilitates the festival. Adelaide Fringe P3 states that many patrons confuse the larger venue hubs – The Garden of Unearthly Delights, Gluttony, and RCC Fringe – as being 'the Fringe', forgetting that smaller venues are also a part of the festival and that there is an overarching organisational body that facilitates the festival as a whole. Distinguishing the venues from the Adelaide Fringe organisation, and highlighting smaller venues as part of the festival, therefore becomes a challenge for marketers. In 2019, Adelaide Fringe venue RCC Fringe chose to achieve a visual distinction by using all black and white branding in 2019, with the aim of standing out from the rest of the colour of the festivalscape. As the Adelaide Fringe organisation and other venues use colourful branding, this can assist venue collateral to stand out amongst other materials. What is evident from interviews is that marketing within the two festivalscapes requires different stakeholders to stand out from each other, as many patrons do not automatically make the distinction between festival entities. This is particularly difficult for artists, who are often competing with at least 1,000 other shows for audiences. Most stakeholders are seen by the majority of audiences as simply under the main banner of the 'Fringe' (EFP1). This can be positive for the organisations that facilitate the festival, but frustrating for artists and venues underneath the Fringe umbrella.

5.2.2 Exponential Growth of Festivalscapes

Both the Edinburgh Festival Fringe and the Adelaide Fringe continue to grow in size each year, with the number of venues, artists, and audiences increasing with each subsequent festival. Edinburgh Fringe P2 states that not only is this growth highlighted in the statistical figures collated at the end of each festival, but also in how communications are changing and staffing requirements across all departments are increasing (EFP2). Participants in both festivalscapes indicated that marketers are merging with customer service departments as audiences look to digital marketing channels, such as social media platforms and websites, as spaces for inquiry and participation. Indeed, "there's just a greater expectation for us to reply and indeed a greater number of people getting in touch with us" (EFP2). Adelaide Fringe Participants 2 and 5 both indicate that this increase in audience inquiries has had a negative personal impact on marketers. Adelaide Fringe P2 believes that managing audience expectations has resulted in a sharp increase in workloads for marketers, who are required to work around the clock to manage these expectations. Adelaide Fringe P5 also notes increases in their workload over the past 3 Adelaide Fringe festivals, and that though they are not necessarily best placed to answer audience inquiries, this often falls under their remit. Whilst the oversaturation of both the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringe festivalscapes no doubt has consequences for practitioners in other areas, it is keenly felt amongst marketers within the field.

According to several participants, both the Edinburgh and Adelaide festivalscapes rely on tourism to feed the rapid growth in programming and audience attendance. During the 2018 Edinburgh Fringe, part of Ed Fringe P2's marketing strategy included encouraging tourism to Edinburgh city, to increase international tourism attendance figures from the 2017 festival. This was primarily facilitated through digital media campaigns, particularly on social media platforms such as Instagram, which is an aspirational platform that provides visual content to entice audiences to attend the Edinburgh Fringe. Ed Fringe P2 encouraged visitors to attend the festival by inciting fear of missing out in their follower base through the use of high-quality imagery of the city, festival events, and patrons engaging in the atmospheric elements of the outdoor venues. Part of the #IntoTheUnknown campaign was the active encouragement of use by artists, venues, and audiences. With mass content grouped under one hashtag, Fringe marketers then had access to a content bank for use in their communications. The main hashtag for the festival features on the printed programme, various print marketing materials around town, and on the official website and mobile application. Pushing audiences to share content to their networks is done so with the aim of making people "realise that Fringe is a place to be" (EFP2).

In the Adelaide Fringe festivalscape, Adelaide Fringe Participants 1 and 2 both believe that encouraging tourism is important for the festival's growth. For the 2018 and 2019 festivals, both participants included encouraging tourism as a core aim in their marketing strategy, as growth in tourism often leads to improvements in government or sponsor funding; this assists in increasing the production value for the following festival (AFP1). Adelaide Fringe P1 states that whilst they believe that they have not yet saturated the local Adelaide market, developing the national and international audiences within the Adelaide Fringe festivalscape is important, as audience growth directly positively impacts artists, who are then able to gain greater exposure for their shows.

It was evident through their presence and campaigns at the 2018 Edinburgh Fringe that creating tourism and increasing international visitors to Adelaide is important to the Adelaide Fringe marketing strategy. Adelaide Fringe staff conducted a month-long activation at the 2018 Edinburgh Fringe, with several events geared towards artists, including a 'Late Night Party' and informational seminars. Additionally, the activation promoted South Australian businesses, including Coopers Brewery and Bean Bar. Marketing staff used gamification (including virtual reality), person-to-person interaction, and competition giveaways to engage Edinburgh Fringe audiences in Adelaide Fringe content. Adelaide Fringe P1 believes that a campaign as wide-spread and physically engaging as this is necessary to achieve results in the Edinburgh environment, as "the noise that is in Edinburgh in that time, [a print] campaign would be a drop in the ocean" (AFP1). The campaign also sought to gather patron data that could be used for remarketing and digital campaigns and aimed to promote the Adelaide Fringe via word-of-mouth. This demonstrates that even when the festival is not physically occurring, creating tourism for future festivals is still a consideration in overarching marketing strategies and campaigns.

Whilst increased tourism leads to increases in overall net profit, it can place a strain on local audiences, which is something that several participants noted. In Edinburgh, the population swells to three times its usual size during the festival season, and according to Ed Fringe P1 this comes with its problems:

> [In 2018] there was over 4,200 shows…that's a lot of shows. And if you think about the environment we're in at the moment, economically and socially, that's a big stretch on the Edinburgh public and the landscape, and that's a lot of things to cram into a tiny city.

When creating their strategic plan, Ed Fringe P1 considers this strain placed on audiences, particularly the fact that continued festival engagement over extended periods of time also has financial implications:

> You're asking people to come out and take time off work, and to spend their evenings [going out] for 12 weeks, which is unrealistic…there is a small part of the local community who perhaps feel pushed out or not welcome or maybe they think [the Fringe] is inaccessible (EFP1).

Needing a high level of time commitment from audiences can cause content fatigue, which in turn can diminish trust in brand content. To mitigate their concerns about this, Ed Fringe P1 specifically tailored elements of their campaign – such as brand language and programming content – to target local consumers, at times to the detriment of engaging tourists. This was considered a way to "rebuild the trust of the city", and was done so with inspiration from other campaigns within the festival circuit (EFP1). As an example, Ed Fringe P1 cited the Edinburgh International Festival's engagement with the outer Edinburgh suburbs, particularly the suburb of Leith, which is 20 minutes from Edinburgh CBD and is a low-income area. As part of this local engagement initiative, the Edinburgh International Festival programmed more venues and shows in the Leith area, partnered artists and companies with local businesses for performances and promotions, and began the curation of a Leith-specific program to develop over the subsequent coming festivals (EFP1). Ed Fringe P1 believes initiatives like this will bring local communities back to the Fringe:

> The Edinburgh public are asked for 12 months of the year to invest and get on board with twelve different festivals, and that's a big ask…we all need to be grateful for them and grateful that they would put any effort into coming to anything. Because, fuck it, I wouldn't! I'd be pissed off! I'd be like, 'All you do is take over my city!'.

Creating a connection with local audiences can be achieved through the creation of a local brand identity for an organisation within the festivalscape. In the 2018 Edinburgh Fringe, marketers began using local Scottish slang to set their organisation apart from similar brands. The aim of this was to create an environment where local audiences could feel solidarity and representation in an environment that is increasingly focussed on international audiences and tourism (EFP1). In this way, the organisation is seen to be "just like every other Edinburgher on the street" (EFP1). Using targeted marketing strategies such as this specific use of language helps local audiences feel a sense of ownership over not only a brand, but the festivalscape as a whole.

The interviews provided valuable insights about the festivals themselves, including similarities and differences between the festivals (which are also described above in sections 4.1 and 4.2), the impact of the festivals on local audiences and city infrastructure, the engagement in tourism-based marketing campaigns to engage international audiences, and the reconnection with local audiences within festival

landscapes. Building on this, the section below will discuss the marketing strategy process, and how these campaigns and audiences engagement strategies were implemented.

5.3 Marketing Strategies within the Edinburgh Fringe and Adelaide Fringe

For the purposes of this discussion, the results will be discussed in relation to the 3 groups of marketers within this study: organisation, venue, and artist marketers. Most participants in this study had, at certain times, marketed for all 3 key stakeholders groups within their careers – some are marketing practitioners as well as artists, or have had experience in both venues and organisations. Marketing within these groups often feeds into one another; organisation marketers provide support to both venues and artists, but also need content and participation from both of those groups to create their own campaigns. Venue marketers need support from organisation marketers – who often have greater resources – and content from artists, but also have some power over the artists, who have greater limitations on what marketing services they can access. Artists need assistance from both organisational and venue marketers, but also have some power in that they provide the content that all marketers need to sell tickets and create greater profiles within the festivalscape. These symbiotic relationships – as outlined in figure 16 below - all work together as one section of the greater festival landscape, which includes government, corporate stakeholders, media partners, and of course, audiences.

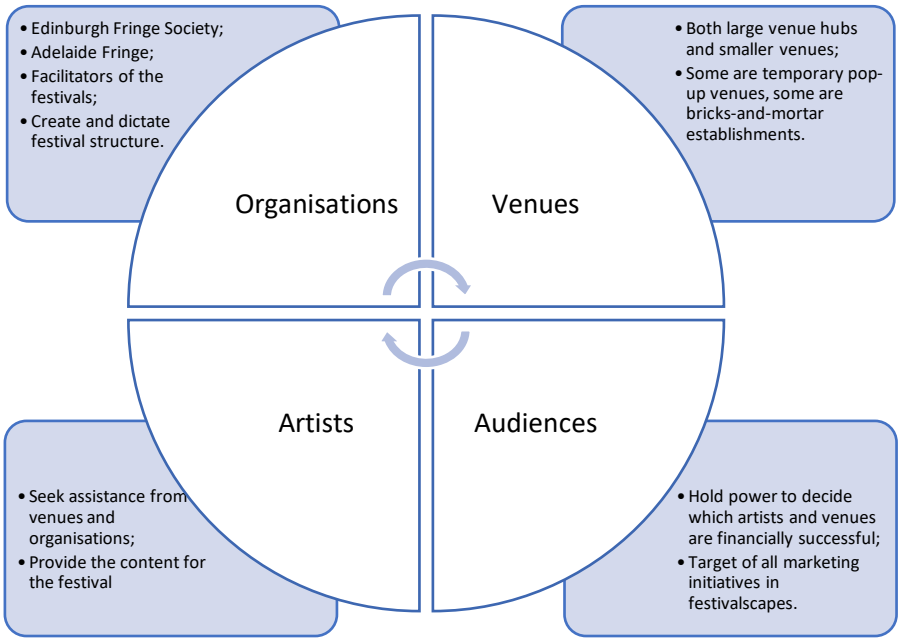


Figure 16: Symbiotic Relationships between Fringe Marketing Stakeholders in the Fringe Landscape

To clarify, 'organisations' includes the Edinburgh Fringe Society and the Adelaide Fringe – the organisations that facilitate the festival itself. 'Venues' are any venue within the festivalscapes, and similarly 'artists' refers to any artist within the festivalscapes. 'Audiences' refers to the wider collective audience for the festival itself. All 3 Fringe marketing stakeholders follow similar structures of a marketing mix and strategy, with minor nuances according to each subsection. For example, artists will conduct more flyering than organisations, but unlike venue marketers are not required to organise elements such as venue signage. These nuances are outlined in section 5.3.1 below.

5.3.1 Fringe Marketing Strategy

Creating a comprehensive marketing strategy is a necessity in any business, particularly for festivals and the arts, which rely on experiential brand marketing to maintain audience bases year upon year. Within a festival context, there is a need to determine what exactly is the main goal of a marketing strategy: audience engagement, brand development, ticket sales, tourism, or a mixture of these and other goals. Many overarching umbrella campaigns and the smaller sub-campaigns that sit underneath these set out to achieve these goals using a variety of platforms, technologies, and services as part of a comprehensive communications mix. Within this process are a number of challenges that relate more specifically to festivals marketing, including limited resources and short timeframes. Participants within this research discussed these challenges, the common components of a festival communications mix, and the reasoning behind these decisions in great depth.

Marketing strategy is a necessity "whenever money is involved" (EFP1). Adelaide Fringe P4 states that creating a comprehensive marketing plan is crucial for the success of any marketing campaign within a festivalscape: "I think more so for these festival environments, because you've only got that incredibly limited amount of time for it to roll out and execute. There's no second chance in getting it right" (AFP4). Due to the limitations of resources within festivalscapes, it is necessary to have a "really tight strategy in the lead-up and very clear vision of how you want everything to look" (AFP3). Having this clear vision comes from understanding the aims of the campaign itself. At the centre of a strategy is a driving goal or set of goals around which a strategic marketing plan is built. For most Fringe marketers, significant goals include increasing ticket sales and enhancing a brand's public profile.

However, some marketers prefer to build their strategies around overall brand awareness. Ed Fringe P1's 2018 strategy centred on the need to "educate, inform, and engage" audiences (EFP1), and they believed this to be a necessary function of marketing within any business, let alone festivals and the arts. The desire to educate and inform audiences was a common goal amongst participants within their

strategic marketing. Indeed, Adelaide Fringe P3 believes that a campaign should be both entertaining and educational, and should assist audiences to navigate the at-times overwhelming festival landscape. With an ever-increasing range of technologies and platforms, this education must occur over many marketing touchpoints within the greater mix. This is discussed further below.

Whatever the core goal within strategic marketing, all participants detail the need to be flexible, with a dynamic brand strategy that can adapt to any financial or publicity issues that may come along. For many participants, a core aspect of the need to be dynamic also comes down to ticket sales – those shows or genres that need extra sales assistance or events that have low attendance figures forecasted would be profiled more heavily. Monitoring these shows and their sales trends occurs on a daily basis, and elements of the marketing can be monitored or changed along with those trends. Some festival brands, depending on the content of their shows, need to be flexible to mitigate any controversies about programming.

With an increasing focus on customer service within festivals marketing, particularly due to the accessibility of information through social media, participants feel the need to be flexible with the day-to-day deployment of the strategy. Ed Fringe P2 believes that whilst this poses challenges, it is also a necessity of the medium: “I don’t think you should be restricted by a tight planning schedule, or indeed a super tight strategy that says ‘We only talk about this on a Wednesday’. I just don’t think that works”. Within the digital space in particular, Ed Fringe P2 cites the unpredictability of digital media as something to consider when drafting strategic plans, and sees this as further evidence of the need to keep strategy simple yet dynamic. “In reality, you can’t predict either the nature of human behaviour, or indeed the way the platform will handle your content…so by keeping things simple, and being very agile, that’s my philosophy [so successful strategy]” (EFP2).

Another reason why a fluid strategic marketing plan is necessary is that the content that is being marketed changes with each festival. Adelaide Fringe P6 notes that in some cases the overall branding of the festival organisation, venue, or artist also changes with each festival, which can prove a challenge for maintaining brand awareness amongst audiences. Audiences can become confused about a brand and their role within the festivalscape, or the brand’s content can become lost within the overcrowded festival marketplace. Therefore, to ensure that brand awareness for any festival stakeholder remains at a high level over time – both during the festival, and in its off-season – a comprehensive yet flexible plan is required to keep audiences engaged with brand content (AFP3).

Strategic marketing is necessary to manage issues created by limited resources within the festivalscapes. Often, festival marketers will "be trying to achieve something amazing on very little with very little resources" (AFP6). Limited funding is a common challenge for Fringe marketers, with sponsorship and government or other external funding providing a significant contribution to a festival's budget. This enhances the need for strategic marketing, as when government or corporate sponsors are supplying the predominant amount of financial support evidence must be provided to demonstrate that this money was invested by teams wisely; this evidence is often in the form of digital analytics (AFP6). All participants spoke of the challenges with this financial assistance throughout the marketing cycle, particularly as each brand needs to stand out within the overcrowded landscape in order to be financially successful. For many participants, the primary way they felt they could stand out was through the use of large outdoor advertising, such as billboards and advertising imagery placed on public transport. These advertisements are high in financial cost and are often inaccessible for those with small budgets for the festival season. Additionally, each financial stakeholder often has their own particular goals or interests, which must be acknowledged and fulfilled by marketing teams to ensure that their funding is received, and any specific deals are honoured (AFP6).

Another constraint for strategic festival marketing is a restricted timeframe in which to devise and implement a comprehensive marketing strategy. Working in a year-long cycle – with 6 months to strategise and secure stakeholder funding, and 6 to implement the strategy – marketers are required to work around these timeframes and produce a large amount of work in a small amount of time (AFP6). Where possible, marketers try to think 2 or 3 festivals ahead (AFP3). Within the first 6 months of strategising, marketers must also asses the strategic outcomes of the previous festival and report these results to any internal or external stakeholders (AFP5). Often it is not until 6 to 8 months out from the next festival that shows are programmed or registered, which leaves a short amount of time for marketers to complete individual show marketing or publicity strategies (AFP6). This is more of a challenge for venues than organisations or artist marketers, but all 3 marketing stakeholders within the festival space face challenges as a result of the limited time in which to devise strategy.

The second 6 months are often spent implementing the strategy, and this period includes the festival itself. Within this time, the core goal is to get as much engaging content into the public space as soon as possible, with the aim of having this correlate with higher ticket sales figures. This in itself can prove challenging for festival marketers, as audiences can suffer from content fatigue or become overwhelmed with the choice available. The festival marketing timeline reminds Adelaide Fringe P5 of a political campaign, where "you've just got to get it all out there before the end [of the festival], and with

enough time as well, for people to make decisions". Creating content that cuts through the noise within the festival is important. Once the festival begins, everything moves quickly, and the Fringe marketing strategy must be created with this in mind so that core channels can keep up. Because of the speed of the marketing cycle, Adelaide Fringe P6 sees their work as "reactive" marketing rather than pro-active, as to an extent marketing campaigns need to be dynamic day-to-day to account for any fluctuations in ticket sales. Once the festival has concluded, the marketing cycle repeats itself with the immediate commencement of analysis and preliminary strategy for the next year's festival. For this reason, festival marketers need to adapt to new ways of working within the space to ensure that sales and brand development goals are achieved through a comprehensive strategy. However, this can have adverse effects on marketers themselves, including an increased workload and impact on physical and mental health.

5.3.2 Challenges of Fringe Marketing

As both the Edinburgh Fringe and the Adelaide Fringe are open-access festivals, marketers who work for the organisations themselves are not able to profile one act over another. This is due to the edict of open-access festivals being non-discriminatory and fair to all artists who pay the registration fee. In this case, organisation marketers must devise other ways to promote the festival's content. Adelaide Fringe P2 speaks about the potential of the digital space to work around the challenges presented by open-access festivals, including the use of data-driven eDM and social media campaigns that market artists based on genres that audiences already like, without specifically marketing one artist (AFP2). Included in this is remarketing through 'Abandoned Cart' emails, which market to audiences shows that they have previously looked up on the website, or genres that they have liked either on social media or on the company's website (AFP2). This, and other marketing practices that help overcome this particular challenge for organisational marketers, is discussed further below in section 5.4.6.

Other participants who worked as venue marketers faced similar challenges, although this was more self-imposed than a requirement of the festival. Adelaide Fringe P5 states that, at the beginning of their tenure in marketing within a large venue, they felt a strong moral desire to promote their acts equally. However, as the venue – and thus the number of artists within a season – began to grow, they realised that this is not possible in an oversaturated space. Instead, they now firstly promote those acts that the venue itself has a financial stake in. They then decide who next to promote based on the artists that are receiving good reviews and providing the marketing team with engaging content, both visually (for imagery used on a range of channels) and on social media (AFP5). What is evident here is that, for those in charge of marketing more than one act, the need to market each act equally can pose a

challenge for practitioners who are working within such an overcrowded space, where the voice that shouts the loudest and most creatively is likely to be heard by a larger audience.

As outlined above, marketers within festival spaces encounter challenges that can be mitigated or controlled by creating a succinct and clear marketing strategy that all employees can follow. Adelaide Fringe P3 believes that the creation of a strategic marketing plan is a necessary step in the festivals marketing process to ensure that financial interests and needs are met, workloads are more evenly distributed, and technologies and investments are used to greatest effect. Within these strategies are various aspects of a communications mix, including print, digital, and media advertising, which are brought together to achieve the strategic aims of the season.

5.3.4 The Fringe Communications Mix

For arts marketers, particularly within the festivals industry, there is no one singular strategy or golden rule to ensure the successful marketing of an organisation, artist, or venue. Whilst section 5.4 below focuses on digital marketing more specifically, all participants acknowledged that digital media are one sub-section of a communications mix, which is made up of many different elements to achieve the core strategic goals of a campaign. Ed Fringe P1 sums this notion up:

> I think for a comms strategy every cog has to turn, and it has to turn at its given point in time to make it all work…you can't go into something with just a digital strategy, although that is my specialty and all that, and I do have an odd obsession with digital, but digital would be nothing if it wasn't for onsite activation, or if it wasn't for hand-to-hand marketing, flyering, all this stuff, word of mouth and all the other aspects of marketing…digital is a platform to raise all of that up.

All participants indicated that a communications mix includes traditional marketing channels such as print collateral, flyering, television and radio campaigns, competitions, and advertising through a number of channels. This is complemented by venue activation, which includes customer service points, ticketing outlets, uniforms and merchandise, outdoor signage, and visual design and dressing. Organisation and venue marketers, or acts with larger budgets, can utilise outdoor marketing such as billboards, public transport advertising, footpath stickers, fencing scrim, wayfinding materials, and other large-scale signage elements to consistently market a brand. These elements of a mix are traditionally quite expensive and can be inaccessible to those with smaller budgets. However, for organisations or venues, outdoor advertising is essential to the physical venue activation, particularly when fitting out box offices or information booths. Another aspect of a communications mix is the use of a street team –

often comprised of volunteers – who hand out flyers and promote the show, venue, or organisation on the ground directly with audiences.

Digital marketing channels are a prominent aspect of a festivals mix for all 3 key stakeholder groups. Artists, venues, and organisations can use digital technologies, either with financial backing or solely using organic content, to engage with audiences over several different platforms. The digital section of a communications mix includes social media marketing and eDMs, but can also include gamification, mobile platforms such as custom-built or pre-existing applications, website campaigns, and use of link-tracking and analytic services to complement these platforms. In order to create content for digital channels, marketers may hire photographers or videographers to build a bank of imagery to use across different channels. Several participants mention that the use of a videographer is often an investment, as the edited content will be used to increase brand awareness for the following year's festival.

Larger venues or organisations have dedicated publicists, situated either in-house or engaged through an agency, to promote the festival content in local, national, or international publications. Both the Edinburgh Fringe Society and Adelaide Fringe organisations assist artists with publicity through their Media Portals, where artists can upload materials for the media, including media releases and high resolution images for print. Media can access these materials and contact the artists directly through the details on the portal. Publicity campaigns are used as a part of the mix to increase brand awareness and are particularly important for organisational marketing teams, for whom brand engagement and increasing awareness is a core section of their strategy.

Both Adelaide Fringe P1 and P2 believe that a comprehensive communications mix is essential to facilitate several umbrella and sub-campaigns that often run concurrently throughout a festival's six-month strategy. Using their brand as an example, Adelaide Fringe P1 states that their strategy consists of "very top-level outdoor advertising, it has a radio campaign, it has a television campaign, it has a printed collateral campaign, and then it has a digital component". The mix brings these elements together to ensure that there is extensive brand awareness not only locally, but also regionally and nationally (AFP1). However, both Adelaide Fringe P1 and P2 stress that no one area of the mix should be given specific priority over another: "no brand should ever put too much emphasis on [digital] at the expense of any other channel…placing all of your eggs in one basket is also not going to get you anywhere" (AFP2).

Adelaide Fringe P3 outlines their communications mix as having a similar structure, and in addition uses a thematic branding design that changes with each festival. This informs the design and tone for the rest

of the mix, and is reflected throughout all marketing channels to ensure that the branding is cohesive and consistent. Additionally, the use of corporate partnerships and sponsors is an important aspect of the communications mix, as not only do these partnerships fund other areas of the mix, but the requirements of each of these corporate partners must be taken into account when creating content (AFP3). Adelaide Fringe P5 follows a similar structure, but also uses a custom-built mobile application as part of their digital campaign to engage audiences and make it easier for their patrons to access information about programming and facilities. Each of the participants present as following a similar structure, with their own additions or alterations according to what they need to achieve from campaigns.

As many of the participants in this research were aiming to increase overall brand awareness in their respective campaigns in the 2018 Edinburgh Fringe and 2019 Adelaide Fringe, a communications mix that utilised a range of different media and touchpoints was built into their strategies. Brand awareness locally is naturally crucial to bringing in audiences for each day of the festival, but awareness campaigns also target audiences both nationally and internationally. Within the Edinburgh landscape, Ed Fringe P2 creates strategy to reach audiences across the UK, as – unlike in Australia, where the distances between major cities are greater – a significant portion of their audiences travel to Edinburgh from other areas of the UK. This is primarily achieved through digital marketing and some print marketing collateral distribution, but when audiences reach the city itself outdoor advertising and venue activation are core ways to be informative and engaging within marketing (EFP2). Much like other participants in this study, Ed Fringe P2 states that "there is no one magic bullet that captures everything, so you kind of have to be everywhere…there are so many different ways you can reach people, you've kind of got to check them all out and try them".

Adelaide Fringe P6 believes that a core reason for using an expansive mix is that "in a festival of this size…you kind of need to be in more places". A mix that uses a range of different channels is often essential for festival organisations and larger venues that are promoting a whole program, not just one individual act or show. For Adelaide Fringe P3 and P4, creating brand awareness is important to stand out from the crowd in a busy festival landscape: "people do feel a strong emotional connection with us, and their memories, so we just have to remind them each year - " "Hi, we're still here!". From an artist perspective, Adelaide Fringe P1 and P2 believe that the artists they work with often are marketing with the assumption that digital media is their best possible channel, mostly due to its cost-effectiveness. However, Adelaide Fringe P1 and P2 assist artists in understanding that one channel will likely not reach a wide range of audiences, and that they should be "looking at all the other mixes, and really getting into the nitty-gritty niche marketing channels". Adelaide Fringe P4 agrees, adding that they assist artists in

understanding the necessity of a wide-reaching marketing mix, helping artists to use digital channels and print media together in an effective way.

5.3.5 Fringe Brand Identities

Creating widespread brand awareness assists in formulating and solidifying an overall brand identity. In festivalscapes, particularly the Edinburgh Fringe and the Adelaide Fringe which are both overcrowded and overpopulated, it is important for organisations to promote a distinct brand identity in order to stand out from one another. In Edinburgh, this is often done both visually – through the use of the colour system outlined in section 4.1 – and through creating an identity as the 'Home' of a particular genre; for example, Gilded Balloon is the 'Home of (Scottish) Comedy', and Assembly is the "Home of Cabaret" (EFP1). For audience recognition, creating a brand identity is crucial for marketers to distinguish themselves from similar brands within the festivalscape. Adelaide Fringe P5 states that creating a brand identity is an important part of their strategic planning for each Fringe, and that one of the core challenges they face is the need to be constantly focussed in order to accurately represent their brand. Adelaide Fringe P6 has a similar viewpoint: that creating a strong and instantly recognisable brand identity is necessary if any festival stakeholder is to cut through the noise of the festival. To create a brand identity, the first step for any marketer is to understand what a brand actually is – as Ed Fringe P1 states, "if you're a brand that knows yourself well, you can market yourself to perfection".

This requires marketers to often immerse themselves in their brand, as understanding the established brand tone of voice is essential to creating and maintaining a positive and engaging brand identity. To achieve this, it is up to management to ensure that their staff "are empowered and know [the] brand" inside and out (EFP2). Ed Fringe P2 believes that taking the time to understand the established brand identity is the first step to developing it through engaging content creation, as "if you know your brand's voice back to front, you don't have to workshop your response or [content], you know what it is in an instant". The ability to acquire this knowledge often comes from working within the arts and festivals industries for a significant length of time, and all participants in this study have worked extensively – through paid employment, internships, or volunteer positions – within the arts, and have experience working at different organisations. Some participants, such as Adelaide Fringe P5, were related to other members of staff or owners of particular organisations, which helps them to understand the brand identity on a deeper level.

Brand identities can be disrupted by competing messages within a campaign. A core challenge in creating a brand identity within a festivalscape is the necessity to fulfil financial stakeholder

requirements. Each stakeholder or sponsor will often have their own distinct reasons or agendas for being involved with a festival, will request services or a percentage of brand exposure, and may have different messaging to other stakeholders. These competing messages can create confusion for a brand identity, which is a challenge that Fringe marketers must constantly manage. Marketing collateral will need to change their tone of voice depending on who it is designed to target, and Adelaide Fringe P6 outlines that this has been a challenge for them in the past, as each of their stakeholders have competing interests. Core messaging changes according to whether they are pushing their sponsors, speaking to the general public, or speaking to a distinct group within their database. Adelaide Fringe P1 and P2 also have to manage this, as they have several high-spending stakeholders that each require their brand profiled in communications.

Another key stakeholder that every facet of a festivalscape has to factor in is audiences, who are increasingly interested in having a co-creative experience with a festival. Adelaide Fringe P1 points out that certain initiatives – such as the Adelaide Fringe's annual poster competition, in which the general public select the finalists for the following year's thematic design – are created to inform the development of an overall brand identity. User generated content (which is discussed further in section 5.4.3) collated through social media and gamification assists in this process. Here, the audience become a core driver of the brand identity of a festival entity. In order to leverage this user generated content, understanding who an audience is and what they are seeking to gain out of their festival experience is an important first step for marketers. As funding is limited within festivalscapes, all participants outlined that the most cost-effective way of understanding their audience is through the use of digital data collation, segmentation, and analysis platforms such as Google Analytics. Viewing audiences as stakeholders and making them feel a part of the festival as insiders (as outlined in Becker's work (2008), discussed in section 1.4) assists with gaining feedback at the conclusion of the festival, so that teams are more informed to strategise with marketing and programming for the next festival (EFP1).

Whilst creating a distinctive brand identity is not a necessity that is specific to the arts, within festivalscapes it assists the audiences to navigate the enormous amount of artistic content on offer. Audiences want to engage, and "the thing that's [sic] got the most personality, they're the things people can engage with a little bit" (AFP3). Using a varied communications mix to create brand identities and ensure that content is seen by the greatest number of audiences is something that every participant within this study highlights as a key aim, and challenge, for marketers within festivalscapes. The previous chapters have summarised the Fringe arts festivalscape as presented in Edinburgh and

Adelaide, and have discussed why marketing mixes and brand identities are core facets of marketing Fringe festivals; the following section will narrow the focus and discuss how these identities are created using digital media, and where participants see festivals marketing moving in the future.

5.4 Digital Marketing at the Edinburgh Festival Fringe & Adelaide Fringe Festival

All participants highlight the increased use of digital media marketing and see it as an important aspect of the communications mix. In particular, the ability to segment and target specific audiences, the capability to reach disparate and rural audiences, and the decreased cost of digital advertising are core reasons why participants are shifting towards using digital media as a prominent part of the mix. Other aspects of the mix do not have as wide a reach or represent a significantly greater cost. The prevalence of digital media within wider society, and the way this has changed day-to-day communication, means that marketers have had to shift their strategy to utilise this new style of communication. The sections below outline key findings from participant interviews about the use of digital marketing within a wider Fringe strategy.

For the purposes of this discussion, digital marketing comprises a range of different platforms and technologies, including (but not limited to): websites, social media platforms, emails and eDMs, gamification (including virtual reality), mobile applications, SMS campaigning, digital advertising, videography and photography, data analysis and collation, Customer Relationship Management (CRM) platforms, data visualisation platforms, and digital ticketing outlets. These have become greater assets to marketers because "as traditional media shrinks, digital communications have become more influential" (AFP5). This is not a phenomenon that is exclusive to festivals, but nonetheless Fringe marketers – who are often working with limited financial resources – have altered their strategic approach to account for both this shift in the wider media industry, and the cost-effectiveness that digital marketing can offer.

5.4.1 Connecting with Audiences

All participants use digital marketing as part of their communications mix; within digital strategy a common combination of platforms includes the use of eDMs, CRMs, and social media platforms as a base level. Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter are key platforms within a digital mix, although across the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringe festivalscapes the types of audience interaction on these channels differed. For example, Twitter is the most popular and highly used social media platform within the Edinburgh Fringe festivalscape, whereas in Adelaide it is not used as commonly by general audiences. Ed Fringe P1 and P2 both believe that Twitter is popular in Edinburgh as not only is it commonly used across the UK generally, but it is an "inherently open platform" (EFP2) that allows users to talk directly

and quickly to the artists, the media, and each other. Twitter becomes a platform to easily engage audiences, and “Twitter is really different in terms of festivals, it’s such an important tool because it’s so instant and it’s an absolutely incredible customer service tool” (EFP1).

Because of its ability to instantaneously connect people, Ed Fringe P2 sees the use of Twitter as a natural evolution of word of mouth marketing, which is traditionally a key marketing tool within Fringe festivalscapes, towards e-Word of Mouth (eWOM) (EFP2). In 2018, Twitter was used as a virtual flyering platform, as marketers are attempting to lessen paper waste with each festival. The Edinburgh Fringe Society also created the social media hashtag “#QuickFlyer”, which acted as an eWOM stream for artists to reach audiences. Through this running communication on Twitter, marketers can “spot trends emerging within the festival conversation” and stay ahead of their competitors (EFP2).

This is not the case in Adelaide, where Twitter is used primarily by international artists, government bodies, and media. Instead, Facebook is a more popular platform for Fringe marketers to reach audiences, and vice versa. In the Adelaide Fringe landscape, despite becoming saturated with content, Facebook is the primary social media channel for marketers, particularly for engaging with audiences (AFP4; AFP5). Facebook Messenger has emerged as the prominent way that audiences connect with marketers digitally with questions or complaints. Often, it is the marketing team who are fielding these questions as they are managing the digital channels; however, marketers are not necessarily best placed to answer queries. The rapid expansion in popularity of messaging platforms for customer service has also meant that marketing teams have had to expand or find a way to absorb the increasing workload.

As marketers become quicker at responding to queries and society overall becomes accustomed to communicating digitally, consumers’ expectations have changed, and most now expect faster response times and greater validation. Adelaide Fringe P2 believes that “people I guess have grown to expect you to somehow be on call 24/7, which is obviously impossible”. The process of managing customer queries is what Ed Fringe P2 terms as “triaging communications” and requires constant management by marketing teams. Participants outline the pressure that this creates for marketers, including increases in working hours, the necessity to work from home or out of usual contracted hours, and the need to answer queries that are not best placed with the marketing department. Marketers must constantly be on alert to manage brand perception, as negative public communications can be seen by a wide range of audiences. Marketers must therefore handle these queries delicately and professionally. Adelaide Fringe P2 believes that organisations will need to create strategies to combat

this impact on their employees: “It’s a bit of an ongoing conversation, and I guess it is still relatively new for businesses, so it’s [about] managing expectations”. There are positive aspects to this increase in consumer interaction with brands online. Firstly, this interaction is able to be tracked and analysed using platform-specific and external programs, which marketing teams can use as data sources when developing audience engagement campaigns. Secondly, this is a way to connect with audiences on a personal and widespread level that was not previously possible, and presents an opportunity to deepen the connections that audiences feel with festival brands.

5.4.2 Social Media Platforms & Their Use in Fringe Marketing

Certain social media platforms are used for direct sales messaging, whereas others are used more to enhance the brand experience and connect with audiences rather than actively and directly selling festival tickets or other content. Though it is used to varying degrees between the Edinburgh and Adelaide festivalscapes, Twitter is primarily a sales and information sharing platform. Twitter is often useful for promoting positive reviews, creating sales pushes for individual shows, and engaging directly with patrons with information or answers to consumer queries. In this way, it becomes a customer service platform. Facebook serves a similar purpose, although overt sales pushes have to be conducted more sparsely to avoid audiences switching off from an overload of content. As mentioned above, Facebook Messenger acts as a customer service portal, where audiences can communicate directly with staff.

However, Instagram is used more as an aspirational platform, where audiences can share their experiences in a creative way that portrays more of the lifestyle and atmosphere of the Fringes. Some participants who specialise in digital media marketing are strict about the content that is profiled on Instagram, instructing staff to refrain from any sales pushes on the channel. Ed Fringe P1 uses Instagram to target audiences, in a way that is outlined in self-created audience profiles; this is discussed further in section 5.4.6 below. On Instagram, participants tailor content more towards how they wanted the audience to feel towards their brand, not necessarily as a call to action. Ed Fringe P2 believes that this is partially due to the fact that content on Instagram is image-led, and “it is just that perfect combination [for] people wanting to document their Fringe experience”. All participants outlined the rapid growth of Instagram’s popularity as a reason for needing to be more strategic with its content. Ed Fringe P2 believes that Instagram is becoming more popular as it is an amalgamation of certain elements of both Facebook and Twitter, with the point of difference of using imagery and videography as the primary communicative medium. People can interact quickly and creatively, and “it kind of strikes as that perfect balance of the close friends that [users] already have, that you get on Facebook, but the

discoverability of strangers that Twitter offers, while being focussed around imagery. So, it's kind of that all those things align perfectly" (EFP2).

Instagram provides new avenues for artists and audience engagement, including employing influencers and the use of an Instagram take-over. 3 participants spoke of their previous use of local and national influencers in Instagram campaigns; these influencers are often contracted through public relations companies (AFP5). For venues and organisations, influencers are beneficial as a way to promote particular content without compromising the impartiality that is required when working in an open-access festival. Influencers attend shows or venues, often free of cost to them, and promote the content on their channels. This promotion is often perceived as more authentic and grassroots than traditional marketing channels, which some audiences are switching off from due to the immense oversaturation within the festivalscape. Considering this, the Adelaide Fringe Ambassadors, which is a yearly program that sees mid- to high-level current and former Fringe artists promote the festival both nationally and internationally, could be seen as an influencer program that is conducted both on- and off-line.

Several participants within the study used take-overs from artists, staff, sponsors, and other national and international festival organisations to engage a wide range of audiences and tap into other digital follower spaces. These take-overs often include content on both the Instagram feed and the Instagram Stories function. Take-overs can be used as a free substitute for paid advertising, which is often utilised to access previously underused audiences, or audiences that are usually out of reach for free organic social media content. During the 2018 Edinburgh Fringe and the 2019 Adelaide Fringe, the opposing organisations ran a 'take-over' campaign on their official Instagram channels. Throughout August, the Edinburgh Fringe ran a take-over campaign on the Adelaide Fringe Instagram, showcasing a range of shots from the festival, as well as touristic shots of Edinburgh city. The intention was to give Adelaide audiences a look at the Edinburgh Fringe as it happened and attempt to draw Adelaide audiences to the festival by giving them a taste of the atmosphere of the festivalscape. Adelaide Fringe then ran a similar campaign during their 2019 festival on the Edinburgh Fringe Society's channel. This cross-promotion is often beneficial to both parties and allows for opportunities to engage potential international audiences (AFP1). However, take-overs tend to be more beneficial on international levels rather than locally, and Adelaide Fringe P5 believes that the Instagram Stories function, where marketers can share a range of different artist, staff, and sponsor content themselves, has meant that in many cases Instagram take-overs have become obsolete.

In addition to Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram, Adelaide Fringe P4 also uses LinkedIn as a core social media platform within their digital marketing strategy, however, they refrain from using any more platforms than these 4. Due to the "limited staff and limited time" during a festival season, there is only so much energy that can go into creating and maintaining different content on the individual platforms. Each platform requires different content specifications, different tones of voice, and suits different copy and imagery. Adelaide Fringe P4 uses Facebook and Twitter as sales and informational platforms, Instagram for brand and audience development, and LinkedIn for business-to-business or industry-based communications. They state that these platforms each add value to their communications, and a strategic scheduling plan assists in rolling out content in a way that does not overwhelm audiences, particularly as some audiences will cross over on some or all of these platforms, depending on the depth to which they are involved in the festivalscape.

Participants also used social media, and Instagram in particular, as a way to create a bank of user generated content. Adelaide Fringe P5 leverages content gathered through social media channels within their content marketing, and cites limitations in time and resources as a reason why this approach is useful. Here, marketers are able to collate content – after seeking permission from the creator of the original post – that can be used further into the festival or on a day where there is minimal publicity or festival content with which marketers can work. Adelaide Fringe P5 also sees this as a valuable form of eWOM, as "people are listening to their friends and connections a lot as well…I think crowdsourced content will continue to be important". Ed Fringe P2 believes that the sharing and reusing of content on social media platforms is what assists these technologies – and the businesses they assist – to evolve. Discussing content sharing and adaptation, Ed Fringe P2 states:

> Other aspects of [strategy and digital philosophy] is not being ashamed to take inspiration from other people's ideas, because in such a big platform and such a big place of conversation, original ideas are few and far between and there's nothing wrong to look and learn from others.

Seeing content sharing and adaptation as a form of collaboration and "joining a bandwagon" as opposed to copying content from other users without credit, Ed Fringe P2 cites meme culture as evidence of how digital platforms thrive on remixing and reusing user generated content on platforms. In this way, social media naturally present opportunities for Fringe marketers to adapt, reuse, or remix user generated content. This also helps include audiences as part of the 'in crowd', and brings them into the brand community by using their content on official channels. For Fringe brands, which rely on

community support both for publicity and financial success, creating this brand community can be beneficial in the long-term.

5.4.3 Platform Tools

Digital communications can be searched, linked, and discovered through the use of hashtags, which are now ubiquitous across a number of platforms. Participants use hashtags in different capacities: some use them on all platforms, some exclusively on Instagram, and others not at all. Some participants do not use hashtags as they do not fit with their brand style, or feel that they make communications confusing or overwhelming to read. Others deliberately use certain hashtags to increase digital ties to tourism, government, or corporate organisations, particularly those that are sponsors or partners. Doing this increases "searchability", and exposes content to a greater number of people, as often partners will repost or promote content that also furthers their brand (AFP2). In Adelaide, the official Fringe hashtag is #ADLFringe, and in Edinburgh it is #EdFringe. However, Edinburgh Fringe also uses a themed hashtag specific to that year's festival. In 2018, the Edinburgh Fringe dedicated hashtag was #IntoTheUnknown. Along with a visual design that encapsulated a feeling of descending into a vortex, the hashtag was featured not only on digital media, but was also profiled on the spine of the printed programme, and on other printed collateral such as banners and posters.

The idea behind this type of hashtag is to engage audiences in a collective online conversation, where content can be added and developed, and a bank of user generated content can be created. Edinburgh Fringe P2 believes that the use of this hashtag was successful in creating a sense of collective experience among the many different facets of the Edinburgh Fringe audience, and says that once the Fringe began, the visibility – and, therefore, the use – of the hashtag online "exploded, it just went through the roof". They believe that the use of an active hashtag, and one that can very easily be used within captions and other written copy, is a way that audiences who desire to be actively involved within a festivalscape can be included within the conversation, as an insider rather than someone looking into the space as a typical audience member. Additionally, active festival-specific or themed hashtags are beneficial to venues and artists, who can make them fit easily within their communications, and can use them in conjunction with any other hashtags associated with their spaces or shows. For their organisation, Adelaide Fringe P4 creates hashtags not only to engage audiences throughout the festival's run, but also so that at the conclusion of the festival there is a digital version of "a beautiful little scrapbook" for artists, devoted audiences, and stakeholders to look through. In this way, hashtags

not only provide avenues for digital connections on multiple fronts, but also allow marketers to have content saved for future use that audiences can connect with personally.

Adelaide Fringe P3, who has worked in both the Adelaide and Edinburgh festivalscapes, believes that attempting a similar active hashtag campaign would be beneficial for the Adelaide Fringe organisation: "The overall [Edinburgh] Fringe Society had – you know, every year they've got a new one…if [Adelaide Fringe] were rolling out one that was kind of something along those lines, that would be a really fun one to get involved with". An active, campaign-based hashtag can be "engaging in the whole community", not just for audiences and artists, but also for marketers from all stakeholder areas (AFP5).

Social media platforms also provide a number of additional tools that marketers can use to engage audiences, including stories (as on Facebook and Instagram) and live video. These can help to gauge overall audience engagement with social media content, as these tools provide viewership data and in the case of live video register when users log on and off to view content. This can assist Fringe marketers in understanding what audiences want to engage with online. However, use and monitoring of these tools requires time, which Fringe marketers often have in short supply. Other social and digital platforms that act as audience engagement avenues are gamification platforms, such as the Adelaide Fringe's GooseChase campaign, and its use of virtual reality technology at various activations, including the activation at the 2018 Edinburgh Fringe. Again, a key challenge with implementing campaigns using these technologies is that they often require immense time and effort from marketers to set up and maintain audience engagement. For example, Adelaide Fringe P2 is interested in utilising China-based platform WeChat within their digital media strategy, however they do not currently have the time or resources to set up, monitor, and develop an audience on this channel. Additionally, Adelaide Fringe P5 uses a mobile application to collate and distribute information about their venue, which not only engages audiences but mitigates some of the customer queries that are commonly seen on informational channels. However, when discussing these technologies, participants noted that users must have access to a smartphone, which may restrict use to younger patrons rather than older audiences.

Adelaide Fringe P4 believes that understanding which demographics are using the individual platforms is the key to using them successfully and to the greatest effect, as "they all attract different audiences and people use them differently. So the same person might use Instagram and consume Instagram in a very different way to how they do Snapchat or Facebook" (AFP4). Because of this, it is necessary to adapt content to suit each individual platform. Strategising around this requires an understanding of

how content is consumed on each platform, including how long people are viewing content for, which devices they may be using to do this, and how they respond to branded content as opposed to behind-the-scenes content (APF4). Understanding the demographics of people using each platform, and which content works best on each, helps to reach a wide range of audiences as opposed to one common segment (AFP3).

All participants across both festivalscapes note an increase in popularity of Instagram, which they signalled as a move towards behind-the-scenes, aspirational and lifestyle content online. Adelaide Fringe P4 believes that this is partly due to the oversaturation of other platforms such as Facebook and Twitter. Audiences have started turning off from the platforms due to both overproduction of content, and an increased awareness of digital marketing techniques (AFP4). Some participants have adapted content to suit the platform and to increase brand engagement figures with audiences. Ed Fringe P2 used a tourism-based strategy on their Instagram, identifying and highlighting user generated content that features the city of Edinburgh as well as Fringe festivities. This engages audiences in a positive way by including them as a part of the brand identity by validating their festival experience – and their skills as a social media user – as being worthy of being profiled on official channels. Instagram Stories and live video were used by marketers within both festivalscapes, as algorithms shift to favour live content to encourage marketers to use these functions (AFP2). Live video has its limitations in the Fringe environment, as it requires appropriate and consistently engaging content for it to be successfully leveraged. Furthermore, the use of live video is limited to the festival itself, and the technical infrastructure of the phone network, which can become slow or jammed in a crowded festivalscape, can limit how well this can be used (EFP2; AFP2). The Stories function on Instagram is something that participants utilise, and Adelaide Fringe P4 believes that this "proves that people are more than happy with those fillers and actually love those mindless activities…it's just passive consuming, which is becoming more and more popular" (AFP4). Here, participants highlight the need to understand what content is working best on these channels, and how to leverage that to achieve strategic goals. Specialised platform-based tools can be useful, but only if their limitations are understood and can be mitigated.

As consumer expectations are evolving quicker than marketers can keep up with, Ed Fringe P2 believes that eventually artificial intelligence 'bots' or platforms will evolve with this demand to provide quick and accurate responses to consumers. However, they concede that in a festival environment audiences are often highly attuned to inauthenticity, and so use of bots may not be appropriate. Therefore, Fringe marketers would need to accept the increase in workload that comes from answering

all customer queries. For Ed Fringe P2, this workload is a considerable strain on the organisation and its staff to overcome, and at this point artificial intelligence technology is "not mature enough" to overcome the issue. This means that, for the time being, it is necessary for marketing staff to incorporate this into their day to day duties. Adelaide Fringe P2 believes that marketers are not, for the most part, best placed to answer customer queries: "it's a bit of an ongoing conversation and I guess it is still relatively new for businesses, so it's about managing expectations and where [this responsibility] sits". However, they are learning which platforms need to be managed first; for example, audiences are more likely to be patient with email correspondence, which typically has a longer wait time than social media, where audiences are wanting more instantaneous communication (AFP2). Having this knowledge has helped prioritise communications for staff and organise this unexpected workload.

5.4.4 Affordances & Constraints

Digital marketing has provided an opportunity for marketing within a Fringe festival landscape to be of a much lesser cost than other channels. Digital advertising provides Fringe marketers – whether organisation, venue, or artist based – with the capability to access targeted advertising services at a fraction of the cost of traditional print or broadcast advertising. However, for Fringe entities that are funded through government bodies or corporate sponsorship the need to be strategic and to be able to justify advertising spending becomes necessary. When there is external support involved, the outcomes of a campaign often determine future funding, and external bodies will often want to know that their financial investment was spent wisely (EFP1). Participants outline the need to be strategic within the digital portion of the mix, not only due to the high level of visibility of a brand on digital platforms (particularly social media), but also to the increasing financial spend that is attributed to digital marketing.

Ed Fringe P2 states that digital media have become a sphere of "pay-to-play" marketing: digital platforms will only allow for a certain amount of consumer reach without a financial investment from the user. Whilst previously content that is 'organic' – the term for digital content that is not associated with any advertising spend – was itself enough to engage audiences, platforms such as Facebook and Instagram are prioritising content that has been sponsored or boosted by marketers. Whilst Ed Fringe P2 does not offer any solutions to this growing financial issue within digital marketing, they believe that it is possible to still create engagement without financially investing in digital advertising, although "it's much less [possible], it's much more reduced". Other participants echo this sentiment, and to remain frugal with their spending they will sponsor digital content that specifically markets shows they are

producing (AFP5) or sponsor messages that are of higher importance within their overall strategy (AFP3).

All participants use digital marketing within their overall Fringe festival strategic approach, but each has their own specific reason for why this is the case. Adelaide Fringe P3 states that digital marketing has become "the cornerstone of a marketing plan". Adelaide Fringe P6 has digital marketing at the heart of their strategic approach to reach their target youth audience, and "the first and primary channel is always digital and social". Ed Fringe P1 uses digital as a core element of their strategy, as not only is digital media their passion, but they are able to use the digital analytics that come from the various platforms as valuable information to inform future strategy and pass on to stakeholders. Adelaide Fringe P5 uses digital media to attract and inform audiences in the wider metropolitan and rural areas of South Australia, and states that "we don't want [digital] to be the only thing they see, but it might be".

However, some participants – even those that specialise in and champion the use of digital technologies – caution against overreliance on digital media marketing within the overall mix. Adelaide Fringe P2 believes that digital marketing needs to uphold "the same basic tenants of marketing" in the sense that "it's always obviously customer first and making sure you're telling your brand's story". Content on digital platforms should align with other marketing channels and "shouldn't really be different to any other touchpoint that you use" (AFP2). Additionally, digital marketing should be conducted with the knowledge that practitioners need to be agile with strategy, as "the digital space is very much in its infancy", and Adelaide Fringe P2 predicts that over the next five years the digital sphere will become more heavily regulated and moderated.

5.4.5 Segmentation & Targeting

A common reason for the use of digital media within a Fringe festival marketing strategy is the platforms' ability to segment and target particular audiences. Ed Fringe P1 outlines the benefits of targeting audiences digitally for all festival stakeholders, and recalls conversations that they have had with artists within the Edinburgh Fringe space:

> In terms of digital, loads of people, and even acts who come into the office in August [during the festival] are like "Oh, I want to do social ads"…and I was like, "Cool, so what are your segments, who are you targeting?". And they're all like, "Oh, well I'm targeting the Edinburgh Festival Fringe, I'm targeting EIF (Edinburgh International Festival), I'm targeting all these massive things happening". And I'm like, why are you

doing that? Why are you being part of 100,000 people trying to target the same thing?

For Ed Fringe P1, the ability to target a range of different segments is an affordance of using digital media within Fringe marketing. With disparate audiences that may come from interstate or overseas, the ability to target those audiences with minimal advertising spend is valuable to Fringe marketers who likely have small budgets. However, targeting audiences must have a strategy behind it, and Ed Fringe P1 uses digital data from previous festival campaigns to create customer profiles to target and develop content. These customer profiles are based on personality types, and all digital content is created, segmented, and advertised according to the personality traits of these profiles. For example, one is 'Ewan', who is "between 24 and 28…he's male, he's interested in sport, he's interested in typical Scottish things like hanging out with the lads, going drinking" (EFP1). To target the 'Ewan' section of their audience, Ed Fringe P1 uses content such as atmospheric shots of outdoor bars, comedy programming, and other imagery of the nightlife of the festival, and this is then segmented online according to age, location, and interests on social media channels in particular. Similarly, another profile is 'Claire', who is a "single mum, between the ages of 28 and 34, Scottish or English…has maybe one or two children and so is interested in kids' shows and the access [provided] for young people…but also interested in a girls' night out on Friday with all the mums". For 'Claire' patrons, content is both family friendly – including access information for prams or young children – and features Friday or Saturday night line-ups, particularly with well-known female comedians. This is then segmented and targeted in a similar way to the 'Ewan' audiences. Digital media provide the ability to take the information from audience profiles and use that to create targeted communications that are more likely to resonate with those specific audiences. Here, traditional marketing strategies are taken to the next level using digital technologies.

Adelaide Fringe participants similarly speak of the affordances of audience segmentation and targeting using digital technologies. Another way that these participants highlighted the use of segmentation is through the targeting of already gathered patron information such as commonly purchased price types and favourite genres. This is collected and collated through not only social media, but also from Customer Relationship Management systems (CRMs) or digital ticketing systems (AFP2). In many cases, these data sections can be brought together to create a well-rounded picture of what audiences are engaging with and purchasing (AFP7). This works particularly well for artists and venues that can afford to use these technologies, however organisations – which are supposed to remain neutral towards all artists in their communications – can struggle in using digital targeting to its fullest advantage. Additionally, the use of remarketing through 'Abandoned Cart' emails, where patrons

receive an email reminding about any purchases that they did not fully execute online, is a way to market specific shows without overtly favouring one particular artist (AFP2). This segmentation and targeting is "a real benefit of the digital space" (AFP1), and is something that was not possible prior to digital media becoming more developed and integrated into strategic marketing.

Audience segmentation and targeting would not be possible without advancements in digital data reporting on a range of platforms. Adelaide Fringe P2 states that the significant development in data collection and analysis on digital media platforms since 2017 has made audience insights more accessible for marketers, who can learn more about who is accessing their content than ever before (AFP1). This is particularly helpful for Fringe festival marketers, who are working with limited resources and financial assistance. All participants use data and analysis within their strategic marketing campaigns in their respective festival entities. This data is composed of engagement figures on websites and social media platforms, click-through data for eDMs, purchasing data on ticketing platforms, and use of mobile application and gamification technologies. As a data specialist, Adelaide Fringe P7 uses a range of CRM and data visualisation platforms to bring these different data sets together to form a coherent profile of their core audience. Pulling these data sets together helps marketers gain a fuller picture of who they are targeting successfully, and which audiences they need to develop. Adelaide Fringe P7 believes that "data in our sense is for the purposes of audience development": its core use is to help grow and target the audiences that are interacting with a brand and its content. After audiences have been identified and segmented, this data can then be used to deliver relevant and engaging content to the audience segments that will be most receptive to that content, and is useful so that marketers "just don't bother people with the wrong stuff" (AFP7). Digital data also helps as a reporting tool for stakeholders, particularly when providing feedback on paid digital advertising.

5.4.6 Reliability of Data & Analytics

Some participants were divided in their reliance on this data to create their strategic marketing plans. Ed Fringe P1 states that whilst data can help form a basis for the next festival's strategy, engaging with audiences online and having digital and in-person conversations will ultimately provide a greater understanding of audiences' needs and goals for interacting with the brand:

> There is a danger of people entering into this industry or people working within social who rely on analytics to the point where they reject content or they cut campaigns or they don't do things, they can't see through the numbers…you have to engage with your audiences, you have to talk to them, you have to find out their personalities.

This emphasis on person-to-person engagement as opposed to data analysis places the audience at the centre of strategic development. Whilst they acknowledge that other practitioners may not agree with their viewpoint and would prefer to solely use statistics from digital platforms about content engagements and impressions, Ed Fringe P1 stands by their approach: "if you just look at it from [an analytical] standpoint and you don't take on board the content and the context of the engagement, then how are you informing yourself of what your audience needs or wants?". Here, engagements are where users actively engage in content by watching, liking, or sharing it, whilst impressions are where the content has been profiled in user's news feeds.

Ed Fringe P2 holds a similar sentiment to Ed Fringe P1, and states that whilst the social media strategy for their organisation is driven by data reporting, "we try not to get too obsessed with it". The desire to resist a sole focus on data to inform strategy comes from Ed Fringe P2's belief that both digital media technologies and festivalscapes are hard to control, and that whilst engagement may be high one week, "it doesn't mean it will work next week, but that's the art of it". As digital marketing is indeed "still an art, and not science", Ed Fringe P2 tries to take person-to-person interaction and engagement into account when crafting their Fringe strategy.

Ed Fringe P2 believes that constant monitoring is the key to understanding audience reaction to content: "we evaluate and access [data] but if we think it's right then we do it…you can't predict what will be a success, so just keep doing what you do, just do more of it and you'll see with your eye what works". Adelaide Fringe P5 attempts to constantly remain in contact with their audiences online, as it allows them to "take the temperature on how the online community is feeling". Adelaide Fringe P6 holds a similar belief, and aims to keep a human element to their campaigns, stating that: "It's interesting as well how often that we forget that we're allowed to be human, and how refreshing it is when you come across anything online that actually gives you an indication that there's a human behind it".

On the other hand, Adelaide Fringe P1 and P2 use data as the determining factor within their strategic marketing, primarily due to the many external stakeholders that provide funding:

> We have to make sure that everything we're doing is completely optimised, and that it's talking to the right people, and it's using the right creative, and the right content, because if it's not we're wasting really, really precious dollars that could be going somewhere else.

Due to these financial obligations, Adelaide Fringe P2 believes that it is their responsibility to make sure that they are doing their job to the best of their ability and marketing the festival, and the shows within it, to the greatest possible extent. Similarly, Adelaide Fringe P7 believes that the use of digital data within a festivalscape is of the utmost importance when devising strategy. Speaking of the affordances of using data within strategy, Adelaide Fringe P7 states that:

> On the audience development side of things, the data is now so detailed you can start to try and scour the data and figure out some of the things you've been wondering about, which wasn't the case before, so you can actually try and answer some of those questions – so many questions with data, and start to make, you know, innovative strategy.

Other participants choose not to rely solely on data due to scepticism about its source and intentions. Adelaide Fringe P4 believes that digital analytics, particularly those on social media platforms Facebook and Instagram, are:

> …definitely important, but with all analytics you need to take them with a grain of salt and look at different variables…for me personally, I don't completely trust everything they've put out, just because they're Facebook and Instagram and they're there to take your marketing dollars.

Additionally, they believe that analytics are merely a starting point, and that further investigation and conversations with patrons online are far more informative about "what other things were behind the analytics…even if something's really good, you still need to question why".

Echoing a different sentiment, Adelaide Fringe P3 does not trust the analytics they are presented with because they believe that the data figures are potentially not representative of the entirety of the demographic that interacts with their organisation. This creates a skewed data set that, whilst still informative to an extent, must be understood as being lacking as a picture of the entirety of their audience. In regard to digital surveys that are distributed through eDM campaigns, Adelaide Fringe P3 acknowledges that the data set in this instance is naturally skewed as "there's a very specific kind of person who will take the time to do a survey and feel that it's important for their voice to be heard". Nonetheless, Adelaide Fringe P3 and P4 both acknowledge that despite these misgivings their digital media channels are constantly monitored, and data is consulted on a daily basis. This is used to inform strategy to an extent and ascertain which content is achieving higher engagement than others.

Though participants differed in the practice of exclusively using quantitative data to strategically create fringe campaigns, they did all hold the belief that digital marketing allowed for an understanding of an audiences on a level not previously possible. Firstly, digital media have allowed for a digital connection that mimics an interpersonal one, and this can lead to a greater understanding of the general audience and the brand relationships that this audience creates with Fringe entities. Adelaide Fringe P1 believes that the range of data that digital media have provided to marketers has helped to inform not only Fringe festival marketers, but practitioners in other areas including ticketing and artist support:

> AFP1: [Technology] has now developed where we can use the digital intelligence and we have better ticketing systems that are recording [data], our Customer and Relationship Management systems are better…[and] enabling us to market to audiences.
>
> Nancarrow: Those digital developments have really impacted [on your work] in a positive way?
>
> AFP1: 100 percent, yes.

Digital media have provided access and platforms to gather and comprehend this data, and this segmentation has created avenues for marketers to better understand their audiences, particularly those that were previously inaccessible due to their living rurally or due to unpredictable generic preferences (AFP1). However, this does mean that marketers must now remain abreast of any technological developments so that this data can be fully utilised. Whilst digital platforms provide opportunities for connections with audiences – and information on the quantitative success of those connections – marketers must also account for changes in platform infrastructure and constantly monitor what content algorithms are profiling. Platforms have altered their algorithms throughout this time to move back towards community-building online as opposed to overt advertising (AFP2). This is "posing a challenge but also an opportunity for brands", particularly Fringe festival brands which are based on community values (AFP2). This challenge can be difficult to overcome during a short festival marketing timeline; Fringe marketers, who are often lacking in time and resources, must then make the decision about how much of that time and those resources they invest in understanding and relying on data.

Online audiences are also increasingly aware of marketing efforts within digital spaces. Digital publics are far more aware of data collation techniques than ever before, and often dislike interacting with overt marketing content. Adelaide Fringe P2 calls this "digital fatigue", and states that this causes audiences

to “switch off more than ever to advertising in the social space” (AFP1 & AFP2). Adelaide Fringe P4 agrees with this however they believe that audiences are more receptive to marketing efforts on certain platforms, stating:

> People I think are more willing on Facebook to engage with a business because I guess the platform’s been around for a bit longer and people are a bit more used to it. Whereas I think Instagram, sometimes people are maybe just a bit more switched off to sponsored posts or wary of engaging with businesses.

Because of this, marketers must be more strategic with their marketing online, particularly with the use of paid advertising. Ed Fringe P1 believes that when any sort of financial investment is involved, marketers need to be strategic and up to date with the latest data analysis information. Despite not investing entirely in digital data when creating the overarching strategy – instead preferring to engage with audiences through online conversation – Ed Fringe P1 nonetheless believes that marketers still must understand and be able to report on data results.

To complete the interviews, participants were asked to give predictions on the future of marketing within festivalscapes. All participants believe that the communications mix will remain similar, with a standard combination of print, digital, outdoor, activation, and media-based marketing collateral being rolled out over a six-month cycle. The area where all participants believe there would be significant development is in the digital space. Ed Fringe P2 believes that as digital platforms become more homogenised and start “stealing each other’s ideas”, marketers will need to become more creative about how these platforms are leveraged. Changes in journalism and news media are also predicted to alter how Fringe marketing is undertaken, as marketers will need to shift towards more visual and written content creation than ever before. Customer service through digital channels is predicted to continue to grow, as are the applications that data collation and analysis can have with strategy creation. Some participants, including Ed Fringe P1, challenged the notion that data should be an absolute:

> You can look at numbers and do A/B testing and do all this wonderful stuff, but if you then don’t understand it within a context and understand the reasoning and the rational and the analysis of it, then it’s pointless…you can’t ask people to engage with you if you don’t engage back!

When asked if stakeholders could still make as much of an impact within the oversaturated market if digital media were not a part of the mix, Adelaide Fringe P4 believes that they could do so, however this would be challenging as “on those digital platforms you can definitely have much more control and

tighten your belt on that sort of thing and really target people". Adelaide Fringe P3 sees digital marketing as a way to manage a community, and that use of a variety of digital channels can alter the audience's overall experience:

> [Festivals] can magnify or kind of take away from certain parts of your personality…people tend to shed certain parts of their personality or magnify other parts, and they're more easily – they form communities, temporary communities, much easier…and that feeling of losing your inhibitions, feeling safe to be someone you're not normally in your everyday life, that's a really easy thing to grab a hold of.

Every marketer within the Fringe festivalscape must be strategic within their marketing, not only because of tight budgets, time restraints, and minimal resources, but because it is crucial to engage audiences in that feeling of community, and of being a part of something new, exciting, and special. It is the Fringe marketer's job to ensure that audiences feel those connections year on year, and that they keep coming back with every subsequent festival. Chapter 6 below utilises both the participant observation fieldwork results and the results from interviews, and analyses these observations and discussions using several key marketing theories.

Chapter 6: Discussion

As outlined in Chapter 3, this research is an exploratory project and investigates a set of research aims to understand the context of the Edinburgh Fringe and Adelaide Fringe festivals and the role of marketers within these festivalscapes. These intentions were to first establish a wider context of the festivals, before exploring the aims and practices of marketing within these overcrowded landscapes. From there, the research aims narrowed focus to examine the use of digital marketing within overall strategy, before further distilling focus to examine how these technologies – and the data they can collect – can assist Fringe marketers within the strategic process.

The following chapter will first consider the wider socio-economic and cultural context of the 2 festivalscapes in relation to the theoretical and empirical literature introduced in Chapter 1, before moving on to an evaluation of strategic marketing practices, festival brand relationships, and the use of digital media to achieve marketing goals framed by the literature detailed in Chapter 2.

6.1 Fringe Arts – High or Low?

Cultural theorists debate the effect between the arts and cultural experience on education, economics, politics, and power. Audiences attend performances, engage in practices, and create communities that provide meaning and fulfilment in their lives and help them make sense of the world. As established in section 1.1.1, academics such as Macdonald (1998), Fiske (1998), and Becker (2008) have discussed the value of mass culture. From this discussion, the high/low art divide was highlighted: high art is seen as valuable, educational, and a 'true' cultural product, whereas low art is defined as derivative, less intelligent, and easily accessible to the majority of society through mass production facilities (Bennett 1998; Witkin 2003; Markus 2006). However, the notion of 'low' art and mass culture as harmful or unintelligent has been challenged by theorists such as Hall (1998) who believe that mass audiences have the capabilities to recognise, reconstruct, or reject their representation in various forms of culture.

The high/low arts debate, though conceived in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, remains current in current arts environments. The Edinburgh Fringe has emerged as a mass cultural offshoot of its high art counterpart, the Edinburgh International Festival (Edinburgh Fringe Society 2020). Shrum's 1996 exploratory study of the Edinburgh Fringe and Bartie's 2013 assessment of the festival's history confirm this. At the Fringe's conception – it was created by local theatre groups that were disillusioned with the Edinburgh International Festival's exclusion of the Scottish community – the organisers of the International Festival were openly dismissive of the potential contributions of local communities, or of their ability to understand and appreciate the festival's content (Shrum 1996; Bartie 2013). The

Edinburgh Fringe was created out of the presence and continued persistence of the high/low art divide, and from the elitist attitudes of those who created the Edinburgh International Festival. The Adelaide Fringe emerged from a similar framework, although the relationship between the Adelaide Festival of Arts and the Adelaide Fringe was far more conciliatory from the outset than the relationship between its UK counterparts (Christmas 1995; Caust 2004).

The community-driven ethos of the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringe festivals remains central to their structures (Shrum 1996; Bartie 2013; Glow & Caust 2010). The Edinburgh International Festival and the Adelaide Festival continue to be curated under Artistic Directors, whereas the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringes are open-access, and act as a space for less-experienced or developing artists to hone their craft (Adelaide Fringe 2020; Edinburgh Fringe Society 2020). The price of the tickets for the Edinburgh International Festival and Adelaide Festival is greater than for tickets within the Fringes, with tickets for the high arts festivals at times reaching into the hundreds of dollars or pounds. These elements remain strong within the festivals' identities, and continue to perpetuate the notion that there is both high and low art within Edinburgh and Adelaide during their festival seasons.

Several genres cross over between the high and low arts festivals, including theatre, music, and dance. In Adorno's framework, the mass cultural genres that are derived from (or carbon copies of) high artistic work are standardised and lesser versions of high culture (1998, p. 203). These become watered down, unintelligent products that placate the masses and provide information that benefits the ruling class (1998, p. 205). Adorno states that mass-produced art in any genre loses its serious composition and reverence that are central to high art practice (1998, p. 197). When comparing both the organisations' ethos' and the festival content, it appears that the work that is curated in the Edinburgh International Festival and Adelaide Festival features artists or pieces more recognised by audiences, and as it is under the banner of a curated festival it is portrayed to be more polished and generally of a higher quality. With the open-access model of the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringes, content in the festivals ranges from well-known artists (including popular comedians or shows such as *Fleabag* (Mitchell 2019, p. 1), which are established productions in the festivalscapes) to new practitioners who are starting out in the industry or honing their craft. If examining this through Adorno's view of culture, the divide between the high and low arts festivals can still be seen in the programming, even though both the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringes have been operating alongside their high arts counterparts for over 50 years, and are technically bigger festivals in terms of their programming and audience attendance.

Despite differing opinions of the concept of culture and its effect on society, and the proliferation of mass cultural products through digital technologies developed during the 1990s and 2000s (DiMaggio 2004, p. 436), it can be argued that the high/low art divide still exists on a macro level when comparing the Edinburgh International Festival and Edinburgh Fringe, and the Adelaide Festival and the Adelaide Fringe. When examining the Fringe festivals themselves, there are further hierarchies of power and structure that emerge within each festival.

6.2 The Art Worlds within Edinburgh and Adelaide's Fringes

Becker's *Art Worlds* (2008) discusses the connection between the arts and economics, outlining how each individual art world has its own hierarchies and financial components that determine a work's success. Within his work, Becker outlines how audiences participate in art worlds based on the cost of both experiencing and owning art, but that they also hold power in that they determine what art is considered legitimate based on their attendance or financial investment (2008, p. 108). In each art world, there are also intermediaries that facilitate the buying and selling of work, and these intermediaries are also tasked with keeping organisations and creative communities within an art world safe from dissolution (p. 108).

Using *Art Worlds* as a framework, the Edinburgh Fringe Society and Adelaide Fringe can be considered as the 'intermediaries' in the Fringe 'art world'. These organisations oversee the festivals as a whole, providing the registration and primary ticketing platform, marketing the festival, creating global networks to facilitate touring opportunities, and providing spaces for both local and global entities to interact with the festivals. As the primary intermediary bodies, the Edinburgh Fringe Society and the Adelaide Fringe control how, where, and when the art world takes place. However, venues could also be seen as intermediaries. Even though the Fringe festivals themselves are open-access, often venues – particularly the larger, more prominent hubs – often are curated, and artists must go through an application process to perform there (for example: Gilded Balloon 2020; The Garden of Unearthly Delights 2020). These intermediary organisations facilitate the purchase of tickets and merchandise, and provide additional support to promote artists and their work. However, it is worth noting that venues must still function under the structures set by the Edinburgh Fringe Society and Adelaide Fringe, and adhere to the rules and regulations set out by those organisations. This indicates a hierarchical structure within the festivals that places the organisations in control of how the festivals run, and of the festival's overarching discourse.

Intermediary organisations have the ability to control the hegemonic narrative of the festival, with the power to control its messaging, identity, and ethos. In both Edinburgh and Adelaide, the Fringe festivals are the largest artistic events in their host cities (and the world), eclipsing both of their progenitors. This gives them clout on an international scale, and contributes to their own overall positive reputations. If examining these festivals as their own individual art worlds, these organisations create the discourse of the festival as a whole. They provide core messaging, the platform within which artists and audiences interact, and work with the physical landscape to transform it into a festivalscape.

Audiences hold some form of power in Fringe festivalscapes. As an audience-driven art world that relies on the active participation of a community, the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringes must make audience engagement – both financially and in terms of brand awareness – a primary goal. Audiences decide which artists have a successful season (Becker 2008) and will come back for future festivals. Whilst audience purchasing decisions are undoubtedly influenced by the actions of marketers, media, and other stakeholders, they hold the power to make or break an artist's season. This is discussed further in section 6.4. Audiences gain educational and emotional experiences, community social interaction, and escapism from their interaction with festivalscapes – in short, "people want to have fun" (Adorno 1998, p. 205).

Having a community-driven, open-access mindset does not guarantee that a Fringe festival's motives are entirely altruistic. In their individual manifestos outlined in sections 1.5 and 1.7 respectively, the Edinburgh Fringe and Adelaide Fringe festivals state that their primary goal is to function as a conduit between artist and audience. Whilst this is an accurate statement, what is evident from this research is that there are also financial motivations for each organisation. As intermediaries, their role is to facilitate the selling of tickets for shows. This is not only to ensure that the art world is financially stable, but also to provide further opportunities for artists, contribute to local economies, and achieve outcomes for sponsors and funding bodies. The examination of each of the festivals' manifestos in sections 1.5 and 1.7, as compared with Shrum's Fringe framework (1996), indicates that the festivals are adhering to the general structure of Fringe festivals. However, participant interviews highlight that the Fringes' focus has shifted increasingly towards being financially viable festivals as opposed to primarily community-based, which given the exponential growth of the festivals appears inevitable. Here, we can see the push and pull between culture and economics, and the intermediary organisations are at the epicentre of this struggle.

6.3 Community, Economics, and how Fringe sits with Cultural Theories

Culture and economics cannot be seen as mutually exclusive concepts: there is a natural intersection between the two as creators seek to earn income from their artistic practices (Fiske 1994, pp. 511-512). Fringe festivalscapes are no exception to this, and both academic literature and participant interviews indicate that the core goals of marketers in the Edinburgh Fringe and Adelaide Fringe are to support artists, create community spaces, and ensure that the festivals remain financially viable. Even though Fringe festivals strive for an artistic utopia of inclusivity and equality, they remain every bit as economically dependent on audience spending, funding, and sponsorship as other arts practices.

The ideological ethos of the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringes is disseminated from the organisations to every area of the festivalscape. Creating a discourse that all participants – artists, venues, and audiences alike – must follow, the Edinburgh Fringe Society and Adelaide Fringe maintain this discourse through several communicative channels. Fringe organisations act much as government bodies or news sources would in creating hegemony (Landy 2009, p. 111), and provide different structures and information for each stakeholder group. For artists in both festivalscapes, the Fringe discourse is enforced through the festivals' architecture, including the registration agreement, regulations for festival participation, and financial investment (both in paying registration fees and agreeing to use the organisations' ticketing structures). Venues are managed by Fringe organisations to an extent, and whilst they do not pay fees, they are required to sign a venue agreement that includes regulations on ticketing and promotions. For audiences, the Fringe discourse is primarily shaped through marketing materials: the thematic design for the festival, physical signage, and the festivals' presence in local and national media.

Here, the Edinburgh Fringe Society and Adelaide Fringe perpetuate their preferred hegemony by overseeing all key aspects of the festival, and by having some power to ensure that artists and venues remain within the confines of Fringe. This hegemony is extended to audiences too, but is disseminated in a different way: less through overt contractual agreements, and more through covert marketing techniques or media exposure. Additionally, like many other cultural institutions, Fringe festivals play a role in maintaining overarching hegemonic discourses in society and function as part of the consciousness industry that regulates how people perceive their worlds (Jhally 1989, pp. 67-68). This festival hegemony is supported by marketers encouraging artists to promote the festival as a whole through their own channels, and providing them with the means to do so (EFP2; AFP2). The festivalscapes come together cohesively as a whole if every stakeholder group works within the confines of their structures, maintaining the status quo.

Gramsci's idea of transformismo, where proletariat groups are assimilated into the upper classes as a way to maintain control over those rejecting core hegemonic discourses or practices (Landy 2009, p. 112), provides an interesting lens through which the Edinburgh Fringe and Adelaide Fringe can be viewed. As former revolutionary groups that are literally on the fringe of arts practices, the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringes previously functioned as a service for local arts groups and existing communities (Christmas 1995; Bartie 2013). As the festivals have grown in size, financial motivations have begun to be primary concerns for Fringe workers, particularly for marketers who often are responsible for ensuring additional income streams and maintaining a festival's public profile and ticketing revenue. Here, the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringe, whilst technically still adhering to their original guidelines, are just as focussed on economic success as their high art counterparts, or indeed as any other cultural institution or business. Ensuring that ticketing revenue and audience attendance increases with every festival is a continuing primary function for not only festival organisations, but venues and artists, too (EFP2; AFP1; AFP6).

This focus on economic success is what Adorno saw as a defining difference between high and low art (Fianco 2017, pp. 2-3). If art is created and promoted for economic purposes, it loses its artistic integrity and becomes just another economic institution (Gartman 2012, p. 44). The work becomes homogenised and is, in Adorno's view, an insulting alternative for mass audiences, a shadow of the original artistic work. Here, the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringes can be seen as mass-produced, watered-down versions of the festivals from which they were born. However, Adorno's view of mass culture has been termed as elitist and narrow-focussed by some scholars (Ryle & Soper 2009; Gartman 2012; Rayman 2014). Indeed, viewing Fringe festivals as mind-numbing, standardised artforms seems reductionist, and the social value that the Fringes can provide should be taken into account before dismissing them as standardised or lesser artistic experiences.

The importance placed on cultural capital is greater in socio-economic demographics that can afford to engage in cultural activities and education on a regular basis, and actively promote this within a household (Bourdieu 1984; Atkinson 2019). Though tickets are more affordable than those for their high arts counterparts, the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringes' primary socio-economic demographics within their recorded audience base include the more affluent groups. Edinburgh Fringe audiences are often "middle aged with older or grown up children" and "reasonable high incomes" of more than £50,000 (Edinburgh Festival City 2020, p. 1). Adelaide Fringe audiences with the highest purchase rates are predominantly double income households with annual income over $100,000 (Adelaide Fringe Annual

Review 2019, p. 7). Here, audiences who have more economic capital are able to participate within the festivalscapes to a greater extent, developing their cultural capital in the process. The importance of cultural capital within these groups becomes common-place, creating an assumed doxa (Garnham & Williams 1980; Bourdieu 1984). Cultural participation becomes natural, and essential to these audiences' social and cultural lives. Once this doxa has been established, Fringe marketers nurture it by consistently positioning their brand as essential to social and cultural networks: audiences must then participate within the festivalscapes to demonstrate their social value and cultural expertise.

The Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringes provide spaces within which communities can be created and existing social networks can be amplified or developed, and these communities are built on the cultural capital of the people within them. Bourdieu's cultural capital encompasses education, socio-economic background, and social and cultural understanding (Bourdieu 1984; Bonanno 2018). Though Adorno's perspective would see Fringe as mass or low art, under Bourdieu's framework audiences who are heavily involved in cultural spaces like the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringe festivalscapes can be seen as having higher cultural capital. Continued annual exposure to artistic content contributes to this cultural capital, and is necessary to remain in touch with the current artistic and cultural trends. Fringe marketers aim to engage audiences on this repetitive level, and to encourage the continued interaction within the festivalscape between artists and audiences: the more shows audiences can go to, the greater their cultural knowledge will be. Fringe marketers use a number of channels and strategic campaigns to encourage not only the understanding of cultural capital and festival participation as a valuable social and educational tool, but also to create a sense of fear of missing out for both local and rural communities to encourage them to be physically active within the festivalscape where possible. This helps contribute to the both the festival and local economies.

Cultural theories provide valuable frameworks through which the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringes, which have both significantly evolved in size and focus since their creation, can be examined. Through the theories of Becker, Adorno, Gramsci, and Bourdieu, it can be seen that the high/low art divide not only exists, but is in fact still a prominent divide between the Fringes and their high arts counterparts. With an increasing economic focus, both Fringe and high art festivals aim to produce more content and sell greater amounts of tickets with each passing festival, further cementing their status as mass cultural institutions through Adorno's frameworks. However, within the festival landscape are hierarchies and economic factors that dictate how artists, venues, and audiences should interact within the festivalscapes. This provides a valuable foundation upon which discussion about strategic marketing practices within the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringe festivalscapes can take place. By

understanding where these festivals sit within the broader cultural and socio-economic landscapes, and the power and influence that the Edinburgh Fringe Society and Adelaide Fringe can have over the festivals' hegemony, a more comprehensive understanding of why marketing strategies are implemented can be formed. These festivals serve not only cultural but economic functions, and it is the responsibility of Fringe marketers to ensure that both of those functions are best served.

6.4 Marketing a Community Arts Experience

As established above, whilst the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringes are community arts experiences that maintain the core ethos upon which they were built, it is essential that the festivals maintain financial stability in order to continue their annual growth. With the intersection of culture and economics, the arts have become a commodity that must work within the same economic structures as a product or service (Robertson & Wardrop 2003; Becker 2008). In short, as well as serving communities and promoting inclusive artistic practice, Fringe festivals must continually raise revenue and remain economically sustainable. Managing this task falls to Fringe marketers from a range of stakeholder groups, who are responsible for increasing brand awareness, facilitating brand relationships between a range of stakeholders, ensuring the stability of funding opportunities, and maintaining positive customer relationships (AFP2). All of these smaller aims must come under an overarching strategy described by Adelaide Fringe P1 as an "umbrella" strategy. Combine this with the need to maintain community initiatives under the not-for-profit structure, and marketers face the challenge of ensuring the stability festival brand is both true to its ethical core, and economically viable. This is a significant task, and marketers must use an all-encompassing approach to do this. Additionally, as mentioned by a number of participants it is not merely organisations that must undertake a wide-spread campaign, as participants who have worked for both venues and artists indicated that umbrella campaigns are just as valuable for their brand (EFP1; AFP1; AFP2; AFP3; AFP5; AFP6).

The core stakeholder groups as identified in section 5.3 (figure 16) are organisations, venues, artists, and audiences. These stakeholders create mutually beneficial relationships with each other, which primarily exist to ensure long-term financial stability or assistance. Each of these groups needs the other to survive. Aligning with Becker's work (2008), audiences find themselves in a unique position where they are both powerful and powerless: powerful in the sense that they have ability to make or break an artist, venue, or organisation with their participation within the festivalscape, and powerless in that their participation is often influenced by strategic marketing and publicity campaigns that are created and enacted up to 6 months before the festival itself begins. Other stakeholder groups include media, government, and hospitality establishments, all of which can benefit from the expansion of the festivals. However, the core stakeholders engage marketing strategies to achieve similar aims, all of

which are geared towards annually increasing ticket sales, maintaining positive brand relationships, and developing their brand identity.

6.4.1 The Fringe Communications Mix

As outlined in both the theoretical framework in Chapter 2, and the research results in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, marketers from different entities in the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringe festivalscapes consistently use a mix of marketing touchpoints. During the run of both festivals, a wide-spread communications mix provides opportunities for the brand to be present in multiple physical and digital spaces. A greater brand presence leads to widespread brand recognition, which is one of the first steps in creating a brand relationship; increased patronage and sales; and increased publicity, both from the media, and on social media through the general public (Preece & Wiggins Johnson 2011; Naumovska & Blazeska 2016). Given the oversaturation of the festivalscapes, and the fact that the festivals are only active for one month, organisations, venues, and artists must make a splash within the festivalscape to be noticed by audiences.

As a simplistic overview, a Fringe marketing campaign contains the following areas:

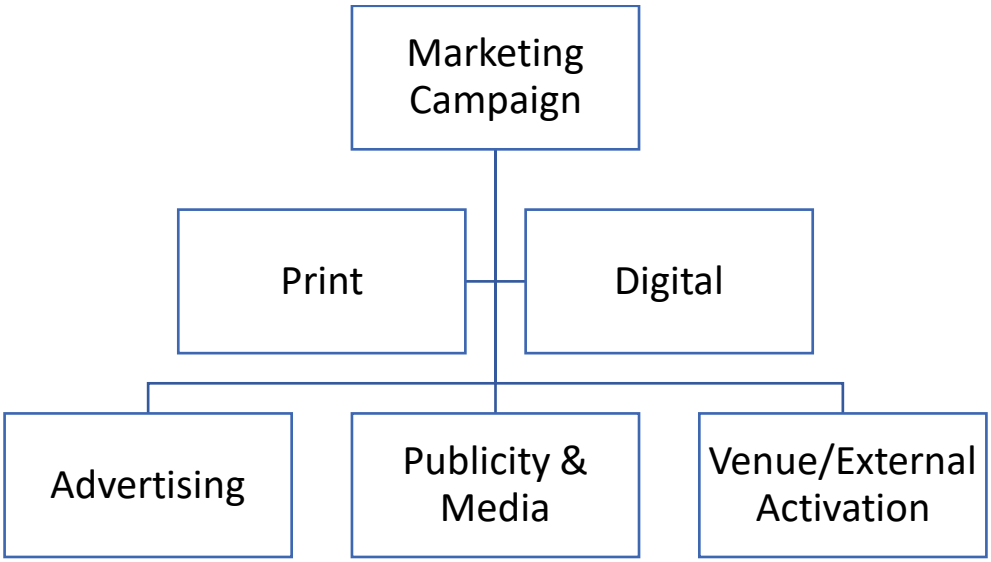


Figure 17: Simplistic Structure of Fringe Marketing Campaign

Each of these areas consists of various platforms or touchpoints, and act as a way for Fringe marketers to reach different sections of their audience. The campaign works together using imagery and copy to create a consistent identity for the festival brand. Print and digital touchpoints often cross over, as was the case at the 2018 Edinburgh Fringe – the Edinburgh Fringe Society printed the digital media hashtag on the spine of the program and all outdoor advertising, as well as migrating printed collateral onto digital platforms using #QuickFlyer. The key to a cohesive and successful communications mix is

consistency – similar messaging, visual, and written elements are necessary. If these are not consistent, audiences can become confused about a brand, and it has less of a chance of standing out from others within the festivalscape (Van Zyl 2012; Naumovska & Blazeska 2016). For "difficult" festival brands, maintaining a cohesive, strong, and reliable brand presence within the market helps to ensure prolonged audience engagement, particularly as brands must be memorable to capture audiences' attention not only throughout the festival itself, but also in its off season (Harrison & Hartley 2007, p. 286).

Whilst the Fringe campaign in Figure 17 is perhaps more applicable for organisations and venues (which often have access to greater financial resources and can afford more advertising, printed materials, and digital campaigns), artist campaigns can follow a similar pattern (AFP3; AFP4; AFP6). Artists often promote hashtags and digital channels on their printed materials, promote their shows in person and connect with audiences directly within the physical festivalscape, and run smaller-scale digital advertising campaigns (AFP3; AFP6). Whilst greater financial resources mean more access to certain areas of the mix, a cost-effective campaign can still be conducted across multiple channels. The aim for this touchpoint cross-over remains the same: to have as many audiences looking at as many different channels as possible, and using each as a portion of a brand identity that comprises a whole.

For organisations, venues, and artists, print materials remain core resources, despite concerns about the negative effect these have on the environment (ABC Radio Adelaide 2015; Lukowski 2019; The Music Network 2019). At both the 2018 Edinburgh Fringe and the 2019 Adelaide Fringe, programmes, flyers, and posters were key marketing tools. Programmes acted as informational touchpoints, and were common for larger venues and organisations. Each touchpoint in the mix serves to accommodate a particular audience demographic, and print materials are primarily used to target older audiences, who still prefer physical materials over solely digital communications (AFP3; AFP4). Older audience segments, though dwindling in numbers, are still the highest percentage of ticket buyers, particularly for genres such as theatre (EFP2; AFP5; and Adelaide Fringe Annual Review 2019; Edinburgh Festival City 2020); because of this, Fringe marketers need to target older demographics to maintain ticket sales figures, particularly as older, retired audiences have larger disposable incomes and will spend more on artistic experiences than younger audiences.

Posters and flyers also act as brand awareness tools, providing opportunities for audiences to see consistent imagery in the physical landscape (EFP1; AFP3). Working alongside printed programmes, posters and flyers act to ensure that organisations, venues, and artists are at the top of audiences'

minds in cities that face cultural overload throughout the year (EFP1; AFP1; AFP2; AFP3; AFP5; AFP6). When the festival begins, this physical presence is reinforced with larger-scale activations, venue marketing, and outdoor signage and advertising (EFP1; AFP1). All physical marketing again utilises the same imagery and colour scheme – and copy where necessary – to maintain brand consistency throughout the host cities (EFP1; EFP2). Print materials here function primarily as visual touchpoints, and so organisations, venues, and artists that can have as many print platforms active as possible are more likely to retain audiences' attention, particularly when audiences are making purchase decisions between thousands of events.

Digital marketing abides by similar principles and uses consistent imagery across several platforms (AFP2). As digital media are typically accessed by younger audiences, Fringe marketers are able to develop less formal, youthful brand relationships with people who will access digital over printed materials (EFP1; AFP2). However, it is on digital media channels that a brand personality is developed, and each platform can target a different demographic (EFP1). Online shops, websites, eDMs, and social media each provide different communicative channels that can use nuanced versions of core messaging to target particular audience segments. Social media marketing often comprises several different platforms working together, and again each of these targets a particular demographic: Instagram is primarily used by audiences in their teens and twenties, Twitter for those in their twenties and thirties, and Facebook by those in their forties and over (EFP1; EFP2; AFP2; AFP4; AFP5). Popularity of these platforms also differs between Edinburgh and Adelaide (EFP2; AFP3).

Digital media also allow Fringe marketers to connect with audiences in rural or international areas, who previously would have been cut off from the festivalscape due to their physical location (AFP5). Live streaming and Stories updates provide a running commentary for audiences who cannot physically participate (AFP4; AFP5). This would not previously have been possible without digital media, particularly social media, and indeed was not entirely possible in social media's earlier stages (AFP1; AFP2). Platform developments over the past 5 years have been rapid, and the capabilities to connect with audiences – through both organic and paid social media campaigns – have increased dramatically (EFP2; AFP2). These allow Fringe marketers opportunities to create and maintain brand relationships with external audiences that still make those audiences feel a part of the action (AFP5). Fringe marketers can also induce fear of missing out on a widespread scale (Przybylski et al. 2013; Buglass et al. 2017), as they can entice audiences to the following year's festival using content that profiles the experiential aspects of the festival and solidifies it as a place to visit and experience (EFP2). The Stories function on Facebook and Instagram provides a platform for mass uploads of content without

overwhelming audiences, as the user has control over when and where they access this content. Stories also act as a passive form of communication, and Adelaide Fringe P4 highlighted this as a useful tool as Fringe marketers can take advantage of passive consumption for brand awareness campaigns, providing rolling content for audiences.

In addition to print and digital marketing, publicity and media exposure play a role in a Fringe brand awareness campaign. As separate companies, media provide a third-party view of a brand and its content. However, both visual and written content is provided to media by Fringe marketers, which means that marketers have some control over messaging; Ed Fringe P2 believes that Fringe marketers will have to shift their strategy towards shaping and disseminating their own content to retain this control in the future. Media provide reviews and occasionally editorial content, and Fringe marketers can leverage content from prominent outlets to legitimise their brand in the eyes of audiences – the greater the publicity, the more a brand looks to be a leader in the field. Often Fringe marketers will have relationships with these publications, and this is mostly fostered through the purchase of paid advertising, which in some cases can affect the level of coverage a brand receives (AFP1; AFP5). Again, this coverage serves the holistic brand identity by positioning it as authoritative on artistic quality; positive reviews or national and international coverage act as a form of prestige, and Fringe marketers can use this when targeting those external markets.

Advertising space is available for purchase on print, digital, and outdoor channels. It is often expensive and, depending on a Fringe marketer's resources, can be inaccessible (AFP2). Whilst digital advertising is more accessible (as it allows marketers the ability to determine a custom advertising spend), buying advertising space in print and digital publications, or through outdoor channels, can reach into the thousands of dollars. Outdoor advertising is often monopolised by organisations or large venue hubs, as the cost is significantly greater than for digital or print space. Outdoor advertising includes advertising on public transport, bus stops, and billboards, and works with print collateral to provide a physical brand representation within a festivalscape. It can also include visual representation as part of an activation, including signage, wayfinding materials, and multimedia. If campaigns can involve print, digital, publicity, advertising, and outdoor marketing channels that all use consistent branding, the repeated exposure is more likely to help that brand differentiate itself within the wider market.

All 5 core areas of the mix are supported by, and seek to encourage, word of mouth in both physical and digital communities. Word of mouth is a primary way to develop a relationship between the festival

brand and audiences (Hausmann 2012; Hede 2013). It solidifies a product as more prominent and widely-used in the eyes of the consumer, with the insinuation that because of this reputation, the product is of a higher quality (Labreque 2014; Nisar & Whitehead 2016). For a festival entity, creating positive word of mouth greatly increases product value for audiences, and helps it stand out from other brands (EFP1; EFP2; AFP3; AFP4; AFP5: AFP6). Considering this, creating stakeholder relationships within the Fringe festivalscape that encourage positive word of mouth process is an important process for not just organisations, but also for venues and artists that must take on the marketing process for themselves if limited resources do not allow for the hiring of a dedicated practitioner.

The Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringes are noisy landscapes, both figuratively and literally, with an atmosphere that is crowded, chaotic, and exciting. With thousands of shows, hundreds of venues, and countless community programs on offer for audiences, it is essential for brands to ensure that they are at the forefront of audiences' minds. This oversaturation naturally leads to competition between stakeholders, who are each vying for audiences' attention. The competitive nature of the Fringe market means that both the risk and the workload for marketers is greater than it might be in other industries. However, with an extensive communications mix that targets various audience segments, and with each element having its own purpose, the risk of failure decreases dramatically – even more so with greater financial investment in the process.

6.4.2 Creating Brand Identities

As mentioned above in section 6.4.1, consistent visuals and core messaging increase the chances of a brand standing out from the crowd and creating an easily identifiable identity within the festivalscape (Van Zyl 2012; and EFP1; AFP3). Additionally, custom fonts or colour schemes assist the process of visual differentiation. This practice is consistent with McDonald's research about creating identifiable brand personalities in arts landscapes (2000, p. 59). Different stakeholder groups find value in this practice. As outlined in participant interviews, venue brands in particular seek to set themselves apart, and one way that this is achieved is by marketing the venue as the 'Home' of a particular genre. In Edinburgh, prominent Big 5 venue Gilded Balloon is the "Home of Scottish Comedy", and Assembly is the "Home of Cabaret" (EFP1). In 2019, Adelaide Fringe marketers followed similar principles; prominent hub venue RCC Fringe used all black and white imagery, which stood apart from the other venues within the landscape (AFP6). Holden Street Theatres used a similar technique as in Edinburgh, labelling itself the "Home of Theatre". These techniques all seek to help festival stakeholders stand out from one another, in order to capture the audiences' attention.

Fringe organisations and venues in the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringe festivalscapes use thematic branding campaigns that inform the brand identity for that year. This thematic branding changes annually, is used over all areas of the mix (EFP2; AFP1). In 2018, the Edinburgh Fringe Society used their thematic campaign, "Into the Unknown". As several participants outlined, this campaign aimed to portray the exploratory and exciting nature of the unknown of the festival. The thematic branding, which is seen in figure 7 (see section 4.1), was reinforced across all channels including the printed program, digital channels, and advertising around Edinburgh (EFP2). In addition to the light blue that is the standard colour of the Edinburgh Fringe Society logo, 2018's "Into the Unknown" campaign utilised a light pink colour, which was visible throughout all image-based collateral. At the centre of the digital aspect of this campaign mix was the hashtag #IntoTheUnknown, an active hashtag that invited use within captions and written copy in posts. As Ed Fringe P2 outlined, the Edinburgh Fringe Society implored other stakeholders, such as venues and artists, to use the hashtag as a unifying campaign. "Into the Unknown" was a campaign that launched several months before the event. This allowed for more time to connect with audiences and encourage greater interaction prior to the event, which can help to solidify a brand's identity before the festival itself begins (Preece & Wiggins Johnson 2011, pp. 21-22).

Similarly, Adelaide Fringe changes its branding yearly and reinforces this across all channels. In 2019, the brand identity's focus was accessibility and featured work by an artist who identifies as having a disability (McDonald 2018, p. 1). Not only was the visual branding reiterated across all channels, but the artist's story was profiled across several public relations initiatives and promoted on digital media (McDonald 2018; McNeil 2019). The announcement and subsequent rolling out of the visual branding also served as a form of publicity, with the Adelaide Fringe hosting an event to unveil the winner of the next campaign. The 2019 brand identity was chosen through a public campaign approximately 10 months prior to the festival, with audiences able to enter the competition and vote for the winner – another way that the Adelaide Fringe engages audiences year-round (AFP1; AFP2). Identities for festival brands are developed not only from festival to festival, but also throughout the off season. Rather than seeing the festival itself as the only place to develop their brand identity, Fringe marketers must consider the festival as simply another part of a never-ending, continuous marketing cycle to retain audiences' attention year-round (Wood 2003, pp. 134-135). With digital media now a prominent part of the Fringe mix, this task is easier than ever before.

6.5 Challenges for Marketers

Fringe marketing campaigns ultimately rely on resources, most of which come from external sources. The engagement that marketers can leverage depends greatly upon the level of financial funding accessible through sponsorship and government grants, the staffing that can be devoted to the campaign, and the technologies that are available. The final two feed into the first: without financial funding, marketers cannot access data collation and analysis technologies, create custom-built mobile applications, or provide staff to manage various customer service or content creation channels. All participants outlined the effects that a lack of funding can have on a campaign, and despite the potential for income from ticketing services or hospitality offerings, Fringe marketers are often still required to spend vast amounts of time organising additional external funding opportunities (EFP2; AFP1; AFP3; AFP5; AFP6). In other industries, this would potentially fall under a different department entirely.

Often it falls upon Fringe marketing teams to engage and retain financial investors that contribute to campaign funding, and marketers must ensure that each stakeholder is satisfied and correctly represented. Ali-Knight and Robertson (2003, pp. 10-11) assert that funding the arts is an increasingly common and popular avenue for corporate bodies to connect with new audiences, and this sheds light on the Fringe sponsorship process. In both Edinburgh and Adelaide, local and international brands from hospitality, tourism, and financial institutions promote their involvement as Fringe sponsors, and are provided with significant branding assistance in return. For example, Virgin Money and Bank SA are financial institutions that support the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringe respectively, and receive prominent promotion in Fringe communications for doing so, including featuring in the printed programme, digital communications, and on signage. However, previous research indicates that with several cultural events occurring simultaneously throughout the festival season, government funding within both festivalscapes is often stretched across several events, thereby limiting the amount that each festival or entity can receive (McDonald 2000; Ali-Knight & Robertson 2003). Participants frequently highlight limitations in both government and corporate resources as a key challenge within their daily work (AFP1; AFP2; AFP3; AFP6).

The above presents a daily reality for Fringe marketers – duties that would not normally fall under their departmental structure become the norm. This not only applies to business-to-business processes such as sponsorship and funding, but also to customer service. Participants over both festivalscapes state that during the festival itself their primary daily task is to monitor and respond to customer queries, mostly on digital platforms (EFP2; AFP2; AFP4; AFP5; AFP6). As the festivals grow, the incoming

queries also increase on an annual basis (EFP2). Several participants note that this has meant that both the number of staff, and the number of hours spent on monitoring digital platforms, has increased (EFP1; EFP2; AFP2). Workloads for Fringe marketers now expand to include hours outside the norm, with Adelaide Fringe P1 stating that marketers are expected to be working all day, every day during the festival if they are monitoring customer queries. Whilst staff have incorporated this into their job descriptions for the foreseeable future, several participants note that this must be reviewed, as often they are not the staff who are best placed to answer certain queries.

Fringe marketers therefore have a wide-ranging job description. They are required to create strategic marketing campaigns, execute these over a number of channels, act as sponsorship partners, conduct audience engagement and feedback initiatives, create content on a range of media, and act as customer service representatives. Additionally, staffing restrictions mean that marketers will often be working with skeleton resources, which places further pressure on Fringe marketers (EFP2; AFP2; AFP5). In short, Fringe marketers have had to take on more responsibilities, increase their workloads, and are required to be available to work 24 hours, 7 days a week. This naturally has an effect on the physical and mental health of Fringe marketers. To work long, continuous hours in this way leaves practitioners at risk of sickness (which was described during the participant observation research as "Fringe Flu"), and of becoming mentally and emotionally burnt out. Concerns about the mental and physical health of Fringe marketers due to their high workload were highlighted within participant interviews (EFP2; AFP1; AFP2; AFP4). However, all participants conceded that it was an unavoidable occurrence, something that marketers (and other Fringe employees, as this was not limited simply to marketers) must understand as a standard part of the job.

How this can be mitigated remains to be seen, but participants highlight the need for future examination of work practices (EFP2; AFP2; AFP5; AFP6). Some participants indicate that this is a common theme across the arts industry as a whole: the understanding that certain tasks are a just part of the job, and that this is unchangeable (EFP2; AFP1; AFP6). Longer work hours, limited resources, and increased workloads are simply accepted as the norm. To alter this would require an industry-wide shift in the understanding of what is an acceptable workload and work environment, and, as many practitioners travel amongst festivals around the world, this would have to occur on an international level. This, at least in the short term, is unlikely to occur without cohesion across multiple large-scale, high-profile festivalscapes.

6.5.1 Challenges for Open-Access Festivals

Not only are there challenges for Fringe marketers across the board, but particular stakeholder groups have their own obstacles they must overcome. Organisation marketers must use extra approaches to market artists and shows, as their open-access structure means that they are unable to profile one artist over another (AFP1; AFP2). To mitigate this, organisation marketers use techniques such as atmospheric imagery, predominantly of public events at opening nights or concerts; remarketing through Abandoned Cart emails, which prompt audiences to purchase tickets to shows that were previously in their online shopping carts; and digital media advertising that targets audiences based on their already chosen preferences online (EFP1; EFP2; AFP1; AFP2; AFP5). Audiences will have previously liked or followed certain artists, genres, or arts organisations on their social media pages, and the platform will select advertisements for the user based on those preferences, as well as their age demographic and their geographical location. Marketers can also use eDM campaigns that track audiences' purchase histories and use data to disseminate finely targeted communications (AFP7). eDM tracking technologies can be expensive to purchase and subscribe to, and additional data collation and reporting technologies come at a further financial cost (AFP7). For this reason, organisations or larger venues are more likely to be able to access them. Whilst not bound by the same restrictions from the open-access model, some participants noted that larger hub venues sometimes feel pressure to represent all of their artists equally, even if there are different financial risks involved with each individual show (AFP5). Adelaide Fringe P5 stated that they have attempted to mitigate this by taking an approach of only promoting the artists that have provided content for promotion – some may be efficient at doing this, whereas others may not. After building up a content bank – which also includes promotional materials for shows that the venue itself has a stake in – Adelaide Fringe P5 then creates a strategy and daily posting schedule around this.

A core challenge that artists face within the open-access model is that they must ensure that in an overcrowded landscape their show stands out from the rest. If this does not happen, it is likely that their season will not be financially viable. Artists rely heavily on promotional assistance from their venues, and on financial or professional assistance from organisations (AFP3; AFP5; AFP6). Again, the more financial resources that artists can access, the bigger their campaign can be, as they can afford advertising space, higher quality imagery, or even the hiring of a dedicated marketing practitioner. If those resources are not available, artists must undertake the marketing process themselves, even if this is not their area of expertise (AFP3). Artists also rely on audiences to survive, and so for artists creating positive word of mouth is integral to a successful season, and this includes both on and offline

word of mouth. As outlined by Adelaide Fringe P3, traditionally this process occurred offline, but is now shifting online as digital technologies become ubiquitous.

No matter which stakeholder group, each is taking a risk by being active within the festivalscape. The greatest risk is financial, but for artists and audiences the risk is also more personal. Fringe marketers are tasked with lessening these risks, sometimes at personal cost to them, as the unsustainably immense workload can have negative effects on their physical and mental health (EFP2; AFP1; AFP2; AFP5). However, with the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringes continuing to grow in size with every passing year, it is unlikely that the workload of Fringe marketers will be lessened any time soon.

6.6 Festival Brand Relationships

Audiences participate in festivalscapes to engage – both with the festival atmosphere and the content, but also with other members of their wider community as part of a shared, arts-based experience. Connection and emotion are at the core of their experience, and without that connection to something personal that audiences can feel within their core, they are unlikely to engage either in the short- or long-term with festivalscapes.

For this reason, creating brand relationships between audiences and festival brands is at the heart of strategic development for Fringe marketers. Making audiences feel a part of the festivalscape and connecting the festival to their identities as members of a local community, as creatives, and as emotionally-driven human beings is essential in this process. Maintaining this connection over many years, and in some cases over the course of audiences' entire lives, is possible for Fringe marketers, as demonstrated in Todd's (2015) research in the Edinburgh Fringe festivalscape. However, audiences seek to use festival experiences to fulfil various social, educational, and emotional needs, and in order to successfully create and maintain brand relationships Fringe marketers must keep human connection at the forefront of their strategy (Hudson & Hudson 2013; Miles 2017).

Fournier's (1998) research examines the relationships that consumers form with brands, and how these relationships are mutually beneficial for both consumers and marketers. In order for brand relationships to form, Fournier states that brands and consumers must be equal partners in the relationship, coming together to form and develop a connection over time. In this way, brand relationships become akin to interpersonal relationships (pp. 344-346). These relationships must provide meaning for the consumer, and the most successful brand relationships are those where brands are anthropomorphised, or take on human characteristics (p. 345). Brands that can insinuate themselves in the lives of consumers as

part of their "lived experiences" are more likely to be "viable relationship partners" in the long-term (p. 344).

For festivals marketers, it is therefore ideal if their brand is able to become an essential part of the audiences' personal and social worlds. Brands that are able to integrate themselves as a core part of the Fringe experience are more likely to retain patronage year on year (Todd 2015). For venues and artists, creating brand relationships with audiences is essential, as with hundreds of competitors in each festivalscape, creating long-lasting brand relationships ensures repeat patronage and even audience growth with every subsequent festival. Furthermore, whilst at first glance it would seem that creating this relationship is more pertinent for venues and artists, in both festivalscapes Fringe organisations are competing in the cultural landscape with multiple other multi-day festivals and events. For this reason, creating brand relationships is incredibly important, as Fringe marketers want audiences to be engaging with their content over the other cultural experiences on offer.

All participants outlined the necessity of audience engagement and brand relationship development in festivals marketing. Crucially, as literature in Chapter 1 indicates, audiences want to connect with cultural spaces as part of their social, educational, and emotional worlds. Audiences want to feel a part of a community, and for the duration of the festival their social worlds will in some way involve interaction within the festivalscape, at a venue, free event, or performance (EFP1; AFP3). The more audiences feel connected to and participate in the festival, the stronger the relationship will become. Fringe marketers can manipulate this need to participate, and here is where social media – and the ability to promote aspirational content – are most useful (EFP2). Many audience segments use social media on a daily basis, and as outlined in the participant interviews in Chapter 5, creating a festival atmosphere through social channels insinuates a brand into the daily lives of consumers. From the time audiences wake in the morning, through to when they go to bed at night, festival brands can promote content on social media that audiences can access from the comfort of their homes.

Festival brand relationships are also built throughout the year when the festival is not active, and Fringe marketers must build up audience anticipation and excitement in the lead up to the festival in order to maintain interest in the brand relationship (EFP1; AFP1; AFP6). Festival marketers will often use several channels or external partnerships to do this, such as through cross-promotion with hospitality establishments or other festivals throughout the year – as was the case with the Adelaide Fringe activation at the 2018 Edinburgh Fringe. Brands in both the Edinburgh Fringe and the Adelaide Fringe festivalscapes use digital channels year-round to remain connected with audiences through regular

updates, flashbacks to festival events to remind audiences of their previous experiences, or promoting small-scale year-round events for members or subscribers (EFP1; EFP2). Venues use digital media in a similar manner, particularly on social media channels where they can utilise both user generated and professional content to promote the atmospheric elements of the brand (EFP2; AFP4). Artists often perform at other festivals or events, and can use these to increase their public profile or professional credentials through award wins or reviews. These practices aim to keep the festival at the top of audiences' minds, even when other social or cultural experiences are available. As the two festivals in this study are the largest arts festivals not only in their host cities but worldwide, the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringe brands are at an advantage due to their physical size, as well as their significant reputations.

In order to grow their audience with each festival, marketers must also ensure that these brand relationships are open to evolving in accordance with ever-changing audience needs, particularly as audiences age and their personal priorities shift (Todd 2015). Education programs in both Fringes provide opportunities to engage younger arts audiences through schools bookings and other resources that further learning opportunities (Edinburgh Fringe Society 2020; Adelaide Fringe 2020). Aligning with Todd's 'Childhood friendship', 'Kinship', and 'Committed partnership' brand relationship types (2015, pp. 17-19), the brand relationship begins at this point, where students have the intersection of culture and education to solidify the artistic experience as an important cultural and social structure. As children become older, the entertainment and atmospheric elements of a festivalscape begin to contribute to their desire to engage with the festival. Here is where Fringe marketers must step in to retain the engagement that begins during early schooling. As younger audiences turn to social media as informational and content-based tools (Sensis 2019; Office for National Statistics 2019; ESafety Online 2020), Fringe marketers can provide incentive for festival engagement, through the use of engaging content, giveaways, and other ticketing deals and campaigns (AFP5). As they age, audiences will then move past nightlife and atmosphere being the primary goals of their Fringe festival engagement, and towards seeking value in the content of the festival itself. Fringe marketers can target these audiences through promotion of artist award wins and ticket deals. Facilities also become more of the customer experience focus for older audiences, including accessibility and value for money.

The key is that Fringe marketers need to be aware of changes in audience needs within the festivalscape, and are able to be flexible in how they target these needs. If Fringe marketers are able to anticipate the general concerns of certain demographics, they can create targeted communications to attend to audience experience in a more precise way. Being able to shift a brand relationship over time

according to the core experiential needs of the audience makes it more likely that audiences will remain loyal to festivalscapes (Todd 2015). Audiences want to feel as though they are personally connected to a festival and its content, and Fringe marketers can be on the front foot with how they anticipate and maintain this connection. Digital technologies, with their ability to closely target communications to a variety of audience segments, are ideal tools to attend to audience needs; this is discussed further in section 6.6.1 below.

Adelaide Fringe P6 outlined the need to "be in more places" in the festivalscapes in order to retain a connection to audiences from year to year. When the festival begins, physical space becomes a primary vehicle through which audiences form and develop their festival brand relationships. However, with hundreds of possible physical spaces to attend within the festivalscapes, Fringe marketers must mitigate any possible confusion or fatigue that overwhelmed audiences may experience. Some participants spoke of the confusion of hub venues being "the Fringe", and that whilst this is beneficial for those larger venue hubs, for smaller venues – and for the Fringe organisations themselves – this can be detrimental to brand relationships, as audiences may become misinformed or misguided about the festival brand and what it has to offer audiences (EFP1; AFP3; AFP4). The connection between physical space and brand relationships indicates why venue activations, outdoor advertising, and print communications are still active elements within the wider communications mix, even though digital media are becoming more prominent with each festival. As ascertained from the participant observation research and interviews, these physical marketing touchpoints can include brochures, posters, flyers, billboard advertising, sidewalk decals, activations in prominent city locations, venue set-up, and fencing scrim advertising. Audiences still need the actual experience – they need to see, hear, and feel the festival within their physical environment in order to create a connection. This explains why festival brands will try to have a presence around all areas of a city: if the goal is to be a part of an audience's physical experience, then to have a presence in as many physical areas of the festivalscape as possible is ideal. However, this does create competition among the wider market, as various festival brands will fight for outdoor spots, and often these will be occupied by organisations or more popular venues and artists who can afford these advertising spaces.

Fournier's Brand Relationship Theory outlines that positive brand relationships can be developed if brands serve as "viable relationship partners" and align with consumers' lived experiences and personal ethos (1998, p. 344). If brands can align with consumer experiences and needs on a personal level, and be facilitated in a way that brand relationships are mutually beneficial, purposive, and able to evolve over time, consumers will often demonstrate long-term loyalty to the brand over the course of

their lives (Fournier 1998, pp. 344-345). Brands must present value and purpose to consumers, and fit in with their day-to-day experiences, particularly at the beginning when consumers are not familiar with the brand and are in the early stages of developing the relationship. In order to use a product or service over the long term, audiences must see it as either contributing to their ongoing lived experience, or possessing the ability to positively influence the evolution of a consumer's daily life because of its use. If brands can align themselves with a consumer's lived experience, they stand a better chance of connecting with consumers on a personal level.

Whilst not physical products or services that can be utilised on a daily basis, festivals still benefit from creating positive brand relationships with their audiences, and many participants indicated that this was at the core of their strategic marketing plan (EFP1; EFP2; AFP2; AFP3; AFP6). Creating relationships with audiences that develop not only throughout the year, but also over the course of the audiences' lifetimes, ensures the success of the festival over a number of years as audiences grow and diminish with age. Fringe festivals are based on community-based inclusion, and with the limited timeframes of the physical festivalscape, Fringe marketers must ensure that they can align the festival with audiences' daily lives quickly and efficiently. Fringe marketers have to position the festivalscape as a central social and cultural environment in audiences' lives in order to make audiences return, engage, and purchase within the festivalscape each year. If Fringe marketers can achieve this, they can then begin to successfully market the various atmospheric elements of the festival – such as venue hubs or physical activations – and the brands will be seen as tastemakers and authorities on essential social and cultural excellence.

6.6.1 Digital Media & Brand Relationship Development

Digital marketing has become an important part of the overall Fringe marketing campaign, quickly becoming a cost-effective way for organisations, venues, and artists to engage with audiences. The experiential nature of Fringe festivals is closely aligned with existing community values, and is an expansion of existing social worlds (Quinn 2005; Hollands 2010; Carlsen et al. 2010). Due to this, creating a trusting brand relationship that encourages audiences to engage socially within the festivalscape and its many physical locations is ideal. Drawing audiences into the festival world can begin online several months prior to the festival itself through the use of digital media (EFP1; EFP2; AFP6). Fringe marketers can involve audiences more deeply in the festival's creation, seeking feedback and guidance; this helps audiences feel validated and as though they are vital components of the festival's structure – which, as Becker (2008) outlined, they are. This serves to strengthen the brand relationship, and to make the relationship feel mutually beneficial for both marketers and audiences.

The ‘why’ of creating festival brand relationships at music and other arts festivals has been established in previous literature, with financial and community-driven motivations at the core of strategic relationship development (Hudson & Hudson 2013; Todd 2015; Miles 2017). Participants outline similar desired outcomes, focussing on how this is achieved in Fringe environments. All participants state that digital media are at the core of the brand relationship development process. The advanced targeting abilities of digital platforms allow for a greater understanding of who the different audience segments within the festivalscape are, and what they are each seeking to gain out of participating (EFP1; AFP7). This knowledge then assists in structuring the overall strategy that will be used to engage with these audiences. Here, the first step of the festival brand relationship process becomes evident: research (Wood 2003). Understanding who audiences are provides the basis for the brand relationship, and the process for targeting these audience segments differs among the key Fringe stakeholders (Wood 2003; Preece & Wiggins Johnson 2011). Organisations must think more broadly and target as many different audience segments as possible, whilst venues often primarily focus on audiences that prefer the genres that the venue specialises in – for example, Gilded Balloon in Edinburgh is more likely to target comedy fans, whilst RCC Fringe in Adelaide is likely to use its extensive music program as a way to target younger audiences and music enthusiasts (EFP1; AFP6). Similarly to venues, artists have to narrow the focus to audiences that specifically prefer genres that are aligned with the artist’s work. Knowing the audience is the first vital step in the relationship building process (Wood 2003; Preece & Wiggins Johnson 2011).

Digital media provide opportunities for more precise audience targeting, using a range of platform-specific functions to segment audiences based on location, gender, age, and interests (AFP7). Depending on budgets, audience targeting can be further integrated into strategy by employing the use of a number of other paid platforms, although campaigns can be conducted without these additional services (AFP7). To have the ability to target audiences means that Fringe marketers are able to create deeper, more attuned brand relationships. As Wood (2003) outlines, the core to any strategic marketing is to understand your audience and their specific needs from your product or service, and to ascertain what content is likely to elicit positive responses from audiences (p. 134). With digital media, Fringe marketers are able to access large amounts of information about their audiences (EFP1; AFP2; AFP7). This information is gathered not just from social media, but also from eDM channels and online purchase points (APF5; AFP7). This level of understanding about audiences’ purchasing behaviour allows for improvements in the areas of customer service, programming (as festivals can program content that is relevant to audience experience and values, and is more likely to engage larger numbers

of consumers), and development of events, physical, and social spaces. Fringe brands that are able to remain attuned to customer needs by using personal information to target communications are more likely to create brand relationships as they can align their brand with audiences' lived experience. As outlined by Fournier (1998), brands that can achieve this are more likely to create longer lasting brand relationships.

Social media provide Fringe marketers with the tools to create brand relationships by bringing the festival atmosphere and experience into the personal lives of the audiences through sharing content on a variety of channels. All participants stated that multiple platforms are used within the overall mix and that each of these serves a specific purpose. Facebook is primarily a customer service tool, particularly through the Messenger platform. Twitter is an informational tool that is used to share updates on performances and events, including reviews. Instagram and LinkedIn are more image-based platforms: Instagram is termed by Ed Fringe P1 as an "aspirational" platform, and is used to promote atmospheric content that is likely to draw patrons into the experiential side of the festival. Alternatively, LinkedIn promotes business-to-business content that is both aspirational and informational, simultaneously promoting a brand's successes whilst also informing followers about its ethos. Depending on the strength of the brand relationship, audiences may follow Fringe brands on several platforms, and these audiences have a more holistic view of the brand's complete identity (AFP2). For Fringe brands, anthropomorphised social media channels that have human traits can be used to connect with audiences as if they were speaking to them person-to-person, rather than as a business that is removed and impersonal.

Each social media channel contributes to an overall identity for a festival brand. Instagram is used as a tool to anthropomorphise or humanise the brand, which means that there is greater flexibility in tone and content – it can be more familiar and personal (Gretry et al. 2017, p. 77). The platform is visual in nature and allows for more dynamic, engaging content. Fringe marketers can use the visual elements, including live video, to engage with the festivalscape from locations external to the festival itself (EFP2; AFP1; AFP5). For those who are tourists or diasporic audiences, creating fear of missing out using Instagram can encourage those external audiences to travel to the festivalscape in the future to have their own Fringe experience (EFP2; AFP1; AFP2; AFP5; as well as Przybylski et al. 2013; Miller et al. 2016; Buglass et al. 2017). Participants in both festivalscapes outline that encouraging tourism is a strategic aim in their campaigns, as increased tourism in the host cities for the festival not only encourages increases in attendance figures and ticket sales, but can persuade government entities to

provide further funding for following festivals on the basis of economic contribution to the local landscape (Felsenstein & Fleischer 2003; Carlsen 2003; as well as EFP2; AFP1; AFP5).

Instagram may provide the atmospheric and experiential window into the festivalscape, however Facebook and Twitter are used to retain and maintain the brand relationship through customer relations and informational services (EFP1; AFP2). Twitter is used to predominantly provide information to audiences, keeping them updated on festival events or experiences, ticketing processes, and linking artists, media, and other corporate entities to audiences through short-form content (EFP1; AFP4). Twitter assists in strengthening brand relationships by making audiences feel connected and a part of the festival in-crowd, as audiences are able to access instant updates on the festivalscape before they are released in print media or other areas of the festival communications mix. Audiences want to feel as though they are valuable cogs in the Fringe machine, and using Twitter as a rolling update platform means that audiences are essentially receiving festival news updates in their personal space through the use of their laptop or smartphone.

Facebook is most effectively used as a way to increase festival accessibility. Through Facebook – and its instant messaging platform, Facebook Messenger – audiences can contact festival entities online with quicker response times than with email (EFP2; AFP5; AFP6). Through the use of the platform across many areas of their lives, including social communities and in communication with other businesses or services, audiences have come to expect certain responses or response times. This research has identified that in Fringe festivalscapes the responsibility of managing and maintaining these customer service platforms currently rests with marketers. Whilst some queries are best placed with other departments such as Ticketing or Artist Services, limited access to staffing means that marketers must take on this task, particularly as they are responsible for the maintenance of the platform as a whole (EFP2; AFP2; AFP5). However, having control over these platforms means that Fringe marketers are able to develop and solidify the brand identity through consistency of communication. Fringe marketers are able to draft appropriate responses to queries, maintain the brand's tone of voice, and interact with audiences in a way that protects the brand identity that marketers have been crafting throughout the entire communications mix (EFP2; AFP2).

The combination of these audience-facing digital platforms creates a holistic brand identity, and participants outline the importance of consistency and brand stability across all platforms. Tone of voice, imagery, and the use of logos, colours, or naming conventions across all platforms are ways to achieve this. Creating a stable brand identity increases brand trust within audiences, as with this

consistency the brand is seen to be more genuine and accurate in how it presents itself. Audiences know what to expect from festival brands, and the tone of voice and visual elements within a Fringe marketing campaign indicate to audiences the central ethos of the brand, what its content is, and if it aligns with their personal, emotional, and social lives. Audiences can determine how approachable and accessible the brand is to them, and develop a sense of trust with the brand.

When audiences are able to obtain a solid understanding of a brand's identity as being (perceived as) trustworthy, the relationship can form, grow, and strengthen over time (Fournier, Breazeale & Fetscherin 2012; Leigh & Thompson 2012; Kumar & Pradhan 2015). Digital marketing can assist in the developing a brand relationship by providing digital services or activities to assist audiences in navigating the physical festivalscape. For example, the Edinburgh Fringe Society's mobile ticketing application provides easy access to ticketing services for audiences that allow them to avoid long lines at physical ticketing outlets, as well as have tickets easily accessible via email (Edinburgh Fringe 2019). Adelaide Fringe venue Gluttony also uses a mobile application as a digital program (AFP5), and the Adelaide Fringe organisation has used third-party organisation GooseChase – which facilitates scavenger hunts using mobile devices – as an audience engagement tool (AFP1; AFP2; as well as Watts 2017, p. 1). However, these applications work as audience engagement tools only if they make the customer experiences easier. In 2018, the Edinburgh Fringe mobile application crashed on an almost daily basis from the number of users accessing it, and several patrons casually spoken to during the participant observation research noted this as a source of frustration. The Adelaide Fringe retired the GooseChase application for 2019, with participants stating that they felt the application did not reach the breadth of audiences originally expected (AFP1; AFP2). However, despite the applications not working as well as they could, they provide valuable feedback for Fringe marketers and demonstrate that digital technologies can be integrated or trialled to make the Fringe festivalscape more engaging and accessible for audiences.

Another way that Fringe marketers engage with audiences online is through the profiling of user generated content. Participants stated that user generated content is used on Instagram and Twitter through the repost and retweet functions respectively (EFP1; EFP2; AFP2; AFP4; AFP5). This practice strengthens the festival brand relationship by bringing audiences further into the fold of the festival brand. Audiences want to share their opinions and experiences, and to be a part of conversations (Hede 2013, p. 157). In short, audiences want to be included. Reusing audience content is seen as an endorsement of that content's quality and its alignment to the festival brand identity, which can be validating for some audiences (AFP5). Audience content that is reposted is done so with an

acknowledgement of the content's original owner and the open promotion of that user strengthens the festival brand relationship, as this can be seen as a public endorsement of that user's active participation within the festivalscape (AFP4; AFP5). This personal contact from festival entity to the audience member again reinforces a level of closeness, as the brand has taken the next step to liaise personally and directly with the user. This communication is often managed by Fringe marketers, as is the content sourcing and reposting process.

As Instagram is an aspirational platform, if user content is profiled it is often associated with social outings and participation in larger-scale, festival-led events and experiences (EFP1; EFP2; AFP4). When the user is profiled, it then signals that they are socially active within the festivalscape, and are engaging with festival content. This is likely to be seen positively by the user, who may gain further followers or likes as a result of that content, and is particularly useful for photographers and influencers who are seeking to gain increases in both of those areas. This reposting can occur on the core channel – the Instagram profile grid – or the Instagram Stories feed, which profiles posts for one day (AFP4; AFP5). As Adelaide Fringe Participants 4 and 5 both highlight, audiences are more willing to consume greater amounts of content on Instagram Stories, and so Fringe marketers are able to share more content on their Stories without overwhelming audiences' news feeds.

Facebook also has a Stories function which, since the merger between Facebook and Instagram, is now linked to a user's Instagram profile. On these two platforms, audiences have access to several banks of content that are curated and collated with content from their fellow audience members (EFP2; AFP4). Seeing content from fellow audience members that shows vibrant scenes of nightlife, fun, and a positive and lively atmosphere solidifies the festivalscape as a vital hub for social and cultural activity. Through the use of user generated content, a mutually beneficial relationship begins to form: Fringe marketers mine user generated content from audiences to act as fodder for several of their digital channels, and as a way to engage audiences online and create stronger, more personal brand relationships. Through these digital technologies, brand relationships can be strengthened and a closer connection between festival entity and audience member can be developed, as platforms have the ability to communicate directly with audiences in a quicker and easier way, and can promote audience experiences through user generated content.

Creating brand relationships using digital media is common practice for Fringe marketers. Particularly, anthropomorphised social media channels assist in creating parasocial relationships between Fringe brands and audiences that mimic interpersonal relationships (Labreque 2014; Gretry et al. 2017).

Parasocial relationships can then help to build brand communities, that create a "consciousness of kind" (Leigh & Thompson 2012, p. 333) among festival audiences to keep them engaged and active within the festivalscape. Digital technologies are core ways that Fringe brands can "rehumanise communication" (Picard 2015, p. 34), bringing a closeness and informality to brand relationships. Marketers from a range of brands in the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringe festivalscapes use social media, eDM platforms, eCommerce and mobile application platforms to align their content with audiences' lived experiences and position their brand as vital to the cultural and social worlds of their audiences. Fournier's research states that creating this relationship ensures long-term alignment between a brand and a consumer (1998; Todd 2015) – and for Fringe marketers, creating this relationship with their audience means that their festival can grow and develop for years to come. After all, a festival would not exist without an audience to participate in it.

6.7 Measuring Audience Engagement

Understanding the success of any campaign or audience engagement initiative requires Fringe marketers to access and facilitate multiple feedback channels. Results from this research presented two ways that Fringe marketers measure audience engagement: through conversation, either digitally or physically, and through the collation of quantitative data from digital channels. Participants in this research demonstrated a difference in opinion. Some believed that the use of this digital data was essential to the creation of the entirety of the marketing strategy (AFP1; AFP2; AFP7), whilst others acknowledged the value of digital data, but still preferred to use conversation with audiences to evaluate the achievements of a campaign (EFP1; AFP2; AFP6).

Adelaide Fringe P7, who is a digital specialist, outlined the various tools that Fringe marketers can use to understand what their audiences are interacting with online. These quantitative tools include platform-specific tools, such as Facebook Business Manager, Instagram Business, and Twitter Analytics. Other platforms that provide further analytics can be used in conjunction with these, and include data from eDM platforms, Google Analytics, and link-tracking platforms such as Bitly. Additionally, Adelaide Fringe P7 outlines that programs such as Mosaic, Oracle, and Hootsuite provide incidental analytics that assist with this, and Microsoft Power BI and Tableau can be used to create a visualisation of data to allow greater understanding of what digital data actually is reporting.

These tools indicate how many people have actively engaged with content (termed 'Engagements'), how many people have seen the content (termed 'Reach'), and how many times the content has been displayed (termed 'Impressions') (Zarzycki 2018; York 2020); of these 3, engagements are the

preferred form of interaction. eDM platforms provide 'Click Through Rates', which indicate whether audiences have engaged with the email content, and some eDM platforms can also provide information about the number of sales and total revenue gained from these click throughs (AFP7). This provides demographic-based information that allows Fringe marketers to create audience segment profiles. These profiles are often created by marketers, and inform the types of content that will be used to target that demographic. As outlined in results section 5.4.6, Ed Fringe P1 details their process for creating audience profiles, and demonstrates how these profiles are detailed and incredibly specific. Whilst in this case Ed Fringe P1 created these profiles themselves, some technologies – such as Mosaic (AFP7) – can create these profiles using data from ticketing profiles, as well as other third-party services (AFP1).

Some participants believe that digital data is the most important tool for Fringe marketers, as it provides audience insights for a minimal financial cost (EFP2; AFP1; AFP2). As Fringe marketers have limited financial and staffing resources, using platforms that are cost-effective and easy to navigate allows for time to be spent providing assistance in other areas of the communications mix. Adelaide Fringe P1 and P2 believe that as analytical platforms become more sophisticated the data becomes more reliable, and create a snapshot of audience segments in the festivalscape. Again, as Fringe marketers work with limited resources, creating campaigns that are more accurately tailored to audiences ensures that financial resources are spent more efficiently. This is particularly important for end-of-season reporting, as funding bodies will often want to know that their investments are being spent wisely by Fringe marketers (AFP2).

However, other participants believe that digital data should not be solely responsible for strategic marketing within Fringe festivalscapes (EFP1; AFP3; AFP5). Two separate reasons were given for this: firstly, that platform-based data may not be completely trustworthy due to the commercial agenda of those channels; secondly, that in a festivalscape that is heavily rooted in community and audience experience, a greater understanding of that experience can be gained by speaking personally with audiences. However, this conversation does not have to happen in person - it can also take place on social media platforms that allow for quick communication that can occur anytime, anywhere, in a way that is more accessible and efficient for both parties (EFP1). This conversation can be public-facing – such as comments on posts – or can be more private, through messaging functions. Through this online conversation, Fringe marketers can create more personal communications that directly refer to audience members as people rather than masses (EFP1; EFP2). This conversation can translate to

offline interaction, and vice versa, and can help audiences feel validated and part of the festival environment in a deeper way.

Despite digital platforms providing new opportunities for creating relationships with audiences, offline communication is still crucial for maintaining brand relationships in a festivalscape (EFP1). Digital communications will get an audience to an event, venue, or show, but it is the physical experience that keeps a festival brand relationship strong (AFP3). Participants outlined that actual audience engagement was measured by ticket sales, attendance figures, or surveys distributed by staff person-to-person (AFP3; AFP4; AFP5). These surveys measure audience satisfaction with the festival experience, and ask questions about the likelihood of repeat engagement. Whilst some participants believe these surveys to be valuable indicators of audience engagement in festivalscapes (AFP4; AFP5), they did acknowledge that a person who is willing to take the time and energy to complete a survey in the midst of their festival experience is likely to thrive on having their voice heard, and will either have extreme positive or negative views on their festival experience to provide as feedback (AFP3). Participants believe that whilst data from surveys should be utilised to measure audience engagement in a festivalscape, it should be done so with the understanding that it may be skewed towards a certain viewpoint (AFP3; AFP5.

Adelaide Fringe P4 believes that platform-specific analytics, such as Facebook Business Manager analytics, have the potential to be skewed towards what will likely lead to an advertising spend on the platform. Whilst not accusing the platforms of falsifying data, participants indicate that they are wary that certain data may be presented or hidden in order to encourage financial investment in social media advertising. However, despite this they still believe that the data provided by these platforms is worthwhile to consider when creating a strategy, and is useful when conducting day-to-day in-festival marketing campaigns.

6.8 Summary

Fringe marketing practitioners who are currently in the field and working with digital technologies on a daily basis are finding ways to blend both old and new audience engagement techniques to create a holistic understanding of their audiences. Digital analytics inform strategy and provide reporting facilities to assist marketers with creating targeted campaigns (AFP7). These analytics can be used to provide insights to sponsors and other stakeholders, and actively assist marketers in deciding which funding should be used in other areas of the mix (AFP2). However, in the digital age there is still a place for conversation (EFP1). Creating a human connection with the audiences can help Fringe marketers

strengthen brand relationships by both understanding what audiences want out of the relationship, and making audiences feel validated. It comes down to the basics of human interpersonal relationships: when a person feels as though they have been heard, have been respected, and have been understood, they can form a trusting connection and maintain this connection and develop it over time.

Creating relationships in Fringe festivalscapes is no different. Fringe marketers must develop and maintain a relationship with a range of audience segments to keep them financially, socially, culturally, and emotionally engaged in the festival. Keeping audiences engaged in these areas serves a specific purpose; financially, festivals can grow and thrive, as well as support independent artists and local venues by encouraging audiences to purchase tickets, food and beverage offerings, and merchandise. This financial investment from audiences stimulates the local economy, and if Fringe marketers can demonstrate to government bodies that they are making positive economic contributions, they often will receive funding for the following year (AFP2). Fringe marketers can demonstrate similar positive effect for corporate sponsors, and provide opportunities for sponsors to engage with audiences through special events or deals.

Socially, Fringe marketers strive to keep audiences engaged to not only leverage existing social networks, but also to maintain the atmospheric elements of the festivalscape that encourage further participation (EFP1; EFP2; AFP4). If Fringe marketers can position the festival as a vital part of social life throughout the duration of the festival, they are able to use marketing tactics such as inducing fear of missing out to encourage audiences to come to events and make venues destinations for their social gatherings (Przybylski et al. 2013; Miller et al. 2016; as well as EFP2). This can benefit all Fringe marketers: artists can market and publicise their shows to influence ticket sales; venues seek to increase attendance figures as well as income from hospitality offerings; and organisations are able to use these increases in figures as brand awareness and engagement tactics for future campaigns. Fringe marketers benefit from engaging audiences socially and leveraging existing connections in the community, as increases in audience engagement leads to increases in financial capital and brand awareness.

If Fringe marketers can connect the festival with the cultural and emotional needs of audiences, the brand relationship they can form with audiences can grow to be stronger with every passing festival. As outlined in Chapter 1, audiences form emotional connections with artistic works. This connection develops from a young age during educational and at-home exposure, and evolves as audiences age (Todd 2015). Fringe festivals are often more cost-effective for audiences than the arts festival for which

they are on the 'fringe', and content is rooted in cultural and community values. Although the high/low arts divide exists in and around Fringe festivals, they are more accessible to the greater portion of audiences in the host cities. Fringe marketers can mitigate these issues by promoting bridging programs such as schools initiatives and programs that provide transport and access to shows for underprivileged groups, such as the Adelaide Fringe's Donor Circle program (Adelaide Fringe 2020). Whilst Fringe marketers may not create these programs, they assist with maintaining the promotion of them, both visually and through written copy. These programs maintain brand relationships through audience services, but also build positive brand awareness within the wider community.

To maintain prominence in a festivalscape, Fringe marketers must include developing brand relationships with audiences as a core strategic aim. As outlined in participant interviews, creating brand relationships is one of the primary goals of a Fringe marketing campaign as a whole, no matter which stakeholder group the marketer works in. Creating brand relationships not only keeps audiences returning to the festivalscape in the following year, but also ensures that they are invested in the festival brand throughout the year when the festival itself is not active. In an environment where the number of venues, artists, and audience events grows with each year, maintaining this interest is key to remaining active within the festivalscape: if there's no audience attendance, there is no consistent income. This applies to Fringe organisations, too – in both the Edinburgh and Adelaide festivalscapes, there are several festivals or multi-day events occurring throughout the Fringe's run, and these events are aiming to attract similar audiences to the Fringe.

To create and maintain these brand relationships with audiences, Fringe marketers use a range of touchpoints to remain ever-present in audiences' minds. These include print material, merchandise, outdoor and venue activations, advertising, media presence, audience engagement initiatives and events, and digital media (Ang 2014; as well as EFP1, EFP2, AFP1, AFP2, AFP3; AFP5; AFP6). By using consistent imagery and messaging across these channels, Fringe marketers can create a campaign that is effective within the oversaturated market. Digital marketing is useful to engage with consumers who represent disparate audiences, and can reach regional or international audiences that have either previously participated in the festivalscape, or could potentially do so in the future (AFP5). These platforms allow for increased audience segmentation and targeting, and provide quantitative feedback for marketers to use to inform present and future campaigns. Through quantitative data, these technologies can give indications of the current levels of audience engagement on digital platforms, particularly on social media (AFP7). They also provide feedback channels for audiences to ask questions, particularly through direct messaging platforms. Fringe marketers can monitor conversations

online to understand and anticipate audience needs, and maintain a positive relationship with their audiences by being active in these online conversations themselves (EFP1). Fringe marketers can anthropomorphise brands and give them human characteristics, furthering the brand identity and aligning that with the identities of the local audiences to make the Fringe festivalscape an essential part of the social world.

The Fringe festivalscape is comprised of a range of stakeholders, each with their own commercial, experiential, or artistic goals. Fringe marketers within various stakeholder groups all use similar techniques, strategies, and marketing mixes to achieve a similar goal – to create relationships with audiences, and ensure their financial stability for the following festivals. What this research demonstrates is threefold: firstly, that there are 3 core Fringe marketing stakeholder groups, as outlined above in section 5.2, and that each of these groups has a mutually-beneficial relationship with the others. Secondly, each of these groups seeks to create brand relationships with audiences, who also have their own motivations for participating in festivalscapes; and thirdly, Fringe marketers use digital media to strengthen these brand relationships and obtain data on audience engagement. Fringe marketers are able to use digital media to monitor conversations and speak directly with audiences, and these technologies can act as valuable assessment tools to monitor how brand relationships are progressing.

The nature of Fringe festivalscapes is fluid and ever-evolving. Fringe marketers work on limited resources, both financially and in terms of staffing, and face pressures from several different funding or sponsorship groups (EFP2; AFP1; AFP2; AFP6). Fringe marketers have a broad remit, and are required to assist in the areas of ticketing, artists management, and business development through promotional and audience engagement initiatives. Because of this, Fringe marketers are unique compared with marketers in other industries: they are required to take on much more as part of their department, and each member of a Fringe marketing team – no matter which Fringe stakeholder group they are in – is required to work long hours and take on a greater workload as part of the festival season. This may have long-term effects on Fringe marketers, although each participant believed that increased workloads and long hours were just a normal part of the job description, and indeed of the arts industry itself. In Chapter 6 below, some areas of further research are suggested, particularly in regard to the well-being of Fringe marketers as the two festivalscapes continue to grow larger with every festival. With both the Edinburgh Fringe and the Adelaide Fringe showing no signs of reducing their size, a new – and flexible – understanding of the festivalscape is required.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Fringe arts festivals are complex environments, with multiple stakeholders competing for audiences' attention within a singular landscape that faces a constant clash of economics and culture. This thesis has examined the role of Fringe marketers, looking particularly at the larger stakeholder groups of Fringe organisations, venues, and artists. These 3 core groups use a similar communications mix to achieve common aims, although each entity creates nuanced strategies to target their specific audiences. Fringe marketers who participated in this research outlined how they create relationships with their audiences to ensure financial stability from festival to festival. This approach reflects Fournier's Brand Relationship Theory (1998) and arts-based applications of that theory (Todd 2015; Hudson et al. 2016). Participants stated that they place brand relationships at the core of their strategic marketing practices, and aim to develop these relationships through the use of various areas of the marketing and communications mix to maintain these relationships over time.

Marketing a Fringe brand is different from marketing a product or service. Created to service local artistic communities and provide a representation of the local lived experience, the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringe Festivals have grown to become the largest arts festivals in the world. With the exponential growth of these festivalscapes has come financial pressures that have necessitated a shifting of priorities towards maintaining and growing annual revenue. The organisations that run the festivals may be not-for-profit, but as they facilitate the selling of artistic work they function just as any other business would (Becker 2008).

Through a qualitative mixed methods framework, this thesis has explored the chaotic, ever-evolving Fringe environments in Edinburgh and Adelaide. As the two Fringes are emotional and experiential entities, this research provides a more personal view of the festival environments through the inclusion of participant observation. The aim behind this part of the research was simple: to attempt to capture these environments in a way that contributes to the overall understanding of the sheer scope and depth of these festivalscapes. Building on previous literature (Shrum 1996; Glow & Caust 2011; Bartie 2013; Todd 2015), this thesis presents the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringes from the perspective of an audience member, someone who is at the whim of the constant onslaught of marketing within these overcrowded landscapes.

The participant interviews provide depth and understanding to findings from the participant observation research. Speaking with current Fringe marketing professionals – who have often worked for multiple

stakeholder groups within the Fringe festivalscape or have been active in the arts industries in Edinburgh and Adelaide for a significant portion of time – provided information on not only the aims of Fringe marketing campaigns, but also the practicalities of how these aims are achieved. These interviews provided information that, at a macro level, was consistent across the two festivalscapes, but also indicated several differentiations on a micro level.

The research aims in this study were to:

1. Explore processes of decision-making in the creation and engagement of marketing strategies within the Adelaide Fringe and Edinburgh Fringe festivalscapes;
2. Examine the festivalscapes themselves from an academic context, and to understand key stakeholders, relationships, structures, organisations, and power relations within the festivalscapes;
3. Explore the role of marketers within the festivalscapes, and how they attempt to sell an intangible brand with which most consumers have a unique relationship;
4. Understand how digital data – such as social media and eDirect Mail analytics – influenced and altered strategies not only on a daily basis, but for future work;
5. To create a study that benefits both the Fringe arts industry, and academia.

As the first key finding, this research uncovered and detailed core stakeholder groups and the mutually beneficial relationships that they create with one another. In a Fringe context, these relationships centre on cultural and financial aims, and this further highlights the continuing intersection of creative practices and economics. Furthermore, the 3 core stakeholder groups detailed in this research and how they intersect with one another align with the ideas within stakeholder theories that outline the necessity of stakeholder relationships for accruing greater finances and resources (Andersson & Getz 2008; Andersson & Getz 2009; Todd, Leask & Ensor 2017). Despite social shifts throughout the end of the 20th century and the early 21st century, economics still play a crucial role in the development of the arts, just as they did at the time that scholars such as Adorno, Gramsci, and Bourdieu were developing their theories. Within these community-driven arts festivals that seek to uphold an ethos of equality and inclusion, there are still power structures that reinforce the high/low arts status quo that led to their creation in the first instance. For a festival that was created to reject this status quo, a return to it potentially demonstrates how deeply entrenched socio-economic and socio-cultural structures remain in society.

The second key finding was that whether working for a Fringe organisation, venue, or as an artist, umbrella marketing strategies contain 5 core elements: print, digital, publicity, outdoor, and advertising collateral. Under each of these overall groups are several different platforms or strategies to achieve several aims. These were similar across the 3 stakeholder groups listed above, and the core marketing aims highlighted by participants in this research were:

1. To ensure financial stability and longevity of the Fringe brand through consistently increasing tickets sales with each festival;
2. To engage audiences in Fringe programming and encourage audience interaction through not only actual attendance, but through word of mouth;
3. To create brand relationships with audiences that will last throughout the off-season, and will remain strong for years to come.

These aims were discussed by participants in Chapter 5, and were reminiscent of existing research in the field that focusses on the arts as a wider industry, or in curated festivals. Incidentally, it appears as though there is no major deviation in marketing aims between curated festivals and open-access Fringes: financial stability and festival longevity are still the overarching aims.

The different areas identified in the Fringe communications mix provide a particular tone of voice or section of an overall brand identity, with each targeting a different audience segment and coming together to create one consistent and comprehensive brand personality. However, research findings indicated that the digital portion of the mix has expanded rapidly over the past 5 years, and participants indicated that much of their focus is shifting to digital marketing. This includes social media, eDM campaigns, websites and eCommerce, and mobile applications and other technologies. This research demonstrates that Fringe marketers actually use each digital platform to target various audience segments with different ages, interests, and physical locations. This is a distinct advantage of digital marketing: the platform architecture presents statistics and functions that provide Fringe marketers with the ability to understand who their audiences are, and position certain communications to specifically target those audiences.

Emerging from this research was a common thread amongst participants: the use of digital data in shaping umbrella marketing strategies. Some participants stated that their entire strategy revolved around data from previous and ongoing campaigns. The primary reason given for this was that limitations in financial resources, time, and staffing present challenges, and marketers must be as

strategic as possible to mitigate those issues. Additionally, using quantitative data to create strategies that are funded by external stakeholders supports marketers when creating and reporting on campaigns, particularly as sponsors and government departments require detailed results to be presented as evidence of appropriate spending. Other participants indicated that a wholly quantitative approach to strategy was limited in its understanding of what audiences are seeking to gain from participation within Fringe festivalscapes. Two participants also questioned the validity of results from digital platforms, particularly as the companies providing those results have financial motivations of their own. At the core of these participants' approaches was conversation: the connection between Fringe brand and audiences that can only be understood by speaking directly with those audiences.

Creating relationships between Fringe brands and audiences was the other key topic of discussion within this research. Fringe festivals, as with many other arts and cultural experiences, rely on audiences having emotional and social connections with content in order for those audiences to continually participate within the festivalscape year after year. Here, the two sections of the research provided an overview of the importance of Fringe brand relationships: the participant observation demonstrated how emotional connections are formed and how the festivals can bring about both high and low emotional moments for audiences, whilst the interviews demonstrated how these relationships benefit festival brands. The findings on Fringe brand relationships were consistent with Fournier's theories, and built on applications from other researchers, particularly Todd's 2015 study of the Edinburgh Fringe.

This research has implications not only for further research on Fringe festivals, but also for current Fringe marketers working in other festivals around the world. Whilst focussed specifically on the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringes, as the Fringe structure is replicated in other cities it is reasonable to suggest that these findings can be used as a structural basis for research on other Fringes. Presenting frameworks for marketing within Fringe festivalscapes, this research provides insight from international marketers about how to engage audiences in oversaturated environments. Additionally, whilst not all Fringe festivals are as big as Edinburgh and Adelaide's, this research provides guidance for Fringe marketers on how to manage marketing campaigns that must target wider-reaching audience segments. It was a core aim of this research to present a study that is beneficial not only to academia, but also to those currently working within Fringe marketing, or more widely within the arts. Though some of this information may seem natural to Fringe marketers, this research provides new perspectives and highlights trends that Fringe marketers may not be aware of when working solely on their Fringe.

This research also contributes to bodies of existing literature about the creation of brand relationships in the arts. Fournier's research on consumer-brand relationships was developed with a tangible good at its analytical core (1998). Fringe content is intangible and when audiences purchase tickets they are taking a risk that the show they are attending will be of high quality. With any purchasing risk, marketers need to ensure that they are creating strong, long-lasting brand relationships so that any disappointments can be mitigated, and consumers will interact with the brand over the course of their purchasing lives. Existing literature in brand relationships and the arts demonstrates that marketers must be flexible and attuned to audience needs to create and maintain strong brand relationships. This research adds to this by asserting that Fringe marketers primarily create these relationships through digital marketing campaigns which build on print and advertising initiatives. As Fringe marketers are likely to incorporate customer service duties into their workload, they are able to control communications with customers and solidify the brand identity that audiences see. Whilst the 'what' of consumer-brand relationships in the arts has been previously discussed, this research expands on that discussion by detailing the 'why' and the 'how' in Edinburgh and Adelaide.

Fundamentally, this research can inform practice in professional Fringe marketing spheres as it provides a comparison between the two largest arts festivals in the world, highlighting commonalities and differences in their marketing practice and highlighting areas that would benefit from development or restructuring. Brand relationships in Fringe festivalscapes are important for all stakeholders to create, and not just for those that have access to greater financial resources. Digital media provide avenues for artists and smaller venues to create these relationships for a minimal spend, and make audience segmentation and targeting practices more accessible for those that have previously not been able to afford the use of third-party technologies or consultants. In an increasingly digital world filled with people who are seeking participatory experiences and meaningful relationships, Fringe marketers can greatly benefit from the use of digital marketing within their communications mix. Rural and global audiences, as well as those that cannot usually access the festivalscape for personal reasons, are now able to be just as active within Fringe festivalscapes by maintaining relationships with Fringe brands online. For those marketers who are not yet taking full advantage of digital marketing platforms, this research provides academic and professional evidence that they can no longer resist the move towards digital.

This research can also inform further academic research in the arts, festival and events, and marketing research fields through its unique methodological approach. By utilising a qualitative, exploratory

approach in a field that has predominantly consisted of quantitative research, this thesis has presented a deeper exploration of the environments of the two Fringe festivals in all their complexity. Furthermore, this methodology has provided an opportunity for the experiences and expertise of professionals currently working within these festivalscapes to be heard, providing greater context and in-depth observations of the Fringe marketing strategic approach. This methodology could be utilised or expanded for future research, and applied in different festival or events environments to examine the ecosystems and relationships that exist in each unique festivalscape. Furthermore, this project – and the humanities and cultural studies theoretical framework that guides it – presents marketing research in a new setting, merging together different fields of study to provide new approaches to measuring the success of marketing strategies.

An unexpected finding was the effect that Fringe marketing practice has on marketers themselves. With expansive workloads, smaller teams, and limited financial resources, significant strain is placed on marketers to deliver successful campaigns. Whilst participants outlined these stresses, they also acknowledged them as just a part of the job, and unlikely to change any time soon. This is an area that would benefit from cross-disciplinary study, perhaps in areas of psychology or health sciences, as participants outlined strains on mental and physical health throughout Fringe campaigns. Further research into how these stresses affect the campaigns themselves would also be a beneficial stepping-stone to exploring these results further. This indicates the potential necessity for a reshaping of expectations on staff and working conditions for Fringe marketers, and would benefit from further exploration both in academia and professional arenas. Work hours that do not allow for any time for marketers to recuperate or rest throughout the festival season are not sustainable, and though participants indicated that they are aware of this commitment when they take on their roles, working all day, every day is not a sustainable or safe practice.

As with any research, there are naturally some limitations within this study. This project examines the two Fringes through an arts, humanities, and arts marketing theoretical framework, with few sources from the marketing field. Whilst this was necessary to provide appropriate context for the study, further research would benefit from a greater utilisation of marketing research. Certain areas provided interesting results, but were unfortunately not able to be explored in great depth. For example, this thesis identified key stakeholder groups within the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringes, but unfortunately did not have the scope to explore all possible relationships that these groups form. Additionally, whilst this study focussed on four key stakeholder groups – organisations, venues, artists, and audiences – there are several other groups that were not explored in as much depth. This was primarily due to the

focus on marketing within the Fringe festivalscapes, but would be an area that would benefit from future study. Further exploration of stakeholder groups would assist in creating a more holistic academic understanding of not only the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringe festivalscapes, but also other festivals that follow similar organisational structures.

Another limitation in this study was the timeframes of the festivals, and how these affected the number of participants who were able to contribute to this research. Initially, over double of the final number of participants were approached, with several marketers stating that they would be involved, only to rescind this statement or lose contact. Whilst the interviews provided significant data to work with in this research project, researchers on future projects would do well to attempt to speak to a greater number of participants. However, the number of the participants did not negatively affect this project. Indeed, it was a first-hand lesson about the chaotic, fast-paced nature of Fringe festivals: practitioners moving in and out of the industry, or staff with too many responsibilities to have time to participate, are common experiences in the arts.

Fringe festivals are multifaceted cultural institutions that are integral to the Edinburgh and Adelaide cultural landscapes. For two festivals that began as revolutionary community cultural events, the Edinburgh and Adelaide Fringe festivals have grown at an incredible rate to become the biggest arts festivals in the world, far eclipsing the festivals from which they originated. Marketing is an essential task for brands to stand out within a landscape in which thousands of artists perform on a daily basis. Capturing the attention of local and international audiences alike in overcrowded spaces requires constant work, and is something that Fringe marketers must achieve with limited resources and incredible amounts of creativity. For future festivals, and as digital platforms continue to develop and become essential parts of everyday life, it will be fascinating to see how audiences continue to engage and (re)construct their Fringe experience – all the while guided along by marketers, of course.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Participant Information Sheet - Edinburgh

Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet - Adelaide

Appendix C: Consent Form

Appendix D: Complete List of Participants

Appendix E: Example Interview Questions

Appendix A: Participant Information Sheet – Edinburgh

PROJECT TITLE: Engaging Audiences Using Social Media at Fringe Arts Festivals.
HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL NUMBER: H-2018-007
PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Dr. Kathryn Bowd (Secondary: Dr. Kim Barbour)
STUDENT RESEARCHER: Ms. Amy Nancarrow
STUDENT'S DEGREE: Doctor of Philosophy

Dear Participant,
You are invited to participate in the research project described below.

What is the project about?
This research examines the social media and digital marketing strategies of the 2018 Edinburgh Festival Fringe and the 2019 Adelaide Fringe Festival, particularly examining how Instagram and Twitter are utilised by key organisations within the festivals' landscapes.

This project will involve the researcher: collating social media analytics and ticketing data through various technologies, including through the organisations themselves; participating and interacting with technologies and social media platforms as an audience member; conducting interviews with key staff at key organisations, either in person or via Skype; and conducting ethnographic research within both festivals.

This project aims to: examine the current social media and digital marketing strategies employed by the two organisations; understand the creation of communities within fringe arts festivals; understand current strategies and their goals as they relate to business development; and to understand if changes in strategies could result in an increase in engagement in festivals.

Who is undertaking the project?
This project is being conducted by Amy Nancarrow. This research will form the basis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Adelaide, under the supervision of Dr. Kathryn Bowd and Dr. Kim Barbour. Ms. Nancarrow will be an unpaid employee throughout any participant observation research in Edinburgh, United Kingdom.

Why am I being invited to participate?

You're being invited to participate as you currently or have previously conducted work with social media marketing strategies, business development, or management within the Edinburgh Festival Fringe landscape. I believe that you have valuable information that could be of use to this project and provide insight, industry knowledge, and context within the thesis.

What will I be asked to do?

You will be asked to:

- Participate in an interview of approximately 40-60 minutes to discuss your experience, understanding, and knowledge of not only the arts industry and the Edinburgh Fringe, but of social media and other digital marketing strategies and their effectiveness. You will be provided a transcript of the interview if you'd prefer, and you have the ability to redact or alter statements, as well as speak off the record. These interviews will be recorded digitally and retained by the researcher;
- The interviews can be conducted in formal (i.e., within the office, boardrooms) or informal (cafes, bars, etc.) settings; the participatory observation research will occur within the office and surrounds.

How much time will the project take?

The interviews will take approximately 40-60 minutes. If required, a follow-up interview may be conducted with your consent.

The interview will be both be recorded using audio and/or visual recording equipment, to ensure accuracy of transcripts. Please advise the researcher if you do not wish to be video recorded.

The timeframe for the participant observation research is at the discretion of the organisation.

Are there any risks associated with participating in this project?

At this stage, there are minimal foreseeable risks to participants.

Should you be uncomfortable with some information given to the researcher throughout the research, whether throughout the interviews or the participant observation research, you have the ability to discuss this with the researcher, and to alter or redact statements as necessary. You also have the ability to speak off the record.

Should you have any major concerns, you may raise them with the researcher, or contact the University of Adelaide.

What are the benefits of the research project?

This research could produce several benefits for you as a participant, and the organisation as a whole.

As a participant, you will have access to your interview transcript, draft thesis chapters (including data analysis within them), and the final submitted thesis at your request. This information could be helpful when developing future strategies. This information could also assist in assessing your current strategies, and introducing new technologies for the future. Depending on your position within your organisation, you will be allowed access to the data and thesis for your personal use, and to develop your own career skills and strategies.

For the organisation, this information could be valuable for future strategy planning and provide detailed, academic insight into digital platform, the arts and its place within communities, and the state of fringe arts within two major organisations.

Can I withdraw from the project?

Participation in this project is completely voluntary. If you agree to participate, you can withdraw from the study at any time prior to journal article or thesis submission.

Should you decide not to participate, this will not affect your employment in any way.

What will happen to my information?

All digital records, including audio and visual recordings of interviews, will be securely stored via:

- Password protected USB drive;
- University of Adelaide secure research (R:) and/or student specific (U:) drives.
- All paper records will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in Napier 928 at the University of Adelaide.

Throughout the course of this doctoral research, records will potentially be accessed by:

- Ms. Amy Nancarrow, the student researcher;
- Dr. Kathryn Bowd and Dr. Kim Barbour, the supervisors for the student researcher;

- The organisation(s) involved, who will be presented with research updates and with a debrief at the end of the research period (upon request);
- Participants who wish to see transcripts of their interviews.

Please note: participants will only have access to their interview transcripts, or those of employees within their organisation(s).

Data will be disseminated through academic journal publications, a doctoral thesis, departmental presentations at the University of Adelaide, academic conferences, and through any necessary reports to funding bodies. Should you wish to remain anonymous in these publications, please notify the researcher. Anonymity will be discussed with you before the interview commences.

At the completion of the research phase for each organisation, a written or verbal debrief of the research will be conducted. Organisations and participants will be allowed access to their interview transcripts, draft thesis chapters, and other written reports.

You will have access to your interview transcript, at your request. Your employer may be provided with a transcript of your interview, should they request it. If you are not comfortable with this being accessed by your employer, please notify the research team.

Who do I contact if I have questions about the project?
Should you have any questions, you may contact the following:

Ms. Amy Nancarrow – Primary Student Researcher
Ph. via Dr. Kathryn Bowd: +61 8 8313 5617
Napier 928, The University of Adelaide
North Terrace,
Adelaide SA 5005
Amy.nancarrow@adelaide.edu.au

Dr. Kathryn Bowd – Principal Supervisor
Ph.: +61 8 8313 5617
Napier 906, The University of Adelaide
North Terrace,

Adelaide SA 5005
Kathryn.bowd@adelaide.edu.au

Dr. Kim Barbour – Secondary Supervisor
Ph: +61 8 8313 3405
Napier 904, The University of Adelaide
North Terrace,
Adelaide SA 5005
Kim.barbour@adelaide.edu.au

What if I have a complaint or any concerns?

The study has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee at the University of Adelaide (approval number H-2017-007). If you have questions or problems associated with the practical aspects of your participation in the project, or wish to raise a concern or complaint about the project, then you should consult the Principal Investigator. If you wish to speak with an independent person regarding a concern or complaint, the University's policy on research involving human participants, or your rights as a participant, please contact the Human Research Ethics Committee's Secretariat on:

Phone: +61 8 8313 6028
Email: hrec@adelaide.edu.au
Post: Level 4, Rundle Mall Plaza, 50 Rundle Mall, ADELAIDE SA 5000

Any complaint or concern will be treated in confidence and fully investigated. You will be informed of the outcome.

If I want to participate, what do I do?

To join this study, you must complete a participant consent form. After this, the primary researcher will contact you to organise a time for an interview, as well as any details necessary for the participatory action research. Should you require further information about the research, this can be provided for you.

Yours sincerely,
Ms. Amy Nancarrow, Primary Student Researcher
Dr. Kathryn Bowd, Principal Supervisor
Dr. Kim Barbour, Secondary Supervisor

Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet – Adelaide

PROJECT TITLE: Engaging Audiences at Open-Access Arts Festivals: Social Media Marketing at the Adelaide Fringe Festival and the Edinburgh Festival Fringe.
HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL NUMBER: H-2018-007
PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Dr. Kathryn Bowd
SECONDARY INVESTIGATOR: Dr. Kim Barbour
STUDENT RESEARCHER: Ms. Amy Nancarrow
STUDENT'S DEGREE: Doctor of Philosophy

Dear Participant,
You are invited to participate in the research project described below.

What is the project about?
This research examines the social media and digital marketing strategies of the Adelaide Fringe Festival and the Edinburgh Festival Fringe.

This project will involve the researcher: collating social media analytics and ticketing data through various technologies, including through the organisations themselves; participating with technologies and social media platforms as an audience member; conducting interviews with key staff at both organisations, either in person or via Skype; and conducting ethnographic research with the Adelaide Fringe Festival through participatory action research. The participatory action research would involve the primary researcher working within the organisation over 3-4 months, so as to understand the strategies and their implementation, as well as to develop professional context surrounding these decisions.

This project aims to: examine the current social media and digital marketing strategies employed by the two organisations; understand current strategies and their goals as they relate to business development; and to understand if changes in strategies could result in an increase in engagement in festivals.

Who is undertaking the project?
This project is being conducted by Ms. Amy Nancarrow. This research will form the basis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Adelaide under the supervision of Dr. Kathryn Bowd and Dr.

Kim Barbour. Any work within agreed departments undertaken by Ms. Nancarrow throughout the participatory action research in Adelaide, South Australia will be unpaid.

Why am I being invited to participate?

You're being invited to participate as you currently or have previously conducted work with social media marketing strategies, business development, or management. I believe that you have valuable information that could be of use to this project and provide insight and valuable industry knowledge and context within the thesis.

What will I be asked to do?

You will be asked to:

- Participate in an interview of approximately 30-60 minutes to discuss your experience, understanding, and knowledge of not only the arts industry and the festival, but of social media and other digital marketing strategies and their effectiveness. You will be provided a transcript of the interview if you'd prefer, and you have the ability to redact or alter statements, as well as speak off the record. These interviews will be recorded digitally and retained by the researcher;
- Assist the researcher in participatory action research within your organisation. This could include assisting them with company procedures, technologies, and systems;
- The interviews can be conducted in formal (i.e., within the office, boardrooms) or informal (cafes, bars, etc.) settings; the participatory action research will occur within the office and surrounds.

How much time will the project take?

The interviews will take approximately 30-60 minutes. If required, a follow-up interview may be conducted with your consent.

The interview will be both be recorded using both audio and visual recording equipment, to ensure accuracy of transcripts. Please advise the researcher if you do not wish to be video recorded.

The participatory action research will take place over 3-4 months in the lead-up to, and during, the festival. The researcher will act as an employee and will be within the organisation 2-3 days per week. This can be negotiated as needed. The researcher will act within the business structure similarly to an intern.

Are there any risks associated with participating in this project?

At this stage, there are minimal foreseeable risks to participants.

Should you be uncomfortable with some information given to the researcher throughout the research, whether throughout the interviews or the participatory action research, you have the ability to discuss this with the researcher, and to alter or redact statements as necessary. You also have the ability to speak off the record.

Should you have any major concerns, you may raise them with the researcher, or contact the University of Adelaide.

What are the benefits of the research project?

This research could produce several benefits for you as a participant, and the organisation as a whole.

As a participant, you will have access to data collected, your interview transcript, draft thesis chapters, and the final submitted thesis. This information could be helpful when developing future strategies, and will be a comparison of your organisation with another international organisation. This information could assist in assessing your current strategies, and introducing new technologies for the future. Depending on your position within the organisation, you will be allowed access to the data and thesis for your personal use, and to develop your own career skills and strategies.

For the organisation, this information could be valuable for future strategy planning and provide detailed, academic insight into digital platforms and arts marketing.

Can I withdraw from the project?

Participation in this project is completely voluntary. If you agree to participate, you can withdraw from the study at any time prior to journal article or thesis submission.
Should you decide not to participate, this will not affect your employment in any way.

What will happen to my information?

All digital records, including audio and visual recordings of interviews, will be securely stored via:

- Password protected USB drive;
- University of Adelaide secure research (R:) drive.

- All paper records will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in Napier 928.

Records will be accessed by:

- **Ms. Amy Nancarrow,** the primary student researcher;
- **Dr. Kathryn Bowd** and **Dr. Kim Barbour,** the supervisors for the primary researcher;
- Organisations, who will be presented with research updates and with a debrief at the end of the research period;
- Participants who wish to see transcripts of their interviews.

Data will be disseminated through academic journal publications, a doctoral thesis, departmental presentations at the University of Adelaide, academic conferences, and through any necessary reports to funding bodies. Should you wish to remain anonymous in these publications, please notify the researcher. Anonymity will be discussed with you before the interview commences.

At the completion of the research phase for each organisation, a written or verbal debrief of the research will be conducted. Organisations and participants will be allowed access to their interview transcripts, draft thesis chapters, and other written reports.

You will have access to your interview transcript, at your request. Your employer may be provided with a transcript of your interview, should they request it. If you are not comfortable with this being accessed by your employer, please notify the research team.

Who do I contact if I have questions about the project?

Should you have any questions, you may contact the following:

Ms. Amy Nancarrow – Primary Researcher
Ph. via Dr. Kathryn Bowd: +61 8 8313 5617
Napier 928, The University of Adelaide
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Adelaide SA 5005
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Dr. Kathryn Bowd – Principal Supervisor
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Napier 906, The University of Adelaide
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Kathryn.bowd@adelaide.edu.au

Dr. Kim Barbour – Secondary Supervisor
Ph: +61 8 8313 3405
Napier 904, The University of Adelaide
North Terrace,
Adelaide SA 5005
Kim.barbour@adelaide.edu.au

What if I have a complaint or any concerns?

The study has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee at the University of Adelaide (approval number H-2018-007). If you have questions or problems associated with the practical aspects of your participation in the project, or wish to raise a concern or complaint about the project, then you should consult the Principal Investigator. If you wish to speak with an independent person regarding a concern or complaint, the University's policy on research involving human participants, or your rights as a participant, please contact the Human Research Ethics Committee's Secretariat on:

Phone: +61 8 8313 6028
Email: hrec@adelaide.edu.au
Post: Level 4, Rundle Mall Plaza, 50 Rundle Mall, ADELAIDE SA 5000

Any complaint or concern will be treated in confidence and fully investigated. You will be informed of the outcome.

If I want to participate, what do I do?

To join this study, you must complete a participant consent form. After this, the primary researcher will contact you to organise a time for a formal interview, as well as any organisation necessary for the participatory action research. Should you require further information about the research, this can be provided for you.

Yours sincerely,
Ms. Amy Nancarrow, Primary Researcher
Dr. Kathryn Bowd, Principal Supervisor

Dr. Kim Barbour, Secondary Supervisor

Appendix C: Interview Consent Form (with amended title January 2020)

CONSENT FORM

1. I have read the attached Information Sheet and agree to take part in the following research project:

Title:	**The Art of Selling the Arts: Marketing Culture at Fringe Arts Festivals**
Ethics Approval Number:	**HREC-2017-008**

2. I have had the project, so far as it affects me, fully explained to my satisfaction by the research worker. My consent is given freely.

3. Although I understand the purpose of the research project it has also been explained that involvement may not be of any benefit to me.

4. I have been informed that, while information gained during the study may be published, I will not be identified and my personal results will not be divulged.

5. I understand that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time. I also understand that I it is possible to remain anonymous, or to able to be referred to under a pseudonym, during the data analysis process and in the submission of the thesis and/or any journal articles.

6. I agree to the interview being audio and video recorded (please notify the researcher if you do not wish to be video recorded). Yes ☐ No ☐

7. I am aware that I should keep a copy of this Consent Form, when completed, and the attached Information Sheet.

Participant to complete:

Name: _____Signature: _____ Date: _____

Researcher/Witness to complete:

I have described the nature of the research to

_____

(print name of participant)

and in my opinion she/he understood the explanation.

Signature: _____Position:_____ Date:

_____

Appendix D: Complete List of Participants

Name	Interview Format	Festivalscape	Area of Marketing Experience (throughout career)
Ed Fringe P1	In Person	Edinburgh	Venue
Ed Fringe P2	Skype	Edinburgh (with exposure to SA festivals)	Organisation/Venue
Adelaide Fringe P1	In Person	Adelaide (with exposure to UK festivals)	Organisation/Venue
Adelaide Fringe P2	In Person	Adelaide (with exposure to UK festivals)	Organisation/Venue
Adelaide Fringe P3	In Person	Both Edinburgh & Adelaide	Artist/Venue
Adelaide Fringe P4	In Person	Adelaide (with exposure to UK festivals)	Venue
Adelaide Fringe P5	In Person	Adelaide	Venue
Adelaide Fringe P6	In Person	Adelaide	Venue
Adelaide Fringe P7	In Person	Adelaide	Venue

Appendix E: Example Interview Questions (Non-identifiable)

Personal/General Questions

1. Can you give me a bit of information about your background in both marketing and the arts?

2. Generally, how have you seen the digital communications landscape develop over the past five years?

3. Do you have a digital philosophy?

4. How long have you worked within the festival landscape? Have you worked in other festival landscapes? If so, how do they compare and contrast?

5. In your opinion, what is the 'Fringe' and what importance does it have for the local community?

Marketing Strategy & Overall Mix

1. Generally, how do you find Fringe festival marketing differs from marketing a different product or business?

2. What are the overarching components of a Fringe marketing campaign?

3. How important is overall strategy for the success of a marketing campaign in a festival environment? Is crafting this different to crafting a strategy in a different industry or context?

4. What is the overall 'identity' throughout your marketing strategy? Do you have a particular tone of voice, type of language, or imagery that you use?

5. What part does digital marketing – and more specifically, social media marketing – play within your overall marketing strategy?

DIGITAL MARKETING

1. What are the core social media platforms you use? Are you finding some are registering higher overall engagement than others?

2. Are there any particular demographics that you target with your social media marketing?

3. Do you aim to target different audience segments on different social media platforms? If so, are there particular techniques or styles that you use to do this?

4. What are the key hashtags you prefer to use in digital communications, and what is your intended purpose behind these?

5. Patrons can now contact you anytime, anywhere. Content can be created 24 hours a day, and in the festival circuit things happen quickly. Has the increase in social media engagement led to any flow-on effects for you as employees and for the organisation as a whole? (I.e. increase in digital marketing staffing, increase in working hours, reliance on out-of-hours work, etc.)

6. What have you found are the affordances and constraints of utilising social media as a customer service tool?

7. Do you use specialised social media tools such as live video, Boomerang, etc.? If so, what are the aims for this?

8. As a venue, do you feel the pressure to make sure all acts have equal representation on your social media platforms? Why/why not?

9. In your opinion, how important are social media analytics towards the development of an overall strategy?

10. In your opinion, how important is social media marketing to venues and artists within the Adelaide Fringe landscape? Given the size of the festival, would artists and venues be able to reach audiences in the same way without social media communications?

List of Figures

Glossary

Term	Definition
Anthropomorphism	The attribution of human behaviours or traits to entities that are not human. Using anthropomorphism within communications assists in developing a brand's personality.
Art Worlds	As defined by Becker, art worlds are the spaces in which artists, producers, audiences, organisations, and other festival stakeholders interact.
Artists (Fringe context)	Any artist within the Fringe festivalscape.
Audiences (Fringe context)	The wider collective audience(s) of the Fringe festivalscape.
Bourgeoisie	In Marxist theory, the bourgeoisie are the economically dominant class, who populate the upper echelons of a society. The bourgeoisie are often are those who also have political, social, or cultural power over the proletariat.
Brand Community	Both physically and digitally located, brand communities serve to strengthen brand relationships, as well as develop a brand's personality on a wider and more collaborative scale.
Brand Loyalty	A sense of attachment, feeling, loyalty, or depedence that consumers feel towards a brand.
Brand Personality	What brands possess when they are aligned with identity-driven qualities, curating an personality akin to that of a human.
Brand Relationship Theory	Developed by Susan Fournier (1999), brand relationship theory details the process through which consumers create long-lasting, trusting, and loyal brand relationships with a product or service. In Fournier's theory, brand relationships must evolve with the changing needs of consumers, and are most effective when they provide meaning or purpose in consumers' lives.
Brand Trust	The feeling of comfort and "perceived predictability of a brands behaviour" (Gretry et al. 2017, pp. 78-79) that consumers feel towards a brand with which they have a strong relationship.
Click Through Rate	The percentage or number of times users have clicked a link in an eDM to an external source, often an eCommerce platform.

Communications Mix	The range of promotional tools utilised within a marketing strategy and marketing mix to target desired audiences. Includes print, digital, advertising, physical activation, and public relations marketing tools.
Consumer-Brand Relationship	The relationship that consumers build with brands, through a brand's development of trust and loyalty over time. Often consumer-centric, consumer-brand relationships are strong when a brand's ethos aligns with a consumer's personal belief system and lifestyle. These relationships act similarly to interpersonal relationships.
Cultural Capital	Outlined by Bourdieu, cultural capital encompasses the social, political, and economic value that active participants in high arts culture can accrue. This cultural capital can be used to influence or convey socio-economic status with a society.
Culture Industry	As part of Adorno and Horkheimer's greater cultural theories, the 'culture industry' involves the commercialisation of artistic practices and products, where culture becomes commodified, much like any other industry or product.
Digital Marketing	Marketing that is conducted in the digital sphere, utilising digital media (as outlined in 'Digital Media' below).
Digital Media	'Digital Media' encompasses any platform used within a digital space, including socail media, eCommerce platforms, eDirect Mail, gamification, mobile applications, publicity listings, digital advertising, and websites.
Doxa	As defined in Bourdieu's *Distinction*, the doxa is a "taken for granted knowledge" about how society functions (Atkinson 2019, p. 953), and this is reinforced through participation in fields and repetition through the habitus.
eCommerce	Digital purchasing platforms, including online shops.
eDirect Mail (eDM)	Digital mass email communications. These can be specifically tailored to certain audiences, or personalised through the use of advances email systems.
e-Word of Mouth (eWOM)	The digital iteration of word of mouth promotion.
Engagements	Instances where social media users actively engage with content online by watching, liking, and commenting on it.
Fear of Missing Out (FOMO)	The "desire to stay continually connected with what others are doing" (Przybylski et al. 2013, p. 1841), FOMO is where people begin to feel a sense of depression or anxiety when they are not connected with society as a whole.

Festivalscapes	Festival environments where "festival benefits are produced and consumed" (Todd 2015, p. 3). 'Festivalscapes' refers to both the physical landscape in which the festival takes place, as well as the social and culture world that the festival creates or enhances.
Fields	As part of Bourdieu's theories, fields are different arenas in which struggles for power take place within a society. Fields can be political, social, economic, legal, bureaucratic, and literary in nature.
Fringe Arts	Community, grass-roots, artistic practice that caters to niche, smaller, or sidelined community groups.
Fringe Arts Festivals	Open-access festivals that provide environments that cater to the groups described above in 'Fringe arts'. Often defined as being in opposition to high arts festivals.
Habitus	A set of repetitive internalised practices that reinforces the dominant socio-economic, cultural, political, and social norms that dictate how a society functions.
Hegemony	Devised by Antonio Gramsci, hegemony is the dominant way of thinking within a society. Hegemonic discourse is created through economic, political, cultural, and social power, and is reinforced through the various media and cultural practices.
High Culture (also known as 'Serious Art' or 'High Art'	Some scholars believe that mass culture is derived from high cultural practices. Often seen in opposition to mass culture. Also described as 'serious art' by Adorno, which is art that is disengaged from the commercial aspects of mass culture.
High/low Art Divide	The divide between high and mass cultural spheres and the audiences and artists that participant within them. Tied to socio-economic status, those in the high art sphere are often aligned with greater financial capital than those in the low art sphere.
Impressions	Instances where content has been profiled in a user's social media platfrom news feed.
Marketing Mix	The marketing mix is a series of variables that are manipulated and controlled by an organisation to create a comprehensive and wide-reaching marketing campaigns. Whilst traditionally referred to as the Four Ps, the modern marketing mix includes consideration of a product, its price, its promotion and

	packaging, its placement, its market positioning, and the people that sell it (Tracy 2014, pp. 29-31).
Marketing Strategy	The creation of a strategic, developed markeitng plan that considers a greater marketing and communications mix.
Mass Culture (also known as 'Popular Culture' or 'Low Arts'	Cultural products that have been made available to the mass groups in society through extensive industrialisation. Can be termed as “culture of the people” (Macdonald 1998, p. 23). Often defined as in opposition to high culture or high arts. Mass culture is the subject of debate among theorists: some believe it to be detrimental to the cultural and intellectual well-being of the masses whom it serves, whilst other believe it to be more democratic and inclusive than high culture.
Networked Individualism	The process through which users of digital networked technologies gain individual freedom when participating in online communities – moreso than when they are offline.
Networked Publics	Digital networks and communities that have either shifted online from offiline origins, or are active both on- and offline.
Open-Access Festivals	Festivals that are not curated, and are instead open to any artist or cultural producer. At times though, these festivals require payment of a registration fee to enter.
Organic Content	Social media marketing content that is not assisted or boosted by a financial advertising spend.
Organisation (Fringe context)	The overarching organisations that facilitate the Fringe festival itself.
Parasocial Relationships	The process through which people create connections with brands or public figures as if they have an interpersonal relationship. With brands, consumers that have developed parasocial relationships feel as though communications are directly tailored to them personally.
Proletariat	In Marxist theory, the proletariat are the working class citizens, who are dominated by the bourgeoisie.
Reach	The amount of times users have seen content on social media.
Social Media	Digital social networking platforms, including Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, LinkedIn, and any site that classifies itself as a social networking site.

Stakeholder	In a Fringe context, a stakeholder refers to any one group or person that has a personal, financial, social, political, emotional, or artistic role or stake within a festivlascape.
Touchpoint	A point at which consumers interact with a brand or product's marketing material.
Transformismo	The process within Gramsci's hegemony where the working class assimilate into the upper, dominant class in a way that reinforces hegemonic dominance over them by promising inclusion with the elite.
Social Media	Digital social networking platforms, including Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, LinkedIn, and any site that classifies itself as a social networking site.
Venue (Fringe context)	Any venue within the Fringe festivalscape.