

UNIVERSITIES AND FESTIVALS

Cultural Production in Context

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Abstract

This thesis critically examines universities as cultural producers within the creative ecologies of their cities, with a focus on the occasions when they produce cultural events for the public. It is a context-specific and empirical study that examines events at three individual universities in major UK cities. It takes as its starting point the range of third mission, or engagement activities through which universities form links with the local cultural sector and to the wider community and considers how the university, a relatively permanent institution that constitutes the major element of the UK higher education landscape, provides a set of conditions and a site for a temporally bounded cultural formation, a festival. Festivals have not been extensively researched in this particular context and the understanding gained about the processes, structures and human networks through which they are designed, developed and delivered constitutes an original contribution of the PhD.

Festival programmes are different to other types of public cultural programmes that are offered to the public on a year-round basis. Although it presents itself as a single phenomenon, the festival is actually a kind of meta-text, or an assemblage of texts and discourses. Festivals offer a spatially and temporally bounded public platform or 'pop-up third place' where university activities are externalised and made available for public exhibition and consumption. These dimensions create a discursive formation around the production of such festivals which are investigated using qualitative methods.

The thesis is interested in understanding the effects of contemporary and political discourses on higher education and on what is produced, with regard to how the effects are mediated through the distinctiveness of individual places. It takes a theoretically informed look at how changes within the wider political economy of higher education have affected the way in which UK universities are managed, how they report to Government and what they produce. It argues that although the production of festivals is advocated under the 'public engagement with research' agenda, the festivals studied reveal a changing political culture within Higher Education.

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Introduction

For some time in the UK, universities have been producing events at public cultural festivals, as well as organising and staging entire festivals of their own. Often these are held on their own campuses, in some cases they are hosted in partnership with other cultural organisations and they vary in terms of duration and number of venues. The frequency with which such events and festivals presented by universities around the UK are occurring suggests that there must be a particular set of conditions or motivating factors that have encouraged groups within universities to produce these kinds of cultural experiences for the public. One reason for this assumption is that the criteria for resource allocation to universities have been changing, particularly regarding the funding that they receive from central Government, which reflects the influence that strategies for the economy have had on Higher Education (HE) policy, particularly around innovation and the rise of a knowledge-based economy.

Examining the role of universities as a source of potential strength and growth in the UK knowledge-based economy is already an established field of academic study. The development of the knowledge economy, which is closely related to the concept of globalisation and the politics of neo-liberalism, has had considerable influence on how the role of universities has rapidly become regarded as one of 'engines of economic growth' (Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff 1997, Gray 1999). Within this framework, there has been much recent scholarly interest in their impacts and interchange within the creative sector (Hughes et al 2011, Comunian, Smith and Taylor 2014, Sapsed and Nightingale 2013, Comunian and Gilmore 2015). A picture of how Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) are funded and how explicit targets are determined for higher education research communities helps us to understand why particular sorts of activity are incentivized. The rhetoric of a booming cultural or creative industry sector is also a factor.

Culture and the economy, historically thought of as separate realms, have become linked in policy and academic discourse and operationalised as an indispensable tool for urban development during the late 20th Century (Landry and Bianchini 1995, Landry 2000, Scott 2000, Florida 2002). Universities now play an increasingly important cultural role in their regions (Chatterton 2000, Crossick 2010, Hughes, Probert and Bullock 2011).

Universities are often summarised as having three main 'missions' which are generally expressed as research, teaching and a 'third mission'. This latter term refers to the occasions when universities engage, partner and collaborate with other organisations, businesses, stakeholders and community-based groups, also known as 'engagement', 'third stream' activities.

There are many existing strands of third mission at UK universities. Different approaches have different underlying goals and this is a whole family of activities and processes that are not limited to specific disciplines. Some are for the purpose of regional or national economic growth, others are intended to have transformative social impacts within particular demographic groups or deprived communities. One set of activities in particular, known as public engagement, aims to make the work that goes on inside universities accessible to the public. Festivals have already started to appear in the literature associated with this type of engagement:

“festivals can offer a valuable opportunity for students and higher education institutions to engage the public with their work, and to promote the activity and benefits of higher education”

Buckley et al 2011 (p.3)

This literature is part of an agenda that promotes public engagement with research and this is an issue that has been of growing importance to UK HE policy over the last decade. The thesis argues however, that when placed in their historical contexts, festivals can often be seen as a political phenomenon, tending to appear in an oppositional context at times of changing political culture (McKay 1996, Lamond and Spracklen 2015). As such, the recent wave of university-festivals must be examined as a possible response to, or method for adapting to, the effects of changes in the national political, social and economic climate.

The years that have followed the worldwide financial crisis in 2008 have been witness to some enormous changes to the way public funds are managed and allocated in the UK. Before that, UK cities were already increasingly competing with each other for inward investment and local opportunities, drawing universities into schemes for urban

restructuring at many levels and scales (Goddard and Vallance 2013), where 'knowledge' was usually characterised as an economic asset (Arbo and Benneworth 2007). The idealised role that is sometimes attributed to the university in this process, particularly in policy language, is summed up by the statement:

“high-tech manufacturing and universities are two long-standing building blocks in the economic structure of advanced capitalist economies”

Work Foundation 2007 (p.17).

Additionally, through an increasing awareness of the benefits of a culture-based economy and culture-led regeneration within this new economic paradigm, particularly as sources of competitive advantage (O'Connor 1997, Landry 2000, 2008, Florida 2002), new opportunities began to open up for universities to take part in cultural strategies for development in their regions (Dawson and Gilmore 2009). This trend towards a 'convergence' between UK HE and the creative or cultural industries and the mechanisms through which this is happening has been an emerging field of research during this time (Sapsed and Nightingale 2013, Comunian and Gilmore 2014, 2015). This thesis builds on those foundations to consider how the festival as a mode of engagement has been adopted under the present conditions of a changing political economy, while understanding universities as a very distinctive kind of cultural producer themselves.

Studying cultural production in context

At the start of the research period, the production of festivals by or with universities appeared to be a relatively recent phenomenon; a high proportion of the festivals that were discovered had started up in the last five or six years, and yet their occurrence on an annual or at least frequent basis throughout a four-year research period appears to demonstrate an institutional commitment to the festival form. As this thesis shows, the production of festivals is one amongst many relational cultural practices through which universities are connected to communities in their locality. Yet the festival in this context is also an externality, a mechanism through which things that go on inside universities are

externalised and made available for the public. They are a meta-text or assemblage, produced through the juxtaposition of texts, forms, meanings and content, the presentation of which is regulated or constrained (to an extent) by the social and cultural conventions of event management and aesthetic practice. As such, they produce a socio-cultural phenomenon that offers the researcher a discrete point upon which to structure an inquiry into the relationship between a university and its local cultural economy. Through this approach it is possible to look at universities from a particular perspective and this thesis makes a contribution to the study of both universities and of festivals by looking specifically at how these festivals are produced.

It is important to note that terms such as 'knowledge-based economy' and 'cultural economy' are not unproblematic. Definition of such terms operates within a highly conceptual space, located at an intriguing intersection of other, interrelated fields of research and literature which include the political economy of universities; cultural and economic geographies of space and place; art, aesthetics, 'signifying practices' and the politics of cultural production; and the more recently emerging disciplinary area that encompasses festival, event, leisure or tourism studies. While the study takes place in a field of inquiry that could be broadly summed up as 'the role of universities in the cultural economy' then this thesis adopts a deliberately expanded view of the idea of a cultural economy, so that it includes more than just the economic dimensions of culture but also its symbolic and communicative aspects. In considering how to explain what is produced, the festival, it is important to understand the relationship between modes of production and the conditions of their constitution (Peterson and Anand 2004, May 2005).

An examination of enormous and recent changes to the structures that support, underpin and influence the activities of all UK HEIs explains why certain cycles and processes that are not necessarily that well known beyond academia have become an inescapable part of academic life. An important factor in the context of this study is the rapid change in policy controlling funding for HE in the UK and how the purpose of all public funding has been conceptualised or idealised in a series of new central Government policies. When the Conservative-Liberal coalition Government took office in June 2010, they placed a strong emphasis on demonstrating value for money in public investment in education and

research. Later in the same year, the Comprehensive Spending Review in October 2010 announced deep cuts in funding for higher education for the period 2010-11 to 2014-15. This period of intense change has had a major effect on internal university structures and academic cultures; it has also affected the measurement of the impacts of academic research. In 2014, the evaluation process for assessing the outputs of UK research, the Research Excellence Framework (REF), formerly the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE), included for the first time a new dimension of Research Impact, described as “any effect on, change or benefit to the economy, society, culture, public policy or services, the environment or quality of life, beyond academia” (Higher Education Funding Council for England 2012) which meant that the use value of academic research to society had to be clearly articulated. A recommendation of The Browne Review, also published in October 2010, is that what funding there now was should go to “clinical and priority courses such as medicine, science and engineering that are important to the well-being of our society and to our economy” (Browne, 2010 p.25). Also recommended by the Browne Review was that the tuition fee cap should be raised to £9k a year from October 2012, to compensate for Government funding cuts in the short term by raising more money for universities from undergraduate students.

When enacted by the funding bodies and mediated internally through management structures and academic sub-groups, these changes have had combined effects on modes of operation throughout HE institutions.

Funding for the arts and for local government in the UK was also substantially cut, with the latter experiencing a total reduction of 37 per cent from pre-2012 levels (Harvey 2016). The effects of these austerity politics, limiting the supply of public money and demanding measurable value when it is spent, have brought about a great deal of questioning within academia and cultural organisations of what the value of culture is and how it can be measured (O’Brien 2010, Neelands et al 2015, Crossick and Kaszynska 2016). Recent research into this area has been supported by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) who are the primary funders of academic research into arts and culture, including this PhD.

“In an ‘age of austerity,’ making convincing arguments for public investment becomes all the more challenging.”

Andrew Thompson, Chief Executive, AHRC quoted in Crossick and Kaszynska 2016 (p.4).

This background shapes the context for a study in which the focus is not on how to value culture but is about understanding the effects such discourses and socio-economic changes may be having on cultural activity, particularly cultural production within UK HEIs. In the process it seeks to describe what is being produced, under what conditions and why.

A deductive approach to such an inquiry might begin with a hypothesis formulated from statements such as this one, by Goddard (2009): “changes to the funding regime are the most direct way of altering the way universities behave” (p.4). Such a hypothesis would assume that institutional conditions are informed by contemporary political agendas and that resource dependency was the main influence over the actions of an institution. As Benner and Sandström (2000) have argued, “the criteria for resource allocation to universities and research groups, and public regulation of the performance of research, represent coercive forces compelling particular forms of conduct” (p.292). So if “grant-giving agencies function as societal agents structuring research performance and the institutional norms of academic research” (Benner and Sandström 2000 p.293) then it would follow that the arrival of the REF impact agenda could be influencing the recent surge in the production of university festivals.

This is not the approach taken here. While accepting that resources are likely to be influential in the type of activities that universities perform, the study did not proceed on this basis alone. It seemed that there were other questions that should be considered before commencing such an investigation. The specifically institutional context of these festivals and their appearance at a time of dramatic change to the public funding of both HE and cultural activities in the UK lead to further questions about what the meaning of university-supported festivals might be, cultural production is a communicative practice, so what were the messages being sent?

What were these festivals doing differently to other, more commercial or civic types of festival, how and why? This line of questioning required a more qualitative, exploratory and inductive approach to investigating the phenomenon.

Historically, universities have been a group authority on matters of culture (Chatterton 2000). Their portfolio of tangible and intangible cultural assets, the contribution made by academics and research bodies to public debate locally, nationally and internationally and their long history of training, nurturing and supporting artists means that their influence on national culture is huge and diffuse (Barnett 1990). Communities within universities help to animate the cultural scene of the local area (Comunian and Gilmore 2015), but until recently, the cultural effects of the university in its regions were not well researched and this is where this piece of research also makes a contribution. This thesis is interested in the possibility for the production of these festivals to offer new kinds of cognitive-cultural production in the climate of austerity and it aims to understand the permeability of boundaries between the university and the city by revealing the ways in which knowledge, spaces and resources are shared.

The analysis of the festival's intertextual connections, the form and structure of individual events and the festival as a meta-text, aims to reveal the relationship between institutional partner and cultural phenomenon. The festivals studied appear to be localised events, but they were found also to be networked in a number of interesting ways. This led to further questions around whether the festival was simply appropriate as a mechanism or vehicle for sharing knowledge with the public, or did its organisers have a broader set of objectives? Are university festivals connected with the commercialisation of UK HE?

These interrelated issues provide some indicative boundaries to a necessarily interdisciplinary field, incorporating several intersecting areas of scholarship. While scholarly interest in many types of festivals has produced a lively and dynamic field of research (de Valck 2007, Giorgi 2011, Giorgi, Sassatelli and Delanty 2011, Bennett et al 2014, Klaic 2014, Newbold et al 2015, Webster and McKay 2016), cultural festivals have not been extensively researched in this particular context. Neither has this approach to studying

the university by undertaking an in-depth, qualitative study of its cultural events been tried. This research can be seen as opening up a new sub-field in both the developing discipline of modern festival studies and offering a new kind of methodology for higher education studies.

The thesis makes a timely contribution to a contemporary area of scholarship and practice that is building a cultural dimension around the existing debates on the role of universities in society at a time when, in recent HE policy around the world, social benefits and competitive advantage are being explicitly demanded as outputs of academic research. As we look at the changing role of the university in society from economic, political, spatial, social and cultural perspectives, the study also reveals the way cities have transformed themselves in response to shifting economic and political landscapes. This study is part of a growing field of research interested in the strategic social relations of cultural production in a knowledge-based or cultural economy, a matter that is of growing importance in times of economic and social uncertainty.

Aims and objectives

The study's overall ambition has been to use different methods and modes of analysis to construct intersecting 'surfaces' around the phenomenon of university festivals and produce a set of working surfaces with which to construct a picture of the whole.

The body of the research is empirically grounded, but it engages with and is informed by theory as part of an inductive and iterative process. This inquiry has also been a study of political transformation and its effects and as such it aims for a critical outlook. Research into cultural forms can become mired in ambiguity where there is no clear direction or purpose for the research and so the following objectives guided the research process and the production of the theses:

Understanding the roles of universities in the cultural economy and how they have been constructed. The inquiry was situated within existing frames of reference by conducting a review of the literature to gain an overview of, and a view on, existing scholarship, policy documents and knowledge that could help to construct a suitably interdisciplinary field. This period of reading required careful consideration of how relations between knowledge, culture and economy have developed and been expressed over time.

Building an evidence base of festivals produced by campus-based communities and to assess the different forms they take. The research set out to map the field of university festivals in the UK by identifying types of festival activity and the places and times of the year that they occurred. Using this data, a working typology of what was found was constructed to assist with the production of a methodology for further research and to help to answer some initial questions: What kind of festivals are they? Why are they happening? Do they have something to do with the REF?

Selecting individual sites suitable for further research. Choices were made according to the guidelines set out in Chapter five to produce a sample that represented festivals at three different scales of activity. While accepting that it was never going to be possible to observe everything, individual events were selected to maximise the experience of different forms, places and production techniques at each festival.

Considering what meanings are being produced and reproduced through these cultural activities. The methodological approach here was iterative and its main objectives were to visit festivals, collect evidence, document what was happening and interpret their symbolic elements. Subjective engagement with the events being studied encouraged critical thinking about the production of festivals which led to further questions: What happens at the events? Who is doing the work? How is it supported? What constrains it?

Identifying the people who create the activity and discovering how their knowledge, experience, position, motivation and orientation has influenced this type of cultural production. Interviews were conducted with the people involved in the production of the festival. Investigating their roles, knowledge, experiences and attitudes in this way aimed to understand how ideological tools, in the form of national policies and audit practices (and especially the REF) might be reproduced within institutional structures and influence the decisions and choices they made. The interviews with festival organisers also intended to open up a discursive and heterotopic view of the festivals being studied that could include the perspectives of those who design and produce them.

The thesis has been organised into ten chapters, loosely representing four phases of work. The first three chapters together construct a theoretical and historical view of a field of inquiry where politics, citizenship, cultural production, aesthetics and signification meet and are negotiated. Together they are a review of and a view on the field of study. The next part of the thesis goes on to look at how this conceptual arrangement was approached within a modest study that could link the theoretical with the empirical. This is followed by three chapters, each representing one third of the empirical work and then the last part is comprised of a discussion that analyses the findings and finally, a conclusion. What follows is an outline of the ten chapters.

Chapter 1 looks at the frameworks by which knowledge-based economy and cultural economy are shaped and understood in the existing literature. It draws on academic texts, policy documents and sectoral reports to examine the development of the global knowledge economy and to understand the concepts within a specifically urban context. This chapter does important ground work for the rest of the study, as it clarifies some of the assumptions that underpin the specifically urban, regional contexts later on. It draws deliberate boundaries around some highly conceptual areas of discourse for the purpose of delineating a field of inquiry.

Chapter 2 takes an historical view of the role of universities in society and the relationship that they have had with their cities and regional economies. At the institutions being studied, history, values and 'mission' are intertwined into a complicated and evolving relationship and the chapter examines some of the macro-level policy decisions that have influenced and continue to influence the contemporary funding landscape for higher education and cultural activities in the UK. It considers how this history can be ambiguous when approached from different perspectives.

Chapter 3 reviews an interdisciplinary body of academic and popular literature on festivals. As an aesthetic, social, cultural and political phenomenon, this is a subject that defies easy classification, but thematic similarities do appear in the literature. A detailed review of the way festivals have been studied points to a variety of social and instrumental uses of festivals and establishes a range of different festival forms. The chapter ends by outlining some modes of analysis and theoretical perspectives that are helpful in the following chapter for discussing the role and value of cultural festivals.

Chapter 4 develops the aims and objectives of the study with respect to some theoretical traditions in socio-cultural research. This study is based on empirical evidence, but it is informed by theory. The chapter explains how non-focussed, exploratory and evolving research questions, combined with a plural understanding of the sociology of culture and a multi-faceted approach to the data collection, opened up a critical perspective on how the relationship of a university with the 'cultural economy' is being imagined and operationalised.

Chapters 5 Three festivals have been studied up close, using qualitative methods that have produced a range of data. This is qualitative research, using multiple methods, where the researcher is an instrument in the study and, as such, it necessarily has a reflexive aspect. This chapter explains the strategy by which the study of three individual festivals were selected and approached, including systematic and exploratory mapping and theoretical sampling that produced a larger group of festivals from which to draw a sample. Methods to gather evidence were selected and employed and theoretical perspectives constructed a conceptual architecture for interpretation.

Chapters 6 to 8 each present the findings from one of the festivals studied in detail. Universities have many academic sub-units and the festivals studied also exhibit a focus on this type of stratification, scale and disciplinary organisation. In Chapter six, 'The University of Birmingham Arts and Science Festival', the subject is a cross-disciplinary festival that animates the entire university. In Chapter seven, 'The Manchester Metropolitan University Humanities in Public Festival', the festival is presented by a single institute that incorporates a number of disciplinary bodies within a wider institute. Finally, in Chapter eight, 'The Bristol Radical Film Festival', a single academic discipline is the primary link between the festival's organisers, who have all passed through one particular academic institution within the last five years.

Chapter 9 summarises some of the broader themes and ideas that have emerged from observational and interview data across the three festival sites and relates them to the areas of discourse outlined in the first section of the thesis. It combines observations and findings into thematic areas for further discussion and analysis and brings in simultaneous findings from events at other HE institutions. It discusses the purpose of these festivals from the perspectives of those who design and produce them. This study is particularly interested in how festival producers and event organisers work and it looks at their experiences, their connections and the methods they use to translate across different kinds of practice, negotiate internal barriers and gain access to resources. This chapter also considers the theoretical direction for further research.

Chapter 10 concludes the discussion of the findings by relating them to the broader picture. It develops a narrative arc that explains what has been found in relation to its context.

Chapter one. From the rise of knowledge-based industries to the role of the university in the creative economy.

This chapter looks at the emergence and use, during the late 20th century, of two highly qualitative concepts: the knowledge-based economy and the cultural economy, both of which are used to summarise a complex state of globalized transactions. They appear in political discourse surrounding economic growth and urban redevelopment, referring to developments across many areas of business, technology and policy-making that have led to the emergence of an economic model that is able to rapidly capitalise on the production of value (Leadbeater 1999, Brinkley 2008). This particular mode of economic growth is becoming increasingly significant to the way universities operate in all sectors of the economy, including the cultural, with an emphasis on linking knowledge and innovation with industry and entrepreneurship (Brinkley 2006, 2008, Levy, Sissons and Holloway 2011). The cultural (or creative) economy and the creative industries are terms that are frequently used as shorthand to refer to an idea that is taken to be self-evident in policy language (eg. Crossick 2010) but actually disguise a notoriously difficult and ambiguous set of concepts. They are theoretically contested terms that can often mean contradictory things (O'Connor 2007, Garnham 2005, Pratt 2009) and the flows and exchanges that make up the cultural economy are also fields of inter-human relations. Culture's value can be based on a spectrum of different understandings of what culture is. In the UK and elsewhere, cultural policy has been implicated in a shift in which economism and neoliberal reason (Harvey 2007) have influenced the understanding of urban creative processes as consumption-led rather than participatory. Some authors have drawn attention to problems associated with its idealised workforce (Banks 2007, Oakley 2006, Gill and Pratt 2008). This chapter follows the threads of contemporary thought on the cultural or creative economy in the UK, via the discourses surrounding the creative industries over the last twenty years. Universities of course have themselves played a role in the development of these discourses and continue to act as authorities in the debates on cultural value (Crossick and Kaszynska 2016) and to question the ideological motives influencing the promotion of the creative economy.

The global production of value

Knowledge economy is a term which, along with the 'knowledge worker', can now be so commonly found in a wide range of discourses that they are often taken to be self-evident (Brinkley 2006), but what is important to understand first is the relationship of these ideas to globalisation and technological advance. The idea of globalisation summarises an economic system in which transnational exchanges have become ever more efficient (May and Powell 2008 p.259). "Globalisation in the 1950s and 1960s was driven by the global spread and development of Taylorism" (Houghton and Sheehan 2000 p.10), this refers to a division of labour in a resource-based economic model of mass-production that emerged in the decades immediately following World War II, often called 'Fordist' with reference to automobile production processes. It means breaking down and analysing manufacturing tasks in a mechanical production line and implementing more efficient routines for the worker. At the turn of the century it was becoming clear that human labour as the source of value needed renegotiating due to increasing globalisation in the economy. As mergers and corporate take-overs concentrated industrial production within large multi-national corporations, manufacturing-based production declined in the UK in the 1970s and 80s. Global businesses had the capacity for sourcing cheaper labour available elsewhere in the world and the pursuit of lower production costs led to the closure of large-scale manufacturing facilities in the UK. As a result, industrial production in the UK became more focussed on research, development and product assembly.

This change has had a direct bearing on the cities involved in this study, for example in the years between 1978 and 2002 in Birmingham and the West Midlands, two-thirds of jobs in manufacturing were lost, numbers employed in the sector fell from 250,000 to 81,000 (Brown et al 2010 p.19). Banking, credit control and service industries were increasingly seen as attractive prospects for generating much-needed employment in cities affected by these declines, but to convince prospective global investors to locate there, they also needed to present them with an attractive civic image. Meanwhile innovation was becoming another driver of competitiveness between cities. With advances in telecommunications and computing technology in the last two decades, increasingly rapid and specialised forms of production became possible and economic growth horizons expanded. Codified knowledge, reduced to information, could be transmitted around the

world at relatively little cost. Because knowledge is not a resource that gets depleted by use, businesses that rely on the tactical exploitation of knowledge as their main source of competitive advantage are often described using an alluring language of global flows, intangible assets and weightless production (Leadbeater 1999, Brinkley 2008). Advances in productivity in a knowledge economy rely on the continual input of creative thinking, innovation and problem solving, in fact so different are the social organisation and production processes to the pre-existing resource-based model that it is thought by some to be as disruptive to existing ways of working and living now as the industrial revolution was in the 19th century (Florida and Kenney 1991, Department of Trade and Industry 1998, Scott 2000). This post-Taylorist, post-Fordist economic paradigm is characterised by international competition, de-regulated markets, financial mechanisms and intellectual property rights. Due to the sophisticated communication systems made available by the internet, production chains can be stretched right around the globe and their products targeted at niche markets anywhere, where further value can be added by appealing to a “global middle class” of discerning and educated consumers (Brinkley 2008 p.48). Because of the way economic activity is now networked between places (Storper 1995), more flexible forms of labour organisation have become necessary and, despite delivering new employment opportunities (Levy, Sissons and Holloway 2011 p.29), the precarity of workers in knowledge-based industries is an important aspect to the context in which this thesis makes its contribution. This is an area of research that will be returned to later in this chapter, this also has a bearing on academic careers.

When considering how the changing nature of competitiveness affects the regeneration of cities, it is important to note that growth strategies based on the knowledge economy have implications concerning the ongoing production of urban environments. Clusters of integrated businesses developing innovative ideas into products and services share knowledge in linked value chains, within these assemblages are the ‘knowledge assets’ in the form of skilled people who create the value. The strategic vision for attracting these skilled workers means creating environments that are compatible with their lifestyles.

The role of universities in a knowledge economy

In an economic growth model based on innovation, skills and knowledge management there is clearly an opportunity for universities to take a central role (Brennan, King and Lebeau 2004, Bercovitz and Feldman 2006, Crossick 2006). The often quoted line “research-oriented universities are to the information economy what coal mines were to the industrial economy” (Castells and Hall 1994 p.231) imagines universities as highly specialised, geographically distributed knowledge assets in the re-modelling of productive work to suit 21st Century modes of economic activity.

Since the mid-1990s, investment in knowledge creation has grown more rapidly than investment in machinery and equipment in most Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) member countries (OECD 2007a). A White Paper on UK science and technology strategy in 1993 stressed the need to develop capacity and competitive advantage in new applications of science and technology, a large section of the paper was devoted to the role of the UK Research Councils and it called for greater input from industry, or rather “user communities” (Department of Trade and Industry 1993 p.27), in setting the priorities for public funding of research. The Dearing report to Government on the future of UK HE in 1997 explicitly made the link between universities and globalisation, emphasising the need for new sources of competitive advantage in a global economy where “capital, manufacturing processes and service bases can be transferred internationally” (Dearing 1997 p.9). The report also acknowledged that learning would be a source of competitive advantage in the fast-changing global economy because “above all, this new economic order will place a premium on knowledge” (Dearing 1997 p.55). The new conceptual framework being developed around the role of universities in society and the nature of the knowledge they produce constituted a third mission (Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff 1997) incorporating ‘fundamental research’ and intermediary structures to adapt and codify academic research as transferable knowledge and information.

This has all had the effect of positioning universities as a kind of strategic national or regional resource for wealth creation, adding another dimension to their existing role in society and changing some of their activities. “Reform of the steering and funding of higher education and science institutions, by providing incentives that focus on excellence and relevance, can help strengthen the contribution of public investment to scientific

progress and innovation.” (OECD 2007a, p.10). Knowledge based industries are “graduate intensive” (Brinkley 2008 p.25) and their technologies and processes require high levels of human skills and cognitive input, this means that education and training is central to the production of value in labour. Laredo (2007) has suggested that a knowledge-based economic strategy has to have three things at its foundation:

- 1) the codified or ‘explicit’ part of knowledge, meaning high quality, independent and patentable knowledge.
- 2) employable graduates and a highly-skilled workforce.
- 3) a set of objectives and techniques that connect the institution to its locality, the processes of direct collaboration where ‘tacit’ forms and elements of knowledge can also be accessed.

Advised that it should do more to support business-university collaboration (Sainsbury 2007) and should capitalise on their knowledge-based assets more effectively (Wakeham 2010) the Government looked for ways to incentivise universities to engage in knowledge transfer. As is described here: “the shift to an increasingly knowledge-based economy has fed the development of the ‘third mission’. It is not enough to simply produce knowledge, but to transfer that knowledge to industry, user and community groups” (May and Perry 2003 p.9). Chapter two will look more closely at the evolution of university third mission agendas and how universities contribute to the development of their regions.

Important to the broader context of this study are two other economic phenomena, one is the evolving relationship between innovation and creativity (as exemplified by creative economy reports such as the Cox Review in 2005 and more recently those from NESTA, eg. Bakshi et al 2012 and 2013) and the other is the centrality of culture to the development of post-industrial economies, particularly in the transformation of previously industrial zones of large cities (Castells and Hall 1994, Scott 2000, O’Connor 2006, Flew 2010) and the redeployment of public space (Bianchini 1991, Bianchini and Parkinson 1993, Corbett 2004). Culture’s role in the emergence of new city narratives, zones of production and consumption and the university’s role training the cultural workforce are highly relevant aspects to the subject of this thesis.

The discourse around the role of culture and the arts in the economy is vast, particularly when it comes to their use as ideological tools of Government, this is discussed at length later in this chapter. It is an area of policy discourse and critique that has been greatly expanded in the last two decades because of the attention paid to the creative industries agenda in the UK and abroad. Where culture is entangled in strategies for economic development and becomes positioned in relation to capitalist notions of value it produces all kinds of ideological effects. The next section will look at how cultural economy discourse has evolved before considering the ways both the cultural economy and the creative industries agenda have had a bearing on how universities are being positioned as economic assets.

Taking a perspective on the cultural economy

The cultural economy is a similar sort of concept to the knowledge economy in that it appears self-evident but is actually very ambiguous and problematic. As culture is a notoriously slippery term, theories that engage with the idea of a cultural economy are constituted by a mixture of positions and standpoints, sets of relations or modes of understanding relating to positions that authors have taken on the values and 'uses' of culture in society (Garnham 2005, Cunningham, Banks and Potts 2008, Oakley and O'Connor 2015). In discourses where the concept of a cultural economy is central, two very different uses of the term culture are most commonly found; one of them is in studies of the organisation of economic life, when the cultural dimensions of any given activity of economic importance are given priority (du Gay and Pryke 2002), or as Pollard (2004) has put it "the social and cultural construction of economic practices" (p.169). The other usage of the term indicates that particular subsection of economic activity which is concerned with the production and consumption of specifically symbolic goods and cultural activities (Pratt 2009, Hesmondhalgh 2002). Cultural economy researchers might therefore be interested in different things. Research into organisational structures and the idea of 'management cultures' in a structuralist paradigm would have an instrumental focus, aiming to achieve better commercial performance by, for example, changing the culture of a workplace. The other understanding of a cultural economy is interested in the

value that derives from the expressive, aesthetic or representative attributes of cultural objects, discourses and products (Featherstone 1991, O'Connor 2007). This calls for a more interpretive or hermeneutic approach, here researchers are interested in showing how forms of symbolic production and the content and structure of cultural commodities are shaped by many facets; from macro conditions like markets, legal regulation and technology, through local infrastructure, social institutions and the routines of organisational careers, to creative ideas, individual tastes and individual positioning (Peterson and Anand 2004, Pratt 2004). In cultural consumption studies, which are often interpretative, much depends on the symbolic properties of goods and the tastes and habits of the consumer; mass media, fashion, gaming, popular music, fandoms and festivals are all simultaneously cultural commodities, meaning making activities and signifiers of lifestyles. Researchers might be interested in how activities that are on one hand economic, are expressive of the identity or behaviour of a group, because consumer preferences are linked to identity and identity is linked to social hierarchies, geography, class, gender, race, age and so on.

Just like the knowledge economy, transactions in the cultural or creative economy can take place in weightless and virtual worlds (Lash and Urry 1994, Lash and Lury 2007) but research into the nature of relationships, interdependencies and knowledge transfer in the cultural economy workforce suggests that they still depend on localised networks of influence and shared platforms (Scott 2001, O'Connor 2004). The construction of discourses around culture and economy depends on whether social class, institutions, cultural tastes or commercial exchange are the dominant interest. These discourses can also have a relationship with particular disciplinary orientations, particularly concerning the values, measurement and 'uses' of culture in society, or when dealing with the restructuring of particular places and parts of the economy along cultural policy lines.

Studies of the effects of culture-led strategies also depend very much on for whom the value of the cultural sector is being measured, what methods are used to measure value in the sector and why (Throsby 2008). Some authors have expressed concern that the economic perspective is becoming privileged over an earlier understanding of culture and social structures as 'mirroring' each other (Peterson and Anand 2004, O'Connor 2013). A tendency in modern capitalism has been for cultural production to become increasingly

commodified while commodities of all kinds have become increasingly invested with symbolic value (Scott 2000). In one sense, all industries could be thought of as cultural because, besides their functionality, all products are socio-symbolically significant. For Miller, however, this is a “decontextualized vocabulary” (2009 p.92) that loses precision.

The prioritisation of creativity as a value-input into other manufactures is part of a techno-centric and economic bias in creative economy policy discourse (eg. Cox 2005) which is more interested in exploiting intellectual property and expanding business reach than providing access or equal opportunities for individual cultural expression.

The discourse around the idea of a cultural economy has become increasingly dominated by the term ‘creative industries’, a descriptive device in policy terminology that emerged in the 1990s under New Labour (Garnham 2005, Pratt 2005, O’Connor 2007). This and its related term creative economy, are associated with different theoretical traditions to the cultural economy, although neither satisfactorily represents the complex, diverse and sometimes contradictory set of industries that policy arguments attempt to include (Garnham 2005, Hesmondhalgh 2008).

Rather than cultural economy, the creative economy is the term more frequently used in conjunction with the knowledge economy. They are similar concepts in that highly skilled, imaginative people make up the workforce while knowledge combined with creative new ideas provide the raw material. Not only that but these are words and ideas that are representative of an ideological shift in politics.

“In the specific UK context of a left-leaning government coming to power after eighteen years of stridently right-wing rule, its embrace of popular culture; small-scale cultural entrepreneurship; democratic access to, and expansion of, arts and cultural institutions; culture-led urban regeneration; and the energies of the new ‘digital revolution’ was nothing less than exhilarating.”

O’Connor 2013 (p.8).

The observance of empirical growth in areas of cultural production such as music industry, media, broadcasting and software seemed to call for an analysis of the ‘cultural industries’ as a collective production system (Pratt 1997). When the New Labour Government came

to power in 1997, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) replaced the Department of National Heritage. An economic case was built that presented 'the arts' as part of a set of related industries, with the intention of growing the sector. The excitement generated by the emergence of a new, growing, post-industrial economic sector is evident in this speech by the then Prime Minister Tony Blair, in *The Guardian*.

“Britain was once the workshop of the world. It led the industrial revolution. It was defined by ship building, mining and heavy industry... Yet more people now work in film and TV than in the car industry... The overseas earnings of British rock music exceed those generated by the steel industry. I believe we are now in the middle of a second revolution, defined in part by new information technology, but also by creativity.”

Tony Blair, 22 July 1997, quoted in Brown et al 2000 (p.437).

This has had the effect of driving debates and policies towards an instrumentalist view of culture in political discourse, replacing cultural industries with the creative industries agenda. In 1998, the DCMS published a landmark report on the Creative Industries in which it defined the creative industries as “those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property” (DCMS 1998). The inclusion criteria in this and successive Creative Industries Task Force reports specifically highlighted the relations of production and distribution of cultural goods and services. As Garnham points out “the term “creative” rather than “cultural” is a shorthand reference to the information society and that set of economic analyses” (Garnham 2005 p.20), it has been described as a definition that was “pragmatic with no justifiable rationale” (Roodhouse 2006 p.14) and “a linguistic invention that connects capital accumulation with cultural production” (van Heur 2010 p.15). The concept of the creative economy is often used in policy discourses (Crossick 2006, 2010, Bakshi, Hargreaves and Mateos-Garcia 2013) and use of the term has since become influential in other areas of discourse (Flew and Cunningham 2010).

The creative economy is one of the few industrial areas where the UK has a credible claim to be world-leading. A report in 2007 put the UK creative sector ahead of the rest of Europe for its size (Work Foundation 2007). In 2012 the creative economy accounted for 8.7 per cent of all UK jobs (Bakhshi, Freeman and Higgs 2012). DCMS figures currently put the sector's annual contribution to the economy at £84 billion, or 5.2 per cent (DCMS 2016). These figures, unsurprisingly, also reflect the methodologies used to generate them. In 2010 the DCMS added further codes to its classification system which is based on Standard Occupational Classification (SOC) or Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) codes. These were based on a new formulation of 'creative intensity' which holds that the majority of creative workers are employed in the wider creative economy 'outside' the core creative industries and has enhanced UK employment figures with "additional jobs within the creative industries which were not themselves creative occupations" (Bakhshi, Freeman and Higgs 2012 p.9). "Policymakers in the UK cottoned on early to the contribution that the creative industries make to the economy, and their interest has been widely studied and copied around the world" (Bakshi, Hargreaves and Mateos-Garcia 2013 p.10). One overall effect of this political journey has been that in certain parts of the spectrum of symbolic and cultural practices and activities, the production of cultural goods is no longer seen by those in Government as source of expenditure but as a source of income.

Creative industries and competitive cities

Having established what could be called the macro conditions of developments in policy concerning the knowledge economy and cultural policy in the UK, background assumptions that will be important later in the thesis, the next half of the chapter pays closer attention to contemporary urban contexts and also looks at the way individuals have been positioned in these overarching narratives. This is a meso level set of interpretations that is interested in the way policy messages are mediated and adapted and in who becomes incorporated in these strategies.

Creative industries strategies became a popular area of interest for policy makers in regional economic development because they offered a source of growth and regeneration in post-industrial city regions (Bianchini and Parkinson 1993, Scott 2000, Florida 2002). Landry and Bianchini (1995) recognised that 'creativity' had always been needed to solve urban problems (p.11), but in a post-Fordist economy, city development would require a different kind of creativity and different skills to those of planners and engineers. Marketing cities in the image of consumerism, rather than for the production of goods and commodities, provided a way for many UK cities, as well as elsewhere in Europe and worldwide, to adapt to economic changes caused by the decline of manufacturing and its associated economic shifts and problems. In a short publication for political think tank DEMOS, it was claimed that the competitive advantage of cities would increasingly be based on "the ability to develop attractive images and symbols and project these effectively" (Landry and Bianchini 1995 p.12). Reeves notes that "from the early 1980s onwards, arts and cultural activity became an increasing feature of urban regeneration programmes in Britain, as cities, in particular, sought solutions to economic restructuring and the decline of traditional manufacturing industry" (Reeves 2002 p.7).

Strategies promoting culture as a source of identity, income generation and global positioning have been central to the ongoing re-development of major British post-industrial cities (O'Connor 1999, Brown, O'Connor, and Cohen 2000, Jones and Mean 2010). In Manchester and Birmingham, a lot of earlier industrial activity had been located close to the haulage routes of railways and canals, which now contained vast areas of unoccupied urban space where factories and warehouses stood derelict. Bianchini (1991) talked about the 'cultural enlivening' of cities as they sought to compete nationally, Pratt later called this the "role of culture to differentiate competing localities" (Pratt 1997 p.7). The idea was that "with the disappearance of local manufacturing industries and periodic crises in government and finance, culture is more and more the business of cities - the basis of their tourist attractions and their unique, competitive edge" (Zukin 1995 p.1). Within the discourse on culture-led regeneration, the cross-sectoral role of events and festivals has been seen as a way that cities can project a vibrant metropolitan atmosphere (Landry, Greene, Matarasso and Bianchini 1996).

The interest in developing new, urban economic forms of production began to manifest in theories about capturing the benefits of specialised manufacturing. Strategies for culture-led regeneration and city competitiveness also involved plans to develop clusters and cultural quarters, specialised production and consumption zones (Scott 2000).

“It is virtually impossible for cultural entrepreneurs to work in isolation... cultural entrepreneurs congregate in cities”

Leadbeater and Oakley 1999 (p.31).

As production and proximity became integral to creative industries planning strategy, the ‘creative city’ approach to urban planning became a highly popular concept among regional policymakers and researchers (Landry 2000). O’Connor saw festivals as a way to potentially develop the connectivity of cultural producers. “These events can feed into the cultural sector in ways difficult to measure” (O’Connor 1997 p.190). Festivals were a growing area of cultural activity which could be beneficial for network building and providing platforms for new original work.

More often than not, the idea of a creative city really hints at an entrepreneurial city (Florida 2002), which means utilising the culture based economy as a route to successful city planning, or towards more successful and profitable futures. Production in the knowledge economy may appear to be mobile and trans-locational, but it also has a cultural dimension that is extremely place-specific and usually urban.

Cities see it as beneficial to present themselves “in such a way as to attract the sorts of investments, corporations, asset ‘bundles’ and cultures that fit with their strategic vision for the economic development of their location” (Houghton and Sheehan 2000 p.20). Facilities for culture, entertainment and leisure in the city contribute to its visibility, cultural status and tourism. Research showed that agglomeration effects mattered to the growth of cultural enterprises, but also that the tacit nature of the knowledge was most important to competitive advantage (O’Connor 2004).

One way to summarise the complexity of geographic and cultural environments for the production of cultural and creative industries growth strategies is the ‘innovative milieu’

(O'Connor 1999). The milieu concept is a development logic whose starting point is territories (Maillat 1995). It implies an inherent dynamism already exists in a region that could be turned into economic success. Separate to industrial districts, conceptualised to be more like the cluster (O'Connor 2004) or the geographically structured creative field (Scott 2001), the milieu is place and proximity specific. In this approach, knowledge can be transmitted and reproduced while remaining embedded in the local networks and infrastructures, but the basis of its organisation is a set of processes rather than resources. Chapain and Comunian (2010) suggested that the presence of universities in these areas also made a contribution to the stability of these clusters and networks, especially at the level of the individual, also putting forward the argument that the connection between people and the place where they live is one of the "overlooked dimensions" (p.725) of the cluster approach. Their observation is particularly relevant to this study as the empirical work that supported their assumptions was partially carried out in Birmingham.

The 'creative city' approach to the redevelopment of urban space also has effects that are social and cultural. Here the literature crosses into that of lifestyle marketing, specialised symbolic consumption and the spatial, economic and social dimensions of cultural production, more often discussed from a cultural theory perspective (Featherstone 1991, Lash and Urry 1994, Scott 2000, Tallon 2010, Zukin 1995). These approaches have examined the meaning of urban cultural forms as a way to better understand symbolic economy of cities. This instrumental use of culture has had noticeable effects on the urban environment in the late 20th Century (Zukin 1995, Tallon 2010). This has been called gentrification and it can have unintended effects; regions risk becoming homogenised and losing their distinctiveness. There are social implications when new flats or refurbished residences come onto the market, meaning that low-income residents are frequently priced out, effectively displacing communities.

Another important strand to the development of the cultural sector in the UK during the 1990s is the arts participation agenda, which involved attempts by the UK Labour Government to bring publicly funded parts of cultural sector in line with other manifesto commitments, particularly around social inclusion (Hesmondhalgh 2008, Price 2015). These were underpinned by the assumption that engagement with the arts produced social impacts and benefits which meant that cultural organisations had to demonstrate

how they contributed ancillary benefits to wider policy agendas, such as social cohesiveness, crime prevention, health and learning (Holden 2004). Social inclusion objectives were introduced across the whole of the DCMS remit, including museums, galleries, archives and libraries, a good overview of these developments is provided by Gilmore (2004).

As cultural planning became an orthodoxy of city centre regeneration and creative industries development, attempts have been made to evaluate and support it in numerous ways.

“Culture is now positioned as central to most urban policies. It becomes related to social cohesion, sustainability, economic growth, civic pride, mental and physical wellbeing, social inclusion and a vast array of other worthy social, economic and environmental goals”.

Porter and Barber 2007 (p.1328).

The use of such strategies in policy governing publicly funded arts and culture have led to a tendency to value culture for its ‘impact’ rather than its intrinsic or aesthetic qualities. How the value of culture is determined is another area of discourse in which universities play an important role in setting the terms of the debate (see for example, Neelands et al. 2015, Belfiore 2016, Crossick and Kaszynska 2016).

This section has looked at some of the broad developments in cultural policy and place making strategies, but it has so far only hinted at who the people who are implicated in these strategies, the cultural knowledge workers.

Producing culture, producing identity

As the creative city model became accepted as a strategy for urban development around the world, it produced another effect in which individual creativity came to be seen as almost ontological (Scott 2007). In order to attract creative people, who were characterised as an elite, multi-skilled and highly mobile intelligentsia, cities needed to cultivate the sorts of environment that they preferred (Florida 2005). Writing in NESTA’s

recent Manifesto for a Creative Economy, Bakeshi et al (2013) used the centrality of the creative economy discourse to urban growth and innovation agendas to defend public funding into not-for-profit arts and culture, by saying not only would this attract Florida's creative and entrepreneurial professionals, but that urban arts and cultural infrastructure make a "significant contribution" to the "productivity of salaried professionals" (Bakeshi, Hargreaves and Mateos-Garcia 2013 p.58) who could expect higher pay. They inferred this from the correlation between arts and cultural clustering and the economic performance of cities (Bakeshi, Lee and Mateos-Garcia 2014), reflecting earlier work done by Markusen and King (2003) who had argued, in slightly different terms, for recognition of the aggregate economic impact of arts practitioners in metropolitan economies, something they called the 'artistic dividend'.

Florida's ideas about a creative class and the concept of the mobile urban creative workforce as a kind of currency for the knowledge economy have attracted criticism (eg. Scott 2008) while the political rhetoric around dividends from art or economic growth in the creative and cultural sectors has tended to neglect some of art's distinctive aspects, such as its capability for reflexive problematisation and contradiction (Mouffe 2007). The level of interest demonstrated by think tanks and policy makers in creativity, the elusive quality upon which economic and urban restructuring depended, has attracted the attention of researchers, who often took a sociological perspective in order to challenge some of the assumptions used in cultural policy discourse. In the rhetoric associated with the creative class, the workforce is characterised as being talented and highly entrepreneurial, this workforce is measured and categorised in various ways (such as the use of Standard Industrial Classification codes) and its definition and measurement by the DCMS has become more complex over time (Bakhshi, Freeman and Higgs 2012, Creative Skillset 2013).

Policy intervention in the creative workforce itself has often struggled with accurately measuring participation. When NESTA (National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts) reported on the creative economy in 2012 it was noted that "the creative industries have become primary users of a specialist workforce that knows how to satisfy the needs of a discriminating customer base" (Bakhshi, Freeman and Higgs 2012 p.22) and yet the concept of individual creativity as a driver of competitive advantage through

innovative problem-solving often does not acknowledge how the inputs, important for creating value using knowledge, skills and conceptual originality, are acquired and nurtured. “In arts subjects and many social sciences research and production are very personal; output is inseparable from (personal) input” (Harvie 2000 p.120).

Scott (2001, 2008) has called this kind of production ‘cognitive-cultural’ and NESTA has recognised that innovation happens within a system that includes schools and universities to generate the “skilled personnel that generate innovation, along with much of the knowledge that is deployed in it” (Bakshi, Hargreaves and Mateos-Garcia 2013 p.47). Universities are part of the creative ‘eco-system’ of networks and organisations that supports the cognitive development of individuals who go on to produce the symbolic attributes of goods and texts that the creative industries need. Along with publicly funded art forms, museums, libraries and cultural producers, this eco-system can sometimes be seen as an essential part of the innovation infrastructure, a kind of R&D department which, in instrumental policy discourse, can be used to emphasise the usefulness of publicly funded culture for the next phase of economic growth.

As this policy discourse has developed, there has been a growing area of academic interest in the lived realities of the idealised workforce implicated within its assumptions and within this, some problematic conditions have been revealed. Characterised by a high proportion of freelance, part-time or project workers, home working, job sharing, and portfolio careers (Oakley 2004, 2006) opportunities to progress can be extremely serendipitous and routes to employment in the cultural industries often involve periods of volunteering, internships and periods of unpaid work (Leadbeater and Oakley 1999, Oakley 2004). Creative industries are heavily reliant on graduate and postgraduate workers but as the take up of creative subjects has risen in the UK there is now an oversupply of graduates who find it difficult to enter paid employment (Ball, Pollard and Stanley 2010, Comunian, Faggian and Li 2010). There is a prevalence of work without remuneration or tasks apparently performed out of free will.

When interviewed, cultural workers have tended to express the rewards of their work in non-economic terms and were found to be motivated by other kinds of satisfaction such as personal fulfilment or opportunities for new learning (Ball, Pollard and Stanley 2010) or justified by recourse to what they said were ‘pure’ values of art (Oakley 2009). Because of

this, and because careers tend to be difficult to plan in an industry characterised by businesses with less than 10 employees (Harvey and Blackwell 1999, Comunian, Smith and Taylor 2014), cultural workers have been described as a 'precariat' (Gill and Pratt 2008). An important facet of cultural work is the ability to make claims about the differential values of cultural products or translate between different cultural practices. Graduates who develop these skills can find work in strategic positions between producer and consumer, where their role is one of intermediation rather than simply production. Cultural intermediaries are the interpreters, regulators and legitimators of cultural taste (Maguire and Matthews 2014, McGuigan 1996) who frame what is available for the purposes of persuasion. Cultural intermediary research therefore complements the study of cultural production.

"The concept of cultural intermediaries usefully prioritizes issues of agency, negotiation and power" (Maguire and Matthews 2012 p.551) and in academic literature that engages with the term, cultural intermediaries are always specialists of one kind or another. Following on from Bourdieu's (1984) original formulation of 'cultural intermediaries'¹, which was concerned with how the boundaries between legitimate or illegitimate culture were produced and maintained. A discussion of cultural intermediaries today includes the term's adapted use as a way to describe interpretative practices in the context of the production of 'post-modern' symbolic goods (Featherstone 1991) and how the idea was taken up by the think tank DEMOS and cultural intermediaries reimagined in a report as 'new cultural entrepreneurs' (see O'Connor 2013). These individuals were often "creators, producers, retailers, employers and public relations promoters all at the same time" (Leadbeater and Oakley 1999 p.20). The cultural intermediary also appears in NESTA's more recent 'boundary spanners' definition (NESTA 2007) to describe the people whose experience encompasses both public and private sectors and whose role it is to align the interests of the university and industry. That alignment of interests has become so important to the function of universities today that teams of staff and those in leadership roles in this area are now a significant cohort within academic communities, known as

¹ This empirically based work helped to delineate a 'new' middle class profession who were creating market value out of cultural activity, which indicated the rise of a new fraction of the petit bourgeoisie in France in the 1960s. Occupying strategic 'taste-making' positions between producer and consumer, they were typified as the producers of cultural programmes on radio or television, critics, journalists in the mass media and "all the occupations involving presentation and representation (sales, marketing, advertising, public relations, fashion, decoration and so forth)" (Bourdieu (1984) quoted in Maguire 2014 p.17).

Knowledge Transfer Champions, Pro-Vice Chancellors for Knowledge Exchange and Business Development teams.

In the next chapter, the work that cultural intermediaries do to align interests between HE and the cultural sector is put into context, supported by an overview of changes to the funding and political economy of HE in the UK.

It is important also not to lose sight of the critique of the cultural (or creative) industries nurtured by an 'academic commentariat' (Bakhshi and Cunningham 2016), which is often quick to point out how words become imaginaries (O'Connor 2013) and their symbolic use can disguise a whole set of assumptions. Miller (2009) has pointed out that the meaning of 'creativity' has shifted in popular usage and become allied with business innovation and intellectual property, which Oakley and O'Connor (2015) suggest is a problem because "when it is simply a question of 'creativity' any tension between cultural and economic logics disappears" (p.7). This ongoing intellectual commentary is 'productively constitutive' of the cultural and creative industries (Bakhshi and Cunningham 2016) and cultural workers are generally familiar with its inherent contradictions.

Summary

This chapter has explored the role of knowledge in relation to strategies for economic growth and the restructuring of urban infrastructures and environments, with reference to the creative economy in national policy, regional development and the global positioning of cities. The creative industries, an abstract and rhetorical device that appeared in policy language at the end of the 20th century, through which growth in the creative economy is articulated and channeled, achieved a discursive dominance in this same period of economic restructuring. Policy decisions and strategies aimed at growing this sector have helped to transform urban environments around the world into thriving, metropolitan centres, but they have been guided by the notion of a creative class who are supposed to possess high levels of education and singular creativity.

Academic researchers, whose interrogation of the claims made by creative economy policy and its strategists is an ongoing and productive area of debate, have found the

panacea of a creative economy to be more problematic than this rhetoric suggests, particularly around issues of insecure working arrangements and precarious careers. The instrumental use of culture to drive new forms of wealth creation or consumption-led cultural regeneration is also problematic. The perspectives that underpin this critical body of work on the cultural economy are also an essential part of its construction, demonstrating how universities, when in reflexive mode, can play a role in setting the terms of the debate for discussion of culture.

The next chapter examines how, as a result of being positioned by these and other sets of policies, universities are encouraged to deliver measurable benefits to society. It examines the mechanisms and strategies they employ and how the cultural intermediary appears in this process, intensely aware of culture's many contradictions, but offering a way to translate across boundaries.

Chapter two. Universities.

This chapter looks at how, in a developing civic role over time, the relationships between universities, society and cities have changed and it gives a history of the British HE institution which shows how the university is not an homogenous 'idea' but that each individual one has a particular history, identity and relationships with its locality and with wider society. In order to understand the different roles that universities perform. The first part of the chapter considers how the role, character and function of the university in society has been constructed with different meanings and emphasis at different times, it draws on a number of areas of interrelated discourse as well as policy documents and sources of a more contemporary, informal and sometimes oppositional popular political dialogue, including some which shows strong emotion about universities being 'destroyed' (Collini 2012, Holmwood 2011). The second part of the chapter is concerned with how universities can have a range of impacts on cities and regions; universities employ large numbers of people and can transform urban space (Chatterton and Goddard 2000, Goddard and Vallance 2013). It examines how, in what are known as third stream or third mission agendas, their research activities are now actively directed to connect them with business (Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff 1997, Etzkowitz 2003, Laredo 2007). Going beyond the economic, this chapter also considers how the world leading university that measures its success in international league tables still can play a significant cultural role at a regional and sub-regional level (Chatterton 2000, Comunian and Gilmore 2015).

The social role of universities is constructed in different ways, with 'third mission' used as a shorthand to sum up a heterogenous group of activities and strategies. Cultural and public engagement belong to a group of third mission activities which have 'community' or 'society' as their objective and are generally perceived to involve non-profit-making activities. The last section of the chapter charts the introduction of 'research impact', a new factor in the framework of how university research is captured and measured. The consequences this has had for disciplinary cultures are important to the context of the thesis, as they explain the tension between the state as political actor and the autonomous institution that legislates for the development of its own disciplines.

The origins and idea of a university

The common bracket term of universities covers an ever-changing and heterologous group of institutions that have a long history of relations with society (Bender 1988, Bauman 1997, Harding et al 2007). Although they were founded as autonomous, religious institutions and characterised by low levels of local embeddedness, any impression that these dreaming spires still have an ambivalent relationship with their locality has now been thoroughly challenged. Over the last two centuries their roles have evolved from the guardians of a corpus of knowledge conferring degrees to society's elite (Collini 2012) to their becoming partners in wealth creation in a post-industrial economy (Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff 1997, Etzkowitz 2003) and outward facing, socially engaged institutions (Benneworth 2013) that are more open to the democratic potential of knowledge co-creation with non-academic communities (Facer and Enright 2016). There is not room here for a detailed history of the evolution of all of the universities in the UK, or indeed elsewhere in the world, yet for the purpose of this study, which has context as its foundation, it is important to remember that individual universities have complex histories.

The majority of universities in the UK were established to fulfil economic functions and to train the higher performing section of the workforce (Youtie and Shapira 2008, Comunian, Smith and Taylor 2014). At the latter end of the Eighteenth century, Britain had seven universities, four of which were in Scotland, the only two in England were Oxford and Cambridge, the other was Trinity College in Dublin (Collini 2012 p.27). At this time, a university education was the elite privilege of a few men from the upper and middle classes and young men generally went to university to be trained for careers in the service of the state or the church. During what is frequently referred to as 'the industrial revolution', which indicates an approximate period from the middle of the 18th Century until the end of Queen Victoria's reign (Snow 1959), Britain's economy experienced widespread and rapid innovation across many sectors (Hudson 1992). As the condition of the nation changed "from an economy in which the sporadic effects of harvest failures or wars were replaced by more regular cycles" to one where "growth became the economy's normal condition" (Hudson 1992 p. 16) it was a period of economic and geographic restructuring that also saw huge social and moral change (Thompson 1963).

It was in the late Victorian period that many new universities were established in the rapidly growing cities in the UK, such as Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield, Bristol, Leeds and Liverpool. These were the 'civic' universities (Collini 2012), often known as 'red brick' universities (Whyte 2015), and they were open to men from a greater variety of backgrounds.

The establishment in 1919 of the University Grants Committee (UGC) began the evolution of the university from a privileged place that only the wealthy could afford into a more democratic institution for the training of future professionals, a process that would later extend its activities to include vocational or technical subjects. In the 1930s the allocation of public funds to universities was around £2 million (Collini 2012 p.35) but after the 2nd World War an increase in state funding allowed university access to expand. More universities became established, for example those in Hull, Leicester, Bradford, Brunel and Southampton, Salford and Surrey, often these emerged by way of a change in status from 'college of advanced technology' to university.

A new model of a university started appearing in the 1960s and 1970s. These are known as the 'plate glass' group of universities, they occupy sites that were planned and negotiated over between Government and local authorities and were built using public funds. In 1963, the Robbins Committee on Higher Education produced a report which revealed that only about four in every one hundred young people went to university (Robbins 1963, p.16 table 5) and that higher education was continuing to attract a narrow social group. The report suggested that universities should be more democratic and "courses of higher education should be available for all those who are qualified by ability and attainment to pursue them and who wish to do so" (Robbins 1963, p.8 Para 31) in the hope that this would promote social mobility. The seven new universities in York, Sussex, Essex, East Anglia, Warwick, Kent and Lancaster did not necessarily emerge out of existing colleges, but were founded as entirely new institutions, some built entirely on open ground. For example, the University of Warwick, established in 1965, was built on fields near Coventry. The building of new UK universities can be seen as a response to a changing national picture of demand for places (Filippakou and Tapper 2016), with a social agenda aimed towards encouraging equal access.

During this period of major restructuring of HE provision, the status to award degrees was also extended to Technical Colleges and local colleges began to be promoted to university status (Pratt 1999). This binary policy meant that by the mid 1960's around 400,000 students went to university full-time (Goddard and Vallance 2013 p.70) and the student population continued to rapidly expand during that decade, into the next. HE in Britain had entered the era of 'mass university' which marked a transition from elite to mass education. Although this period of a 'welfare' state model only lasted until the 1970s, Collini (2012) has suggested that this is the window in history that people prefer to look through. By the end of the 1980's, despite cuts to state funding by the UCG in 1981, the participation ratio had passed 15 per cent (Anderson 2010) and there were 2 million students in the UK. Further expansion of provision occurred in 1992 with the transformation of thirty-six Polytechnics into new universities and degrees could now be studied in a wider range of subjects.

Despite these structural, cultural and historical differences, there are some general features by which universities can still be distinguished from other kinds of intellectual environments. They occupy a symbolic and legislative position through the awarding of degrees, honours, and titles. Another central principle has been the union of teaching and research, where knowledge is organised within disciplines that resemble communities and the proceedings of their research are organised through academic publications, of which a system of review by peers is supposed to control the quality.

Peer review and relative autonomy in the maintenance of world-wide academic standards contribute to a culture within HE in which knowledge is valued for its impartiality.

Universities are transnational organisations that foster international co-operation in the pursuit of knowledge, "the university historically has striven for learning that at least reaches towards universal significance" (Bender 1988 p. 294). Peer-review in research upholds Humboltian values of objectivity in research and is the main self-policing mechanism used to maintain quality standards (Bence and Oppenheim 2005). For academic publications, standards are set around disciplinary logics, rather than national contexts and are maintained by adherence to an analytical form of understanding. This can be characterised as 'disinterested' knowledge and academic research funded by the research councils has a tendency to emphasise discipline-specific issues, practices and

perspectives that are recognised internationally and deemed acceptable within a specified scientific community, although the notion of the 'objective' in knowledge is not in any way an easily explained or universal paradigm (Delanty 2001, May with Perry 2011). These aspects are thought to give scholarly work autonomy and an element of resistance to political and religious interference, yet the increasing importance of knowledge for economic growth and the instrumentalism of research funding has led to some questioning by academics of what the consequences of such 'knowledge capitalism' might be for disinterested knowledge, for the *modus operandi* of universities and for the distinctiveness of academic work and disciplinary cultures (May 2005, 2007).

The university is "an organisation that is seen to embody a certain set of values that are taken to be exemplified in practice and so distinctive from other sites of knowledge production" (May 2007 p.120). To gain a useful understanding of academic and research-focussed work, it is necessary to examine the reality of its conditions and constitution and question any mythologised versions that there are, because as May and Perry have said, "popular accounts of knowledge as produced within 'ivory towers' are not only anachronistic but also have never been entirely accurate (May and Perry 2013 p.200) although many seem determined to uphold this particular version of the university.

What is a university for?

Certain well known ideas are regularly invoked in contemporary debates concerning the primary purpose of universities and the relationship they have with society and the state, the origins of which are located in particular historical contexts (Lynch and Ivancheva 2015). The 'Humboldtian model' of the university has its origins in Prussia in 1810 but was an ideal that spread throughout Europe and to the United States. Wilhelm von Humboldt was a political reformer, moved by events that had happened during the French Revolution, he established the University of Berlin (Hohendorf 1993). In this model, the university is cast as the independent guardian of a 'corpus of knowledge' that must be preserved and enlarged by a community of scholars. Humboldt felt that the State should operate within limits that excluded intervening in the workings of university and education, research and teaching was to be based on rational inquiry, experimentation

and the 'disinterested' search for truth. Humboldt thought the sole purpose of education was to shape man as a moral being. "Education of the individual must everywhere be as free as possible, taking the least possible account of civic circumstances. Man educated in that way must then join the State and, as it were, test the Constitution of the State against his individuality" (Humboldt, quoted in UNESCO 1993, p.4). Another set of ideals for the university come from John Henry Newman, who gave a series of lectures in a Catholic university in Dublin in the 1850s entitled 'The Idea of a University Defined and Illustrated'. This was a civilising, national role for universities, in which the university was idealised as a character-forming place where traditions and wisdom were passed on. A liberal education was one that 'cultivated the mind' and purified the national taste (Newman 2008 [1852]). Anderson (2010) suggests that at this time, the assumption was that universities were seen as communities, and the moral influence they had on the formation of character was as important as the student's formal instruction. When, in 1963, the report of the Robbins committee put forward the goal of a general, liberal education for "enlightenment and progressive formation of personal character" (Arbo and Benneworth 2007 p.21) it could be said to have echoes of Newman's ideal university.

Chatterton (2000) has proposed that from the 19th century onwards universities have played a role in the development of national cultural values. Forming part of a "nationally organised cultural infrastructure... comprising institutions such as museums, orchestras, theatre companies and professional associations, which maintained certain cultural hierarchies" (p.166) they have been keepers of the cultural canon who also trained specialists to respect and maintain Arnoldian borders and hierarchies of official culture as part of a paternalising and civilising mission. Within these specialist communities of knowledge, there have continually been tensions over what the social role of academic knowledge should be and how it should be applied. In 1959, civil servant C. P. Snow, a former research scientist who later became an author, famously used the annual Rede Lecture, a prestigious public speech at University of Cambridge, as an occasion to complain about the existence of a 'gap in understanding' between scientific and literary cultures (Snow 1959). In his speech 'The Two Cultures', Snow said he hoped that the realisation of differences would lead to the overcoming of them, which would be beneficial in solving some of the world's inequalities. "Closing the gap between our cultures is a necessity in the most abstract intellectual sense, as well as in the most

practical” (Snow 1959 p.53). His stated enemy was the ‘humanistic education’ of political leaders, which lead to inaction and ignorance in the face of enormous social problems and he accused the leaders of wishing that the future did not exist. The speech may have been directed at the Conservative prime minister, Harold Macmillan, whose educational background was in classics. It led to a famous controversy which is still often referred to by authors on the subject of universities and gained Snow a real opponent in the shape of F. R. Leavis, a literary critic and English teacher at the University of Cambridge. Leavis used a similar public lecture two years later to criticise Snow’s own lack of ability (in fictional writing) in an intervention that poured petrol onto the debate about the nature of disciplinary boundaries, particularly between the arts and science subjects, that had been smouldering long before this exchange took place and continues to this day, as the next section will reveal.

Funding priorities for academic research in the UK

It is worth stating that UK universities have traditionally been independent legal entities run by their own Councils or Governing Bodies and responsible for their own admissions procedures, staff recruitment and strategic objectives. During post-war economic restructuring, the UGC, which oversaw the allocation of public funds to universities, was an arm’s-length funding body that upheld what is known as the Haldane principle, putting into practice Humboldtian ideas that decisions about the allocation of research funds should be made by researchers, rather than politicians. However, a report in 1946 by the Barlow Committee on Scientific Manpower called for a ‘positive’ university policy to ensure the field of study was in the national interest. In the same year the Chancellor of the Exchequer amended the terms of reference of the UGC to include the line “plans for the development of the universities as may from time to time be required in order to ensure that they are fully adequate to national needs” (quoted in Shattock and Berdahl 1984 p.473). According to Shattock and Berdahl, this change did not affect how the UGC made its funding choices until after the university expansion period of the 60s and 70s and the introduction of polytechnics, when ministers began to recognise the need for the outline of a central strategy.

At the 1963 Labour Party conference in Scarborough, the Leader of the Opposition Harold Wilson called for greater acceptance of the idea that the future of the country lay in “the white heat” of scientific revolution.

Funding for research is allocated by the scientific community itself, according to the internationally accepted and rigorous criteria of scientific excellence mentioned earlier. There are presently seven UK Research Councils who allocate funds for research, research facilities and postgraduate training and they are controlled by academic researchers who are appointed by the Secretary of State.

As we saw in the last chapter, successive reports to the UK Government have built up a case for the reconfiguration of some of the functions of universities at policy level (Department of Trade and Industry 1993, Dearing 1997, Lambert 2003, Sainsbury 2007, Wakeham 2010) and international policy guidance encouraged national governments to ‘mobilise’ higher education (OECD 2007a and 2007b) by making it clear that countries must invest strategically and more systematically in their innovation systems at the national and regional levels in order to be competitive in the globalising knowledge economy. Academic research must simultaneously be globally excellent and also be relevant locally to the needs of industry and social communities (May and Perry 2013) and is actively incentivised to transfer knowledge to industry (May and Perry 2006). Universities have appeared in the literature as ‘agglomerates of knowledge’ and ‘stakeholders in innovation’ (Smith 2007), infrastructures for innovative environments (Perry 2011) and producers of new intellectual assets (Rollwagen and Voight 2013). In 2014, the Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer George Osborne called for “cooperation between academics and industry” (Osborne 2014) in a speech that had echoes of Wilson’s ‘white heat’ speech of 1963.

“Because I have taken difficult decisions I’m able to increase science investment in every year this decade. That’s £7 billion for scientific investment in the next parliament alone”.

Osborne 2014

These 'difficult decisions' are not limited to research funding, however, and the next section shows how they have had an impact in other areas of university income too.

Student fees and the 'block grant' for teaching

Financial support for both teaching and research comes from Government via the UK Funding Councils in different ways. The allocation of funds to HEIs for research is determined by the UK Research Councils but the portion for the cost of teaching is dependent on certain conditions and these are subject to ongoing fine tuning to reflect national priorities. Since 1998, the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) has used a "broad-brush" subject-based weightings method to decide how teaching funds are allocated to institutions (HEFCE 2003 p.4). This is the 'block grant principle' and no matter how their individual grant has been calculated, institutions decide how best to distribute it internally "to reflect their own needs and priorities" (HEFCE 2003 p.4) and allocate it to programmes of study. The two main points to mention about this method are that (1) subjects that are classroom based were assumed to be much less expensive to teach than those that require the use of laboratories and expensive equipment and (2) the total amount of funding available annually is fixed.

The teaching cost per student was calculated for the academic year 2004-2005 and subjects organised into the following groups (later known as bands):

- group A (with a weighting of 4.5) for the clinical elements of medicine, dentistry and veterinary science.
- group B (weighted 2) for the high cost science, engineering and technology subjects.
- group C (weighted 1.5) for intermediate cost subjects.
- group D (weighted 1) for all other subjects.

The method takes account of predicted student fee income as well as the HEFCE grant, because since the introduction of the Government-run student loan funding system in 1998, new students have increasingly taken an allocation of funds for their tuition, in the

form of a personal loan, to the institution and undergraduate degree programme of their choice.

The student loans system lends funds to full-time UK undergraduate students to pay their own tuition fees, loans which are then paid back when they are graduates, but only when they start to earn over a certain threshold. Initially set at a level of £1000 per student per year (Dearing 1997), from September 2006 increased variable tuition fees of up to £3,000 were allowed, at the discretion of the institution (Department for Education and Skills 2003). Following the 2010 parliamentary spending review and as part of a wider set of reforms to HE funding (Browne 2010), the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills had its departmental expenditure limits reduced by 29% and the 'block grant' was cut by £3 billion (McGettigan 2012). The upper threshold of tuition fees per student, per year was raised to £6000 in 2012 and any Treasury contribution to the teaching fees of students enrolled on 'non-essential' degree courses in band C and D subjects (Browne 2010) was abolished. The standard tuition fee has since increased to the point that the majority of UK students now pay £9000 per year for tuition².

As direct funding from Government for delivering teaching has been reduced and the responsibility for funding HE provision has shifted from state to students, they have been increasingly conceived of as individual beneficiaries or 'users' of education (Holmwood 2011). These ideological changes have caused an outcry from parts of the academic community, who see them as another symptom of a utilitarian, market economy approach to decision-making that has affected the character and values of the HE sector and that links between education and a wider social good are being denied (Collini 2012). Reforms to funding for education are also undervaluing 'humanistic education' (Nussbaum 2010) by promoting science, engineering, technology and maths as the rational choice of degree subject for good future employment prospects. Nick Hillman, who worked as chief of staff in the Labour Government during the period when tuition fees rose from £1000 to £6000 per full-time student and is now director of the Higher Education Policy Institute, has suggested that humanities subjects are still benefitting from public subsidy. In a newspaper interview, he said "those £9,000 fees that are being racked up, many of them won't end up being paid" (quoted in Preston 2015). This reflects

² International students from outside the European Union pay considerably more for the same courses.

the publicly stated opinion of the Conservative Minister for Universities and Science David Willetts, who said the student loans system was a “progressive system” that financed HEIs in the long-term by taxpayer contribution because “around 30 per cent will be written off by the taxpayer, quite rightly, because some graduates do not earn enough to pay them back” (Willetts 2011). The Intergenerational Foundation, a charitable education think-tank, warned that by growing the HE sector using a strategy based on debt-financing and assuming that a proportion of which would not be repaid, the Government was ‘storing up problems’ for future taxpayers. The report estimated at over £10 billion allocated in loans annually (McGettigan 2012 p.9) and pointed to the implicit unfairness in renegotiating repayment terms for later cohorts of students in the system. Meanwhile, amid continuing debates over the issues of cost, fair access and differential fees set by the Governments of England, Scotland and Wales for their own citizens, the UK higher education system attracted 532,300 new students in 2015 (Universities and Colleges Admissions Service 2015) and so the number of undergraduates at UK universities looks set to remain relatively high for the near future.

Urban, knowledge-based development strategies

This section looks in detail at some of the regional and local dimensions of UK HE and considers both the planned and the unplanned effects that a university has in its region. Universities attract people from all over the world to live and work in their localities, these sorts of creative individuals and cognitive-cultural elites are considered essential for the economic growth of regions (Florida 2002, 2005). Goddard and Vallance state that from a regional perspective “it is safe to assume its presence alone within the city ensures substantial physical, social, economic and cultural impacts on the urban environment” (Goddard and Vallance 2013 p.9). Universities exploit their land holdings through property strategies, by building student accommodation to rent to undergraduates and creating specialised environments for conferencing, events, cultural programmes, archives, research or enterprise. These property strategies produce spatial effects and land trading has related impacts on local transport and housing infrastructures (Goddard and Vallance 2013).

Other effects are more focussed, for example when universities take advantage of their local context and in combination with local authorities work to develop specialised districts for the production and capture of knowledge benefits (Benneworth, Charles and Madanipour 2010). Coalitions have been forming between universities and businesses for many years, with a range of intermediary practices and mechanisms for sharing knowledge and expertise (Gray 1999). Towards the end of the 20th century, as higher education research institutions entered policy discourse regionally as well as nationally (Arbo and Benneworth 2007), universities were being seen as the seedbeds for new industries that could stimulate regional economic innovation and make a contribution to improving regional competitiveness (Department of Trade and Industry and Department for Employment and Education 2001). This has led, in some cases, to the creation of purpose built knowledge enterprises (Benneworth, Charles and Madanipour 2010) where knowledge resources were organised into clusters and linked value chains to build capacity and infrastructure. Human and intellectual capital are aggregated in strategic assets such as incubators, innovation hubs and university science parks (Charles 2011, p.283) capable of generating new university-based businesses and, importantly, attracting global enterprises to set up bases in the region.

The discourse used in this area tends to make use of a taxonomy of terms that is not always clearly understood by organisations external to academia, or the public. Related terms like 'start-up', 'spin-off' and 'spillover' are often encountered here, these mean subsidiary enterprises that are created in the course of developing strategic partnerships. Then there is the Knowledge Exchange (KE) agenda, originally known as Knowledge Transfer (KT) or sometimes technology transfer. Both terms KT and KE emerged from mechanisms for wealth creation in the STEM disciplines³, the shift in language from transfer to exchange occurred "in order to reflect the reflexive nature of university-industry relationships" (Comunian, Smith and Taylor 2014, p.24). Systems that captured the value of innovation and new knowledge and exploited it through forms of 'academic entrepreneurship' (Etzkowitz 2003) are now embedded in many academic disciplines.

³ Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics.

Theories of knowledge transfer have been formulated and tested in these settings, this area of research is well-developed, with theoretical frameworks such as ‘Mode 2’ knowledge (Gibbons et al 1994) and the ‘one agent amongst many’ theory of interaction, conceptualised as a triple helix of industry, government and university (Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff 1997) drawing on the distinctive capabilities of universities to address complex problems. KE, however, is not a one-size-fits-all process. Spin-off companies and science parks are an intrinsic part of the ideology of science-based industry (Benneworth and Charles 2005), but dominant innovation discourse has not always taken into account the actual nature of production in the cultural and creative industries sector. Mainly comprised of networked SMEs and micro businesses with less than 10 employees, particularly in regions outside London (Taylor 2007, Comunian, Smith and Taylor 2014), many working in these industries would not even describe it as industry or sector. Trying to work around this dilemma, one solution has been naming the value of artistic originality as ‘expressive value’ which can then be “commercialised by other creative industries, and eventually transferred into the wider economy through ‘creative innovation services’” (Bakshi, Lee and Mateos-Garcia 2014 p.7). Terms like ‘untraded externalities’ and ‘co-dependencies’ are better at capturing the informal relations here.

“When the knowledge exchange process is broadened beyond the narrow confines of technology transfer, then a richer and more varied range of modes of engagement and interaction are apparent.”

Hughes et al. 2011 (p.17).

Research shows that universities are playing an increasingly important strategic role within the cultural ecology of their regions (Crossick 2010, Hughes, Probert, and Bullock 2011, Sapsed and Nightingale 2013, Comunian and Gilmore 2015). As KT and KE theory has developed, it has become part of a broader spectrum of activities which are often now referred to as ‘third mission’ or ‘third stream’ activities. During the period in which this research project has taken place, the AHRC has allocated millions of pounds of research funding to support four Knowledge Exchange Hubs for the Creative Economy over a period of four years from 2012 to 2016. Their brief was to investigate and test KE theories in their application to creative practice projects in the cultural sector, to improve

the collective understanding of Knowledge Exchange. The four “collaborative initiatives comprising consortia of universities and cultural organisations” (Dovey, Moreton, Sparke and Sharpe 2016 p.87) have been based in Lancaster, Dundee, London and Bristol.

The discussion so far has focused on the economic function of universities and has neglected another important aspect of ‘third mission’ activities, which is where they have social rather than economic aims. This term sums up a whole agenda that complements the other two university ‘missions’ of research and teaching. Third missions can include a wide range of activities through which universities connect with the public, including those aimed at improving quality of life rather than, or in addition to, wealth creation as the main objective (Goddard 2009). One of the strategic principles of a document called the Concordat for Engaging the Public with Research set down by RCUK in 2010 was that public engagement “should be embedded within research organisations’ missions, key strategies and operational plans” (RCUK 2010 p.7). This placed the engagement agenda more firmly into UK HE policy, although universities had already been becoming more engaged with their local communities, in a number of ways (Barnett 1990).

Academic researchers are now implicated in a wide variety of forms of trans-institutional or collaborative knowledge production which are embedded in local contexts (Perry 2011). In the ‘engaged university’ (Benneworth 2013) the community and social benefits of extra mural engagement are foregrounded. As mentioned in Chapter one, the New Labour Government (1997-2010) incentivised public spending to benefit disadvantaged regions and communities, in accordance with its policy aims, through social policies that were based on ideas of inclusion and community cohesion and yet it has always been difficult to measure what the precise nature of these benefits might be and how they could be captured and expressed. From the point of view of the Treasury in particular, for whom gains must be expressed in a way that is commensurate with the Green Book (O’Brien 2010), when attempting to measure the social or public value of investment (in HE, for example) the language used becomes extremely important. What is called the ‘social rate of return’ is taken to mean in economic terms the concomitant extra tax delivered to the Treasury from the increased earnings of a graduate compared to a non-graduate (Kelly and McNicoll 2011). This is an example of an externality and when expressed in economics discourse, externalities are the indirect, unintended or broad

impacts or effects. The more commonly understood 'social value' of universities in society also implies a kind of externality, but not necessarily one that can easily be expressed as a measurable economic premium, it tends to mean that there are 'public good' or 'non-market' activities that are part of a University's objectives to promote the greater good of its total value to society. University staff may be advisors to public agencies, for example, or work with schools, youth groups or in hospitals. The problem is that often there is no systematic knowledge or evidence upon which accounting for resource allocation based on these forms of additional value can be based.

Understanding 'the university' as a cultural organisation

Some effects of the university in its region come under the bracket of cultural, forms of 'engagement' have long been a part of the disciplinary logic of performance-based disciplines such as music, theatre, or languages (Hughes et al 2011). Staff at museums belonging to universities are frequently recognised experts in their field (University Museums Group et al 2013). Some universities have historic buildings that make a significant contribution to a sense of place, for instance "towns such as Oxford and Cambridge owe much of their appeal as a destination to their university heritage" (Woodward 2013 p.265). Chatterton (2000) drew attention to the spatial effects of a university in terms of some of the more intangible benefits that an HE institution can bring to a city. "Although it is clear that universities have a major cultural, as well as teaching and research, role in the community, few attempts have been made to specify these in detail" (Chatterton 2000 p.169). University staff and students are involved in cultural activities ranging from orchestras and theatres to cafes, craft markets and festivals. These campus communities create sites of marginal cultural activity that add to the city's 'distinctiveness', small non-corporate businesses, cultural venues and social groups found within and around university campuses give cities an individual edge that can challenge the creeping 'clone town' homogeneity threatening UK urban spaces. This was something that Leadbeater and Oakley (1999) had picked up on and they fed it back into their study of the ecology of small independent cultural producers. "University towns deliver large audiences for experimental, cheaply produced culture and cultural

entrepreneurs often meet their future partners and collaborators at college. Universities are incubators for cultural entrepreneurs” (Leadbeater and Oakley 1999 p.21). As well as being providers of important resources and skills, universities encourage the kinds of network-based infrastructure and conditions that enabled new cultural entrepreneurs to succeed.

O’Connor’s work on Manchester’s cultural economy in the 1990s recognised the role of FE and HE in Manchester’s cultural infrastructure, stating that “there is an opportunity for the education sector to become more closely engaged in the cultural life of the city” (O’Connor 1997 p.124). Academics provide commentary and analysis for the media, staff occupy positions on boards and act as trustees of arts organisations (Chatterton and Goddard 2000 p.481), students and dedicated Events Officers put on exhibitions and performances in spaces on, off and around campus (Long 2011). In this sense, the city’s cultural economy appears more like a geographically structured creative field (Scott 2001) rather than the designated cluster of creative businesses model that used to be favoured by policy makers.

Flew (2010) proposed that urban development should move beyond ideas of clustering and creativity to ‘cultural economic geography’ as a more flexible and adaptive framework that would enable links between insights from different disciplines to influence each other. Comunian and Gilmore (2015) undertook a major study of the relationship between higher education and the creative economy and also found the spatial dimension to be significant. “The relationships between universities and the creative economy can be understood through their mutual interest in human capital, skills development, creativity and innovation, cultural consumption and economic development. These are strongly interconnected with place” (p.13). Reports are starting to use either ecology (Creative Industries Foundation 2015, Holden 2004, 2015) or ecosystem (Neelands et al. 2015) instead of creative economy, to reflect this changing emphasis.

So far, this chapter has explored some historical, social, political and spatial elements that have had an effect on the relations between university and society and it has drawn attention to some of the things that they do, even unintentionally. Universities perform multiple functions, from research and teaching to enterprise and community engagement and they operate at different scales and with different access to resources. They apply

their institutional authority in different contexts. Universities are independent institutions with their own distinctive cultures, but these are being influenced by a conflicting range of expectations and external messages about their roles, functions and activities (May and Perry 2013) and this is having an impact on the professional identities of their member communities.

As universities take advantage of their centrality in the production, distribution and exchange of knowledge for primarily business development, external messages are mediated through internal institutional structures and processes through which they are reproduced, amplified or challenged. Effectively importing the principles of the market into the institution leads to a change in those values, with new messages about roles and responsibility being reproduced internally.

A conflict of interests has ignited the already volatile association between the values of the market and academic cultures of inquiry, as the latter are “increasingly subjected to industry modes of organisational control and judged in terms of their business performance” (May and Perry 2013 p.205). Forms of managerialism and measurement have produced new roles within faculty and challenged the boundaries between the academy and other forms of research. Senior academics and departmental managers must now ensure that every member of their teaching or research staff is fully accountable for their actions and generating income has become a priority for all researchers.

Since the introduction of a new device for measuring the output of researchers, commonly known as ‘the REF’ (the Research Excellence Framework), periodic review of research active staff has added further layers of measurement to their output. “Failure to do well in ‘the REF’ has significant implications for the reputation of institutions and potentially disastrous consequences for their finances” (Facer and Enright 2016 p.18). This framework for assessment is a complicated tool and it is helpful if it is explained in detail.

REF, impact and the 'civic' role of HE institutions

A university's funds come from a mix of sources, including returns from investments, charitable organisations, private sector research contracts, site management and student fees. A significant proportion of research income has traditionally come from the central Government, administered by the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (BIS) through HEFCE and the seven UK Research councils in the form of Quality Research (QR) funding and block grants. This section is concerned with understanding the taxonomy and assumptions used in discourses associated with the new instruments devised for the measurement of research in the UK, particularly the Research Excellence Framework (REF). To inform the selective allocation of QR funds to institutions, UK funding bodies have periodically assessed research quality, based on a retrospective look at their outputs over a particular period of time. The 'value' of research has based on the extent to which academic research is published and cited in recognised journals, a ranking system of journal impact factors (JIFs) has counted how many academics cite a journal's output of papers and journals judged on overall quality. To capture and evidence the value or what has recently been called the 'impact' of research, the REF aims to evaluate the quality of research outputs and act as a system of measurement for the rewards from public investment into UK research with a different set of tools. Its forerunner, the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE), came under criticism for failing to properly recognise collaborations and partnerships across institutions and with organisations outside HE research and for discriminating against subjects without a research tradition and failing to support interdisciplinarity (Roberts 2003).

In 2014, the REF replaced the RAE and introduced a new element of rewarding 'impact' to the beneficiaries of research into the data being gathered for evaluation, this was the first time the impact of research beyond academia was explicitly addressed in the assessment and it had to be evidenced by the inclusion of four-page case studies and an impact strategy for every departmental submission. Impact was described as "any effect on, change or benefit to the economy, society, culture, public policy or services, the environment or quality of life, beyond academia" (HEFCE 2012). Each university submitted its research using 'units of assessment' (UoA) of which there were thirty-six.

Data for the evaluation was gathered by university departments and submitted in one go for expert review by a series of specialist HEFCE panels, the panels for each unit of assessment were slightly different, although the units were grouped into four main panels of assessment. These had been appointed by the four UK funding bodies and the sub-panels who assessed the research also included research 'users'. A year later the results that came out of this process set the amounts of QR funding for all subsequent years until the next REF and the entire evidence base for the assessment was made available online at the end of 2014.

The score for each UoA was based on a combination of three factors: outputs, environment and impact. All types of research could be included in the REF, outputs could be journal articles, books, book chapters or other outputs such as designs, performances or exhibitions. In 2014 outputs in the submission were limited to four per member of staff, published between 2008 and 2013. They provided 65 per cent of the overall 'quality profile' of an academic unit of assessment's REF submission. Research environment was a written narrative describing the resources and infrastructure that support research activity at the UoA, including research income, which accounted for 15 per cent. Impact was evidenced by the inclusion of case studies (one per 10 academics) and an impact strategy, which accounted for 20 per cent of the profile. (The weighting of this element may be different in the next assessment.) Impact case studies frequently were supported by statements from research beneficiaries. Since the results of the REF were published in 2014, 20 per cent of all Government research support distributed by HEFCE has been allocated to universities on the basis of external impacts achieved by departments and research units. This is estimated to be a total of £1 billion per year (Institute for Economic Affairs 2015) making it reasonable to assume that UK universities will have recently done a great deal more than at any other time to develop strategic frameworks to capture and articulate the impact of research.

To progress their own careers, research-focussed academics are now increasingly preoccupied with getting an appropriate number of research publications into the right journals during a given period of assessment and creating a positive story for the relevance and effectiveness of their work.

Public engagement

Public engagement is a term that is widely used in higher education, sometimes called 'civic' or 'community' engagement, its aim is to better connect the work of universities and research institutes with society. In 2003 engagement was recommended by the Association of Commonwealth Universities as a core value, along with mechanisms, incentives and rewards to embed engagement activities as part of career structures, professional development and promotion criteria.

Engagement has been described as all the fruitful interactions between academic thinkers and the innovators on the ground (Wedgwood 2003) and it is said to bring about new contexts and insights for research, practice and teaching. However, institutional choices are made in response to a range of influences, including national policies and performance indicators. These things determine how the management of a university sets its operational directives and resources are distributed accordingly, in an increasingly corporate business-like way “aims are set, plans and policies are prepared, and governance is put in place, structured to achieve tangible, measurable outcomes” (Hammond, van Dyke and Simpson 2012 p.8).

One of the strategic principles of the Concordat for Engaging the Public with Research set down by RCUK in 2010 stated that public engagement “should be embedded within research organisations’ missions, key strategies and operational plans” (RCUK 2010 p.7). This placed the engagement agenda firmly into UK HE policy, yet universities were already engaged with communities in a number of ways, working together to address their needs, rather than observing them and making assumptions about them.

‘Engagement’ has long been a part of the disciplinary logic of performance-based disciplines such as music, theatre, or languages (Hughes, Probert and Bullock 2011). In some disciplines, observational studies and collaboration involving communities outside the university are part of the every-day practice of researchers and staff, such as the social sciences, social care and nursing. Research in the social sciences and humanities is increasingly being produced collaboratively between university researchers and external groups of practitioners, within cultural organisations or local communities. Many examples of applied research practices in specifically cultural and creative spheres of

activity can be found on the websites of AHRC research programmes such as Creative Economy Knowledge Exchange projects and Connected Communities, the cross-council funding programme with Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC). “Engagement is by definition a two-way process, involving interaction and listening, with the goal of generating mutual benefit.” (National Co-ordinating Centre for Public Engagement 2013). Community engagement activities and initiatives range from exchanging expertise with community partners, co-producing research, or adding non-academic elements to teaching and coursework for undergraduates to the beginnings of social enterprises between the university and non-academic groups and individuals, based on the principle that knowledge created through social research should be harnessed to address social needs and support innovation in public services and the not-for-profit sector to tackle problems of social exclusion, inequality and welfare.

As civic coalitions form, new techniques are required to ensure that research findings reach the right target groups to create impacts in society. KT and KE models were targeted on the private sector (Comunian, Smith and Taylor 2014) and were not thought to be the most appropriate methods for achieving socially-oriented impacts or mutual benefits.

In 2008, the UK Higher Education Funding Councils, Research Councils UK and the Wellcome Trust jointly funded six Beacons for Public Engagement across the UK and a National Co-ordinating Centre for Public Engagement (NCCPE), hosted in Bristol. These university-based collaborative centres acted as advocates for public and community interaction and aimed to inspire new modes of working and embed these within a wide range of activities (NCCPE 2013). Festivals began to appear amongst the mechanisms here, the NCCPE found that they presented opportunities for intermediation and knowledge exchange in combination with public engagement, an essential impact activity for researchers in the arts and humanities. Five case studies in which universities were involved in festival based public engagement were evaluated and in a user guide to engaging with the festival based event, the organisation affirmed that “festivals can offer a valuable opportunity for students and higher education institutions to engage the public with their work, and to promote the activity and benefits of higher education” (Buckley, McPhee and Jensen 2011 p.3). HEFCE funding for the Beacons for Public Engagement drew to a close in 2011 but the NCCPE continues to be active, running training sessions,

courses and promoting engagement activities at an institutional level from its headquarters in Bristol. Conferences held annually at the NCCPE have explored the relationship between public engagement and impact, particularly the one held in 2015 that followed the publication of the REF 2014 impact studies.

The intermediary

A focus on systems and organisations tends to obscure the individual. Just as the idealised role of the cultural worker was contested by close, qualitative research, it is important to apply the same scrutiny to the situation of individual academic workers. An important facet of knowledge work, as with the cultural intermediary in the last chapter, is their ability to make claims.

In partnership-based development projects and inter-disciplinary research centres, particularly in culture and media disciplines, relationships tend to be built between internal and external intermediaries. Some recent work by NESTA on the role of HE in the cultural economy suggests “there is some evidence that many arts and humanities researchers are heavily engaged with the creative economy, but often ‘below the radar’ and in ways which are not well captured by conventional metrics of knowledge exchange” (Bakshi, Hargreaves and Mateos-Garcia 2013 p.56).

At the Society for Research into Higher Education conference in 2015, Angela Brew presented a paper that drew on her study of a ‘low research productive’ group of academics. With between 5 and 10 years’ experience beyond their doctorate and without a research profile, she found that less ‘research productive’ academics working within HE took on a greater share of student teaching and administration, committee chairing and other tasks that held parts of the university together. She described this group as ‘artisans’. There are many times when academics appear to work for free, for example when they present their work at conferences or take part in organising public events, this due to their evaluation criteria being non-market based; they are buffered by the funding systems that support them. Those academics who do not publish are less easily recognised within the existing frameworks of reward.

In a critical study of academic labour, Gill (2014) suggested that the transformation of the conditions of work at UK HEIs that has recently taken place was “almost entirely undocumented” (p.13) at the level of the academic worker’s own experience. “Change has been so radical, so speeded up and so precipitate that it is barely possible – even for those within the sector – to keep up with and make sense of what is happening” (Gill 2014 p.17). Her study uncovered a number of similarities between cultural workers and academics, including temporary contracts, periods of unemployment and the under-representation of certain socio-economic groups. She added that contracts of employment were deliberately ambiguous and did not set fixed working hours for teaching, research, administration and other unspecified ‘duties’ that staff were expected to perform. The intensification of their workloads and the precariousness caused by their casualisation was the cause of pessimism and stress amongst early career academics who had invested heavily in their own education and skills.

Beyond the campus: a third place

Important to university engagement practices are their spatial aspects, spaces for participatory or discursive events should ideally provide an opportunity for critical exchange. Comunian and Gilmore (2015) conceptualise these as ‘third spaces’ “to overcome binary ways of understanding space and spatiality” (p.18). The term comes from the idea of ‘third place’ found in sociological literature on community building (Oldenburg, 1989) and has also been used extensively by political geographer and urban planner Edward Soja (1996);

“[third places] do not need to be solely physical. They are often frameworks and opportunities for exchange: they can sometimes be virtual, they can be event-based or they can be a mix of different forms of exchange happening across time and space”

Comunian and Gilmore 2015 (p.18).

Third places are different to physical spaces; the 'creative knowledge hub' or the 'co-working café' are managed interventions and business structures. A key issue in relation to 'third spaces' is their ephemeral nature and the limited power of institutions or individuals in trying to engineer or plan them as a top down intervention. The level of context-specific detail involved in understanding how exchanges and creative ideas are put into practice in such unique settings suggests that the study of university festivals could benefit from the development of a qualitative methodology using a fine-grained, ethnographic approach to understand the types of knowledge, forms of labour and motivations involved in the production of university festivals. For example, in 2015 the Times Higher Education Awards commended 'The Label' at Edge Hill University in the Excellence and Innovation in the Arts category. This is a commercial project for recording and releasing the music produced by its students, set up by a senior lecturer, who as a musician had commercial success with his band The Farm (Morgan 2016). The development of a suitable methodology for this study is explored in Chapters four and five.

Summary

This chapter has explored the institutional diversity of Higher Education in the UK, the powerful imaginaries that contribute to its distinctiveness and has shown how making generalising assumptions or resorting to popular notions of what a university should be are unhelpful. As Anderson (2010) suggests, "it is better to see the 'idea of the university' not as a fixed set of characteristics, but as a set of tensions, permanently present, but resolved differently according to time and place". Universities used to be understood as autonomous bodies that, to a large extent, could determine their own futures. However, since at least the middle of the 20th century, they have also been part of top-down national restructuring projects to the point that now their missions are articulated using a pre-defined terminology. Due to the changes in emphasis on the role of universities in society which can be linked with the changing economic and social conditions discussed in the previous chapter, a university's external partnerships have become more strategic and operationalised.

The purpose of HE is being actively shaped by political actors, strategies and tools in response to global challenges. Universities are expected to have impacts regionally, nationally and internationally, this has been accompanied by the most significant changes to the student funding system for decades. As a result of neo-liberal reforms, political, industrial and academic interests are being integrated and links between education and a wider social good are being denied or lost (Collini 2012). This chapter has shown how the control of research funding has also shifted significantly towards increasingly rigid schemes of regulation, compared with the 'arm's-length' remit of the UGC, and that the reorganisation of external financial arrangements for the funding of teaching and research experienced since 2010, has created instability and disillusionment within faculty. As universities have become increasingly dependent on income raised from students in the form of tuition fee income, an inter-generational contract is also being undermined (McGettigan 2012) and some degree subjects are now characterised as 'non-essential'.

Internally, this has led to the emergence of new institutional structures, narratives and practices. The introduction of the 20% for impact factor in the 2014 REF exercise has focussed attention on practices and activities that might be more valuable than previously thought. This is where the PhD makes its contribution, as it studies in depth and detail some of the regional partnerships and networked collaborations that exist between universities and other organisations. It will also show how these conditions have created new opportunities for cultural production within academic strategies.

Receipts of grant funding also equates with levels of recognition and so the institutional order of the academic system is influenced by factors which include "the criteria that funding agencies apply in the selection of grants, and the standards by which the results of research are evaluated" (Benner and Sandström 2000 p.293). Despite being relatively autonomous in deciding their own objectives as (partially) publicly funded institutions, universities are shown here to be subject to the effects of Government policy.

The first two chapters have so far set out the macro conditions under which university-festivals are being produced and made the argument for a close and fine-grained, qualitative analysis in order to 'get at' the nature of the work of cultural production. Based on this, any research concerning UK universities clearly needs to be context-specific and the roles of the cultural intermediaries should be approached by focusing on their skills, knowledge, experience and orientations. Before commencing the methodology section, however, the final section of this summary of the literature concentrates on examining the idea of a festival.

Chapter three. Festivals.

Festivals of all kinds have become more prolific in recent decades (Quinn 2005, Iordanova and Rhyne 2009, Getz 2010, Visit Britain and UK Music 2015). Some are established, some are growing, some are one offs and some come and go. Festival scholarship has kept pace with the evolving field, producing a burgeoning literature of its own (eg. Giorgi et al 2011, Bennett et al 2014, Newbold et al 2015, McKay 2015). Studies of festivals can also be found in the literature of other disciplinary orientations; as social practices and meaningful forms of human behaviour they have attracted attention from anthropologists and sociologists (Getz 2010); Rousseau and Lefebvre considered the role of festivals in revolutionary France (Grindon 2013) and in Bakhtin's work on the Soviet Union, the notion of festival appears as a form of resistance and praxis (Vice 1997).

During the 20th century, the political identity of cultural festivals in the UK increasingly became associated with public shows of resistance (McKay 1996, Roberts 2012). Festivals have been analysed for their economic, symbolic, social and cultural value in the course of cultural policy research (Giorgi et al 2011) while the scholarly fields of tourism and event management approach the subject of festivals as a core part of placemaking and place marketing strategies, where festivals are thought to be important for the attractiveness and distinctiveness of places (Prentice and Andersen 2003). As nodes in networks of cultural production and distribution, festivals are also implicated in discourses around what have come to be known as the creative industries, where they contribute to the sustainability of urban cultural economies (de Valck 2007).

This chapter offers the reader an introduction to some of the theoretical ideas that have informed the interpretation of festivals as, for example, sites for the promotion of cosmopolitanism (Giorgi et al 2011, Bennet and Woodward 2014), the performance of transnational identities (Iordanova and Cheung 2010), or as discursive or oppositional social practices (Lamond and Spracklen 2015). By accepting an expanded set of practices into the "multifaceted contemporary festivalscape" (Anderton, n.d.) and examining them for their social and cultural significance, it can be shown that a festival is a composite of different realities, symbolic and contingent, a situated set of events and understandings which, like other cultural phenomena, is only comprehensible in context.

What is a festival?

The 'Expositions Universelles' in Paris, the Great Exhibition in London in 1851 and other 19th Century world fairs, The Festival of Britain and an entire calendar of holidays, traditional feasts, special days with religious or social origins, Christmas, Halloween, Rush Bearing and May Day are all 'festivals'. Festival is a word used to describe the outdoor activities at the Green Man gathering in Wales, or Burning Man where participants build a temporary city in the Nevada desert, as well as metropolitan events such as the Venice Biennale and the Cannes and Berlin film festivals. Since the turn of the millennium, mega events like the 'Cultural Olympiad' and 'Le Grand Depart' have animated cultural producers across the UK to produce themed events for the public, while countless local food, drink and arts festivals take place regularly in villages, towns and cities. As one group of researchers have put it "there are as many different festivals taking place in Europe as there are definitions of what a festival is" (Newbold et al 2015 p.xv1). This ambiguity makes it questionable whether the term festival is actually helpful for this thesis, given the diversity of socio-cultural forms it can include. Festivals are plural and multifarious, they belong to an ancient human culture as fixed points around which to structure time, behaviour and the pursuit of pleasure and they are also fleeting transgressive or escapist moments that challenge socially accepted norms of behaviour.

Some festival scholars have made theoretical distinctions between types of festival along Durkheimian secular and sacred lines. For instance Giorgi and Sassatelli (2011) refer to Durkheim's work in 1912 'The Elementary Forms of Religious Life' in which he talks about instances of 'collective effervescence', which for them is an expression that can readily be applied to all festivals, from those held in ancient Athens, French revolutionary festivals, the 1960s counter-culture free festivals and the 'post-traditional' festivals of the 21st century alike. Festivals contribute to the construction of structural, geo-political and corporate narratives of place (Klaic 2014, Newbold et al 2015) and the claiming and commercial branding of space for specific purposes, such as tourism (Prentice and Andersen 2003). In a review of the literature, Getz (2010) identified three major discourses within the body of English-language published work on festivals. The first of these, which he grouped under the bracket 'roles, meanings and impacts', comes from a tradition of theoretical development in anthropology and sociology, "the oldest and best

developed discourse” on festivals (Getz 2010 p.4). The historical study of festivals is well established within these disciplines because “festivals occupy a special place in almost all cultures” (Getz 2010 p.1). From anthropology, the discourse around festivals tends to be one of ancient folk customs, rites, rituals, fairs, specialised types of consumption, display, drama and games. The marking of time as a ritual is an important element in the social role of the festival, every country has a calendar of festivals and feast days with their origins in religion or the seasonal cycles of rural communities. Falassi looked at the origin of the word festival and found that there are two Latin terms for festive events: ‘festum’ for public joy, merriment and revelry, and ‘feria’ meaning abstinence from work in honour of the gods. “At festival times” he concluded “people do something they normally do not” (Falassi 1987 p.3). Certain periods of festivity are associated with faith-based groups, it is a popularly held belief is that the origins of a Christian winter carnival lie in the pagan solstice holiday Saturnalia. This suggests to anthropologists that carnivalesque and festive periods are a structure “deeply implanted in mankind: a moment in each year when for a few days the laughter of disorder comes out from the margins and assumes centre-stage” (Hyman 2000 p.9).

Festivals have also been imagined as a kind of safety-valve for society, or a temporary freeing from conventional bonds, a moment of sociable respite from the frustration of everyday routine. In 1963, social historian E. P. Thompson noted that during the Industrial Revolution, traditional fairs represented a rejection of “clock time” in favour of communal “spontaneity, drunkenness and laughter” (quoted in Harcup 2000 p.218), other authors have gone further to imagine more transformative experiences that open doors for the individual that afterwards may never fully be closed⁴. Although the spectrum of types of events that can be called ‘festival’ is vast, there are some notable themes running through the discourse around them.

⁴ This is a reference to Aldous Huxley in *The Doors of Perception*, writing about taking mescaline in 1954. In *American Hippies* (2015) Rorabaugh makes the link between Huxley, Kesey and recreational drugs and attending outdoor music festivals, although there isn’t the room to give it full attention here, also see Roberts 2012.

The Critique of Everyday Life

One strand of festival-related studies combines literary history with critical social theory to show how oppositional effects are achieved when these events are placed in the context of their times. Here festivals appear as libertarian moments, linked with popular uprisings, revolutionary politics and interruptions of the social order. Bakhtin's text 'Rabelais and his World' on the subject of carnivalesque in the Middle Ages is often cited in festivals literature (Quinn 2005, Robinson 2011, Bennet and Woodward 2014). Bakhtin found that literature was "remarkably productive as a means for capturing in art the developing relationships under capitalism" (Bakhtin, quoted in Vice, 1997). As with the later phenomenological work of Walter Benjamin, Michel de Certeau and Henri Lefebvre, documenting the imaginative, fantastic, theatrical and emotional aspects of life offered a way to capture society's changing relationships with its times. Closely observed signs and signifiers reveal the shifting systems of beliefs, meanings and patterns of social organisation and their works are significant to a critical study of culture. The dialectical discursiveness in this kind of writing offers us a way of looking beyond the mere appearance of things in order to grasp the underlying relations or processes enclosed within.

Bourdieu, a sociologist, understood how signs can be negotiated and their inflections changed so that "complex games are made possible by the juxtaposition of understood and misunderstood parts" (Bourdieu, Chartier and Darnton, quoted in Fowler 1997 p.4). In her work on Bourdieu, Fowler drew attention to Durkheim's concern with sumptuary laws (Fowler 1997 p.49). These laws once obliged people only to wear certain clothes appropriate to their rank and forbade the wearing of clothes suitable to another rank (Manlow 2011). Only the nobility might wear 'foreign stuffs' for instance, and items for feasts and fasts were not to be eaten every day. Sue Vice (1997) drew on Terry Eagleton's work on Benjamin to make the point that when Bakhtin wrote about how the carnival and carnivalesque played a prominent role in the lives of ordinary people in the Middle Ages, it was an act of political subversion, as carnival was really being used in a double role. In the context of the literary history of the period, he saw the carnival as the creation of an alternative, albeit temporary social space, characterised by freedom, equality and abundance. With this, he was also making a guarded attack on the situation of his own

time under the repressive regime of Stalinism. Bakhtin used the example of folk festivities characterised by laughter and free and familiar contact between 'the people' as a challenge to the officialdom and oppressiveness of the church, safely positioned in a historical context. In his characterisation of the carnival as 'time out of time' (Falassi 1987) that can invert social conventions, disrupt order and challenge authority, Bakhtin was pitting the "explosive politics of the body, the erotic, the licentious and semiotic" (Vice 1997 p.151) against formalistic authoritarianism.

What made carnival different to drama, particularly for Bakhtin, but also later for writers like Guy Debord, was the absence of footlights. It was the spectacle without a stage, a form of theatre where no clear division existed between performer and spectator. In a communal performance such as this, there could be a moment when everything is permitted, where a jester might be crowned in place of a king. "During carnival, rank.... is abolished and everyone is equal. People were reborn into truly human relations, which were not simply imagined but experienced" (Robinson 2011). In *Society of the Spectacle* (1994 [1967]), Guy Debord presented his theory that the capitalist system produces only 'image-objects' for people to consume and that this constituted a system of domination that re-routed people's desire for pleasure by linking pleasure with the consumption of commodified goods, roles, forms of leisure or play. As with Bakhtin, Debord was concerned about the division between spectatorship and participation, as if the role of consumer or performer were a person's only available options in commodified culture.

Henri Lefebvre, writing in the 1940s, made use of this method when he produced the theory of moments that said could reveal the erosion of previous ways of living. The theory of moments must be "capable of opening a window on supercession, and of demonstrating how we may resolve the age-old conflict between the everyday and tragedy, and between triviality and Festival" (Lefebvre quoted in Grindon 2013 p.212). According to Grindon, Lefebvre regarded the Paris Commune as the ideal festival. Following Lefebvre, Bakhtin and Debord, the social 'disorder' that appears with a festival can be seen as an affirmative, creative force.

Revolutionary festivals

Lenin famously claimed that "revolutions are festivals of the oppressed and the exploited" (quoted in Von Geldern 1993 p.42). At particular points in history, 'revolutionary festivals' have been organised by the state for the purpose of restaging historical moments and to fix them in the popular imagination. Von Geldern describes how Sergei Eisenstein's cinematic spectacle *October: Ten Days That Shook the World* (Eisenstein 1927) symbolically and metaphorically depicts the Bolshevik October revolution in Russia. He then reveals that the film was inspired not by the real event, but by a festival on the 3rd anniversary of the event, one of the annual mass dramatisations of the uprising that were staged by the Bolshevik regime.

Here, the festival suggests an urgent moment in which personal and collective experiences become merged and deterritorialised. Von Geldern suggests that the mass spectacles and dramas staged by the authorities in 1918 and 1919 had to make sense of and give shape to a period of intense change, anxiety and poverty. New narratives urgently needed a "new repertory" (p.75) through which old symbols could gain or be given new meanings through the use of context. Rousseau's work is another source for an aesthetically and ideologically informed understanding of festivals at a time of change, here they represent a kind of 'Revolutionary Romanticism' in a popular sense. For Rousseau, "the saturnalia, the bacchanal, the charivari, the carnival, the travesty or the masque" were a 'safety-valve' for society (Thomas 1997 p.665) and a temporary freeing from conventional bonds, when the norms and rules of everyday life were suspended. Thomas suggests that French revolutionaries later employed Rousseau's romantic celebration of a spontaneous, popular festivity as a way of bringing about a new political reality. Rousseau's romantic folk festival belonged to "a happy age when nothing marked the hours" (Rousseau: *Essay on the Origin of Languages*, quoted in Thomas 1997 p.665). Revolutionary public festivals were occasions for joy and pleasure, symbolically held in wide, open spaces to which "people came in large numbers from all over France, often by foot, and often for the only time in their lives, to Revolutionary Festivals in Paris" (Thomas 1997 p.672). 'Revolutionary Romanticism' is an idea that persists, informing the design of festivals today as modes of anti-authoritarianism. This area of discourse around festivals and political moments is brought up to date later on in this chapter, but before this, the

chapter will look at how the festival manifests itself as social expression from an aesthetic and spatial, rather than experiential, point of view. As will be seen, these points of view still remain fused with the politics of the time.

The aesthetic qualities of festival

The origins of the aesthetics of the contemporary festival experience probably lie in the 1960s counterculture, in the Monterey International Pop Festival in 1967 and the Woodstock music festivals, although it has been suggested that all of these were originally influenced by an American film *Jazz On a Summer's Day* (Bert Stern and Aram Avakian, 1959), filmed at the Newport Jazz festival (McKay 1996).

The late 1960s were a time of political unrest in the USA, a generation of young people questioned the wisdom of their leaders and organised protests about civil rights and the war in Vietnam, which has left a strong visual legacy in 20th Century popular culture. Modes of dress and behaviour underlined this sense of 'outsiderness' (Wilson 2000) and have become associated with the outdoor festival aesthetic. Roberts (2012) believes that these ideas also influenced UK festivals and that successive Isle of Wight festivals in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and the rise of the Glastonbury Festival of Contemporary Performing Arts, inspired a free festivals movement that flourished in the UK in the 1970s (Roberts 2012). According to Roberts festivals were "a response to the emerging needs within the counter culture" (p.184) and were arranged mainly by squatters and hippies who wanted to escape from the cities and enjoy a sense of participation in an extended social event with "like-minded people" (ibid). For some of the participants in this scene, this became a quest to live a simpler, more utopian way of life in the mechanised 20th century and for about a decade, a 'Peace Convoy' of customised vehicles represented a deterritorialised free festival movement. In June 1985 however, in what has become known as the Battle of the Beanfield, the travellers convoy became involved in a violent struggle with riot police close to Stonehenge. This clash occurred as the UK was experiencing mass strike action, organised by The National Union of Mineworkers, in restricting the movements of striking miners the police were becoming almost a paramilitary group, violently putting down assemblies outside collieries.

Roberts writes that a year later, Margaret Thatcher, leader of the Conservative Government, announced in Parliament that she would be “only too delighted” to make life difficult for hippie convoys (quote attributed to Peter Gardener, in Roberts 2012 p.250). The brutal end to the free festival movement has not stopped the festival at Glastonbury (once it had ceased to be free) from becoming the biggest outdoor festival on the commercial summer festival circuit, while the heir to the free festival movement is now thought to be the “ephemeral open-air communities (St John 2014 p.52) of the psytrance festival that emerged in Goa in the 1990s and spread around the world. The idea of festival as a transgressive, pleasurable moment or as symbolic of collective dissent is persistent and the spatially bounded, outdoor setting combine to produce a compelling image of what a festival should look like, but it is not the definitive one.

Festivals as cultural industry

The political identity of urban cultural festivals has frequently been oppositional and associated with public shows of resistance (Rock Against Racism, Reclaim the Streets, Carnival Against Capital) yet leading academics in the field of film festival studies, Loist and de Valck point to an observation made in 1976 by Jean Duvignaud that “some festivals revolve around prestige and competition rather than tribal disorganization, and are related to economic activity rather than mythical fascinations with nature” (Duvignaud, quoted in Loist and de Valck 2010 p.11). Festivals have significant instrumental or commercial value and this part of the chapter locates them within the literature on the cultural economy and cultural policy.

According to a report for the Arts Council (Rolfe 1992), publicly funded urban arts festivals in the UK are essentially a post-war phenomenon and their primary purpose in the middle of the 20th Century was linked with formation of European national identities. This was the era of ‘structuralist’ festivals as a mode of expression of national identities and values, an idea that is upheld in Marijke de Valck’s research on the geo-political role of the international film festivals held in Berlin, Cannes, Venice and Rotterdam (de Valck 2007). She showed how arts festivals became vehicles for cultural positioning of (in her example)

films and film makers in the legitimation of sanctioned national discourses⁵.

Urban arts festivals have frequently appeared in perspectives on urban renewal through cultural policy and cultural strategy (Bianchini and Parkinson 1993, Maughan and Bianchini 2004, Quinn 2010). O'Connor observed that in terms of urban cultural production, festivals promoted cross-over and convergence in ways that could be beneficial for cross-sectoral network building and he recommended that they should be encouraged as they provided platforms in the city for new original work (O'Connor 1997).

Events and festivals are a way for a city to project a vibrant metropolitan atmosphere and are important to cultural tourism and destination competitiveness (Prentice and Andersen 2003, Roberts 2004, Getz 2008). Because the dimension of escapism is one of the main attractions of so many festivals, they also form part of the entertainment business (Robertson and Frew 2008) and belong to what is known as the experience economy (Pine and Gilmour 1999). Festival tourism and festival management are sub-fields of a fast-growing field of event management studies, which is somewhere between a discipline and a "quasi-profession" (Getz 2010 p.1) in universities around the world. In the more instrumentalist areas of discourse, consumer behaviour prevails and for tourism-based advocacy, evidence of spending by visitors is particularly sought after.

Benefits to the local economy can be guessed at by applying economic multipliers to types of festival-related spending; money spent directly by festivals themselves on goods and services, money spent by audiences when attending festival events and money spent on capital projects such as venue refurbishment (Arts Council 2006 p.72-73). Developments in this area can be partly attributed to an influential Arts Council publication 'The Economic Importance of the Arts in Britain' (Myerscough, 1988) that put investing in the arts firmly onto the political agenda. Myerscough's report used multiplier effects to demonstrate that funding the arts led to an increase in spending in other sectors of the economy, enhancing job creation and improving cities' attractiveness. In 1999 the DCMS published a guidance document 'Creating Opportunities' to direct local authorities in matters of cultural planning. The following year the Local Government Act incentivised the development of regional cultural strategies by insisting that all local authorities had a

⁵ DeValck (2007) describes how the annual film festival in Venice, which is part of the Venice Biennale (established 1885) lost its autonomy when it received money from the Fascist government in the 1930s.

statutory duty to promote or improve the economic, social and environmental well-being of their area (Gilmore 2004). Within the broader instrumentality of the DCMS policy approach at a local level, access to and participation in cultural activity was thought to be a positive indicator of social equality. Councils were encouraged to prepare a 'community strategy' which combined a cultural and creative industries development agenda with targets for improving health and well-being and promoting community access and participation.

It is difficult with the available data to get a clear picture of how the amount of arts festivals increased from the 1980s to the number that are now held each year in the UK, but over half of the 193 festivals who responded to a postal survey in 2007 were established after 1990 (British Arts Festivals Association 2008). In this report 'Festivals Mean Business' the chairman of the British Arts Festivals Association made reference to the "UK festivals sector" (ibid p.3) as being dynamic and vibrant. What stands out strongly here is that festivals are conceived as a sector. Researchers from DeMontfort University looking at the economic and social impacts of festivals in 2004 were more cautious, recommending to the reader that "arts activities always occur in wide and complex social, political, administrative, cultural and economic contexts, and in order to reach an understanding of the way they function, they cannot be studied in isolation from such contexts" (Maughan and Bianchini 2004, p.13).

Some festivals are more or less permanent annual events with huge budgets and teams responsible for delivering them, "what was once the realm of individual and community initiatives has largely become the realm of professionals and entrepreneurs" (Getz 2008 p.404). This implies that festivals have become too important to be left to amateurs. A report in 2002 found that although the Notting Hill Carnival is the largest carnival in Europe and generated over £90 million in 2002, the "folklore" of the carnival was that it "just happens" (Greater London Authority 2004 p.12) but this is absolutely not the case. Tourism is one of the UK's biggest industries and the percentage of overseas tourists is rising, festivals in particular are now seen as an important asset (Visit Britain and UK Music 2013, 2015).

Some of the largest for profit UK festivals are music festivals, run by corporate and established promoters such as Live Nation International, these are advertised nationally,

form commercial partnerships with broadcasters and do deals with drinks companies. They frequently require the ticket holder to relocate to a given area for a number of days, while some still see this kind of event tourism as a “secular” sort of pilgrimage for some festival participants (Getz 2008 p.414), in 2014 there were 9.5 million music tourists, generating £1.9 billion directly and another £1 billion in indirect spending (Visit Britain and UK Music 2015). Large festivals are important publicity opportunities for many commodity market sectors and as a spectacle they are a draw for the media. The annual summer festival at Glastonbury now attracts over 150,000 spectators, as well as staff, volunteers and media and the average amount spent attending a UK festival has been calculated to be around £400 per head (Visit Britain and UK Music 2013, Carroll 2013). Many smaller festivals are aimed at local audiences or distinctive fan cultures and sometime these are free, organised by enthusiasts without a profit motive and supported in a variety of ways. Between these types there is a spectrum of different models, of public/private funding mixes and planned or hoped for outcomes.

Many established festivals are still publicly funded to a degree, having found niches and legitimate grounds for ongoing support. MacMillan suggests making a “distinction between festivals that have a commercial purpose and those that aim to generate creative synergies within the space of the festival” (Macmillan 2013 p.23). “It is in the public sector, where events are produced or receive support from government, that a specific justification for intervention is necessary” (Brown et al 2015 p.143). The publicly funded festival must deliver on both artistic and economic fronts, in a review of the AV Festival of art, film and live performance in 2014 in Newcastle it was claimed that the festival strengthened the contemporary arts and cultural sector in the North East, although the report mostly analysed the festival’s media impact and spending in the North East region by the festival and its visitors. In this way the return on investment for the Arts Council could be calculated as £3.98 of net economic impact for every £1 of public funding (BOP Consulting 2014). The conventional instrumentality of measuring culture for its economic returns raises another question; if a festival is free, then can it also be constructed as oppositional?

Studying the contemporary festivalscape

Roxanne Yeganegy's doctoral research asked what motives there were for designing festivals that offered a less commercial or spectacular experience. A producer of festival events herself, her thesis was concerned with whether contemporary music festivals could achieve the blurring of boundaries between entertainment, politics, place, sociability and pleasure that constituted an ideal festival, such as that found in Bakhtin's work. She became interested in the aims of the organisers of 'boutique' outdoor festivals in the UK such as the Secret Garden Party or Boomtown, who charge a fee but try to maintain an anti-corporate or anti-sponsorship image. These festivals were paraphrasing "an idealised discourse of the 1960s and 70s counter-culture" (Yeganegy 2014 p.1) and yet they appeared to also offer the potential for meaningful forms of play and sociability.

Work by Vicky-Ann Cremona in 2004 claimed that audience participation in a carnival in Valetta, in Malta, generated an authentic social praxis. With this in mind, Yeganegy compared the experience of a UK boutique festival with Nevada's Burning Man festival, whose idiom 'No Spectators' contained an "implicit critique" (p.2) that passive consumption was equivalent to "negative hegemony" (p.2). She concluded that the experience of Burning Man was distinctive because of the importance its organisers attached to the participatory experience. The festival's design encouraged the appearance of what Hakim Bey has called 'Temporary Autonomous Zones'⁶, whereas other festivals of a similar scale produce and maintain a form of separation between artist and audience.

Other contemporary festival research has concentrated on the dynamic and creative relations in the setting of a participatory outdoor summer festival, the "theatrically conceived, often loosely improvised and participatory performances that happen around the festival site" (O'Grady and Kill 2013 p.269). This work resonates with the ideas of Bakhtin and Debord discussed earlier, showing how festival events are forms of public and popular participatory culture and responds to an idealism in relation to cultural exchanges which can be found in the work of theorists Guy Debord and Walter Benjamin that assumes producer / collaborator are a preferable option to spectator / consumer.

⁶ Coined in 1990, the term is taken to refer to the spaces of freedom presented by autonomous uprisings, where life is experienced as immediate, creative and spontaneous. See McKay 1996, p.8-9.

When festival organisers build in routes to participation in the activities they offer, barriers between spectators and performers can be eroded as they interact and become immersed in the temporal space of the festival. “Festival-goers engaging in relational performance become co-authors of their own festival experience rather than merely consumers of a prepackaged product.” (O’Grady and Kill 2013 p.279). This opens up the possibility of a different kind of cultural politics. Festivals belong to “those sites in society where the performance dimension of culture is emphasised more directly than in other situations” (Giorgi et al 2011 p.6). Festivals create spaces for playfully constructive behaviour, they are part of “cultural repertoires through which individuals engage in critical boundary work” (Bennet and Woodward 2014 p.22). Seeing the festival as a symbolic domain of cultural practices, researchers have examined their social role as sites of articulation of transnational and diasporic identifications (Iordanova with Cheung 2010, Kaushal and Newbold 2015) and have drawn on Benedict Anderson’s ideas about ‘imagined communities’ (Fu, Long and Thomas 2015) where communities form through shared cultural practices. Festivals have been located within a project of European cosmopolitanism and identity formation (Klaic 2014), described as “translation spaces” (Giorgi et al 2011p.8) and promoted as sites of exchange and debate that can emphasise the local and the international together, at the same time. While festivals are often representative of a particular region’s cultural policy and institutional support structures, they offer a method for mediation between different identities and provide opportunities for the appreciation of cultures other than one’s own and creating platforms for framing political messages or spaces for discussing contested issues.

The cultural public sphere: aesthetics, counter-publics and activism

A recent set of festival studies has used the perspective of the cultural public sphere as a theoretical device to study festivals as sites of communicative activity (Giorgi, Sassatelli and Delanty 2011). Locating festivals as part of a cultural public sphere is an ideal perspective that emerges from the sociology of culture and uses the theory of communicative action developed by German social philosopher Jürgen Habermas. The public sphere is a complex theory, its original formulation considered how literary criticism was used as a discourse to mediate between the private and the public worlds.

The theory placed communication is its own theoretical paradigm and it depended on understanding the use of language for communicative rather than for purely cognitive purposes. This showed how communication could lead to political change when produced and circulated by and within a 'reasoning public'. McGuigan (1996) expanded the category of modes of communication to make room for what he called affective and cognitive communication, forms of engagement with ideas and discourse that use cultural texts and discursive space as well as written language. "The concept of a cultural public sphere refers to the articulation of politics, public and personal, as a contested terrain through affective (aesthetic and emotional) modes of communication" (McGuigan 2005 p.435). McGuigan's use of affective forms of communication shows that the transmission and reception of ideas can be facilitated through non-verbal transmission and so the theory of communication becomes entwined with those that consider the ways in which art or aesthetic objects can act on the senses.

Other understandings of 'relational' aesthetics can be found in Read's (1937) description of art as the passing on of a flame or a spark from one point to another and Bourriud's (1998) notion of art as a form human interaction that creates a social interstice.

The cultural public sphere is a blend of the cultural with the political in a single discursive space and the public sphere theory can be combined with the critical tools of contextualisation and interpretation to form the basis of an approach to understanding the value of cultural exchanges. The festival has the potential to offer a meaningful form of social discourse, one that engages many different communities in its production and participation and this approach has been productively applied in the study of festivals (Giorgi, Sassatelli and Delanty 2011).

However, the public sphere theory has been critiqued for being "static, masculine and exclusionary" (Jacoby 1997 p.70) and producing excluded and partial publics. The communicative potential of a public forum is based on the criteria of admission to that forum, on who gets to speak. "Politics revolves around what is seen and what can be said about it, around who has the ability to see and the talent to speak, around the properties of spaces and the possibilities of time" (Rancière 2004 p.13). Will anyone speak for a perspective that is not present?

McGuigan acknowledges this problem and advises that “it is necessary to appreciate that the public sphere is a liberal concept, not an inherently radical one” (McGuigan 2011 p.84).

As discussed earlier, the aesthetics of collective social action and grassroots movements have repeatedly and strategically linked relational cultural practices to political struggles and challenges to authority from an ‘outsiders’ perspective (McKay 1996). These themes appeared in relation to cultural events in 2012 when event management academics at Leeds Trinity University hosted a conference called *Protests as Events / Events as Protests*. At this conference, a series of papers from scholars, artists and activists explored the relationship between the production and organisation of public events and the insurgent, political actions of social movements. They examined expressive and aesthetic tactics for enacting alternative points of view and many of the papers were later published in an edited book (Lamond and Spracklen 2015) which emotively captured some of the symbolic uses of texts, materials, music, gestures and costumes. Micro-protests such as flash mobs and group die-ins are tactics for what Taylor (2104) calls “a temporary (re)articulation of space” (p.32) and the sensational use of dress in the wave of Slut Walks in 2011 as a deliberate inversion of meaning as political action (Ng 2015).

In the same volume, Schlembach (2015) describes how protest can appear as spectacle, or carnival: “thousands of bodies dancing to electronic music on a motorway; hundreds of hands digging in Parliament Square... anarchists wearing pink and silver fairy dresses and revolutionaries in camouflaged clown costumes chasing and being chased by hordes of riot police” (p.153). When protest is combined with festivity, just as with Bakhtin’s idealised carnival, they are idealised as a way to challenge or overthrow social hierarchies. If staged by social movements within and against institutional contexts (Grindon 2011) the festival can again be seen as a communitarian, revolutionary or transformational moment.

Serbia’s Exit Festival attracts thousands of international tourists each year to the city for four days and nights of rock and dance music. When it first began in Novi Sad in 2000, it was organised by the country’s first and only Student Union. Reflecting on its origins, the festival’s founder recalled how it started as a student protest against the country’s oppressive dictatorship and its sanctioned ‘turbo folk’ music culture.

“Culture and music are often the only discourses of freedom of speech in repression” (Bojan Boskovic, quoted in Boddy 2012) “we were basically asking for freedom of speech, citizens’ rights, democratic elections, freedom of independent media and autonomy of the University”. It was also a point for cultural exchange and crossover between young people in the ‘East’ and ‘West’ of Europe. The transformational evolution of a formerly antagonistic, extended (100 days long), mixed arts festival into a lucrative and commercial one highlights another important consideration for this thesis: what happens when a transgressive social or cultural movement becomes accepted by the society it intended to disrupt?

All around the world, gay Pride events are frequently now part of homonormative culture in major cities, becoming platforms for civic endorsement (Taylor 2014). This thesis names this kind of adaptive shift ‘recuperation’. Two major exhibitions, both co-curated by academics as part of their research interests, are worth mentioning here, in the context of academic engagement with the public. In 2014 Gavin Grindon, who has been quoted earlier in this chapter, co-curated a temporary exhibition at London’s prestigious Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A). The exhibition ‘Disobedient Objects’ (26th July 2014 - 1st February 2015) displayed some artefacts of political protest at an institution associated with historic cultural narratives, in the heart of the London establishment. The exhibits ranged from leaflets, stickers, badges and hand sewn banners to pamphlet bombs, tear gas masks made from drinks bottles and custom-made vehicles. Justification by the curators for making an intervention in such an institution as the V&A went as follows; “Exhibiting them we test the museum’s claim to truly be a public institution for learning and debate” (Flood and Grindon 2014). Misrepresented or ignored by the media, in their opinion, these texts and objects were being presented together to demonstrate the vitality and authenticity of historical events from the perspective of common people.

The Tate Gallery Liverpool also held a temporary exhibition of the aesthetics of counter-culture in 2013 which had been co-curated by a PhD student from Liverpool John Moore’s University Lynn Wray and was sponsored by the institution. The narrative of the ‘Art Turning Left’ exhibition (8th November 2013 - 2 February 2014) was how everyday life and left-wing values had influenced the production and reception of art from the Eighteenth century up to the present day.

An antagonism between (popular) resistance versus (institutional) recuperation is a similar to that found in the 'culture versus the economic' debate that has been implicit in the sections above and in the earlier chapters, yet this tension doesn't have to be seen as counter-productive. This discourse of antagonistic relations fits into other theoretical traditions (eg. Mouffe 2007) and can be used productively.

Conceptual frameworks for the study and analysis of festivals

The purpose of this chapter has been to show that there are many ways in which festivals can be studied. They can be approached from a diversity of positions, thoughts and theories, some are conceptually discursive and others more normative and instrumental. Before summarising, here is an outline of three theoretical frameworks, drawn from the findings of this review chapter, that provided a useful guide in the production of a methodology for the study of festivals and in their subsequent analysis.

A time out of time.

Time out of time is a theory of the festival as a transgressive, even transformative moment. The festival's inherent liminality encourages a performance of openness, a "cordoning off of routinised forms of social engagement" (Bennet and Woodward 2014 p.17). This is a theoretical device that can help to connect contemporary practices with the carnivalesque, the Bacchanalia and a "topsy-turvey world" (Hyman 2000 p.10) that resembles a temporary revolution. A festival is a temporally bounded space in which "people do something they normally do not" (Falassi 1987 p.3). In a study of cultural events on campus, the notion of 'time out of time' has a potentially productive synergy with what Comunion and Gilmore (2015) have termed as the 'third place' when they describe a non-hierarchical sense of space and spatiality that can appear within an institutional setting. Using these notions together, the festival is a 'pop-up third place', a platform and a container for experimentation, cross-over and convergence.

A node in the network.

This approach is advocated by film festival scholars Iordanova and Rhyne (2009) as it offers a way to examine a festival's cyclical exchanges in order to capture the dynamism of ongoing flows. This is the theoretical model most relevant to cultural industries strategies and the regional clustering of value chains in the in global flows of the creative economy. It usefully prioritises the flows of cultural commodities through networks of distribution

and influence (de Valck 2007) and sees innovation as involving a large number of participants in networks and circuits, in which the production and circulation of cultural goods may be ordered by norms and conventions, but is not governed by rules.

The cultural public sphere.

Locating festivals in the cultural public sphere is a perspective that combines the sociology of culture with critical tools of contextualisation and interpretation. The lens of the cultural public sphere also begins to address gaps between the existing discourses in the literature that Getz (2010) identified. The theory encourages the view that through meaningful social discourse that engages different communities in its production and participation, citizens can jointly influence political action. It encompasses simultaneously a theory of communicative action and a theory of political change. In its ideal form, the public articulation and circulation of personal political positions and the transmission and reception of ideas has the potential to challenge hierarchical power relations.

Summary

While some may think of festivals as a sector, there isn't a satisfactory definition for all of them. Festivals are a plural and multifarious research subject and the literature in this area is multi-disciplinary and continues to grow. Theory concerning the social role of festivals exists in a body of theoretical work where the festival has been regarded as a social phenomenon, encountered in virtually all human cultures (Falassi 1987), a geo-political tool for identity formation (de Valck 2007) and the encouragement of cosmopolitanism (Giorgi 2011). The notion of festival as a liberating form of folk culture, characterised by laughter and free and familiar contact between the people in the work of Bakhtin and others could be accused of naive utopianism by those who see a festival as just a 'safety-valve' for society, a temporary freeing from conventional bonds or a permissible outlet for plebeian tastes and behaviours (Harcup 2000). If some contemporary festival scholarship seems pre-occupied with issues of logistics, placemaking, tourism and commodity circuits, it could be because nowadays there is too

much at stake for the management of mega-events to be left to enthusiasts, amateurs or hippies. Festivals are big business, but where public funding is involved, focus is still on measurable outcomes and primarily economic multiplier effects.

As festivals now appear as a series of commodified experiences in the urban experience economy, useful for increasing tourism and highlighting a city's visibility as cosmopolitan. What were once political events are marketed as a safe space for consumption and the performance of bourgeois identities. However, they are all sites of meaningful human exchange. Modern festivals may still have the potential to be antagonistic.

Not very long ago Getz (2010) complained that the majority of contemporary work on festivals was extractive and based on mainly quantitative data, but this chapter has shown how the field of festival research is developing rapidly and that recent theoretical advances have employed qualitative approaches and critical theoretical frameworks (Giorgi, Sassatelli and Delanty 2011, Yeganegy 2014, Lamond and Spracklen 2015).

Together these first three chapters have created the conceptual foundation for thinking critically about the festivals that universities produce and why. They show how the ideas that underpin the thesis have developed. The next section goes on to look how a study was devised that could link the theoretical with the empirical.

Chapter four. Perspectives on cultural research

The symbolic ensemble produced by a university and a festival does not neatly integrate into any one disciplinary structure. A festival is a complex, spatially and temporally organised intersection of materials, people, texts, participatory moments and other ephemeral elements. Conceptual ambiguity and historical discontinuity also leads to problems when attempting to theorise 'the university' as a particular category of social organisation. This study therefore engages with all the diversity and complexity that characterises research into social and cultural phenomena.

The study takes place in a field of inquiry that could be broadly summed up as 'universities in the cultural economy'. This is a highly conceptual space which, as the previous three chapters have shown, is located at an intriguing intersection of some interrelated fields of research and literature. These include the political economy of universities, cultural and economic geographies of space and place, and the 'signifying practices' of the cultural economy: art, aesthetics and cultural production.

The topic chosen also steers the research into an emerging disciplinary area that encompasses event management and tourism studies, these are relatively new disciplines that examine what Getz (2008) called "the 'planned events' sector" (p.403). Within this field, research questions concerning festivals have tended to be interested in how to generate tourism (Crompton and McKay 1997) or optimise operations and processes (Silvers et al 2006), while methodologies have sought uniformity in analytical metrics (Bowdin et al 2011, Andersson and Lundberg 2013). Critical event studies (Spracklan and Lamond 2016, Lamond and Platt 2016) has recently expanded these fields, generating "a richer understanding of what is to be understood as an event" (Lamond and Platt 2016 p.2) so that the term also includes forms of protest and grassroots political action.

Because of these dimensions, this study of festivals needs to be situated within theoretical and conceptual frameworks through which it can be meaningfully apprehended. Before establishing the methodology for this study, other festival studies were examined for ideas, specifically on how they dealt methodologically with the complexity of festivals. This chapter explores and develops their theoretical points of orientation, while considering how research into cultural forms takes different perspectives and how these

have evolved over time. This chapter is also interested in how different theoretical traditions and orientations affect the methodologies adopted for the study of the cultural and it ends by looking at how the three theoretical frameworks for interpreting festivals mentioned earlier offer a way to 'typologise' the difficult notion of festivity itself.

Theoretical perspectives on cultural research: a conceptual field of inquiry

A festival is a complex intersection of people, places, texts, discourses, practices and interests, it produces a polyphonic 'kaleidoscope' of images and meanings (Gray 2003). Because of this, a study of festivals must engage with all the diversity and complexity that characterises research into social cultural phenomena.

Culture is an extremely ambiguous concept (Williams 1976) and there is a spectrum of different understandings of culture that can be taken as a starting point. Entire fields have formed in the study of arts and culture in which the methods employed in the course of research also have a relationship with particular epistemological positions and produce different modes of discourse (Bauman 1999). Research into aspects of culture can have different inflections depending on disciplinary conventions and it is carried out within an evolving field that progresses through a series of advances in both epistemological ideas and the world in which they are grounded.

According to Miller (2009) research in the humanities has generally concentrated on criteria of quality and historical or textual meaning, whereas sociologists tend to foreground issues of socio-political norms and behaviours, such as how people are affected by, or consume, cultural products. As for festival research, this often belongs to a commercial paradigm, in which public events are categorised using axes of size and content, often differentiated using a for-profit / not for profit binary and classified as either sport, business or culture (Lamond and Spracklen 2015). Research in this paradigm often has an instrumental focus as it seeks to evaluate the project on behalf of funders or partners.

As Crossick and Kaszynska (2016) note in their report on the AHRC Cultural Value project, “it is important to recognise that research and evaluation have different objectives” (p.120). Evaluations are intended to assess the effects and outcomes of an event against their objectives, or to look for strengths and weaknesses within the cultural delivery organisation. They tend to be concerned with the structural or instrumental elements of the event, such as logistical considerations, sponsorship, stakeholders and human resources, or with tracking economic effects such as multipliers that can express the value of investments, such as Government spending.

In Getz’s (2010) review of festival studies he recommended that research in an interdisciplinary field should be developed for future scholarship, so that the discourses found in the existing studies could cross over and inform each other. “Methodologies should not be restrictive, and a single epistemological paradigm (such as quantitative positivism) should not predominate” (Getz 2010 p.22). This study takes place in a field of inquiry that can be broadly summed up as ‘universities in the cultural economy’, but Chapter two shows how the cultural economy is a theoretical construct. Taking the political cultural economy as a starting point for the development of a methodology might have had the effect of making an assumption that cultural activities are to be apprehended primarily for their potential economic value.

As the effects of changes in the national political, social and economic climate are important establishing factors in the context of this study, this thesis favours McFall’s conception of culture and economy as “entangled dimensions of practice” (2002 p.534) rather than discrete spheres of activity. The flows and exchanges that make up the cultural economy are also fields of human relations and meaning. What follows is a brief discussion of how these dialectical relationships can be approached using differing epistemological perspectives and a look at how other researchers have used them to the study of festivals.

A materialist view of culture would contend that economic and political factors create structures in society, which ergo create its culture, so when studied using a critical lens, culture is seen to reproduce the inequalities and struggles of the former. This is a Marxist position and much research in cultural studies, of which media studies is an important sub-discipline, has used this analytical point of view (Storper 2001).

The phenomenological work of Walter Benjamin, Michel de Certeau and Henri Lefebvre revealed how art and cultural production capture society's changing relationships with its times through an internalised understanding of the meaningful nature of cultural signs and signifiers. These Marxist scholars observed the processes and analysed the experiences of modernisation, Walter Benjamin has been described as “the central symbolic figure of the modern city” (Bauman 1996 p.26). Benjamin’s observational studies of contemporary culture in his texts on the city were an “attempt to give voice to the character and political significance of particular individual and collective experiences within the urban setting” (Gilloch 1996 p. 5). Benjamin’s ‘at first sight’ perspective was critical to his methodology for capturing all the history and contradictions present in an urban environment and it depended on all elements being revealed at once as a place is ‘captured’ in a moment in which shifting perspectives of gaze can unmask what is hidden, revealing elusive meanings. This revealing of one thing within the image of another is what Benjamin would call the dialectical image, a constellation of subject and object that cannot be separated, but that descriptive and discursive writing can illuminate.

Structuralists and realists who believe in the scientific method work in generally positivist research paradigms, studying aspects of coherence in social groups, or difference between cultures, through the analysis of symbols and patterns of behaviour (eg. Parsons 1973). The ‘orienting assumption’ of this perspective is that “culture is the code by which social structures reproduce themselves from day to day and generation to generation. In this view, culture plays the same role in sociology as genetics plays in biology” (Petersen 1976 p.678). The idea of the text is a device often used in social and cultural research to develop theories about what cultural practices mean, depending on the way texts are used.

Text in this understanding can include photographs, films, music etcetera, or the social texts produced by interactions between people (Fairclough 2012). Ann Gray supposed that an ethnographic researcher would hypothetically approach the study of a festival such as Glastonbury by combining or juxtaposing the ‘kaleidoscope’ of available data in various ways. Her hypothetical list of data sources included photographs, handbills, an observer’s account of an event, an analysis of a performance or some of the music played there, a list of sponsors and a description of the space, the smells and the atmosphere

(Gray 2003 p.22). This list can be extended and updated to include other representations like websites, merchandise, coverage in the press and visual information shared on micro-blogging sites such as Instagram and Twitter.

Using these sources in combination offers a productive way to examine the cultural texts produced at the festival from all available perspectives and explore possible ways for their ordering and classification, or at least experiment with different groupings of findings.

What structuralist and phenomenological approaches to studying the social world tend to leave out, however, is the role of human agency in the meaning-making processes and how mediated exchanges are a necessary part of culture's reproduction.

An interpretative approach to the study of culture interrogates sets of semiotic exchanges between members of a society or group, assuming that people are participants in culture's production, reception and reproduction. "Members of the same culture must share sets of concepts, images and ideas" (Hall 1997 p.4). Stuart Hall described making culture as a set of practices that depended on participants "interpreting meaningfully what is around them, and 'making sense' of the world" (Hall 1997 p.2). Hall is seen as one of the figureheads of Cultural Studies as an academic discipline which was concerned with questions of cultural value, but based on context and the operation of different kinds of capital and power.

Hall was part of a group of researchers who organised as the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in the mid-1960s. They took Williams' (1958) 'whole way of life' and 'culture is ordinary' ideas and applied methods from history and literature studies to commercial mass culture.

It was an emphasis on agency that re-imagined culture as a contested terrain, using ideas from a philosophy of praxis developed by Gramsci while he was a prisoner in Italy between the two World Wars. "Gramsci's (1971) notion of hegemony became a potent force in intellectual debate in the early 1970s and opened up the possibility of a more dynamic relationship between cultural production and consumption" (Milestone 2008 p.1167). This approach to understanding culture as a state of dynamic tension, or even as a battle-field, informed the Birmingham School's wave of sociological research on sub-cultures in the 1970s, where arts and tastes were thought to have the potential to be

transformative and where identity could challenge culturally or socially imposed boundaries.

Researchers at the Birmingham School were particularly interested in how sub-cultural identities evolved in the margins and within communities of shared interests and were communicated through the use of symbolic forms (Hall and Jefferson 1976, Hebdige 1979). "(They) saw, in subcultures especially, new forms of popular culture - around music, leisure spaces, clothes, consumer objects - not as passive consumption but as active forms of symbolic resistance to the dominant social order" (O'Connor 2007 p.19). 'Sub'-culture is a slightly problematic term that implies an elitist view of culture, however, it has been suggested that cultural studies shifted the social research agenda for cultural phenomena away from production and the social relations of production towards consumption and consumer consciousness (Garnham 1990, Pratt 2004).

Turner and Rojek are sociologists who argue that the effect of the cultural turn in sociology was to detach theory from ethics and politics and that it devolved or dissolved the discipline into a series of related fields "obsessed with the immediacy of popular and commercial cultures" (Turner and Rojek 2001 p.vii). "The political economy of culture school was fiercely opposed to the (over)emphasis on the ideological effects of cultural objects conceived exclusively as 'texts' rather than as commodities" (O'Connor 2007 p.19). The other obvious limitation of such an analysis is that it can only interpret the appearance of something. In studying culture as it is being lived, it is not sufficient only to draw on its texts and artefacts.

Holloway, Brown and Shipway (2010) called for the application of ethnography to festivals research, they argued for a behavioural approach that included gaining access to the social world of the event community, becoming immersed in the field and examining the 'reality' of participant experiences. Because an ethnographic researcher aims to capture "the experiential dimension of events" (Holloway, Brown and Shipway 2010 p.75) she is able to explore its structures and interactions and focus on the accounts of events given by the 'experiencing person' and this allowed the researcher to reach a better understanding of festivals or events.

What Holloway, Brown and Shipway's ethnographic mode of analysis during the festival would still fail to account for is the production of the festival in the first place, in particular evidence of how its collaborative design was negotiated by the producers. It leaves out the perspective of the cultural worker, the cultural intermediary, the event producer, who could reveal how access to spaces or resources was negotiated, contexts and conventions navigated and symbolic assets leveraged. As Getz's review of festival studies (2010) pointed out, there was a set of 'under-explored' discourses concerning the festival's social and cultural impacts and its role in establishing place or group identity. "An over-emphasis on consumer-behaviour theory and methods is limiting theoretical advancement" (Getz 2010 p.21). Using a reading of Foucault, Olsen (2012) agrees with Getz that "the instrumentalisation of festivals has contributed to the idea that contemporary festivals are of little cultural significance" (Olsen 2012 p.482). She encourages a heterotopic view that understands festivals as spaces in which an alternative social ordering is 'performed'.

In the study of a festival as a processual event, there also needs to be a place for explaining the roles of the intermediaries whose work is in the connective processes between content and participation. How do they link their knowledge of content, form and technique to develop cultural products which will appeal to cultural consumers? How do individual producers align their vision for what they want to produce with the situated conditions and contingencies that affect their practice? In Becker's influential sociology of art worlds (1974) he asks the important question "who is joining together to produce what events?" (Becker 1974 p.774). His theory of cultural participation is one of a mode of collective action, in which people organise themselves socially through networks of cooperative activity.

Post-structuralism rejects the concept of single, stable interpretations and embraces the tensions in plurality and change. Foucault suggested that eventalisation offers a conceptual way to study the present moment, turning a single event into a discursive formation by acknowledging the multiple processes by which it is constituted.

Eventalisation works by "constructing around the singular event analysed as process a 'polygon' or 'polyhedron' of intelligibility, the number of whose faces is not given in advance and can never properly be taken as finite" (Foucault 1991 p.77). This makes visible the practices, techniques, processes, theoretical choices and discourses that gave

rise to it, so rather than treating it as a self-evident singularity this creates a discursive formation with a range of facets on the same problem to work on. Foucault used the method to understand how a subject is constructed by processes and discourses, but it is possible to see the benefit of using such an approach to see how a festival is constructed.

The production of culture perspective

According to Getz (2010), mixing theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches within the field of festival studies would open up further possibilities for understanding the value of festivals. The review of the literature around the subject of festivals in Chapter 3 presents a case for a heterotopic understanding of the phenomenon, in which festivals can be simultaneously celebratory, instrumental, escapist, normative, communicative, transgressive, strategic and transformative processes. For the study to be interpretative, critical and reflexive, the methodological development of this project has embraced a plural understanding of the sociology of culture, sensing the utility of multiple “paradigms of inquiry” (Alford 1998 p.32).

Much festival research belongs to a commercial paradigm, in which public events tend to be categorised using axes of size and content and classified as either sport, business or culture (Lamond and Spracklen 2015). Public events are often differentiated using a for-profit / not for profit binary. A recent Working Paper (Macmillan 2013) had looked at some of the impacts and commercial practices of several European arts festivals, a definition that included music and film festivals. These were analysed by way of their relationship with funders and the conditions of their patronage, so of importance in the analysis were issues around the mix of public / private funding, the support of local authorities and the ownership of original material and intellectual property. This piece of research had four taxonomic starting points, which were:

Whether the festival is privately or publicly funded;

Whether the festival is aimed at a “professional” audience or at the general public;

Whether the primary purpose of the festival is the marketing of discrete cultural products (for example, books, films, music) or is the generation or development of creative interactions;

Whether the subject matter of the festival falls within the possible scope of copyright protection (that is, the so-called creative arts) or not.

Macmillan 2013 (p.4)

To produce the data, the festivals' websites were surveyed for evidence of funding arrangements from which two models emerged, 'subsidy' and 'mixed business', a difference which appeared to affect the balance of aesthetic and commercial logic and the types of creative production that occurred. Because of the conditions of the festival's patronage, the actual form that made up the content of its cultural events became problematic in an interesting way. Patronage of film festivals in particular was thought to be problematic because "aesthetic considerations governing film as an art-form are embedded in a process of commodification" (Macmillan 2013 p.6). Film festivals have a role in showcasing new films for marketing and commercial distribution purposes. National histories as 'proper' culture seemed to carry more weight with those particular funders or patrons than a commercial or populist position. Achieving a balance of commercial and aesthetic, while paying attention to the strategic objectives of funders, depends on understanding the festival as not merely a product but rather an event (Macmillan 2013).

The production of culture perspective, originally developed by Peterson in 1976 to "better understand contexts in which cultural symbols are consciously created" (Peterson and Anand 2004 p.324) has been helpful in keeping this inquiry on course. Their methodology was built on sociological foundations, drawing on the work of Becker (1974) who had already shown how common modes of cultural production depended on the co-operation of a number of people and involved networks of cooperative activity. His theory had challenged the view of the production of artforms as being works of individual genius. He showed how creative practices are also mediated by conventions, or as Becker put it "agreements that have become part of the conventional way of doing things" (Becker 1974 p.770). Crucially, the way Becker saw these 'conventions' as social structures offered a bridge to connect the different approaches to studying culture between humanities and social science disciplines. "Seen this way, the concept of convention provides a point of contact between humanists and sociologists, being interchangeable with such familiar sociological ideas as norm, rule, shared understanding, custom or folkway, all referring in one way or another to the ideas and understandings people hold in common and through which they effect cooperative activity" (Becker 1974 p.771).

The production of culture perspective developed by Peterson and Anand goes further, to

acknowledge that symbolic elements in cultural production can be by-products, rather than the purpose of, collective activity (Peterson and Anand 2004 p.311) and it theorised that if any one of six 'facets' identified by Peterson and Anand in the field of production was changed, it could catalyse changes in the others⁷. Becker had not neglected to talk about the possibility for change in his thesis, either. "Conventions make collective action simpler and less costly in time, energy and other resources; but they do not make unconventional work impossible... Change can occur, as it often does, whenever someone devises a way to gather the greater resources required." (Becker 1974 p.775).

The conditions or conventions of cultural production are in some ways similar to what May and Perry (2011) would call the context, in their work on the conditions of academic production; in order to explain the content of what is produced, it is equally important to understand the relationship between modes of production and the conditions of their constitution (May 2005). Practice is shaped by the contexts and cultures in which the practitioners work.

In a study of the cultural production sector in Manchester, O'Connor (1997) used the term deliberately so that attention was focussed on those involved in the production of cultural goods. This meant not attempting to audit or to measure economic impact, or "emphasise 'artists' or 'creatives' at the expense of all those others that are vital to the sector as a whole" (p.8). The value of creative production had to include activities that sometimes evade statistical analysis in other creative industry studies to grasp "the complex context or infrastructure within which this takes place" (p.8). This included venues and distribution. He gives as examples when "café bars show new art work and book shops have the best literary performances in town" (p.11) and says that exploring the relationship between production and infrastructure can reveal important processual elements, such as when creative designers become manufacturers, or distributors of cultural products become producers themselves.

The production of culture perspective is also helpful because it can be used in conjunction with other perspectives, such as historical or critical research. Maintaining an awareness of the complex historical dimensions or narratives of a contemporary research problem

⁷ technology, law and regulation, industry structure, organization structure, occupational careers and market. (Peterson and Anand 2004 p.311)

allows ongoing transformations of the macro conditions in which individuals negotiate meaningful experiences to be taken into account.

This study has been designed to explore the production and the conditions of the production of culture. In it, meanings and experiences are prioritised over any measurable impacts or effects. A study that focused on the festival's reception would have required a different research question and orientation. While festivals are usually interested in capturing audience feedback in some form, festival programmers and directors do not see themselves as responding to demand, but rather influencing it (Rolfe 1992). The approach taken has been to move away from forms of impacts, measurement and reception to construct a discursive formation around the production of the phenomenon. The available literature on the study of festivals throughout history, summarised in Chapter three, offers three theoretically informed frameworks for understanding festivals; 'time out of time', 'node in the network' and 'the cultural public sphere. It is important to be clear that these are not intended to stand in for a hypothesis, instead the structure of the thesis tracks the rolling critical dialogue that has produced it, linking evidence and theory in a process of retroduction.

A perspective on the intermediary

The notion of cultural intermediary is "a productive device" (Maguire and Matthews 2012 p.551) for thinking about urban creative economies; "cultural intermediary research offers an important complement to the study of cultural production, within which questions of agency are typically focused on consumers, and questions of power on institutions" (Maguire and Matthews 2012 p.551). The cultural intermediary is an 'imaginary' that is often discussed in relation to new career possibilities in the creative and cultural industries (O'Connor 2013) and is used to show how somebody can draw on their knowledge and cultural capital to make aesthetic choices reflexively.

Cultural intermediaries must intuitively navigate the expanding sphere of culture, but institutional roles are made in part by discourses that "come to be enacted and operationalised in economic and social procedures or actual practices." (Fairclough 2012

p.459). Material and discursive constructs, as well as particular locations in networks, can be both enabling and constraining to the intermediary, but are necessary conditions for their claims to expertise and authenticity. In a dialectical position, they make claims, while their own position is contestable, “cultural intermediaries make, and are made by, categories of cultural legitimacy” (Maguire and Matthews 2012 p.553).

A somewhat different view of the intermediary that is just as productive is the one proposed by Terry Eagleton (2004) in which the intermediary is an ‘agent provocateur’ whose ambiguous position affords them a degree of autonomy. “To be inside and outside a position at the same time – to occupy a territory while loitering skeptically on the boundary – is often where the most intensely creative ideas stem from. It is a resourceful place to be, if not always a painless one” (Eagleton 2004, p.40). Maguire and Matthews call for a context-based approach to this problem, “foregrounding questions about the objective and subjective conditions of their work” (p.553). For the people who have agreed to participate in this study and be interviewed about their roles, the personal is professional.

Summary

Methods employed in the course of research into cultural phenomena also have relationships with epistemological positions. This chapter concludes that there is no right or wrong way to study cultural phenomena, there are a range of approaches that have different orientations, priorities and intended outcomes. Festival studies have often been evaluative and some of these have found ways to typologise festivals, which is an approach that is useful to particular disciplines. It has been suggested elsewhere that mixing theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches has the potential to open up other possibilities for understanding the value of festivals (Getz 2010, Lamond and Spracklen 2015). Because the event is situated spatially and temporally, it creates a threshold to be crossed. Benjamin’s ‘at first sight’ perspective offers a method to interrogate the dialectics of social worlds as they are experienced in the field.

This study is also interested in issues around process and change. It aimed to examine the phenomenon in a way that could pay attention to the the texts and discourses, the

material means of cultural production, the meanings contained in cultural forms, and how festivals can be politically situated cultural practices. The production of culture perspective was developed to understand the contexts in which symbolic cultural forms are created and it foregrounds questions about the conditions or the context of production to alert the interpretive analyst or critical researcher to how different conditions can produce different effects. Cultural intermediary research also has the effect of foregrounding the agency of those involved in cultural production. Paying attention to their narrative accounts may help to understand the conditions of their work and how they contribute themselves to how their roles are made.

The theoretical approach is therefore to examine a (possibly infinite) number of different 'working surfaces' on the phenomenon, to build a discursive formation leading to interpretative understanding, the production of new research approaches and the potential for new theoretical directions to emerge. The next chapter documents how a research strategy has developed and the methodology developed, explaining the criteria for how selections were made and the methods used.

Chapter five. Methodological perspectives and research strategy

Although it presents itself as a single phenomenon, the festival is actually a kind of meta-text, or an assemblage of texts and discourses, a composite of different realities, symbolic and contingent, or a situated set of events and understandings which are comprehensible only in context. The spatial and temporal aspects of a festival's form and mode of participation creates a series of thresholds to be crossed, the entering of a bounded space generates experiential, sensory elements to the experience that are perhaps hard to capture, but nonetheless important to try and describe. Given the extremely networked nature and the modes of working that characterise cultural sectors, it was not expected that the study sites would have neat boundaries and the inductive approach taken to the research inevitably made it an iterative and selective process. Phases of observation involved back and forth movements, going out to events then 'coming back' and reflecting on what had been discovered, adjusting the study, going out again with slightly different set of questions. The data in this study was collected through these observations, experiences and interactions with space and place, while interviews explored the relationship between production and infrastructure and its shifts over time.

The first part of this chapter will explain the theoretical rationale for a qualitative study of festivals and discuss the 'researcher as instrument' in ethnographic fieldwork, giving consideration to the importance of reflexivity in social research. The second part goes on to outline the actual approach taken and the strategy used in detail and in a progression of stages. From mapping and categorising to developing the criteria used and choosing where to start to fieldwork, selecting respondents and conducting interviews, the choices made are explained and justified.

The body of the research is grounded in empirical inquiry, but it engages with and is informed by theory as part of its inductive and iterative process. The chapter ends with a brief description of each of the three festivals selected for further research.

Why qualitative research?

This study began with questions about the meaning of cultural practices within an institutional framework, but without a sole hypothesis to test. The production of culture perspective, discussed in the previous chapter, is an orientation rather than a specific methodology, so developing a methodology for this study was a matter of informed judgement.

Taking into account what Getz (2010) and others have already said about taking a more interpretative approach to festivals, this research aimed to theoretically and critically appraise the festivals it studied, rather than conduct surveys of them or measure their impacts. Festivals have frequently been studied for their outcomes, but this project has concentrated on the meanings of their deliberately assembled texts, forms and content and how the presentation of these is regulated or constrained (to an extent) by the conventions of event management, aesthetic practice and institutional objectives.

To preserve the dynamic pluralism found in the literature on festivals (summarised in Chapter three) the phenomenon of university festivals was approached using qualitative methods brought together under the umbrella terms of interpretative and 'imaginative' research (Jacobsen et al 2013). Because this study is also interested in questions of political transformation and its effects, it aimed for a critical outlook (Carroll 2004). This meant questioning ways of doing things and taking a position on the epistemological and ontological basis of social inquiry. As a study of festivals is a form of social and cultural research it is important to situate the research within a broader set of questions about how to apply the tools of research to a research problem.

The tools used are determined by the methodological framework, which reflects the underlying approach; "a methodological framework rooted in positivist assumption will employ different methods from one embedded in a constructivist framework, with the former more likely to rely on standardised metrics and quantifiable units of analysis and the latter on qualitative and narrative approaches to meet its primary concern with meaning-making" (Crossick and Kaszynska 2016 p.120).

The sociology of culture is full of paradigms and positions, agendas, techniques and modes of analysis which are claimed by knowledge domains, or disciplines in different ways (Hall 1999). Social research employs a diverse range of methods including, but not limited to, experiments, surveys, interviews, observation, biographies, diaries, archives and datasets. For studies of social or cultural phenomena to be critical, Alford (1998) suggests they must move up the causal chain from observation, interpretation and categorization to a reflection on the conditions of production. He suggests that when the researcher is interested in institutional rationalities that may cause, inhibit or inflect culture's effects, the interpretative paradigm is used in conjunction with the historical.

Qualitative sociology offers the means to produce an appropriate methodology to study culture's socio-cultural or political dimensions because it considers the relationship between social structures, social events and human agency in an interpretative paradigm, it is interested in meanings, theories and concepts. Qualitative methods do not belong to a single discipline, they are associated with an interpretive view of the social world and are centred on individual experiences and meaning-making (Denzin and Lincoln 2003). Other studies of festivals have been sources of inspiration, as shown in the last chapter, but looking at their methodology also meant thinking hard about the kinds of data those approaches would produce.

The inductive methodological approach taken comes from the tradition of cultural sociology or cultural studies, where methods such as textual analysis, participant observation and interviews construct an interpretative dialogue around the subject. This study has involved fieldwork. Unlike quantitative research, where the research processes tends to be planned at the start, immersion in the field is often the first phase of an inquiry.

Ethnography is an interdisciplinary research approach, originating in anthropology, thought to be suitable for the examination of the social world of event participants and the meanings people bring to events (Holloway, Brown and Shipway 2010). It is a methodology for studying "the immediate sociocultural contexts in which human existence unfolds" (Jorgensen 1989 p.12) which makes it good for exploratory studies such as this and exceptionally suitable for studying the appearance of something new.

Limitations of the method include its context-sensitivity, as the results are specific to the

cultural setting and cannot be generalised, but also its irreproducibility and potential bias. Decisions have to be made on the level of involvement or participation and how recordings will be made. "By attending the event even as a passive spectator, the researcher becomes a participant in the event, taking part in the social setting" (Mackellar 2013 p.58).

The study has also been interested in texts, which includes the social texts produced by interactions between people. As Fairclough (2012) pointed out, social events have semiotic dimensions. His approach to textual analysis is based in critical realism and asserts that as constituent parts of the social world, social events, objects and institutions are parts of social reality (Fairclough 2012). Social objects have "causal powers" (Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer 2004 p.25) and these are used selectively in discourse by human actors. Discourses can become enacted in the inculcation of new identities or new subjects to the extent that people start to see themselves in their terms. A critical awareness of these discursive language practices keeps the researcher alert to ways in which human subjects are being constructed within hegemonic systems of power: "We may say that social agents produce events in occasioned and situated ways" (Fairclough 2012 p.457). It is a realist perspective, but the methodology can be used "in dialogue with other disciplines and theories which are addressing contemporary processes of social change" (Fairclough 2012 p.452). The use of this mode of thought helps to preserve the political critique of those responsible for the reproduction in discourse of dominance and inequality (van Dijk 1993) and so it is productive for this thesis to apply his ideas on the role of instrumental discourses to the social transformation of HE.

Other approaches to studying social organisation have preferred to view humans as active agents in making meanings, rather than assume they are passive recipients of social forces. In Becker's influential sociology of art worlds (1974) he asks the important question "who is joining together to produce what events?" (Becker 1974 p.774). His theory of cultural participation is as a mode of collective action. He takes the view that people organising themselves socially involves networks of cooperative activity that are mediated by conventions. When studying the motivations and attitudes of individual cultural workers, qualitative evidence can be seen as the only way to 'get at' the reality of cultural work and the emergent subjectivities in these fields (Oakley 2009 p.22). In the

context of university engagement, Perry (2011) believes that individuals and individual institutions are overlooked in the wider analysis and the interviews with individual members of festival production at different levels aimed to address this issue. The combination of methods produces an intersubjective and multi-disciplinary discursive formation around the phenomenon of university festivals, in which social events are produced by networks made up of active and self-reflexive human agents and imaginaries materialised as modes of discourse. "Combining ethnographic observations of numerous incidents with subsequent informal conversations with those present is a powerful data collection strategy" (Charmaz 2014 p.23). The approach here distinguishes between an 'external' structural and material world and the lived 'inner' subjective experiences of the individual.

Within this multidimensional matrix of concepts, meanings and ideas is the researcher, part of the phenomenon they are researching, a human participant in the observing and sense-making practices, organising the workflow and making choices. This is an approach that calls for a high level of personal reflexivity.

Reflexive researcher: an objective / subjective dilemma.

In social research, especially in ethnographic and participation-based studies, where the researcher is also the research tool, the way social structures are comprehended is bound to be affected by the researcher's own social position and experience. Even the choice of topic and strategy reflects the researcher's curiosity and standpoint (Wodak 1999). Taking a perspective positions the observer, whose point of view depends on their own practice and position in the field, whereas an objective account has the effect of insulating or obscuring the narrator. To try and manage the interpellation between social research and social life, May suggests researchers must examine their own positions and the conditions that regulate them using a mediation between "gaze and position" (May 2007 p.121). Giving an account of ourselves in relation to the object of knowledge in this way encourages self-reflexivity. Having made these points, here is where parts of the thesis start to become narrated in the 'first-person' voice. I feel I should account for myself, which means including in this chapter on the methodology some of the extra-academic

experiences that have informed the direction of the study and the interpretation of the findings through a series of questions and reflexive problematisation, to consciously and deliberately include my personal experiences and account for my affective presence within the research, as an active part of the culture I have studied. My account is not impartial neither does it aim for any sense of detachment from the chosen topic, rather I have drawn on my experience and subjectivity as a self-reflexively positioned participant within the field, not only as scholar studying universities, but as festival organiser going to festivals, a curator of content and creator of festival events. In the 25 years prior to starting this PhD, I have attended countless festivals as a spectator, I have worked at some of them in various roles and organised events at several more. As a contributing member of film festival organising teams in Bradford and Leeds, I had become interested in activities that connected festivals and universities and observed how my colleagues worked with researchers, senior lecturers and PhD students to devise, source and present thematic programmes and how academics provided contextualising introductions at events and participated in post-screening Q&A sessions. During the early part of the PhD I participated in the Being Human festival run by University of London and AHRC. These experiences inspired the selection of this topic but it makes me part of the culture I am studying and I have just declared an involvement in the field.

How has my background experience counted? With an academic background in cultural studies and cultural policy studies, I am interested in questions of access to and the circulation of cultural texts, objects and discourses. I am particularly interested in those cultural experiences not determined by the market, or that are 'beyond the mainstream' and how this produces effects within the cultural economy. Because of these experiences and orientations, I felt that it was important that I had no pre-existing connections with the festivals I was studying and that their events were being held in unfamiliar places. This approach was also useful for disrupting tacit knowledge of festival environments where I have worked. Despite having a good level of access to some potential research sites through contacts and networks, it was felt that prior knowledge of places and emotional connections with them could have affected my judgement.

This choice to start with festivals that were previously unknown to me was also influenced by Benjamin's 'at first glance' methodology. Many of the festival events observed took place in unusual locations and the fieldnotes account for the experience of a researcher locating, travelling to or entering unfamiliar settings and where possible, notes were made about the subjective feelings produced by attending them.

Deciding on a fieldwork-based research strategy also raised issues of travel and finances, which had impacts on the choices of event and festival attendance. It would have been more difficult, for example, to have studied a festival in another country. Before embarking on the PhD I didn't own an internet enabled mobile device, having previously been on low wage, insecure employment contracts. Yet it soon became clear that I couldn't fully participate in the events I was attending by not having internet access and I repeatedly got lost navigating my way on public transport to new places.

Has my practice changed over this period? While I have remained grounded in my local networks of production, I have extended them through this research to include some of the people I have encountered through the research interests and the experience of these festivals has prepared me for deeper participation in discussions and made me think more critically at all times when I engage with film. I hope then, that this thesis works as a provocation for cultural producers who would like to work with universities or academics to encourage them find the opportunities and circumstances to do so and to understand the contexts and conditions that they will have to negotiate in the process.

Research strategy

The intention to produce a discursive formation around the phenomenon of university festivals had practical implications, such as the selection of individual festivals to focus on and when to begin. Initial research into the university festival phenomenon in 2013 quickly revealed over 70 festivals were, a number that has been upwardly revised throughout the research period as new discoveries were made. The majority of this work was desk based, although the direction the research took was influenced by a few scoping visits to UK cities and universities.

Festival programmes can often be downloaded as PDF files and they can contain huge amounts of statements, pictures, information about partners and sponsors, director's 'welcomes' and the written copy about individual events. A qualitative analysis of the available documents produced by festivals gave an overview of the programmes of events, locations and collaborating partners. The field was mapped systematically by conducting a series of online searches using the name of a UK HEI⁸ and the word festival together and locating these sorts of documents. One drawback with this method was that it was not always easy to tell if the festival had been one-off event or one that took place on an annual basis, another was that it was laborious and the results rather hit or miss. For example, searching for Edge Hill University using Google revealed links between the university and the Liverpool International Music Festival, the Liverpool International Gothic Festival in 2013 and a festival called Creative Animation Knowledge Exchange, but didn't reveal a known link to the international touring programme of the Annual Ann Arbor Film Festival until page three of the search results. The method had other drawbacks; some university-festival partnerships had a web presence more effectively optimised for search engines, these included the UCL's Festival of the Arts, the University of Cambridge's Festival of Ideas, the University of Warwick's annual Book Festival, the Bangor Science Festival, Liverpool Hope University's Cornerstone Arts Festival and University of Leicester's Festival of Postgraduate Research. Internet analytics also meant that the results of searches were weighted towards the North West of England, due to the IP address used.

⁸ The annual TES University Rankings list was used as the basis for this method.

City visits produced different insights. The desk based research had found that University of Sheffield presents an interdisciplinary festival called The Festival of the Mind every two years. During a visit to Sheffield in 2013, I noticed logos for Sheffield Hallam University and the University of Sheffield's student union printed on front cover of the brochure for 'Off The Shelf', Sheffield's 'festival of words', indicating a high level of interaction between both HEIs and festival. Both institutions also appeared as 'major sponsors' of Doc / Fest documentary film festival in the same year.

A printed guide to the Autumn Season of the Bristol Festival of Ideas, picked up while attending Encounters Film Festival in September 2013, had "In association with University of Bristol" printed on the front cover, it also listed the University of the West of England as a festival supporter inside the back cover. University of Bristol was discovered to be a founding member of the first Festival of Ideas in 2004 with Bristol Cultural Development Partnership, part of Bristol's bid to be Capital of Culture in 2008⁹. The programme for the Norfolk and Norwich Festival 2014, picked up on a family visit, is organised by the two local authorities in partnership with the Arts Council. Its sponsors were mostly businesses and its cultural and commissioning partners were other arts organisations such as Sadler's Wells and The Barbican in London, however, a closer look at the guide revealed an exhibition of artist's film co-commissioned with the gallery at Norwich University of the Arts and an outdoor event held in the sports centre at University of East Anglia.

The ephemeral nature of a festival's presence in its host institutions and in the city, and the somewhat vague nature of some of the partnership arrangements, required the continual application of effort and patience to the problem of how to categorise and understand the results being produced. As festival programmes with HEIs were logged, a typology of university-festivals was also attempted. (See Appendix 1).

Some of the festivals that universities choose to host or present can be seen to be matters of prestige for the institution. In this bracket are some established annual festivals that have a new host institution every year, they include The British Science Festival, organised by the British Science Association, which was held at Newcastle University in 2013, the University of Surrey in 2014, the University of Bradford in 2015

⁹ A 'Festival of Ideas' is also held by University of Cambridge each year, their first one was in 2008. The University of York started one in 2011.

and Swansea University in 2016. Other festivals organised in a similar way include the ESRC Festival of Social Science and The National Student Drama Festival.

Some festivals discovered in this period were best viewed as showcases of the work of creative arts students, such as University of Salford's Create festival, or the Free Range graduate show in London. Some universities take part in or organise genre-specific festivals, such as film festivals and music festivals.

Although time consuming as an approach, what began to emerge from this first phase of research was a conceptual field of university-festivals, encompassing a range of different forms or modes of interaction. The classification system evolved into a more heuristic device that allowed the findings to be grouped together and guided the selection of examples that might yield the most compelling insights. The problem with this mapping method was that it produced a huge amount of results; it seemed that all UK universities were strategic partners in at least one festival, or more, or many. Or to approach the same problem from another direction, many cities are in a year round state of almost constant festival of one kind or another and a great number of these festivals demonstrated links with universities. As the data grew more complex and varied, the classification of each one found was abandoned in favour of basic details on a spreadsheet and a shortlist according to the perceived suitability of individual festivals to fulfil the aims and objectives of the study.

Criteria properties

In order to make the study more focused and manageable, a shortlist of festivals was needed that could provide locations for collecting evidence and producing data. For there to be some consistency, potential sites for further research had to have some comparable characteristics. A cluster (Gaut 2000) of individual festivals was produced using a set of conditions, features or criteria properties which I developed for this study, these are first presented point by point and then justified below.

- 1) Is an annual event that is sustained and cyclical, demonstrating ongoing support and investment.
- 2) Involves the presentation of multiple public events listed in a printed festival programme and place these or other advertising for its events off-campus.
- 3) To have started no earlier than 2010.
- 4) Presents aspects of work undertaken and activities carried out in universities to the public (these can include research based activities or the practices of other university-based communities such as student clubs or societies, for example).
- 5) The festival's publications display or suggest links, networks and associations with the local creative and cultural sector.

It was important that the festival was sustained and cyclical. The intention to repeat a large scale, public event annually indicates a commitment on the part of the organisers and institution. "Sustainability implies that an event has merit from a particular point of view or related to a specific set of criteria" (Brown et al 2015 p.137). Festivals, as can be seen in chapter three, are inherently a cyclical phenomenon, different to the 'mega-event', they represent a moment that is returned to and marks a specific point in the year. 'Festival' is thought to be distinguishable from other cultural programmes by an intensity of event frequency that would be considered unsustainable year-round, particularly when held across a range of venues; if a festival takes a certain form and is placed at a particular cultural institution, it can more accurately be thought of as a 'season' (Rolfe 1992). Studying an event that repeats annually also offered a way of observing some sort of progression.

The printed programme is a material metaphor for the experience of a festival, it is an assemblage of symbolic texts, contextualising information, statements of intent and so on. It also acts to partition festival activities from other, similar events, collecting the experiences within one bounded instance. The placing of these materials as well other

promotional items such as posters, flyers in off campus venues, as well as advertising in magazines or producing press releases for the media, demonstrates the level of effort to which organisers have gone to engage with 'off campus' communities and attract non-academic audiences to the festival.

The date the festival first started is significant to this study because it takes the 2010 spending review that followed the economic crash in 2007/8, the change in British Government and the start of a new funding regime for UK universities (Browne 2010, Department of Business, Innovations and Skills 2011) as important fixed points. The study is interested in grasping how these conditions might be influencing the cultural production and cultural identity of UK HE institutions, acknowledging that such production depends on a number of individual and institutional actors (Becker 1974, Peterson and Anand 2004).

The last two criterial properties ensure that the university can be seen to be part of the 'distributed field' or ecosystem upon which the cultural economy is thought to depend, characterised by flows, networks and connections.

The application of these five criteria narrowed down the original list of festivals suitable for study. Using an added element of researcher intuition, three festivals were selected. The first encounter with an event from the University of Birmingham Arts and Science Festival (UBASF) programme was also serendipitous. While attending a festival in Birmingham called Flatpack Festival in March 2013, I selected a film screening which was simultaneously presented in partnership with the UBASF. This event was a screening of 'The Adventures of Prince Achmed' (Lotte Reiniger, 1926) set in a prestigious building on the University's campus. Keen in the early stages of the research to experience as many collaborative festival events with university partners as possible, this screening provided a way to visit the campus and see its previously unknown buildings, grounds and gallery spaces. Once at the venue, it became apparent that the event had been co-produced in partnership with a simultaneous, new, week-long festival, the Arts and Science Festival.

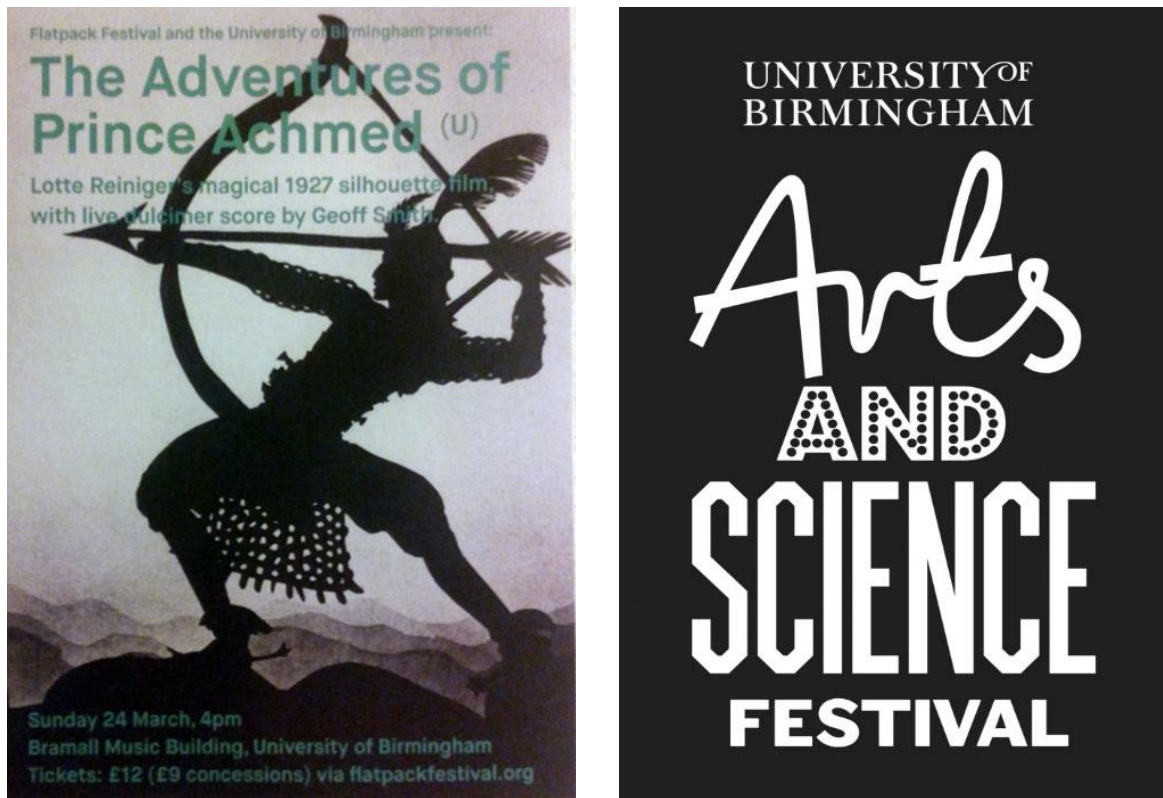


Figure 1: Two promotional images for the festival at The University of Birmingham in 2013

At the start of the research period I was already a user of online messaging platforms Facebook and Twitter. These short bursts of information have sometimes been the first point of encounter with festivals in the study. A new festival called Humanities in Public that launched in Manchester late in 2013 was discovered serendipitously, while browsing around the subject of the (at that time) London-based Being Human festival of the Humanities on Twitter. Humanities in Public has an unusual form for a festival, as events take place throughout the duration of the academic year. In 2013 / 2014 its programme listed over twenty events and twenty-six different partner organisations.

While working at the Leeds International Film Festival in November 2013, I met a film maker from Brighton who had travelled to the festival to present a film. He mentioned a festival which he'd helped to set up, the Bristol Radical Film Festival (BRFF), but he was no longer running it. From this conversation it became apparent that this festival had been organised by staff and students at University of West England. The name of the week-long festival was familiar, but this aspect of its production had not immediately been obvious in their publications.

These three festivals became the basis of the next phase of the research. This was a sample which also, at the simplest level, represented one of each of the following university-based communities:

- a single discipline
- a department, school or institute
- an entire institution

Fieldwork sessions of observation then took place at three festivals in the cities of Birmingham, Manchester and Bristol, the universities involved in producing these festivals were University of Birmingham, Manchester Metropolitan University and University of the West of England.

According to the criterial properties above, all festivals studied were to be at least a week long, produce illustrated, printed A5 sized brochures listing their events and have websites or areas of the host institution's website displaying information about the festival.

Setting out the 'phrases'

The empirical work was carried out in the same way in three places, which could suggest that these were three case studies. This section examines how case study techniques are conceptualised and employed in empirical research and considers the alternatives.

Case study research can involve either single or multiple cases. In the disciplines of business, law or medicine, case studies are presented as examples, or used for instructional purposes (Tight 2010). The case is a staple technique of sociological and anthropological research, where it provides a way to 'zoom in' on a particular geographic area or a community of individuals and gain a more holistic view than a study of an entire population would offer. As a research strategy it "focuses on understanding the dynamics present within single settings" (Eisenhardt 1989 p.534). An often quoted definition of the case study is "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not

clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used” (Yin 1984 p.23). This definition seemed applicable in this project, as studies at three sites were limited physically and temporally, but without clear boundaries. Also, understanding context was one of the guiding principles of the study.

Qualitative case studies pay close attention to individuals, their interrelationships and the meanings they attach to social processes, but have the drawback of being unable to speak in more generalising terms. Because the qualitative researcher uses methods such as participant observation, content analysis and interviews, case studies could be (and have been) critiqued for their lack of rigour and objectivity. The status of the case has been advocated and interrogated throughout the history of social research, producing a “plethora of critiques and defences” (Perry 2011 p.220). To conceive of the three festivals as three discrete case studies did not seem quite the right approach to take, the basis for this reasoning is as follows.

Firstly, the university-festival itself could potentially be viewed as a ‘case’ amongst other public engagement techniques.

Secondly, Iordanova and Rhyne (2009) suggest that in festival studies as a discipline there is a need to go beyond case studies of individual festivals and focus on the dynamics of the whole circuit; its economy and supply chains, its politics, modes of organisation, realities of practice and the interests of its stakeholders.

Thirdly, festivals tend to ‘badge’ a large number of events simply because they happen between particular dates, but upon closer inspection, many of these can be seen to be part of thematic cultural programmes presented by universities on a year-round basis, which supports taking the ‘circuit’ approach. Festivals are highly networked, the same texts, exhibits, people, organisations and even festival organisers are encountered in different festivals.

In a traditional view, the case study adds to knowledge by 'theorising' the social world (Eisenhardt 1989). It does this by offering a basis for comparison, or it can be used to make generalising assumptions across a larger class of similar phenomena (Gerring 2004). Although each of the three festival studies, as with cases, offers a "vantage point" (Perry 2011 p.221) from which to draw conclusions, when the considerable differences between these festivals were taken into account, and as one of the aims of the thesis was to be sensitive to the issue of subjectivity in both researcher and those being researched, the phenomenon called for a context-specific study to capture the unique conditions of its production.

Knowledge in this study developed in an incremental way. It seemed unlikely that one festival study could produce knowledge about others and attempts at a comprehensive overview of a single festival could also be easily undermined by another festivalgoer's entirely different experience. Festival events aren't generally conceived by the organisers to be a linear progression of ideas from one event to another, but imagined as unique events brought together under the festival umbrella. For practical reasons, the amount of time spent in observation at each city location was influenced by logistical arrangements and, of course, with multiple events occurring on some days, it was never going to be possible to observe everything. Individual events were selected to maximise the variety of forms, places and production techniques experienced at each festival. So while this is still a form of *case-based* research, its theoretical development in this area has also been guided by the concept of phrases (Fuller and Goriunova 2012). Phrases are useful for tracing 'line and dot' networks without losing their social, cultural and material complexity. In this approach, work progresses in a series of micro-to-macro objects which are "entities in their own terms at a certain scale, but also as mediations of part-whole relation" (p.163). Individual events were selected to maximise the variety of forms, places and production techniques experienced at each festival. A minimum of six initial events were chosen from the programmes of selected festivals.

Form, document and encounter

Before attending selected festivals in person, printed documents and other ephemera relating to the festival and the university's other cultural programmes were collected and assembled during the course of the study and their content analysed. Festival guides were requested by post and viewed online, the festival's social media channels were checked regularly and other web searches made to pull together a body of evidence about the presentation of the festival. Screenshots of news pages on websites and of tweets and ephemeral messages were saved as jpegs and filed for future reference. All three festivals studied were a week long, produced illustrated, colour printed A5 sized brochures listing the events and had either dedicated websites or areas of the institution's website that displayed information about the festival. The public presentation of a festival, the words, phrases, images, colours and symbols found in brochures provide texts to be analysed.

The documentary analysis focussed mainly on three things:

- presentation of images and information, particularly anything regarding the festival's purpose or objectives.

- what was produced 'internally' for the festival, such as symposia or commissioned works of art, and what was 'imported', sourced from existing circuits of cultural distribution and dissemination.

- partners and collaborators from lines of text or logos in the guide.

Documents that were collected in advance, during and after the fieldwork were analysed. The documents contained outlines of and images relating to the events selected for the fieldwork stage. Working through all the symbolic materials, ideas and discourses represented therein led to further questions; why was the content selected and what issues did it address? What kind of contribution did an organisation make to the festival production for its logo to appear in the printed guide? The time of year the festival was held, the venues, event formats, prices, and so on were encountered at this documentary analysis stage and suggested further questions to ask festival organisers later, in interviews.

Fieldwork: conduct and ethics

Entry to the events was initially negotiated as a member of the public, as all of the events were accessible to the public and tickets could easily be obtained. If the event was free, a name usually had to be added to a list of participants, in these instances the researcher's own name was used. Some events were simply drop-in and needed no advance registration. During the actual visits to festival events, ethnographic observations and subjective impressions were made about the experience of visiting, including detailed observations of organisers, facilitators and performers, their behaviour, things that were said, the content of the event, the environment and the institution in general. Some photographs were taken to make visual records of events, if it was not thought be disruptive to proceedings, while written notes were made constantly.

A few rules concerning managing conduct during the periods of participant observation were created for when in the field, observing events. These included how to pay for tickets, how to explain the reason for attending, whether to contribute to the discussion parts of events or not or to reveal membership of film exhibition networks, or to try to avoid this line of conversation. The penultimate rule was particularly hard to stick to, particularly when the audiences were very small, and once involved in the discussion it was more common for people to continue conversations after the event. If questioned, the PhD as real reason for attending was not hidden. In ethnographic research, participant observation has been described by Bourdieu as a "necessarily fictitious immersion" (2003 p.282), he wrote that what needed to be objectivised were "the structures of the space of positions" that determine the academic's conditions of possibility. As a white, female, forty year-old post-graduate researcher, my presence at the events was not out of the ordinary, although some organisers began to recognise me after the first few events. This familiarity (or lack of it) was itself evidence of whose labour underpinned the events being studied.

Ethnographic situations are characterised by significant levels of proximity between researcher and researched. There can be many different experiences of participation in a festival, depending on interest and point of view: director, guest, volunteer, audience member, performer. I have performed many of those roles myself, although researcher

was a new role for me in this setting. When the author's own biography overlaps with the research and the insider researcher is a participant in the culture they are studying. Taken from the tradition of cultural sociology or cultural studies, particularly youth culture studies, the idea of the 'insider researcher' (Hodkinson 2005) offers a helpful point of view on this issue. He argues that researchers share with their subjects "an internalised language and a range of experiences" (p.13) and suggests that this ability to participate authentically in activities in a confident manner is a kind of 'cultural competence'.

It was interesting to note that during the periods of ethnographic work, some things that were experienced but not noticed in the field were later remembered or became more noticeable after the event. These experiences also raised questions about what had taken place, but they had to be articulated carefully as they hadn't been obvious in the moment. With the experiential part of the research mostly behind me, I considered the impressions I'd had of what was happening in each place and how they related to what I had read about festivals in advance. Interviews then followed this first stage of analysis, which built on the problematisation of the documentary and fieldwork data, and the interviews were semi-structured as they asked respondents to answer questions on particular aspects of what had been experienced.

Interviews

The interviews represented the final phase in the empirical research, allowing the event organisers to respond to the questions that the research had raised so far and account for aspects of the festival that appeared in the observations made. Where possible I made contact with event producers, festival organisers, departmental managers and other collaborators to invite them to participate in the research.

The study has sought an 'agency-centred narrative' of cultural work (Perry, Smith and Warren 2015). I wanted to know how individuals narrated their roles and what their work entailed. Who selects and from what sources are selections made? How do those who select make claims of expertise? In her study of UK arts festivals, Rolfe (1992) noted that one promoter was anxious to point out that in his view an event could be considered a success "even if attracted only 10 people" (Rolfe 1992 p.74). This detail is included here

because it indicates a level of subjectivity that can be captured through qualitative methods.

Interviews were conducted with twenty people connected to the festivals above between 2014 and 2015. All respondents had been undergraduates at European HEIs and at least sixteen of them had studied for higher degrees. Two were in the early stages of an academic career, four were senior lecturers and four were professors.

When seeking willing respondents in her study of cultural work within an HE institution (her own), McRobbie (2004) used a strategy of 'self presenting'. Because she had identified this place as a 'hub' of activity, she expected that her colleagues and others in the hub would naturally come forward as members of the cultural production networks she wanted to study. I am drawn to this idea of self-selection as it explains the way respondents have been included in this study. By organising events at a public festival, they have put themselves forward, so the sampling of respondents was not predicated on any criteria other than they presented themselves to the researcher through their activity and respondents were simply selected for their ability to reflect on and report the events experienced.

The sampling of respondents was iterative-strategic in order to maximise access to the phenomenon itself. Having tacit and reflexive knowledge of these kind of practices proved useful, as knowing what running a festival involves meant knowing what signs to look for. The organisers at festivals are the ones with the knowledge, the contacts and the authority to make on the spot decisions. They are concerned with how the events appear. They introduce events and then leave, they can be seen standing in corridors on the phone outside events spaces, they are often leaving as soon as an event gets started to go to another one. Even if they are trying to remain anonymous, it is possible to see them handing over papers to colleagues, greeting guests and speakers or accompanying them until they have entered the room. They will also often be wearing a festival T-shirt. It is possible that a person may have held multiple roles in the planning, design and production of a festival.

The study employed a mix of 'recruitment' methods, from face to face at events to email contact, twitter conversations and introductions through other participants. Participation was voluntary and interviews were expected to take about an hour. For ethical reasons,

when each respondent was formally approached for an interview appointment, they were given a copy of the Participant Information Sheet and the Consent Form agreed with the research institution. The Participant Information Sheet (see Appendix 2) mentioned my experience of the realities of festival work so that respondents might perceive me to be 'clued-up'. Hodgkinson (2005) suggests that 'insider' status offers substantial advantages when using qualitative interviews, they represent a two-way exchange rather than question-and-answer technique, enhancing their quality and effectiveness of questioning.

The schedule of interviews allowed for some 'snowballing' meaning the inclusion of other suitable, ancillary, interviewees who might be suggested during a particular phase of the research, as understanding relationships could prove to be significant. Each interview was designed to take about an hour and questions were prepared ahead of time, so in this sense the interviews were semi-structured, but the questions were designed to give people the opportunity to answer in as much detail as they wanted. I allowed at least two hours for each one to accommodate this.

The qualitative contributions added layers of detail and texture to the overall construction of knowledge that the methods of participant observation could only guess at. The first part of each interview aimed to elicit the respondent's biographical details and connection to the university they were associated with. Then they were encouraged to apply the same sort of biographical approach to the festival by asking the question "thinking about the origins of the festival, what was the catalyst? How did the original idea come about?" Other questions were there to prompt them into a discursive response. "Who else was involved from the beginning?" "What were your objectives at the start of the planning process?" and "what were your responsibilities?"

Through biographical narratives individuals construct a coherent and ethical project out of their work and make sense of the identities projected onto them (Paquette 2012), connecting personal motives or subjectivity with the implementation of a work-based or socially imposed identity. May (2011) urges caution regarding the reliability of information produced in interviews, because it is likely that it will only represent a subjective and edited reflection of reality. Narrative accounts have limited recall and personal accounts are highly subjective and selective. The knowledge individuals have of themselves cannot be directly accessed by methodological tools, but is filtered by memory, social

circumstances or emotion (Caetano 2015). The interview data, when used in conjunction with observation and the accounts of others who were involved, can still give valuable insights into the relationships that individuals have with their social contexts, and what an interviewee says and what actually happened are not unconnected. “Generally, people do have the skills to describe [past events]... to talk more or less in detail about what happened and what they felt and thought at the time” (Caetano 2015 p.203).

Respondents were encouraged to talk about their own orientations, motivations, their interests and identities, but for those unwilling to go into much detail, there were other questions about practical concerns. “How did you decide what time of year to hold the festival?” “Were there any objectives to do with teaching, course modules, university deadlines or targets?” The respondents all agreed to an hour for the interview in principle and to be sure to broach the subject of institutional policy and strategy, at around 45 minutes into the interview, questions were asked about what was ‘measured’ at the festival: “what data do you collect?” “why?” and “how is it used?”

“Has any aspect of this data been used for the REF? Or for impact?” and “How about for funding bids, or demonstrating public engagement?” By now the respondent would be aware that I was interested in their position with respect to the metrics and measurement of academic outputs and, as I allowed a minimum of two hours of my time for each interview, there was scope to talk about this for as long as they wished. I then asked another question “If you had the choice, would you like to make the festival a stand-alone festival? And if so what would change?” which was designed to encourage reflection on how they might imagine a different version of the festival, but also how they are afforded their position by the institution. All interviews ended with a question about what the respondent’s favourite non-university festival was.

Interviews were self-transcribed and their analysis began during this process. Interview transcripts were anonymised with a code known only to me and respondents had a choice about how their comments would be treated (see Appendix 3).

Analysis

The analysis of texts had three aspects. There were the cultural texts presented by the festival, such as images, exhibits, films. There were forms of media in circulation around the festival, including printed materials with logos, promotional images, written descriptions constituted one body of evidence. There was also the socially created text, represented by what had been observed and recorded about the venue, which was captured using written notes and photographs as the main forms of documentation. These recorded things like the presentation of the setting, the performances of the presenter, individual speakers and event leaders, the number of people there, what they said and did and so on. What could be inferred from the choice of venue, or the style of presentation? What else happened in the space, who was there, did anybody take control of the events?

Analysis of the festival was an analysis of a 'meta-text', of intertextual connections and the relations between the material and the semiotic elements of the phenomenon. This could be relations between text and form, text and meanings, meanings and discourses, discourses and reception and so on. Festivals have an almost polyphonic social presence. In an encounter with a festival, the social, material and semiotic elements of the phenomenon can be experienced simultaneously and this requires some ordering to make the festival's multiple representations comprehensible. Findings were coded and grouped together and these formed the basis of discursive essays.

From the first encounter with university festivals, it became apparent that developing an understanding of the festival in the context of the networks, geographies, histories and circuits cultural ecologies which they were part would add depth to the study. It became impossible to separate the festivals events from their contexts and for this reason each festival study is presented as a single chapter. The three festival studies have expanded over time through the incorporation of first hand notes and photographs from many research visits and each chapter now represents more than just the festival in isolation. Each empirical chapter includes an introduction to the city context, the information presented in these sections has been gathered from historical sources, academic articles

(often produced by geographers), as well as local planning and policy documents accessed online. Where any significant partnerships and spatial relationships were discovered, they have also been included in this thesis.

In 2015, materials relating to some of the interview respondents were published online in the form of impact case studies submitted to the REF in 2014 by individual departments. When these were examined, they provided an unexpected 'working surface' on the problem (Foucault 1991)¹⁰. Another such 'surface' turned out to be the way that organisers and event producers used web based applications to facilitate their projects. The different types of data obtained were sifted through and ordered so that understandings could develop out of what was common amongst the data.

To broaden the theoretical scope, I began to isolate and analyse some cross-cutting themes and characteristics that appeared in the three studies. This thesis takes the view that while each festival was embedded in a number of spatially bounded contexts, the work being done there by individual academics and festival producers could be seen as part of a wider dimension. The themes were thereby brought into dialogue with the foundation that the first part of the thesis provided and these thematic areas are now presented as Chapter nine.

Summary

A methodology should not be an end in itself, but a means to an end; a series of iterative steps in a research process that move the researcher towards a more comprehensive understanding of some aspect of the world. The mixture of methods used in this study produced different types of data that were equally part of the construction of the phenomena; visual communications, ephemeral texts, sensory experiences and spoken accounts. As the project's development was iterative, issues arose about the management of the research and here and there adjustments had to be made.

¹⁰ The idea of the 'working surface' used throughout this thesis comes from Foucault's concept of eventalisation, explained in Chapter four, which involves the construction around the phenomenon under investigation of "a 'polygon' or 'polyhedron' of intelligibility, the number of whose faces is not given in advance and can never properly be taken as finite" (Foucault 1991 p.77).

This study could not produce any single authoritative version of the events it examined or fully grasp the conditions of action, as the researcher's own perspective positions them as an observer and because the events were frequently co-produced, so an individual interview could only reveal one point of view out of many. The interview questions designed to gain insights into the biography, conditions and working processes of individual actors produced self-reflexive narratives that help us understand the relationships between agency, structures and conditions. They improve the overall understanding of the field of possibilities in which the festival activities observed take place.

Thinking critically about the actual processes of cultural production, as well as its material conditions and multiple representations, involves grasping the individual's actual orientation to the work they do. The festival can be seen to have more than one purpose, and amongst those involved there are a number of points of view that could be said to correspond to positions in professional, social and cultural networks, different capitals and so on. This qualitative and iterative approach has produced the richness of the data that will now be presented in three chapters, one to represent each 'phase' of the research, before grouping certain thematic areas for further discussion and analysis.

The next section of the thesis contains three chapters, one chapter on each of the three festivals studied in depth. Each begins with an introduction to each festival and its programme, highlighting the adaptation of the fieldwork strategy employed in each example.

Chapter six. The University of Birmingham Arts and Science Festival

This chapter introduces the University of Birmingham Arts and Science Festival, an annual seven-day festival which is held in March and organised by the University of Birmingham. The central theme of the festival is 'ideas, research and collaboration' and the festival programme offers visitors an eclectic public programme of events comprised of varied cultural forms; film screenings, short plays, music, exhibitions, interactive workshops, talks, lectures and discussions.

Join the festival mailing list to receive festival updates by emailing the [festival team](#) with your name and preferred contact email.

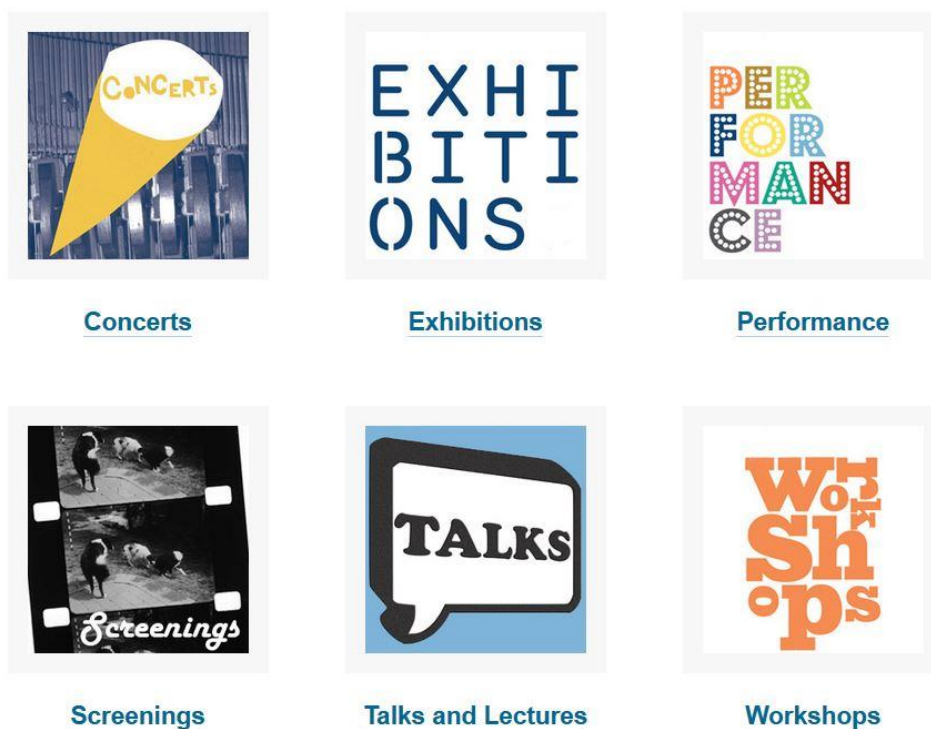


Figure 2. Detail of the University of Birmingham website promoting UBASF events, March 2016

During each of the four editions to date, the festival has presented a minimum of fifty events and exhibitions over the space of a single week. Due to its scale and the diversity of cultural forms in its programme, as well as the multiple internal and increasingly external partnerships involved in its production, the Arts and Science festival (hereafter

UBASF) offers a compelling site for festival research. As well as the texts and discourses in circulation at the UBASF, the experience of the University's campus-based culture makes an important contribution to the festival's appeal. While the festival showcases the multiple existing public programmes on campus, its organisers, the Cultural Engagement team, also elicit inter-disciplinary collaborations from within campus communities to produce unique 'Conversation Pieces' and they work collaboratively with a range of external cultural organisations and institutions to create additional events. The kinds of partnerships that the university enters into in the production of these festivals provide some clues to the festival's purpose and how the University's engagement programmes fit with its strategic objectives. A perspective on one the festival's partnerships comes from simultaneous research into another festival in Birmingham, the Flatpack festival, whose dates have overlapped with those of the UBASF during the first three editions of the festival. Some events held over these dates have been co-produced between Flatpack festival and the University of Birmingham.

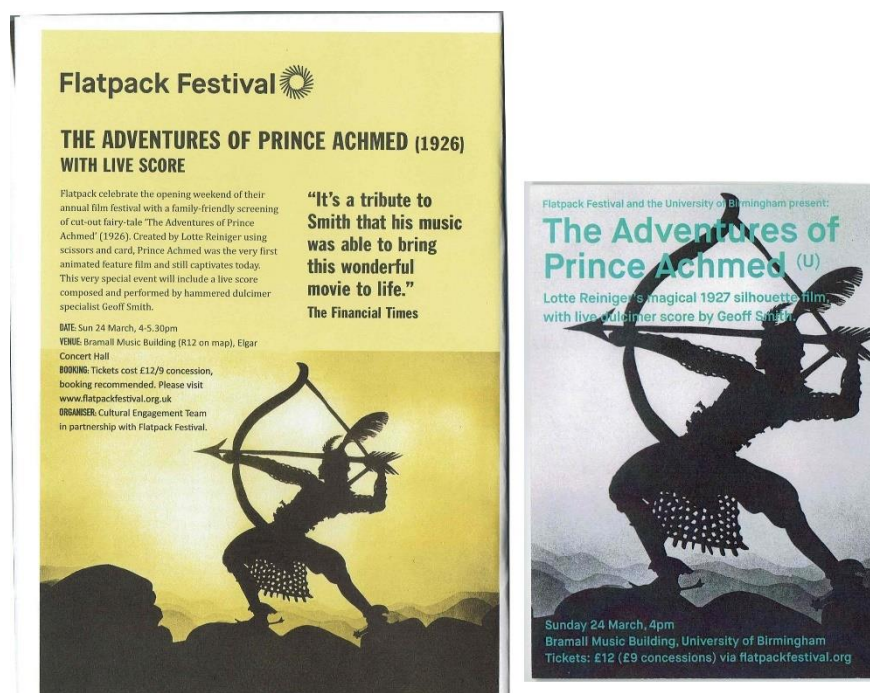


Figure 3. Side by side: two promotional documents for a film screening event, March 2013. On the left is the UBASF brochure, on the right, a flyer produced by Flatpack festival

The chapter provides insights into how the UBASF represents an ongoing mediation between internal strategies at the University and the city's wider cultural networks.

The Arts and Science Festival: form, document and encounter

The first edition of the UBASF took place from Monday 18th to Sunday 24th of March 2013.

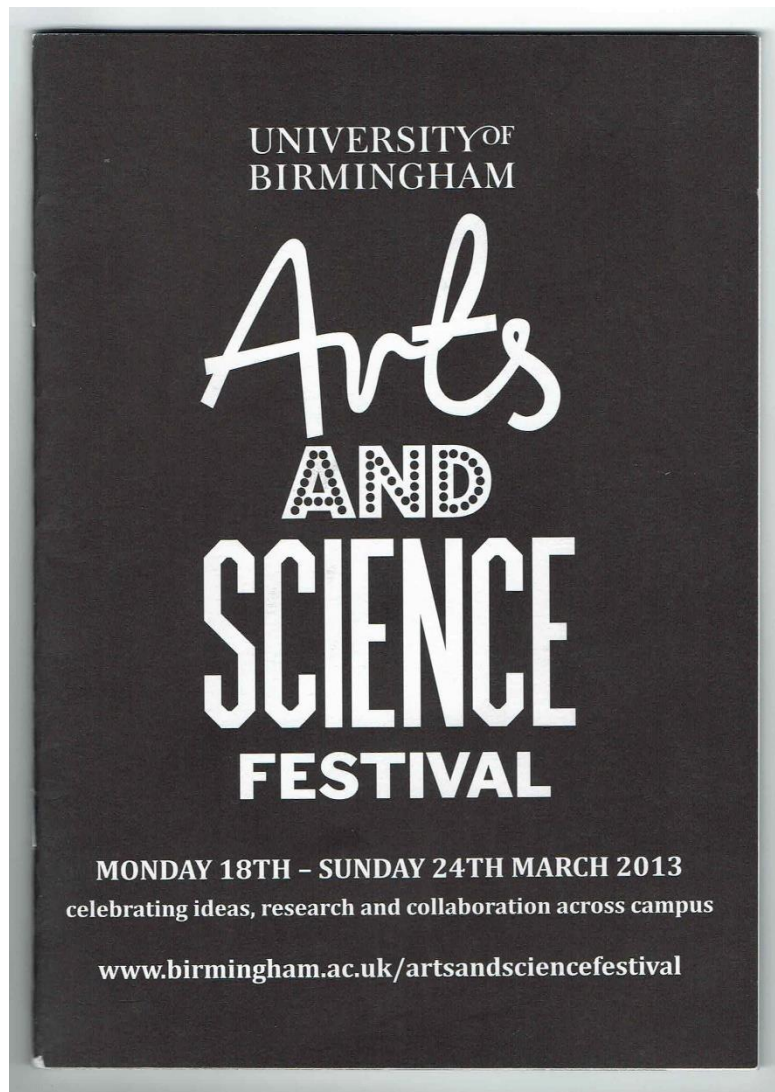


Figure 4. The printed guide to the 2013 edition of the UBASF.

The majority of the 70 festival events were free and didn't require any advance booking and the venues for almost all of them were within the boundaries of the University's Edgbaston campus, on the outskirts of the city. Some were presented in the rooms and corridors of university buildings and in outdoor spaces around campus, others took place in the University's established cultural venues that host public programmes on campus throughout the year. Two were at another University's campus at Selly Oak and several were held in Winterbourne House, a nearby historic building that has close ties with the University.

Official figures claim that in its first year the festival attracted 3200 visitors (Culture on Campus newsletter 2013). Each subsequent year, the festival programme has continued to present a diverse set of events around the theme of 'Arts and Science', but the events have also been loosely themed around a broad, secondary idea. For the most recent edition in 2016 the secondary theme was Memory and Forgetting, previously it has been Life and Death (2014) and Sight and Sound (2015).



Figure 5. The printed guide to the 2014 edition of the UBASF.

The majority of the empirical work that has contributed to this chapter took place between 16th and 23rd March 2014, which was the second time the UBASF festival was held. The front cover of the 2014 festival guide that year described it as a “festival of ideas, research & collaboration” (see figure 5).

The University published an advance press release on the news page of its website before the festival began, which included an introduction by the Deputy Pro Vice Chancellor for Cultural Engagement.

“The ambition of the festival is to keep the conversation between the arts and science alive. It is our belief that the debate is most lively not in the separation of arts and science, but in the spaces in between.”

Grosvenor 2014

The festival programme categorised events by type. Out of the fifty-nine festival events listed, by far the most popular form for organisers was that of a lecture, with twenty-one events described as lectures and another eleven being called either workshops, debates or ‘conversations’. There were six music performances and four more events that were listed under ‘performances’, although three of these were probably best described as theatre. There was one walking tour and eight film screenings, or screenings of a selection of short films. Multiple events happened every day and sometimes at the same time of day, so overlaps and clashes of events happened frequently.

Eight exhibitions also took place during the festival, most exhibitions were open for more than one day, four of these were held at the Barber Institute of Fine Arts. This is a semi-autonomous art gallery within the campus boundary which hosts a concert hall, lecture theatre and several exhibition spaces. Three of these exhibitions were also listed as part of the Barber Institute’s regular exhibition programme and appeared in their own literature. According to the 2014 festival guide, one of the exhibitions included “cancer tissue samples viewed through microscopes” (p.13) and science researchers would be on hand to discuss their work, the others were of artworks, photographs and posters made by schoolchildren. Unlike commercial festivals, there has been no festival pass for multiple events and no centrally organised box office as a point of contact.

As events at UBASF are distributed throughout campus venues, a festival visitor booking for multiple events has had to navigate a series of different booking arrangements and where tickets have had to be obtained, the booking process itself sometimes revealed interesting small details. Many of the free events required the visitor to make an email enquiry to a range of different addresses to book a place, although it was clear that there was a central email address for a number of events presented by the Cultural Engagement team, such as the 'Conversation Pieces' which were billed as talks and discussions with "academics, researchers, artists and scientists who cross the boundaries between arts and science and embrace inter-disciplinarity" (UBASF 2014 programme p.8). Out of the four music concerts at UBASF in 2014, one at the Town Hall in the city centre was priced at £15 / £10 concessions and two others were £10 / £8. Student rates of £5 or £3 were offered and one concert, a solo pianist performing at lunchtime, was free. Tickets were obtained from the Town Hall box office, the Barber Institute box office or by email to the Bramall Music box office, depending on the performance. While the majority of film screenings in the programme were free, one film in the 2014 programme was priced at £12 (£9 concessions), this was the UK premiere of a restored archive film Phono-Cinema-Théâtre with live music, presented by "Flatpack Festival in partnership with The Barber Institute of Fine Arts" (UBASF guide 2014 p.25); tickets for the event were available from the Flatpack festival website only. Upon booking a ticket through The Department of Drama and Theatre Arts box office for a student theatre production at the George Cadbury Hall, where seats were priced at £7 or £9, the online checkout form displayed an option to donate £1 to the University's 'Circles of Influence' fundraising programme.

Although the credits in the back of the 2014 guide said that the festival was "conceived and developed by the Cultural Engagement team at University of Birmingham" (p.38) these booking details suggested that many University sub-groups organised and hosted festival events. The analysis of printed ephemera collected during the study showed that in the 2013 edition of UBASF, film and video works were projected onto the University's Watson Building using a projector acquired by the University's internal fundraising programme 'Circles of Influence' (Cultural Engagement Team 2013). The University raises additional funds for the development of its cultural programming capabilities by inviting philanthropic donations from its alumni and where possible from audiences too.

The first three festival guides contain the phrase “ideas, research and collaboration”, indicating that the festival’s basic premise had not changed. By the time of the third edition of the festival in 2015 however, other venues in Birmingham were also beginning to host UBASF events, including the centrally located main public Library, the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, also in the centre, and the Electric cinema, close to New Street station. To situate these partnerships that are part of the production of the UBASF more clearly, it is useful, before looking at the experience of some of the festival events in detail, to summarise the University of Birmingham’s history and the contributions it makes to the city’s built environment and overall cultural profile.

Context: cultural inheritance

The University of Birmingham (UoB) is a large and in many ways a very successful university. It has been a member of the Russell Group of research-intensive institutions since the group first became associated in 1994 and it employs over 6000 staff (Hiles 2014). Originally built at the start of the 20th Century as a unitary campus in “assertive Byzantine style” (Whyte p.171) the location of the University in respect to the city is representative of similar institutions in the UK that date back to the late 19th Century. These are the ‘red brick’ or civic universities, which tended to occupy suburban districts on the edges of the city (Charles 2011). The Edgbaston campus hosts many examples of fine and historic architecture; the red-brick Aston Webb building, built in 1900, was one of the first university buildings to appear on the present site. It is a highly decorative building with stained glass windows and over its enormous doors are nine sculpted figures, carved by Henry Pegram in 1907, representing the worlds of art, music, philosophy, literature, science and industry. Aston Webb was a distinguished architect who also created the frontage of the Victoria and Albert Museum and part of the Royal palace in London. This building performs a symbolic function, it is where student registrations and graduation ceremonies are held (UoB 2013) and is set within a crescent of similar buildings facing a clock tower, beyond which is a large, pleasant green space, landscaped with bronze sculptures and mature trees. Until recently, this semi-circle of grand buildings appeared to have “a tooth missing” (Lane 2012), but with the addition of the Bramall Music Building in 2012, the original architectural vision was finally completed (UoB 2013 p.7) and the University gained a prestigious new, 420-seat auditorium. The University of Birmingham

has other public venues for arts and cultural events located on and around its campus. These “excellent place-based assets” (UoB 2015) have provided some spectacular locations for UBASF events every year. These include The Lapworth Museum of Geology, which dates back to the University’s forerunner Mason College in 1880, The Barber Institute of Fine Arts, a wealthy independent Trust founded in the 1930s, Winterbourne House and Garden, former family home of wealthy philanthropist and acquired by the University in 1944, The University of Birmingham Research and Cultural Collections and The Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections. These are not all precisely located within the original boundaries of the original campus, but they are presented together in official University communications and documents and in this way they make up a considerable cultural offer. On the Western side of the campus, where numerous rail and bus links connect the campus to the city, visitors are greeted by an enormous bronze Paolozzi statue named Faraday (2000) at the at the campus gateway, given to the University by the artist to mark the centenary of the award of the University’s Royal Charter. Engraved in the base of the Faraday sculpture are lines from a T.S Eliot poem ‘Dry Salvages’.

Fare forward, you who think that you are voyaging;
You are not those who saw the harbour
Receding, or those who will disembark.
Here between the hither and the farther shore
While time is withdrawn, consider the future
And the past with an equal mind.

The sculpture’s subject matter reinforces the University’s line that it has “long investigated the crossing points between science and art” (Hamilton 2011 p.3) and the frieze of figures over the entrance to the ceremonial Aston Webb building bear this out. Art works such as the Faraday sculpture are purposefully displayed in in spaces around campus buildings, set in “the very places where students and staff study and relax” (UoB 2009 p.6). A self-guided sculpture tour has been available in some form since the production of a guide to the Research and Cultural Collections in 2009, on the back page of this booklet a map is provided to the locations of fourteen outdoor sculptures located

on University property but accessible to the public. Engagement with the public is considered to be “a core pillar” (Eastwood 2014) of the University of Birmingham’s Strategic Framework 2010 – 2015. The university is a signatory to the NCCPE’s Manifesto for Public Engagement, in 2009 representatives from the university participated in the original Action Research programme organised by NCCPE and in 2013 the University hosted the first of the NCCPE’s ‘Engaged Futures’ discussion workshops.

Context: a city perspective

The University’s Edgbaston campus lies well outside the city’s main ring road and the journey by bus or train between the campus and the city centre takes a few minutes. The city of Birmingham is unique in the UK, it is the largest city after London (Parkinson 2007) with a population of over a million residents. The city’s population also has a higher proportion of ethnic minorities compared to England as whole. Some areas of the Greater Birmingham metropolitan district are among the most deprived places in England, with persistently high levels of unemployment and social problems and there are parts of the city have been in that bracket for decades. In the 1990s the city was accused of lagging behind its rivals in the “battle for investment” and “failing to attract research and development, high-tech industry and producer services” (Hubbard 1995 p.245). A recent review of local governance in Birmingham suggested that a mismatch between skills and jobs was acting as a “brake” on the city’s economy (Kerslake 2014 p.56).

The city’s leaders promote it as an international city, pointing to its central location and transport links (Birmingham City Council 2013). In development strategies, the city’s universities and cultural assets are both described as “world renowned” (Birmingham City Council 2013 p.10) but due to the prevalence of concrete buildings and large scale road infrastructures, Birmingham has suffered from ongoing problems with its image. Corbett (2004) has suggested that in the 20th century, the city “suffered greatly through war damage, post-war redevelopment, and highway engineering that had little regard to wider environmental or social issues” (p.132).

In 1988 the Council invited planning consultants to redefine the city and turn it into a major European destination. This 'Highbury Initiative' resulted in the production of the Birmingham Urban Design Study and City Centre Design Strategy in 1990 in which a number of 'quarters' in the city centre were identified for improvement. The Jewellery Quarter was already designated as a heritage district (Hubbard 1995) and the application of the quarters concept, which was incorporated into Birmingham's Unitary Development Plan in 1993, led to improvements to the quality of pedestrian routes and civic spaces within the western parts of the city centre. Other Council-led strategies for improving the city's image for business and leisure have utilised public-private partnership approaches to place promotion. Flagship projects such as the development of a Convention Centre, a new arena and luxury hotels, aimed to improve the city's international profile as a European destination city, while the Bullring, one of Europe's largest shopping centres, was remodelled and updated.

The demolition of an inner ring road and the pedestrianisation of a formerly inaccessible area around the Bullring shopping centre have allowed new opportunities for growth to spread eastwards (Corbett 2004). Birmingham's Creative City strategy in 2002 acknowledged the direct and symbolic contributions made by two formerly industrial areas, now badged as urban creative districts. One of these was the aforementioned Jewellery Quarter and the other was a renovated set of buildings in Digbeth in the East of Birmingham known as the Custard Factory. This was previously a derelict factory which had once employed 12,000 people (Landry, Greene, Matarasso and Bianchini 1996) but a private entrepreneur-led regeneration project, which had also come out of the Highbury Initiative and backed by central Government and the local authority, had led to the establishment of a hub for creative industry production and specialist retail. The Creative City strategy designated the surrounding area, an underused part of the city with many factory buildings and railway viaducts, as a creative-industries development zone and re-labelled it 'Eastside'. Original proposals for this area set out in the Eastside Development Framework were based on the themes of learning, technology and heritage (Porter and Barber 2007), some developments at the north of Eastside's Millennium Point site opened in 2001. Not all of the plan's aspirations were achieved however, another major strategic report several years later suggested that "Eastside and Digbeth is a major opportunity to

do a different kind of urban development” (Parkinson 2007 p.52). With culture as a city marketing tool now a mainstay of urban planning, it inevitably called for more creativity, connectivity, culture and consumption. The Big City Plan, launched in February 2008, urged that the cultural identity of these areas should be developed further, but a Cultural Strategy published in 2010 recognised that there were still mismatches between cultural provision and access and participation.

“Many residents would like to engage more in cultural activity but encounter a range of barriers including time, transport, price, availability of information and familiarity. In a young and diverse city, access to forms of culture relevant to the local population is important.”

Birmingham Cultural Partnership 2010 (p.8).

Recently, the Digbeth area has come to be seen as a very hip district. Digbeth hosts the popular First Friday, a monthly micro-festival that celebrates the area’s arty and bohemian character with food stalls, music and arts venues, particularly south of the old railway station, open late and attracting a huge amount of visitors. The area has been labelled in the popular music press as the “Shoreditch of Birmingham” (King 2012).

With the emergence of a coherent creative industries district, populated by visual artists, galleries, television producers, screen printers, architects and marketing consultants, these developments are continuing to catalyse creative economy development in the region. A new set of buildings at Millennium Point are now home to some of the departments of another Birmingham university. This is Birmingham’s ‘post 1992’ university, formerly Birmingham Polytechnic, the institution became the University of Central England and was renamed Birmingham City University (BCU) in 2007. Its Parkside campus at Millennium Point includes the Faculty of Arts, Design and Media. The University of Birmingham is physically remote from these creative industries districts and is barely mentioned in the local authority-produced cultural strategy frameworks (Birmingham City Council 2013, 2015). Yet this study of the UBASF reveals that interactions and exchanges between the University and cultural organisations in the city are frequent and strategic.

Festival events: The Handsworth Scroll: “Radical politics on the High Street”.

The majority of the fieldwork at UBASF was conducted in the early part of 2014 and this part of the chapter documents some of the events in the festival programme. In 2014, louie+jesse (artist duo Louie O'Grady and Jessica Mautner) were ‘in residence’ at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) archive in the Cadbury Research Library. The CCCS was a well-known Research Centre at the University of Birmingham, founded in 1964 by Richard Hoggart after he became a Professor of English there. It had closed in 2002, following the RAE results of the previous year which were lower than expected. This closure has been seen as a sudden and controversial move on the part of University management (Webster 2004) and many existing students of the Centre had turned up to find their courses cancelled and supervisors removed from faculty. Fifty years since it had first opened, the Centre’s history and archive had become the basis of a major research project and a number of interpretative events were taking place at the University of Birmingham throughout 2014.

As an output of their residency, O'Grady and Mautner organised an event for the UBASF programme in March called ‘The Handsworth Scroll’, this was the exhibition of a document that had been donated to the archive by the wife of a CCCS researcher, Chas Critcher. The Handsworth Scroll event was listed in the festival guide as one of the festival’s ‘Conversation Pieces’. The event represented the first public viewing of a nine-metre long paper collage, described as a ‘street newspaper’, that had been made in Handsworth (an area of Birmingham) in the 1970s.

“Participate in a round-table discussion about collaboration, archives and community politics then and now.”

UBASF 2014 programme, p.12.

The lunchtime event was free to attend. The ‘scroll’ had been rolled out flat along a line of tables, which were placed in the centre of the Danford room, a long room which had glass cases on two sides containing items from the University’s Collection of West African Art and Artefacts. The exhibition of these artefacts alongside the scroll added an extra dimension to the event.



Figure 6. The Handsworth Scroll, March 2014

A brochure left out in the room explained that the exhibition in the cases belonged to the University of Birmingham's 'Research and Cultural Collections'. There was a discursive

element to this event, for which chairs had been arranged around the table, after examining the 'scroll' participants were encouraged to sit and discuss the piece as a group. The artists later confirmed in an interview that the choice of room for the Handsworth Scroll had not been accidental but intentional. "We spent quite a lot of time on that actually". They were aware of the ideological representations in the Danford Room exhibit and had wanted to explore that dynamic, Mautner also thought the choice reflected the site-specific nature of their artistic practice, "I liked the way the shape of the room echoed the shape of the scroll". They told me that they had sought a 'comfortable' room for the event's discursive format, paying attention to the acoustics of the exhibition spaces they were offered and choosing one where the discussion participants would not be disturbed by non-participants passing through.



Figure 7. Two details of *The Handsworth Scroll*, March 2014

The event was unusual with respect to many of the other events documented during this research journey, the field notes record that the people who attended and contributed to the discussion represented a mixture of races, ages and backgrounds. During the discussion, four people self-identified as being local to the area of Birmingham from where the work on show originated. This observation is personal and circumstantial and it was established through interviews later that no attempt at a formal evaluation of the event or survey of its participants had been attempted, so there is no other evidence to support this observation, but perhaps the point is that at this event, there seemed to be no clear division between 'expert' and 'audience' and its structure allowed more time for people to reveal to the rest of the group who they were.

The scroll itself is an assemblage of written and photocopied items from a period during the 1970s and early 80s that document social issues in Birmingham, the object forms part of the CCCS archive and can be viewed by appointment at the Cadbury Research Library. The issues that these scraps of paper raise range from childcare and the provision of children's play facilities to housing associations, benefit claimant's unions and other forms of self-organisation. Some of the items in the collage concerned social issues arising from inter-racial tensions in the area of Handsworth. "Hard politics", as one person in the group put it. A woman from the local community said she didn't exactly remember the 'street newspaper' she was now looking at, but confirmed that the window of the social centre it was said to have come from was always a place for that kind of information. An older black man said he had always known of the existence of the centre, but that he thought "white do-gooders were behind it". He spoke about his view of a process through which radical students went into inner city areas to live, describing it as a form of "settlement". Another woman said that things like this seemed to have stopped and that they need to be taken up again. A PhD student who said he was new to the University asked if Handsworth was in London and a University researcher said he was interested in how the piece related to people's demands for their rights.

Excluding myself, the two artists and the two festival organisers present, the event began with twelve people in the room and by the end of the session, over twenty people had been in to experience the event. Some of these participants also spoke about attending a screening of *The Stuart Hall Project* (2013, John Akomfrah), another UBASF event, the previous evening on campus. The lively conversation covered further issues surrounding what the notion of 'art' could include then and now. The roughness of the newspaper's aesthetic was said to be appealing, but the scroll could also be seen as a work of 'agit prop'. The artists admitted to me in an interview that an understanding of the scroll as an artwork had been somewhat tangential to their aims for the event, but they believed that as the event had been one of the outcomes of their residency and they were billed as artists in this respect, people's perceptions of the object had been affected. Even calling the artefact a 'scroll' had been an intervention they had made themselves, "we had to invent a catchy name for it".

Festival events: 1960s Art and Architecture Tour

Eduardo Paolozzi's Faraday sculpture mentioned earlier in this chapter was the meeting point during UBASF 2014 for a group of around 25 people attending a walk with the title of '1960s Art and Architecture Tour'. This event was another of the festival's 'Conversation Pieces' and simultaneously part of 'Ikon 50', a programme of visual arts events at the IKON gallery of contemporary art in the city centre. The guide listed the 'Art and Architecture Tour' as presented by "Research and Cultural Collections in partnership with Ikon Gallery" (UBASF guide 2014 p.12) and it was a free event, but had to be booked in advance through the Ikon Gallery's ticketing system.

Clare Mullett, University Curator, and Chloë Lund, Curatorial Assistant, were the tour guides and they had prepared their narrative in advance and read to the rest of the group from notes at certain points. Occasionally, printed materials were used to illustrate particular works. Their narrative addressed reasons why the pieces were included in the walk and often how they had been acquired by the University. The narrative also included thoughts on how the works and buildings encountered on the walk resonated with cultural and socio-political changes that had affected the institution and the city during the 1960s. Moonstrips Empire News (1967) also by Paolozzi, is an exhibition of screen prints installed in the entrance lobby to the Law building and the stairs leading up to the Harding Law Library. The recent refurbishment of this space had been funded by a £4000 grant from the School of Law, Clare Mullett explained that she had designed the bold colour scheme herself, specifically with this work in mind.

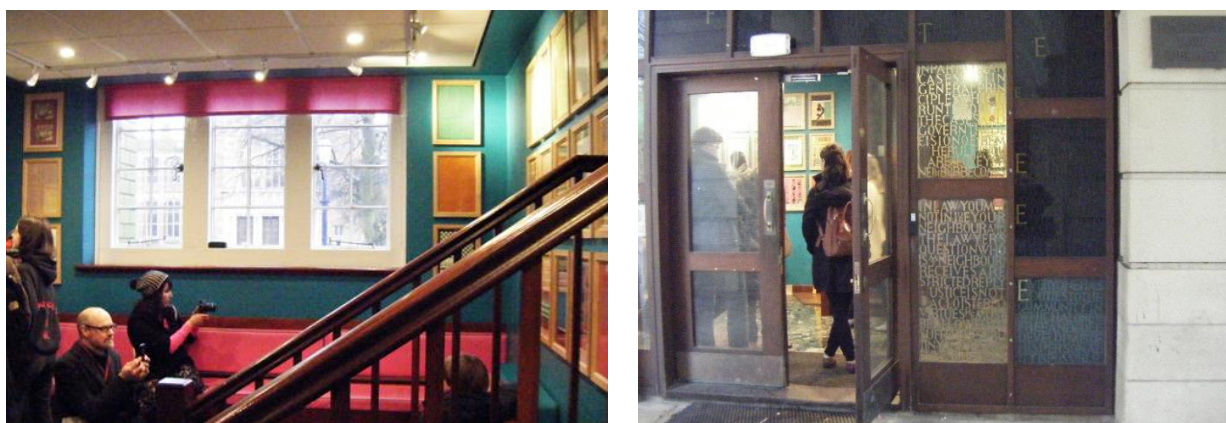


Figure 8. Moonstrips Empire News (1967) print series exhibited in the Law building at University of Birmingham

Barbara Hepworth's large bronze sculpture *Ancestor I* dominates University Square, the public space at the centre of the landscaped part of the campus in front of the oldest part of the University, the crescent containing the Aston Building. The sculptor received an honorary degree in 1960 and the sculpture is on loan to the University from the Trustees of the Hepworth Estate (Research and Cultural Collections 2012).



Figure 9. Ancestor I (1970): part of the 'Family of Man' series of sculptures by Barbara Hepworth

Other works of art encountered on the tour included a smaller orange painted metal squiggle sculpture called 'Anguished Skein' exhibited in a stairwell. This sculpture was commissioned for the University's former Finance Officer, Angus Skene, who Clare explained was a collector of contemporary art and had also been instrumental in setting

up the Ikon gallery in Birmingham in the 1960s. Angus and his partner donated a large amount of money to start the Ikon gallery and he had also urged the University to make funds available for commissioning and collecting work from this period and displaying art around campus. A blue abstract painting almost hidden away on the top floor of Staff House was donated by Robert Groves, one of the Ikon's founding group of artists and the man who gave the Birmingham contemporary art gallery its name Ikon in 1964.

With only enough room for a few people to stand in front of it at one time, the group had to take turns looking. Other wall-based art works on display in this building included a huge John Walker canvas called *Anguish* hanging at an intersection in the stairwell, here Clare mentioned the artist's connection to Birmingham and Chloë offered a more personal observation of how the piece visually fits with the space where it is presently hung.

The Arts building at the University of Birmingham contains one of the last major commissions by Cornish modern painter Peter Lanyon, whose Arts Faculty Mural (1963) fills the whole of one wall inside the school's lobby and extends up over the door. The painting was reported to have cost £13.23 per foot, an expense that had provoked controversy at the time it was made, which was confirmed by quotes from university staff in *Redbrick*, the university's own newspaper, reproduced in Claire's notes which she handed around.

During the tour, I noticed a poster for the 'Handsworth Scroll' event (see figure 10) tacked to a pillar close to where we stopped to look at the Muirhead Tower, the former home of the Birmingham School of Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS). Chloë explained that in the early 1960s the University experienced a big expansion in student numbers and new buildings were added to the campus, including Modern Languages building and the Grade 2 listed Muirhead Tower. At this point, a member of the tour group mentioned another Ikon 50 event taking place on the following Saturday at The Library of Birmingham in the city centre.

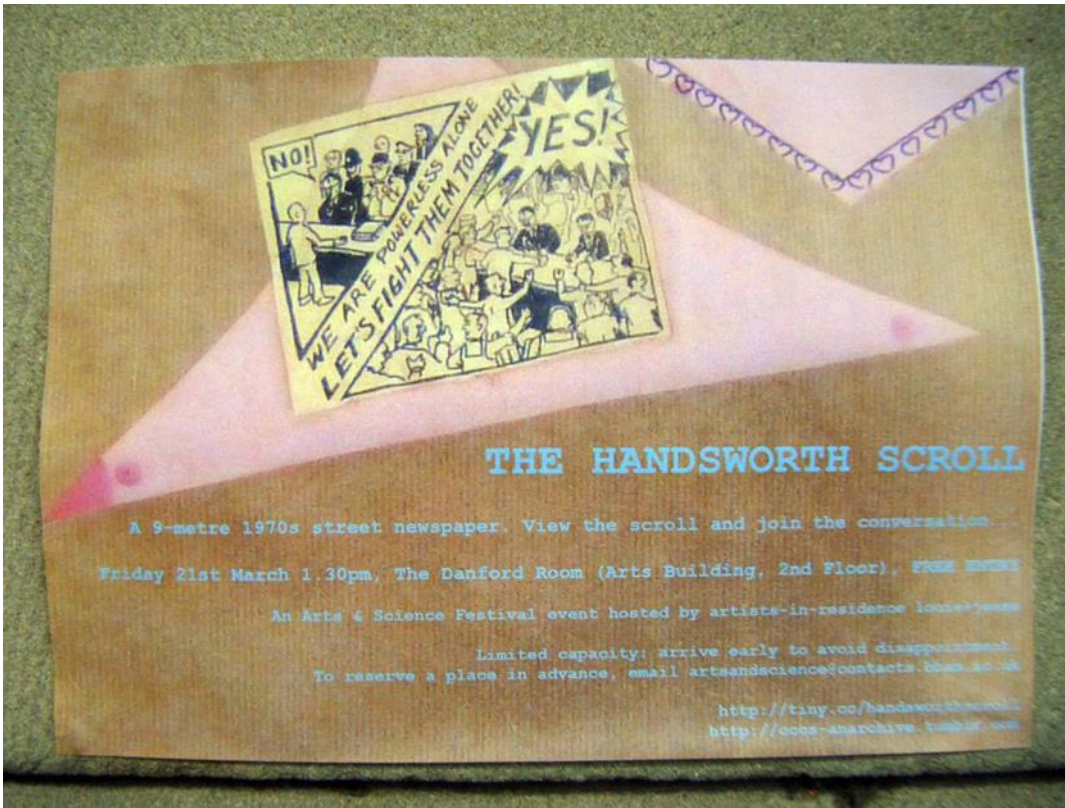


Figure 10. Poster for *The Handsworth Scroll* event, March 2014.



Figure 11. The Grade 2 listed Muirhead Tower, built in 1963, University of Birmingham, March 2014.



Figure 12. The prefab Modern Languages building, University of Birmingham, March 2014.

The tour ended at the Materials and Metallurgy Building to view a set of reflective grid paintings that utilised geometric shapes painted onto mirrors. This work, Field Grid: Pleiades (1970), was by David Prentice, another of Ikon's founders. It was commissioned and designed especially for the building, reflecting its grid-like structure.

Festival events: 366 Days of Kindness: A Talk

366 Days of Kindness: A Talk was the only festival event in the UBASF in 2014 that occupied a mid-afternoon slot on a working weekday. It was presented by the School of Philosophy, Theology and Religion and held in the European Research Institute at the edge of the campus, starting at 3.30pm on Friday 21st March. Tea and cake was served on a table outside a lecture theatre in the building's atrium as an audience of about forty people took their seats inside the seminar room. Chairs and desks in rows all faced the front, with a line of desks at the front for the panel and a lectern at the front of the room. Printed feedback forms featuring the UBASF logo were already out on the tables and music played as people came in. The event was introduced by Ruth Wareham, a doctoral researcher in the Department of Philosophy.

The 'talk' itself was more like a performance. Using images projected on the screen behind her, artist Bernadette Russell gave an illustrated biographical account of a year-long social experiment-turned-theatre show she had performed and produced, in which she pledged to do one act of kindness each day for a year. The context of the piece was the riot in London in 2012 that had affected her own community. The acts of kindness were triggered by a subjective response to the events and their aftermath, particularly their representation via the broadcast media, which she said had affected her deeply. She described being in a post office and noticing a boy who didn't have enough money for a stamp. "He looked just like the images of teenagers in their hoodies" she said, which she thought would have made people see him a certain way. She paid for his stamp and this gave her the idea to do a series of "uncommon acts of kindness" as a response to how she felt. She set herself rules for this; the acts would all be different, one act of kindness per day for a year, which happened to be a leap year, so that had made a total of 366 days. The acts included giving cards to neighbours and strangers, or cakes or flowers, sometimes with friends helping out, decorating a phone box, leaving gifts on people's doorsteps, books on bus seats with notes in or buying lottery tickets and giving them to people. She produced a lottery ticket she had just bought and gave it to a man in the room, by way of an example. At one point she asked the audience to try doing something kind by turning to the person they were sitting next to and complimenting them. Throughout the talk she was very animated and walked from one side of the room to the

other in front of the screen, her bright lipstick, full pleated skirt and frilly top seemed out of place in the seminar room setting, a visual reference to an 'arty' background. She explained that she had been a cabaret performer before becoming an artist. "What I didn't expect was for the year to repoliticise me" she said, but as intellectuals, thinkers or artists, "our job is to tell the other side of the story". When the project was over, she said she had a couple of weeks' break and then she carried on. As her project developed, it led to an installation at the Southbank Centre in December 2013 called 'Coat Tales', for which members of the public who donated unwanted coats were asked to write a note to the person who received it and leave it in the coat pocket. The coats were distributed in Lambeth by the charity Age UK. She then designed a theatre show based on her experiences, and left-wing musician and lyricist Billy Bragg had created the music for it (it was an adaptation of this show that she performed at UBASF). She and Billy Bragg were interviewed about the theatre show on BBC Radio Saturday Live.

Russell ended her performance with the words "now over to people much cleverer than me" and her presentation was followed by a discussion between herself, Ian Law, Head of the Philosophy Department, and Sabrina Intelisano and Ben Bessey, who were PhD students from the School of Philosophy, Theology and Religion. Their remarks drew on works by Aristotle and the theory of kindness as a contradictory notion which can be associated with a neo-colonial, paternal bourgeois attitude. For example, if the world were just, if social relations were better organised, one of them said, there would be less need for philanthropy based on pity or mercy. The panel discussion was then opened out to comments from the audience and one person was interested to know if an act of kindness is a gendered act. Is it easier for a woman to approach a stranger? Bernadette said no, she carried out some of these acts such as giving out Valentines cards to strangers with male friends, but maybe selecting people to be kind to is influenced by factors that remain unexplored. Someone else asks is kindness selfless? A panel member responds with a story about Abraham Lincoln once stepping off a train because he could hear a pig squealing. The pig was trapped under a gate, he freed it and when challenged by his companion for making them late said he would be able to hear that pig squealing for the whole journey had he not acted. One of the audience mentions the website Upworthy and suggested that its immediacy gives you 'a hit'. They asked "is it more about getting a good feeling for doing something good?" Bernadette said it was complicated,

and she often was accused of being a middle class do gooder, but didn't know how to respond to that because, as she said, "I'm in the thick of this thing". She said anyone can demonstrate their compassion by "putting pictures on social media of ourselves donating to foodbanks" but then she became quite annoyed and asked "what's wrong with being middle class?" She said she felt that the social welfare system was the cause of the problem in the first place, but at this point, the time allocated for the session was over. The audience were politely asked to thank Bernadette and attend to the feedback forms before leaving the room.



Figure 13. A screengrab of a tweet from the 366 Days of Kindness event, March 2014

Flatpack festival and Café Neuro

Collaborative events in the first three editions of the festival reveal many points of contact between UBASF and other cultural organisations in the city and this chapter has already drawn attention to some shared programmes and resources, but the relationship between UBASF and the Flatpack festival in the first two editions pointed to a partnership that would benefit from further study. The screening of the Lotte Reiniger film in 2013 and the UK premiere in 2014 of Phono-Cinéma-Théâtre held in partnership with UBASF suggested the development of a significant relationship between the two festivals, although its significance is diminished when viewed in the context of an emerging partnership between Flatpack and BCU.

Flatpack is an established and well-known annual festival in Birmingham that first began as a three-day event in January 2006. It has since extended to ten days, during which pop-up events take place in churches, shops and non-theatrical spaces all over the city. Ian Francis is the festival's director, he had previously worked with Birmingham's Film and TV festival and a large proportion of Flatpack events are film screenings, but its programme regularly also includes talks, workshops, walks and exhibitions. "Flatpack was built with Birmingham in mind" said the festival's director, Ian Francis, reflecting on the lack of a multi-screen arthouse cinema such as Bristol's Watershed or Manchester's HOME in the city. "We knew that we were never going to have a big capacity venue" and so the festival reflects the diversity of the spaces that are available and exhibits many partnerships with other city-based organisations.

When observations for this research began in 2013, Flatpack festival was in its 7th year. The event within the first UBASF, held at the recently opened Bramall music building, was not the first time Francis had collaborated with the Cultural Engagement team at the UoB but it was the "first substantial one". In 2013 and 2014 the two festivals shared a weekend, this happened to be the last two days of the UBASF and the first weekend of Flatpack. The Phono-Cinéma-Théâtre event that connected the two festival programmes in 2014 was held at the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, another prestigious location at the University's campus. Other programme elements have also been opportunistically shared between the two festival programmes, such as Magic Lantern shows at Winterbourne

House¹¹. The Flatpack guide in 2014 mentioned another events series taking place over their first weekend in a festival sub-programme called Café Neuro, which had been organised with Emil Toescu, a Professor of Neuroscience at the University of Birmingham. Here the partnership between the two festivals becomes unclear, because although these neuroscience events were very much about the connections between art and science, they were not part of the UBASF.

Funded by the Wellcome Trust, the full Café Neuro sub-programme contained a mix of speakers, films and workshops. Observations were carried out at three of the Café Neuro events, these began with the opening event of the series, a lunchtime talk held in a downstairs room at the 6/8 Kafe, a small café in the Colmore business district in the centre of Birmingham. The event was free and not bookable in advance. Professor Emil Toescu gave a talk on Gheorghe Marinescu, a Romanian neurologist who had used film as a pedagogical tool in the late 19th century. He explained that Marinescu would give public lectures at the Salpêtrière Hospital in Paris every week using a magic lantern, a Victorian form of moving image. He made a series of short medically themed films between 1898 and 1899 and the talk included a clip of one of these films, 'Walking difficulties in organic hemiplegia'.

Later that same day, a public lecture given by Professor Uri Hasson at Birmingham's Midland Institute explored the similarities between cinematic experience and neural responses that could be observed in the brain in laboratory research situations. In Hasson's study, his research subjects had watched parts of films (by Alfred Hitchcock and Sergio Leone) while lying in MRI scanners and their cerebral activity had been recorded to expose the various levels and exact sites of neural response. Here once more, moving image media were being used as a research tool, this time as the source of complex stimuli for a scientific investigation into mapping neural activity at higher levels of cognition. The idea of looking at film-going experiences from a neurological position was taken a step further with the option of a visit to a functioning MRI scanner the next day.

¹¹ Magic Lanterns are an early form of cinema, they project images from glass slides and were a popular form of home entertainment in the 19th century.

Francis explained that Professor Toescu had instigated the Café Neuro programme and that they wrote the funding bid for the project together. “He had an idea, he came to the festival the year before and collared me in the foyer and said it would be great to do something around neuroscience”. The award from the Wellcome Trust amounted to £24,900 for the complete event series, which consisted of twelve events in city centre locations, ten of which were free. Francis said that one of the strengths of the programme was that it wasn’t just chasing money. He described the collaborative process as “a genuine back and forth between us”.

“we ended up coming up with a programme that we wouldn’t have thought of ourselves”

Looking at the film-going experience from a neurological point of view was a new direction for the festival to take. “It got an audience that we didn’t have before” he said, and the collaborative process with Toescu also tested his co-production skills.

“You have to try not to pigeonhole each other too much and say you’re the science person and I’m the events person.... Obviously scientists can be just as creative as arts people and arts people can be just as rigorous and methodical as well, in their own way”

Members of the Cultural Engagement team later confirmed in interview that they were aware of the collaboration, but as the Café Neuro programme was designed to be a city-based event series and at the time, the Arts and Science was a campus-based event, the programmes were kept separate.

In 2014, Flatpack festival also launched a new collaborative project in conjunction with staff and students at BCU. Since the festival started, Flatpack has had “multiple connections” with BCU. The collaboration had initially been down to “one or two really enthusiastic members of staff pushing it forwards” and involved projects where students could gain experience.

“Historically we’d always had more dealings with BCU, being geographically much closer and having more courses that are more relevant to the kind of stuff that we do like Vis Com and music and so on”.

The relationship became more established with the arrival of the Parkside campus at Millennium Point. this location is close to the Custard Factory where Flatpack festival staff are based. A sub-programme of Flatpack, Swipeside, began as a three-day series of events held at the BCU campus in 2014 and has continued to expand, becoming a bigger part of Flatpack’s annual programme. Its format includes short films, interactive exhibitions and immersive or experimental installations.

Sam Groves is the programmer at Flatpack who developed the Swipeside programme, he told me that he had briefly worked at BCU after returning from studying film at University of Nottingham as a course administrator within the Art School. This was “a step in the right direction”, he said, as he was employed in the department where courses on film and animation were run and therefore the role matched his interests to an extent. As a former Flatpack volunteer who organised pop-up film events in the city “in my spare time” he was soon drawn into the Flatpack team and became a programmer at the festival. As the festival work picked up, BCU agreed to reduce his role to two days a week over the festival period. This arrangement turned out to be short lived, yet in his new role at the festival he began, informally at first, to prepare the foundation of a project that would build stronger links between the University and the festival;

“the friends I’d made at BCU, the tutors that were teaching on the film and animation courses... I was still maintaining a kind of relationship with them.”

As the creative ideas evolved, the partnership became more ambitious. A “core team” of university staff, representing predominantly Visual Communication BA courses at BCU, started to research their local creative milieu, seeking ways to engage practitioners in graphics, illustration, film, animation and photography. The group identified an emerging animation scene in the area and with BCU willing to contribute funds to develop the relationship and a lot of interest in the area due to a planned rail linking Birmingham to London, the group approached Marketing Birmingham to see

how they could help consolidate this strength for a particular flavour of visual arts in Eastside.

“We wanted to see how we could help to promote the area as a place where animators could come, live, get work, set up studios”

Due to these evolutionary stages and the interests of those involved, the annual Swipeside sub-programme has established a focus on contemporary animation and BCU have continued to be the main partner. In 2015 Groves and two BCU staff who already taught on BA courses in Hong Kong organised a night of short films and networking there, under the Flatpack festival banner, which was attended by Hong Kong based film-makers and representatives of exhibition projects and festivals. The connection between BCU and the festival has been a strategic move for the establishment in terms of furthering the international partnership and Groves also mentioned a planned trip to Bangkok in 2016 to do “a mini-Flatpack” in partnership with BCU and Silpakorn University.

“At the core of all of this... is my relationship with the tutors at BCU and my friendship with them... that has been the driving force in terms of building it”

The relationship that the University has with Flatpack delivers reciprocal benefits; the university underwrites the costs of the Swipeside programme while tickets for activities at Swipeside (now renamed Unpacked) are subsidised to make them appealing to students. Student festival volunteers from BCU far outnumber those from UoB and in 2016, BCU held a University Taster Day for prospective students within the event dates.

Discussion: Reflections on the Arts and Science Festival

The Cultural Engagement (CE) team at UoB have had the greatest responsibility for the production of the UBASF. This part of the discussion tracks the development of the festival and explores some of its procedures, drawing on interviews with the three main UBASF organisers, all of whom are members of the CE team.

The CE team was established in 2010 and it is led by Ian Grosvenor, who is Professor of Urban Educational History at the University of Birmingham. Once festival events are approved by the team, the programme content is compiled into an online guide which is hosted on the University's main website and an A5 sized, colour printed brochure is produced and distributed around campus. These programme guides have steadily increased in size each year, from 36 pages in 2013 to 38 pages in 2014, 48 in 2015 and 50 in 2016, while the programme has consistently offered a plurality of cultural forms. "I think it punches above its weight" said Grosvenor, in an interview in 2014.

Laura Milner is responsible for overseeing the production of the UBASF. Milner has been involved with the festival since it began in 2013, she is now the Cultural Partnerships Programme Manager, which is a part-time role. She told me how her prior experience of festival work has influenced its form and design; after she graduated in Communications and Philosophy, she gained arts administration experience working part-time at Vivid Projects in Eastside, co-ordinating their programme of exhibitions. She then acquired festival experience by working with two established mixed arts festivals in the city, first as an intern for Supersonic festival in 2009 and then as paid Festival Coordinator in 2010 and 2012, and as freelance festival co-ordinator at Fierce festival, fitting these temporary festival roles around her job at Vivid. When the precarious nature of her work left her with a temporary income shortage, she applied for a role as Support Assistant in the Cultural Partnerships team to do 10 hours of administrative work a week.

Laura explained that the festival idea grew out of a set of conversations within the Cultural Engagement team while she was Cultural Partnerships Support Assistant. After a year, a more senior role had become available.

“While I was working as Cultural Partnerships Support Assistant, the Cultural Programming Coordinator left. I had previously applied for the role and was successfully offered the post second time-round. It was in this capacity that I started the festival.”

The Cultural Engagement team had previously delivered events for thematic programmes such as for Black History Month and in June 2012 the University had hosted a one-day festival-type event called ‘pop-up performances’ on campus. Extending the idea to a week-long festival was within the scope of their aims and capabilities.

“The strategic aims of the cultural engagement team are to enhance the cultural life of the university, to strengthen our partnerships, to offer public engagement opportunities to academics.”

Laura confirmed that the first edition of the festival had made use of the ‘open gardens’ model¹²; this was partly out of necessity, because planning for the first edition started just four months before the festival was due to take place, but also because the festival was conceived as a “showcase” of the ideas, research and collaborative projects already happening on campus. A cross-departmental UBASF working group was set up to facilitate contact with academic groups and ancillary departments, such as estates management, marketing and hospitality.

“The first one was very much ‘let’s capture what’s going on’. What are you doing, what can you do, and we’ll put it in a festival. Like a badging exercise of existing events.”

Organisers of individual events at UBASF have also spoken about their part in the festival’s production. The organiser of the ‘366 Days of Kindness’ event told me she became involved with UBASF in its first year due to her role as her School’s ‘student

¹² Refer to Appendix 1, p.310.

engagement facilitator'. At the time the study was taking place, the University had five Colleges, which were sub-divided into Schools, further sub-divided into Departments. She explained that student engagement facilitators have responsibility for engagement and 'enrichment' initiatives and social activities;

"[it's] a fairly new role, we've only been in post 18 months... We were brought in as a bridge between the academic staff and the students".

In the run up to the first UBASF festival she said she'd had to "scramble" to find events to propose when the open call went out, as mentioned earlier, planning the festival began just before the Christmas break with events scheduled to take place mid-March;

"part of my role is raising the profile of our school and departments, I thought it was important to be involved in it".

After emails to colleagues in the School failed to produce any suggestions she designed two events herself. She told me she suspected that even if people had ideas, they might not have realised she could help to turn them into events, because she was at an early stage in the job, "it takes a while for people to realise that you're there. They're used to just doing things themselves." In March 2013 the School hosted a panel discussion on the topic of faith schools (her own PhD research subject) which she chaired herself and put on an exhibition of photographs called 'What does a philosopher look like?'. This idea had been based on an existing collection of photos online which she replicated for the festival using pictures of people in the School's departments.

"Philosophy has a bit of a diversity problem, which people are often surprised by, philosophy is very male and very white. At undergraduate level it's pretty evenly split between men and women and gradually as you go up through each of the stages, it drops off".

The photographs were displayed in the atrium of the ERI building for the festival week and many people were pictured in active pursuits.

“the students submitted photos as well, so it was also saying as a student of philosophy you’re a philosopher too, it’s not just the members of staff, it’s anybody who is studying this subject”.

She told me that the photo exhibition was then ‘recycled’ for the University’s Community Day later in the year, this was an annual one-day event in June organised by the University to engage family groups on campus.

“Community day is essentially when the University opens its doors to the community... We try to advertise it and you do get people who obviously aren’t working at the university, they’ve just wandered in. There’s a funfair, there’s a blue-plaque tour. It’s been going on a good few years now.”

In 2014 the Community Day event moved to September, so that it coincided with British Science Week.

Interviews with those connected to the UBASF revealed the existence of a cross-departmental Public Engagement Working Group (PEWG) at the University of Birmingham. Neuroscience Professor Emil Toescu was said to be a member, as was one of the University’s star science communicators, Alice Roberts, a researcher in anatomy and anthropology who holds the role of Professor of Public Engagement in Science at the University and is a regular presenter on BBC TV. The PEWG is co-chaired by Roberts and Professor Ian Grosvenor, who also chairs the Cultural Engagement team.

In 2014, the festival’s ‘Conversation Pieces’ were something of a centrepiece within the programme. The guide described them as being at “the heart of the festival” and said that they “embrace inter-disciplinarity” and “cross the boundaries between arts and science” (UBASF 2014 programme p.8). Clare Mullett, University Curator, was the team member with the most responsibility for commissioning and designing these events. Mullett is a core member of the CE team, she is based in Research and Cultural Collections where she works full time, but she was seconded to the team for half of her time during the first three years it was established. In 2014 the festival provided a separate budget for the Conversation Pieces strand. The idea she had for commissioning events was that there

would be an object under discussion from a number of disciplinary points of view, involving academics from the University. She told me that her way of working is instinctively inter-disciplinary, putting this down to her own academic experiences at the University of Birmingham. "I studied here, History of Art and English, and then I did a Masters in European Modernisms" she said.

Mullett described the Masters as "a really inspirational course" that employed a "slice of time" approach to studying aesthetic and cultural movements in Europe. Each week a new subject was introduced and academics from different departments presented perspectives on it from a range of disciplinary orientations. As lectures were 5pm until 7pm, the MA tutor also brought in wine from different parts of Europe, "so it was a bit festive!".

"I think it set me up, in a way, for how I've always loved working... We looked at artistic movements, crossing different disciplines, we looked at what the Futurists might say and what Oscar Wilde might say."

She explained that if you look at, for example, a bronze sculpture, you can have an art historian put it into the context of an artistic period and a metallurgist talk about how jet engine components are manufactured using a similar technique.

"Rather than separating things out, where they rub together, where they overlap, that's where the really fantastic stories are."

Her specialist skills in curating and education developed within the framework of Research and Cultural Collections and the cultural institutions within the University too. She gained arts administration and events management experience at the Barber Institute, where she ran a summer programme of family friendly workshops and covered maternity leave for an administrator there. "I was learning on the job" she said "I got to understand the workings of a gallery in that environment". Next, as Curatorial Assistant, she developed a student volunteer programme, created booklets and a website about the University's collections and arranged exhibitions on campus, including the one in the Danford Room.

A course in Museum Studies followed, then she took up a fellowship at University of Melbourne in 2007 where she said she had experienced the sort of strategy for consolidating institutional collections that she would have liked to see implemented at University of Birmingham, but she wasn't sure that the approach was one that would be welcomed by everyone on campus. However, when David Eastwood became Vice Chancellor in 2009, he declared an interest in producing a co-ordinated Culture Strategy for the University, which Grosvenor wrote, with Clare and a colleague from Winterbourne House.

Prior to his career in University leadership, David Eastwood had once been Chief Executive of the Arts and Humanities Research Board (the precursor to the AHRC) where he had been an advocate for collaboration and innovation in the arts disciplines (MacLeod 2000). Eastwood called an internal 'Culture Summit' at the University, which was held in the suite of rooms at the top of the Muirhead Tower, inviting the existing heads of collections, including Mullett, as well as representatives from hospitality and accommodation services, the registrars and so on. Various members of the Senior Management team outlined a plan that was to create a strong, linked cultural offer on campus. It called for a joined up approach, with direct a link to "the top", this became a new role with the title 'Deputy Pro Vice Chancellor for Culture'. Professor Ian Grosvenor was invited to take this role and he became the chair of the Cultural Engagement initiative.

Professor Grosvenor has been at the University of Birmingham for 18 years, working primarily in education, but also doing work for what was then called the 'extra mural department'. "I've done quite a lot of adult teaching" he said.

"Prior to coming here I did WEA stuff, adult education, in the evenings, teaching on history, local history, racism, culture."

During the 1980s and 90s Grosvenor told me that he worked at an anti-racist, multi-cultural 'curriculum unit' where he created an exhibition and a publication about hidden

connections in West Midlands' Black and Caribbean history. He described his work during that period as "public engagement with different forms of knowledge".

"That was a real example of public engagement in terms of research and reaching out to the public in terms of an agenda to do with multiculturalism. Of course, a lot of that was based on Birmingham City Archives, so I got to know the archives and the people there. I also then got to know people in the museum, because I wanted objects to be photographed in the exhibition."

He changed jobs but kept the projects going. "They were never part of the formal 'this is your workload', I just did the projects, people didn't really know I was doing them." As he continued to pursue his interest in articulating Birmingham's past and present as a multicultural city continued, he organised seminars, raised funds, built research networks and produced more projects, some he took into Birmingham's schools and he became increasingly interested in the history of childhood. "Depending where I was, I kept them going." I asked him if they were interest-driven, he said: "interest and... I suppose, you know, being an activist."

Out of this activity came more publications, partnerships and effects; "people became more and more aware that I was working culturally across the city." Recognition of this work within the institution led to the request from Eastwood to take on the newly created Deputy Pro Vice Chancellor for Culture role. Changing the last word of this title to 'Cultural Engagement' Grosvenor said he spent six months "having conversations" on and off campus. "I came up with some agendas and I got people involved in the university".

In October 2012 the new Bramall Music Building at UoB hosted another 'Culture Summit' which has been well-documented (Francis 2012, Warren 2012). This time the event was organised by Albert Bore, leader of the Council, and the city's creative ecology was discussed from the perspectives of many of those working in it and with guests from Chicago and Rotterdam. Grosvenor told me that the annual festival is not the only project that the CE team have overseen.

"I recognised that our undergraduates, when they got their degree, needed an advantage in terms of getting into the heritage and cultural sector."

Many of the cultural organisations involved in his initial conversations joined what is known as the University's Cultural Partnership. This enabled the setting up of a scheme to provide six-month paid work based placements for up to ten students annually within a creative organisation in the city. Since its inception, the Cultural Intern scheme, which is funded through the University's Strategic Development Fund, has nurtured a cohort of over 40 networked graduates. While on placement they form a cohort that meets regularly and, anecdotally, many have remained working in the cultural sector within the city after the end of their internship.

Discussion: Curating the Campus

This part of the discussion concentrates on the symbolism of some of the visual and experiential encounters already documented in the festival fieldwork. It places the University of Birmingham's 'presentation of itself' as experienced at UBASF within in a wider context. In this part of the discussion I draw on observations made at other HE institutions during the study period.

The 1960s Art and Architecture Tour in 2014 was an example of how the UBASF presented the campus as a cultural destination and celebrated its most distinctive aspects. The event was presented at UoB but it was simultaneously part of Ikon Gallery's 'Those were the Decades' 50th anniversary programme, it was included in Ikon's own publicity and places on the walk were actually booked through the IKON gallery. The 'IKON 50' programme reflected on the five decades of Ikon's history but the walk itself was designed, produced and delivered by Clare Mullett, University Curator, who encouraged participants to think about the how the identity of the University can be articulated as a pillar of the city's cultural history is produced.

Institutional object collections, particularly university art collections, are increasingly being used within public cultural engagement strategies. In June 2015, a one-day symposium called 'Curating the Campus' in Leeds brought together curators from a number of universities, including the curator from University of Birmingham. The event marked the start of a new Public Art Strategy at University of Leeds which has been led by Professor Ann Sumner, who had formerly been Director of the Barber Institute of Fine Arts at the University of Birmingham¹³. At the Curating the Campus event were representatives from several UK universities who were presenting or developing art and sculpture strategies including Clare Mullett and Sarah Shalgosky, curator at University of Warwick. This was an interesting point of connection as I had attended an exhibition held at The Mead Gallery in the University of Warwick's campus in 2015 that marked the founding of University's art collection, which had been simultaneous with the founding of the University.

¹³ The Barber Institute was founded in 1932 as an Institute for the University 'for the study and encouragement of Art and Music'. Sumner was Director from 2007 to the Institute's 80th anniversary in 2012 and she programmed the 80th anniversary celebrations.

An art collection is evidence of the collecting histories of an institution, incorporating the choices and priorities of those who built it, incorporating their choices and priorities as well as gifts, bequeathments and sub-collections inherited during, in the case of universities, mergers with other colleges. Through the mediation of its objects and contexts, different claims can be made for its meaning. Portraits are a mainstay of university art collections, these have usually been commissioned by the institution and are exhibited in symbolic spaces. The poses and selection of clothing, dark suits or scholarly robes, are used to convey the sitter's authority, institutional values and achievements. Sometimes the commissioned piece is a bust in bronze or marble, sometimes it has been produced by a surprising choice of artist, such as the bust by Sir Jacob Epstein (1951), commissioned for the collection at UoB in recognition of their first female professor Dame Hilda Lloyd, "bold and pioneering – traits that could be applied to the woman herself" (The Barber Institute of Fine Arts and University of Birmingham 2015). Purchasing prints is cheaper than commissioning and over the three years of this study, some of the same prints have been seen on display in art collections at the University of Birmingham, the Lakeside Gallery at the University of Nottingham, the Whitworth Art Gallery at University of Manchester and the Mead Gallery at University of Warwick.

All such artefacts have their associated politics. In Chapter two it was suggested that, along with museums, orchestras, theatre companies and other professional associations, universities have played a key role in the development of national cultural values (Chatterton 2000). Following Bennett (1998, 2013) it also follows that they belong to the ensemble of institutions that operate within the public cultural campus or 'culture complex' as sites of differentiation of culture and top-down flows of hegemonic power. This adds a theoretical dimension to the objects being presented to the public which becomes particularly interesting when looking at the style of work on display in the public areas at UK Universities. The University of Warwick's campus was built in the 1960s post-Robbins expansion era, at a time when modernist campuses reflected the ideals of common standards of citizenship. This was also still in the post-war rebuilding era when architects collaborated with artists and artworks were an integral part of buildings, often as murals, relief panels or forms that animated spaces. The Mead gallery produced a 'coffee table' publication to accompany the exhibition which mentions an illustrated book

by the University's architect Eugene Rosenberg on his ideas about art and architecture¹⁴. The University of Warwick's founding ideals were reflected in the quality of its built environment and Rosenberg selected art that gave the place a sense of identity. Painting and sculpture from the Post-war period has a structuralist character, by the mid-20th Century the art world had been full of manifestos for some time and the art and particularly architecture of the period represented the utopian possibility of building a new world. The ideal social actor for a modern post-war society governed by reason is the utilitarian and rationalist individual, modernist art is a kind of visual manifestation of this impulse. Some artists, such as Elisabeth Frink, Victor Pasmore, Eduardo Paolozzi, Bruce McLean, Patrick Heron, Barbara Hepworth, Terry Frost and others active in the mid-20th century and whose work is part of modernism and abstraction, have been popular with many campus collectors.

Monuments and public sculptures are presented to the public because society is prepared to believe that artists have a unique communicative ability, that they can express deep aspects of the spirit of society. A bright red geometric metal sculpture stands outside the Warwick Arts Centre building, which houses the Mead Art Gallery. In 2016 this sculpture, 3B Series No. 1 by Bernard Schottlander (1968), was included in a list of forty-one sculptures identified by Historic England¹⁵ that represent 'Post-war public art'. The listing was "in recognition of a time when architects and artists worked together to try to communicate a vision of a new world after their experiences in the war" (Shalgosky quoted in Donlon 2016). To be eligible for listing, public art must be over thirty years old and the list can only include "fixed artworks which members of the public are able to access and appreciate"¹⁶ (Historic England 2016). Five other sculptures on the list are located at UK universities, including a large sculptural relief installed above a doorway at the University of Leeds. These works were said to capture the mood of post-war public feeling, they were made at a time when "public sculpture became an emblem of renewal, optimism and progress" (Historic England 2016).

¹⁴ Architect's Choice: Art and Architecture in Great Britain since 1945

¹⁵ Historic England is the shorter name for the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, a statutory body for listing, planning and managing the at risk register. Until 1 April 2015 the organisation was commonly known as English Heritage.

¹⁶ Historic England (2016) Public Art 1945-95: Introductions to Heritage Assets

Regardless of its loftier social ambitions, public art can be seen to have an enlivening role. The Schottlander piece is indicative of the art strategy employed in early days of Warwick University, when modernist and mostly abstract works of art were distributed around the buildings to lend atmosphere to spaces. The same space hosts White Koan (Liliane Lijn, 1972), a sculpture that Shalgosky said had been so popular with generations of Warwick students that it has its own Twitter account: @warwickkoan.

Institutional object collections held by universities can also be useful for learning. In 2013, the University of Birmingham piloted an object based learning module for second year students, in which objects from the many collections at University of Birmingham, are used as educational resources in sessions that are delivered by various University departments including the Research and Cultural Collections, Lapworth Museum, the Centre for West African Studies, the Medical School, the Barber Institute, and Winterbourne Gardens (Lund 2014). Handling and interpretation of objects is also an interview technique used for assessing candidates applying to the University of Birmingham's 'Liberal Arts and Sciences' BA course. Mullett explained how it works;

“What we’ve done is we’ve set up a game which is like Call my Bluff, or Would I Lie to You? But instead of words or stories, we use the objects. So we teach the students a little bit about object handling, object analysis, how you might think about writing a catalogue card and they use this knowledge to create various meanings, real and false, for this allocated object.””

Her method of taking different views on an object inspired the Conversation Pieces and has also been turned into a conceptual task. “It’s about skills based learning rather than focussed learning” she said, the students are divided into groups and given an object, “they work on a summary of the truth and two summaries of lies, and then they pitch to another group”. Once the students have used their observational skills and discussed the objects in groups, they rapidly have to apply the skills they have learned and work together as a team to become the victors.

Discussion: Artist residencies

In many UK universities, there is a small and frequently changing community of artists working within different disciplinary centres and departments, without being enrolled on courses. They can be involved with specific projects where their work forms part of research methodologies or creatively interprets the findings of research, or they respond according to their own practice to the institution's collections and cultural assets. They can be funded by a range of public or charity bodies to be 'resident' for periods of a few weeks or months up to a year or sometimes even longer.

Winterbourne House and Garden is a restored Edwardian Arts and Crafts house close to the campus which has belonged to the University of Birmingham since 1944. In 2013 Sara Hayward was 'artist in residence' at Winterbourne House, funded by a bursary from the Leverhulme Trust. She produced colourful portraits from photographs of the Nettlefold family, its original residents, which hung in the rooms of the house and she made a short experimental film in collaboration with an MA film making student at the University. The first UBASF programme offered drawing courses at Winterbourne House led by Hayward. For the price of admission to Winterbourne House for the general public (£5.50), visitors could attend a two-hour session with the artist. In the 2015 edition of the festival, Anne Parouty was Winterbourne's artist in residence, funded by the Arts Council, the workshop sessions that year demonstrated cyanotype printmaking, a process used in the early 20th century to reproduce technical drawings. Small groups could have a go at making blue and white images using light sensitive iron salts, flowers and leaves collected in the gardens.

In 2015, the UBASF programme contained another event in conjunction with IKON. This was an installation of new acoustic pieces named Poetics of (Outer) Space in Perrott's Folly, an architectural curiosity located quite a walk from the Edgbaston campus. Caroline Devine had produced the acoustic works using the resonances of stars, during her residency with University of Birmingham's Solar and Stellar Physics Group in the School of Physics and Astronomy, funded by the Leverhulme Trust.

The artists working in the CCCS archive told me that they became aware of their six months long residency opportunity on the Arts Council's 'Arts Jobs' recruitment service and applied, but it also emerged in the interview that Louie had a pre-existing connection to the city. They were invited to participate in UBASF by the University's curator, Clare Mullett, and it seemed to present a good opportunity to reach audiences.

"When we took on the project, a bit of outreach was expected, connection with audiences outside the University"

"you already had a platform to do something within... we didn't have to do so much marketing ourselves"

It transpired that there had been some negotiation over the form that their event at UBASF eventually took. At the start of the planning process it was decided that Conversation Pieces would be the most suitable strand for a festival event related to their work in the CCCS archive, but this turned out to be problematic as the format seemed to require a physical object as the focus.

"It turned out that actually the Conversation Pieces strand was really specific.... The point was that there had to be an object"

"When we thought about that we realised that... almost everything in the archive was written and if you're sitting in front of an audience, how are they actually going access that...? People are just going to be talking about something that not many people have read."

The 'scroll' was chosen because it was "kind of visual" and the artists thought it was something that people could access relatively quickly, compared to an academic paper.

"So that was the first thing. The second thing where we diverged from what they were proposing... We really didn't want to do a traditional talk where we were the experts and the audience is the passive consumer, mainly because of what it was that the CCCS was all about. They were very much about having everything very flat and level between teachers and their students"

The artists hoped to democratise the event by encouraging people to give their own opinions. As the date of the event drew nearer Jesse also decided to make some posters to publicise the event itself, which she pinned to departmental notice boards and displayed in the outdoor areas around campus that people passed through daily. This intuitive use of space and impact is a good example of how participatory practices are used by artists to connect with people. Another outcome of their residency that they mentioned in the interview involved the participation of communities on campus.

“We did this outreach project where we recruited people who would be interested in the archive and then told them that it was there, brought them there and ... about eight participants in the end, one of them worked in the Starbucks on site, a couple of them were doing clerical jobs... people from different areas.”

In this workshop, the artists had taught the project participants how to access the CCCS archive materials that interested them and then built exhibition boards to mount work that they produced. These boards looked like placards. The participants held these placards as they gathered at a symbolic place within the campus (“that main building, the one that they’re always protesting outside?”) to perform the piece that looked very much like a protest or a strike. This area is where the poster for the Handsworth Scroll event had been encountered during the Art and Architecture walk. It is close to the clock tower, facing the Aston Webb building. Further interpretative uses of the campus geography have appeared in the design of subsequent guided tours led by artists in residence Matt Westbrook in UBASF 2015 and Antonio Roberts in UBASF 2016.

Summary

The simplicity of the festival's central theme - Arts and Science - hides an institutional complexity that is only partially revealed in this chapter. While cultural engagement is the most conspicuous agenda in the publications associated with festival events, interviews with festival producers and organisers of individual events revealed multiple internal agendas for engagement and partnership-building that feed into the production of events in the programme. Despite its remote location, the University's venues and object collecting practices clearly benefits the city's cultural profile and some of the translational cultural engagement activities observed at the festival provided a way to articulate and draw attention to the history of these symbolic and socio-cultural exchanges. The chapter documents an expression of the desire at higher levels of University management to have greater strategic influence within cultural sector networks which sees the institution in an active role, linking together culture sector organisations within the Cultural Partnerships project and building capacity out of what can often be informal and tenacious arrangements. By implementing the Cultural Interns initiative, a scheme which has over the last five years nurtured a sizeable cohort of networked graduates working in the cultural sector within the city, the Cultural Partnerships project also aims to improve retention in the cultural workforce and connect external creative organisations.

Interviews with the festival co-ordinators within the Cultural Engagement team have evidenced the importance of tacit knowledge acquired through sectoral connectivity. Already part of the University of Birmingham's Cultural Engagement Team when UBASF began, Laura Milner's role as festival co-ordinator is an important aspect of this study, her specialist knowledge, skills and employment narrative fit with the portfolio career model of cultural workers outlined in the first chapter; she works with Supersonic and Fierce festivals and at Vivid Projects in Digbeth, these are hubs within the city's culture sector networks. This sectoral connectivity is also evidenced through the events shared between the Flatpack and UBASF festivals, although the evidence also points to other, more substantial relationships with HE becoming established elsewhere in the city. The section of this chapter concerning the collaborative events at UBASF with the Flatpack festival suggests that one catalysing factor for the partnership between the two festivals was that

there were not enough city centre venues for mid-sized mixed arts festivals. The UoB offered the Flatpack festival the use of some interesting new spaces and possibly the opportunity to reach a wider audience. However, issues of spatial proximity and the kinds of undergraduate programmes of study offered by the city's post-1992 university, BCU, have encouraged a better embedded relationship with Flatpack to grow within that institution during the same period.

Other than the Conversation Pieces, which were commissioned by and presented in close partnership with the Cultural Engagement team, the annual UBASF at UoB has created a kind of structural bridge to bring together a set of disparate events produced by multiple disciplinary groups within the institution as part of a cohesive festival. It does this without necessarily unifying them under any one, single institutional narrative, events of different quality, produced with inconsistent levels of resources and led by staff at different hierarchical levels within the University can comfortably share a platform within the UBASF. A range of participating sub-groups at the institution deliver events in their own normative styles and in their own venues, the content of which is selected, interpreted and contextualised by departmental staff. The role played internally by the Cultural Engagement team, notably their presence in numerous working groups and committees, is strategically important to the University's capacity to deliver projects on the scale of the UBASF. Aware of and guided by the stated development goals of the Executive Board, team members creatively use their personal knowledge, tastes, networks and the infrastructures of the city's cultural ecology to 'bring in' contributors and quality events into the festival programme. Badging, or as one respondent said "shoe-horning", things in that were already happening has helped to build up the festival programme and many of festival events have presented a kind of 'business as usual' at the University, such as public talks by academics and many of the exhibitions, as well as the theatre productions staged by drama students at Selly Oak or the events programme at the Music School. The events described as 'Conversation Pieces' have a budget and are commissioned for the festival and through these the festival enters into dialogue with the history of the University and with the city.

Themes that have emerged during the study of this festival include the importance of space, place and meaning to the University's Cultural Programmes and this chapter has raised an interesting point about the difference between instrumental and intuitive uses of objects, campus space and visual impact. As discussed in Chapter three, festivals are useful to placemaking and place marketing strategies, often linked with urban regeneration projects and the promotion of cultural consumption. The discussion includes evidence of a wider trend in UK HE for universities to exploit their cultural assets and object collections in public engagement strategies and to animate the campus. Certain activities at UBASF in 2014 could be said to have a placemaking role, promoting the university campus as a cultural destination.

The study in Birmingham shows how research and practice in arts and humanities disciplines are able to contribute to a university's cultural profile, helping to preserve an institution's distinctiveness as they increasingly compete with each other. Yet it appears that in the design of some festival events, there has to be a negotiation between institutional strategies for cultural engagement and the kinds of interventions made by individual contributors, such as the example of the artists in residence in the CCCS, who sought to democratise the format of the 'Conversation Pieces' to be less didactic and more inclusive and participatory.

Chapter seven. The Manchester Metropolitan University Humanities in Public Festival

The chapter introduces the Humanities in Public (HiP) festival, a series of events presented annually by the Institute of Humanities and Social Science Research (IHSSR) at Manchester Metropolitan University (MMU). This festival has a focus on the humanities and social sciences, bringing together a number of disciplines at a faculty of MMU. The study is based on research conducted between January 2014 and July 2015, during the first two editions of the HiP festival and the chapter takes an event by event approach to the experience of the festival, looking at the structure of its programme, the range of events presented and the places where the festival events took place.

There are actually two festivals in this study; HiP, the year-round inter-disciplinary programme of events and another short, annual festival Gothic Manchester, which originally formed part of the HiP programme and has many connections with HiP, but has since become a standalone event. These two festivals are treated separately in the analysis as they have produced different insights. Through the production of HiP and Gothic Manchester, researchers at MMU are seen to be uniquely positioned to respond to their location. A theoretical approach to how Manchester's historical narratives and its contemporary cultural economy are woven into its urban fabric is an important element of the festival's context and it is interesting to see how academic research contributes to ways that the history and the identity of the city of Manchester are reproduced. The chapter draws on interviews with the festival organisers and event producers to reveal some earlier programmes of public engagement at MMU that have influenced the form of the events that make up HiP. The chapter also seeks to understand how HiP events reproduce, perhaps unintentionally, some MMU internal norms and narratives and investigates where and how breaks with these have occurred during the apparent evolution of the two festivals. However, it finds that individual MMU researchers are developing understandings of the city that are left out of the dominant narrative and marginal or oppositional communities are often able to take centre stage. This means that the two festivals can also be located in a UK trend of 'festivalising' the humanities.

MMU HiP Festival: Form, document and encounter

Events in each of the ten-month long editions of the first two HiP festivals were held at intervals throughout the academic year, each festival programme contained separate 'strands' of events which occurred consecutively across a series of dates.

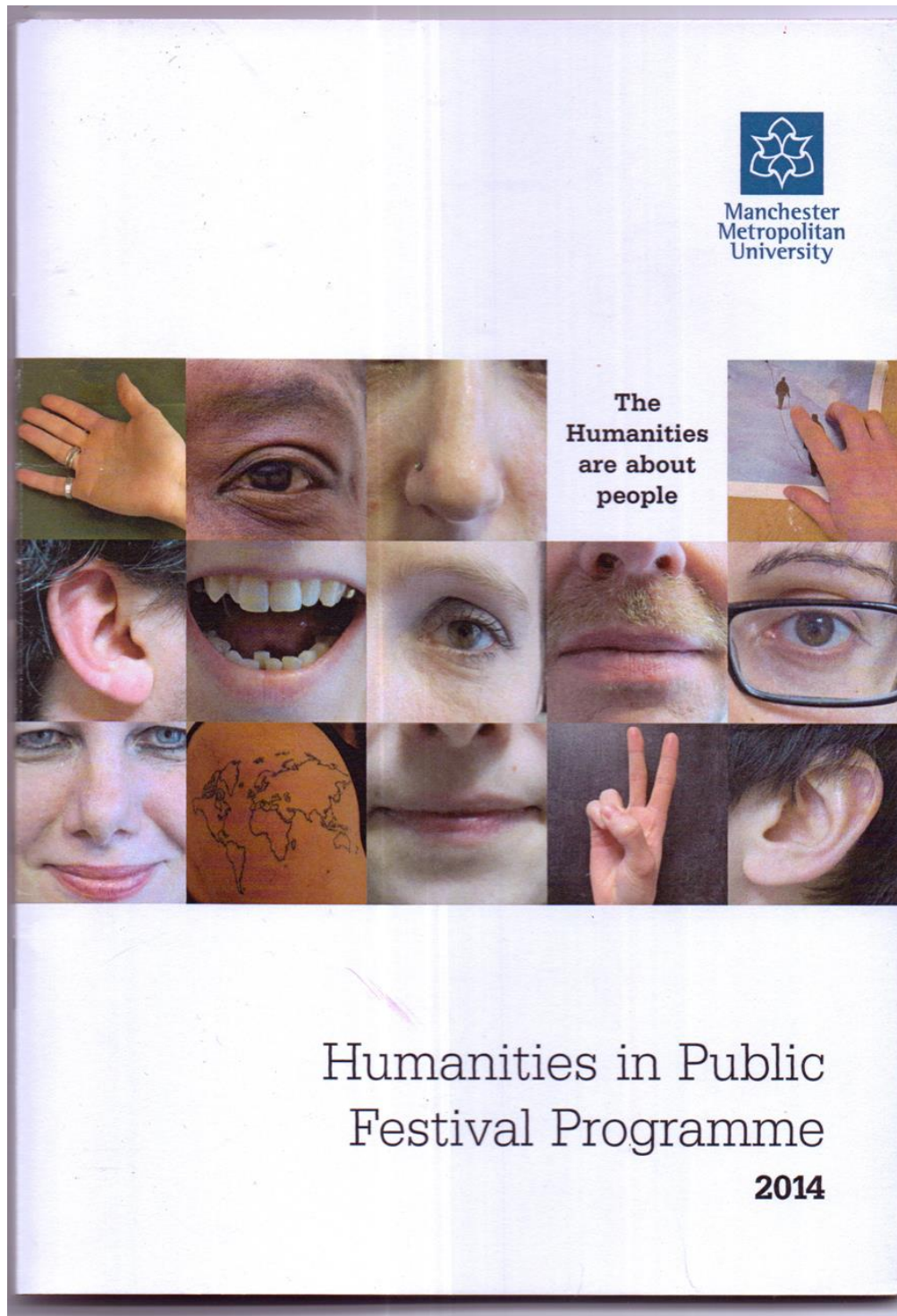


Figure 14. Front cover of HiP festival brochure 2013-2014, 2nd edition.

These strands were curated or ‘convened’, as the festival guides have put it, by either one, two or occasionally three academics at MMU. In the first HiP festival there were five distinct strands, in the second edition there were six. This year-long, serialised events model is the most obvious way in which HiP differs in form from the other festivals in this study. During these first two editions of HiP, approximately sixty different events took place, including public talks, one-day symposia, film screenings, exhibitions, guided walks and five inaugural lectures of new professors.

The first HiP festival programme 2013/2014 contained within it that of another, related new festival called Gothic Manchester, which was organised by the Centre for Gothic Studies in the Department of English and held between 21st and 27th October 2013. This ‘festival within a festival’ was presented as part of the HiP programme and yet it conveys a distinct identity and seems to be aimed at a more specific audience. The Gothic Manchester festival ran again as part of HiP in 2014, then a separation of the two occurred. The third Gothic Manchester festival, held over four days in 2015, was presented by the Department of English. For these and other reasons, the events that made up the Gothic Manchester festival are analysed separately in this chapter.

The first edition of the HiP festival had two different printed programme guides associated with it. Both editions of this guide have the University’s logo on the front cover, together with a collage of images of face and body parts (see figure 7.2), the first guide had a black background which for the second edition, produced towards the end of 2013, was changed to white and some extra festival events had been added. The guides contained the same welcoming paragraph and a description of the programme’s purpose.

“To discover the Humanities means finding out about people and how they live their lives, both as individuals and in communities. The Humanities ask questions about society, history, communication, relationships, thought, knowledge, belief, culture and creativity. It therefore makes little sense to keep what we do locked up in the University.”

MMU HiP guide 2013, p.2

This first edition of the HiP festival was publicised in the Times Higher Education journal, where the stated aim, according to its organisers, was to engage people with no experience of higher education, including ‘Neets’ (not in education, employment or training), with humanities research topics. City walks, pub quizzes and film screenings off-campus were attempts to create a “festival atmosphere” in the hope of attracting attendees to the associated on-campus lectures (Jump 2013). The printed guide to the second HiP festival, launched in September 2014, displayed the names of the festival strands in different fonts on coloured bars across the cover of the guide, along with the MMU logo.

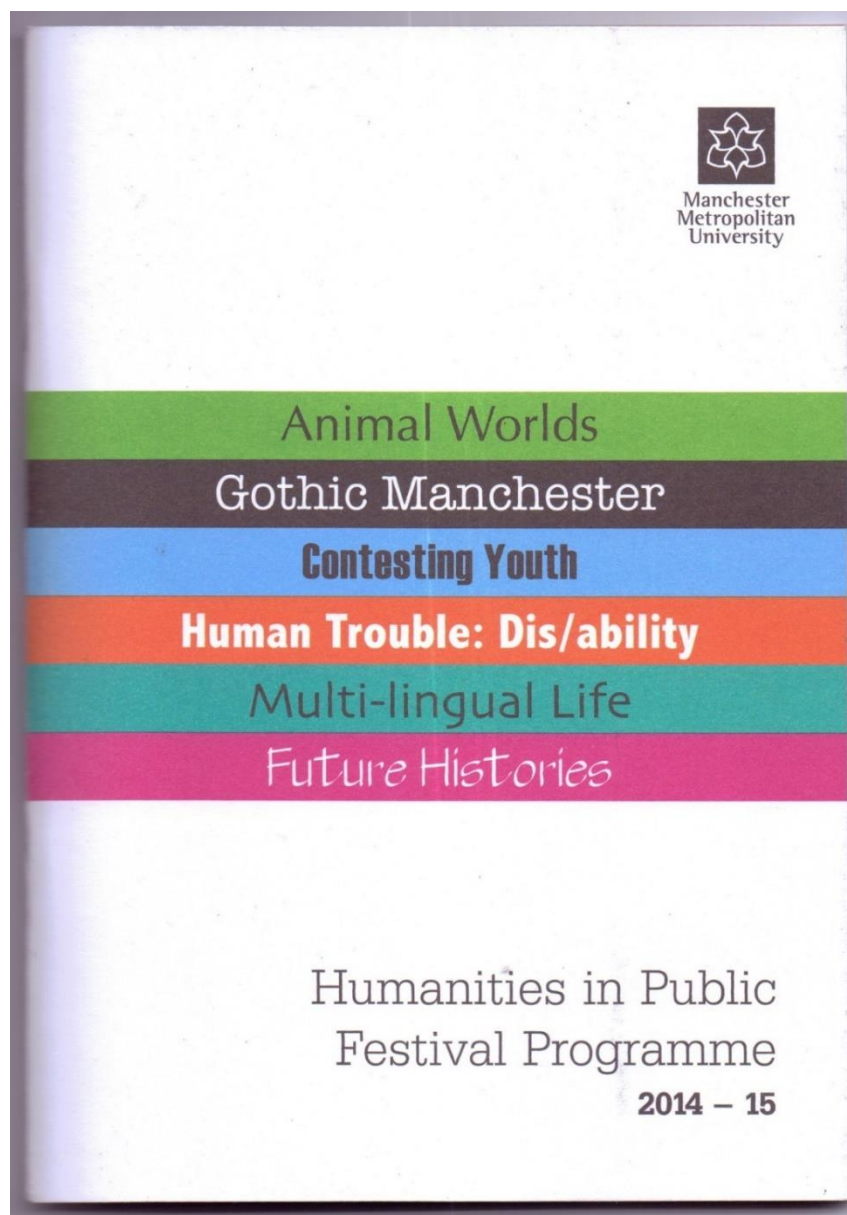


Figure 15. Front cover of HiP festival brochure 2014-2015.

This time, the organisers also produced a series of postcards and posters representing each of the strands, each featuring arresting images.



Figure 16. Postcards and promotional chocolate square at the HiP launch, September 2014.

Launched in September 2015, the format for the third, year-long HiP festival event series was slightly different to the previous two. A larger number of events per term were organised into three separate themed sub-programmes called 'War' 'Sex' and 'World', each of which had an A5 printed guide associated with them. These sub-programmes of HiP continued the 'themed strand' style of the previous programmes but they no longer included inaugural lectures, these were collected together as a separate event series.

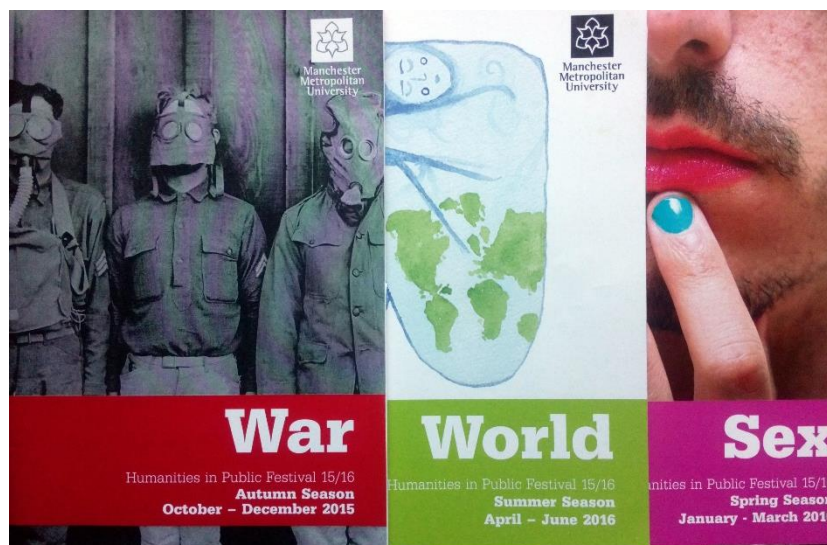


Figure 17. Three HiP events programmes in the 2015-2016 edition of the festival.

Context: institutional structure

HiP festival events have been held at various venues in the Manchester City Region and some of its thematic programmes have extended into Salford, but the majority of events in 2013 and early 2014 took place at the part of the MMU campus known as All Saints, close to the city centre. MMU is an urban 'post 1992' university, established in 1970 and previously known as Manchester Polytechnic. It is the largest example of a 'post 92' university in the UK and has many features that distinguish it from the university in the previous chapter. As a polytechnic, it was a local authority run institution which already incorporated the Manchester School of Art (formerly Manchester School of Design established in 1838) and Hollings College (formerly the Domestic and Trades College), it became a corporate body on 1 April 1989.

The University has two main campuses, one in central Manchester and another in Crewe, Cheshire. The central Manchester part of the MMU campus, including the area known as All Saints, is located in an intensely urban area alongside Oxford Road within the Hulme ward of Manchester, at the south edge of the City Centre district. MMU shares this part of the city with another large university, the University of Manchester and there is a third HE provider in the area too, The Royal Northern College of Music, creating a high density of the sorts of buildings and environments associated with research, education and leisure found around universities. The area is well connected to the city centre by road and rail and much of the MMU campus is close enough to the centre to be able to easily walk to the city's centre. The university is a signatory to the Manifesto for Public Engagement and from 2008 until 2012 it was a partner in one of the six NCCPE Beacons for Public Engagement project, with the University of Manchester, University of Salford, the Museum of Science and Industry and the Manchester Knowledge Capital initiative.

“Acronym City”

The first two editions of the HiP festival were presented by the Institute of Humanities and Social Science Research (IHSSR) at MMU. The Institute’s webpage described the IHSSR as ‘bringing together researchers and research students from four different Faculties’ (IHSSR 2014):

Humanities, Languages and Social Science

Science and Engineering

Business and Law

MMU Cheshire

Within the first of these faculties, Humanities, Languages and Social Science (HLSS), were more than ten academic research centres, some of them cross-disciplinary, drawing together academics from the fields of English, History, Human Geography, Information and Communications, Law, Languages and Linguistics, Philosophy, Politics and Sociology. The Geoffrey Manton building is the bricks-and-mortar base of the HLSS, it has been home to these disciplines since it was built in the part of the MMU city campus known as All Saints. There is a large, pleasant atrium space at the centre of the building which was where the launch of the first two editions of the HiP festival took place, with wine receptions, poster displays, speeches and so on. The following five departments were based at this site at this time:

English

History, Politics and Philosophy

Languages, Information and Communications

Journalism, Information and Communications

Sociology

In 2012 the Faculty had been rebranded¹⁷, previously it had been the Faculty of Humanities, Law and Social Sciences, when Law moved into the Business School to become the Faculty of Business and Law, HLSS became renamed as Humanities, Languages and Social Sciences “just so they didn't have to change the initials, because languages were always here” said festival co-ordinator Helen Darby. She and Professor Berthold Schoene, director of the Institute of Humanities and Social Science Research, are frequently pictured together in HiP promotional publicity and are based in The Geoffrey Manton building.

Darby has responsibility for design, promotion and delivery of all of the festival events, while her colleague is credited with overall responsibility for Research and Knowledge Exchange in Humanities and Social Science disciplines at MMU. The IHSSR won an internal KE project award for the first Humanities in Public Festival, which added £1000 to the programme budget. Festival director is not a title that exists within the HiP festival staff structure. Between 2012 and 2014, Darby, a former PhD research student at the Faculty, had been employed on temporary contracts by the IHSSR, first to produce an annual programme of public events, then for the delivery of the first two editions of HiP. The salary for this role was from QR funding.

While explaining how the institutional structure supported the production of HiP, Darby made it clear that the REF was a major factor. The IHSSR represented several units of assessment in the 2014 REF, “the institutes were put together for the 2014 submission... they're now being changed, looking forward to the 2020 submission”. Following a “post-REF” restructure in 2015, the ‘I’ was dropped from the name IHSSR, although this was a change that was almost imperceptible in the presentation of HiP events. Since the restructure, Darby has been employed full time on a permanent Faculty contract with the job title ‘Project Manager for Research and Impact’. “It was going to be festival director, but we've had an instruction from the university for everybody, and this includes what were the directors of the research institutes, that there has been too much proliferation of the title director... I'm now HiP festival co-ordinator and I am project manager for research impact for HLSS. Humanities Languages and Social Science. Faculty of”.

¹⁷ See Hollyman 2012

Her role, now permanent, includes a broad set of responsibilities, from booking guests and arranging venues, to ticketing plans and creating social media campaigns right down to taking the photographs for the programme and running the events. “Project manager is a little bit of a misnomer” she explained, “it's a title that is used in the university to denote a particular set of criteria, a role profile... but it's not what you'd define as a project manager outside the university. It's not Prince 2, it's not GANNT charts”. Darby has continued to oversee all aspects of festival planning and delivery of the third HiP festival and the design of the fourth.

Context: a city perspective

The Oxford Road Corridor, where MMU and University of Manchester are based, is seen by city planners to be the main economic driver and source of employment in the Hulme area, an estimated 55,000 people work there (Manchester City Council 2014). It is important to note that Manchester is sometimes used as shorthand for the ‘agglomeration’ of the city and the Greater Manchester city region (Association of Greater Manchester Authorities 2009), which in 2014 became a statutory devolved metropolitan region, with its public spending responsibilities transferred from central Government to its local authority, the Greater Manchester Combined Authority (GMCA). The GMCA comprises the Leaders of the ten constituent councils in Greater Manchester: Bolton, Bury, Manchester, Oldham, Rochdale, Salford, Stockport, Tameside, Trafford and Wigan. Economic and social policy can now be implemented from a specifically regional point of view, although the rhetoric concerning how public funds are spent seems not much different to that of central Government; a stated goal of the post-devolution strategy document produced by the GMCA is reducing demand on public services (GMCA 2013). In some areas of public spending however, there is a feeling that devolution hasn’t gone far enough.

“The current GM Devolution Agreement excludes over 60% of education and training spend in GM for 16-24 year olds (e.g. apprenticeships are out of scope) and there are wider challenges relating to the education and skills system as a whole (including schools, colleges and higher education) that we are not yet empowered to address.”

GMCA 2015 (p.16).

Manchester's universities were mentioned in the first set of strategic plans in relation to their 'leading edge' science, technology and healthcare capabilities, which are seen as international growth priorities. Manchester has proven success in this area; the graphene engineering centre at The University of Manchester is a high profile collaborative project with the government of Abu Dhabi. The impact that devolution will have on the city's cultural and creative economy is still uncertain. A new flagship cultural project, The Factory Manchester, has secured major central government investment and will be home to the prestigious Manchester International Festival, but many smaller organisations, museums and libraries that depended on local authority funding have been adversely affected by recent spending cuts and face very uncertain futures (Gilmore 2016).

In the late 1990s, there was considerable interest in developing Manchester's creative economy. The city appeared to have taken the lead in the renaissance of the UK's formerly industrial cities and research suggested the existence of the elusive 'innovative milieu' (O'Connor 1999) with particular reference to Manchester's night time economy, new media producers and fashion and design businesses. Then as now, the city's leaders and advocates conveyed what O'Connor has called "a strong narrative of energetic entrepreneurialism" (O'Connor 2004 p.144). This summarises a rhetorical discourse in which the character of a Mancunian, frequently imagined as having an attitude of grit and resilience, is combined with the narrative of the city as a place of invention, innovation and energy, producing a compelling urban imaginary.

"Manchester was the first industrial city. The original modern city. The birthplace of the contemporary urban experience"

Association of Greater Manchester Authorities 2009 (p.3).

As with many post-industrial European cities, Manchester capitalises on its 18th and 19th Century industrial history as an intrinsic part of creating its global image. Due to the city's particularly rapid growth in the early phase of the Industrial Revolution in England, Manchester was in fact witness to a number of 'firsts' in this respect. In 1999 an area of Manchester called Castlefield was inscribed on the tentative list for UNESCO World Heritage site status, on the basis that it represented "Britain's first industrial 'true' canal,

Britain's first mainline, inter-city passenger railway and the country's first industrial suburb based on steam power" (DCMS 1999 p.46). This referred to one of the first waterways of the industrial era, built in 1763 by the Duke of Bridgewater, and the opening in 1830 of the Liverpool Road Station which became the Manchester terminus of the world's first passenger railway. Industrial archaeology carried out at sites in Manchester that were undergoing redevelopment have revealed the city's "breakneck growth" between 1773 and 1801 (Nevell 2010 p.13) which, until the city's incorporation in 1838, was rapid and unregulated. Friedrich Engel's famous accounts of the poor housing and poverty in Manchester at this time became the basis of his book in 1845 on *The Condition of the Working Class in England* and Manchester's present stakeholders do not seek to suppress this story of exploitation and suffering, they make use of it to underline the city's claim for global significance as the 'first industrial city'. "We have a strong story to tell in our social justice and industrial heritage, world class institutions and our established, internationally recognised brands" (GMCA 2015). Although the proposal for UNESCO status resulted in non-nomination and was not pursued further, development of many formerly industrial zones in the area has continued, funded by Manchester City Council and private developers. This has turned the once derelict and undesirable areas in the city into heritage assets, restored and made accessible for reinterpretation as "emblems of Manchester's commercial prosperity" (Nevell 2010 p.19).

The city's early prosperity is reflected in the city's many grand high Victorian buildings, the gothic John Rylands library and Town Hall in the centre of the city are good examples of this. There are also 20th century urban heritage assets that provide the city with different kinds of symbolic capital.

"What gave the Manchester regeneration narrative more resonance was, in effect, a 'windfall gain' from the explosion of popular culture in the city, which occupied (with one or two exceptions) a completely different symbolic, physical and economic space in the city from that which concerned the city government".

O'Connor 2004 (p. 144).

One landmark that first put the city onto the pop culture map was The Twisted Wheel nightclub, which existed between 1963 and 1971 and is widely believed to have been one of the first clubs to play music that became known as Northern Soul, drawing in a crowd from other UK cities. In the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s Manchester gained an international reputation for its distinctive music and fashion-based culture, most famously the scene that drew people to the Hacienda nightclub, which promoted the bands signed to independent music label Factory records, and later for 'Madchester', The Happy Mondays and Oasis. A performance by the Sex Pistols at the Free Trade Hall in 1976 is another fixed point in the city's counter-cultural history, these developments are depicted in the film, *24 Hour Party People* (Michael Winterbottom, 2002). These places lie within easy reach of the MMU campus, although are now transformed beyond recognition. What this overview of Manchester's interlinked cultural narratives introduces are some themes that are important for the next sections and for thinking about how the HiP festival achieves what REF terminology describes as 'reach and significance' (HEFCE et al 2011) through shared understandings of the social, cultural and economic life of the city.

HiP #1: Launch and Day of the Droogs

Described as a 'grand launch', the first HiP festival event was a social event held on Thursday 19th September 2013 in the Manton Building atrium with a drinks reception, live music and speeches. The inaugural lecture of a Professor of Sociology, Steve Miles, was the first event in the programme and this happened a few days later in a lecture theatre in the Manton Building, with tea and coffee served in the atrium beforehand.

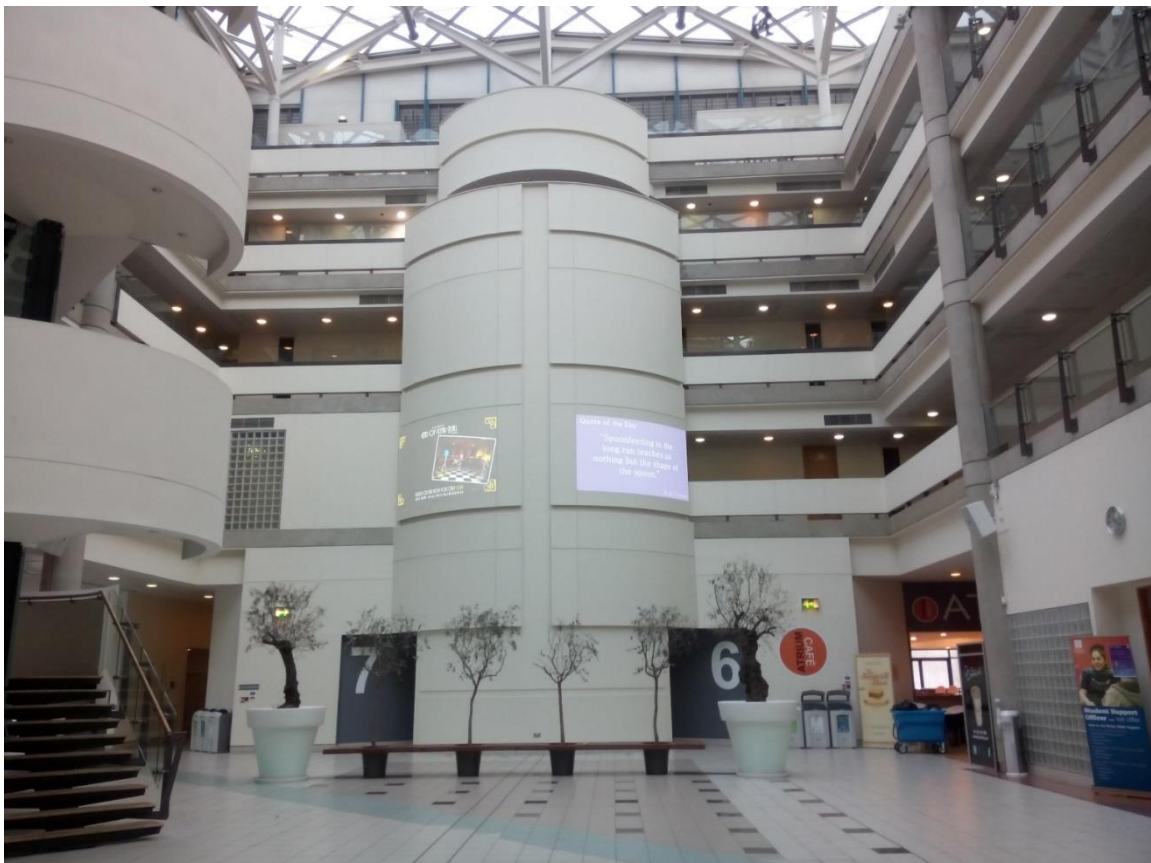


Figure 18. The atrium space at the Geoffrey Manton Building, MMU, January 2014.

Three events in a strand called 'Contemporary Gothic' then followed in October, convened by Dr Xavier Aldana Reyes, a Research Fellow in the School of English, these events lead up to the first edition of the Gothic Manchester festival in October, also co-organised by Aldana Reyes, which is discussed in detail later in this chapter. The second HiP strand was 'Global Society', which comprised four events and a conference all convened by Paul Kennedy and held in November and December 2013.

A revised guide to the HiP festival programme was produced at this time, in which additional events in 2014 to those originally published were announced, it contained a short review of those that had already taken place in 2013. This second print edition of the brochure started with another inaugural lecture by a professor of sociology, Jon Bannister, on 20th January 2014 and was followed by the first HiP event at which observations were made, a free ‘colloquium’ listed as The Day of the Droogs.

Organised by three members of MMU’s IHSSR, Dr Xavier Aldana Reyes, Professor Berthold Schoene and Professor Andrew Biswell, in collaboration with the International Anthony Burgess Foundation (IABF), the Day of the Droogs took place on the afternoon of Wednesday 29th January 2014. The IABF is an independent educational trust and archive¹⁸ dedicated to the Manchester-born author Anthony Burgess (1917-1993), it currently occupies a former factory building very close to the All Saints campus where it houses the author’s library and his collection of typewriters, photographs and furniture from the three houses he lived in. It is supported by royalties from book sales and income from the Burgess Estate but also runs a café, hosts a range of its own events throughout the year and has a function room that can be hired. In the reception area at 2pm, the new version of the HiP festival guides and flyers were displayed on a table covered in a red cloth, while another table displayed IABF books for sale.



Figure 19. 2013-14 festival guides taken at Day of the Droogs, January 2014.

¹⁸ The IABF is a recent recipient of a Heritage Lottery Grant, the aims of the trust are to catalogue, interpret and co-ordinate engagement with the author Anthony Burgess’ archive.

Staff in white shirts served free tea, coffee, sandwiches and cake to around 120 people as they arrived and took seats in rows inside an adjacent room. Registration for the event had been organised using Eventbrite and names were checked on the way into this room. A purple MMU IHSSR branded pull-up banner of the kind often used by event sponsors was positioned near the raised stage.



Figure 20. HiP recoil banner at Day of the Droogs, IABF, January 2014

The atmosphere was congenial and the event was introduced by Professor Biswell, a former trustee and now Director of the Foundation, who also lectures in English at MMU and who has researched Burgess' life and work for 20 years. People are "still finding new things to say about A Clockwork Orange", he said in his introduction; as well as the film by Stanley Kubrick¹⁹ there is a lesser-known film adaptation by Andy Warhol and a new e-book version of A Clockwork Orange now available, with hypertext annotations. Slides of the covers of different language editions of the book were projected from a laptop on the screen behind him and after this introduction the other speakers, also academics, smartly

¹⁹ Stanley Kubrick made a film based on the book that was released in 1972 but banned in the UK following a moral panic that erupted in the media about potentially violent copycat crimes.

dressed, took turns to present their papers and slides with the use of the laptop. The Droogs were an all-male gang who appear in *A Clockwork Orange*. Taking this idea as a starting point, the presentations explored themes of street gangs, youth violence and the moral panics that surrounded the release of Kubrick's screen adaptation of *A Clockwork Orange*, each paper reflected the speakers' disciplinary backgrounds in either English, Sociology, Criminology or Film Studies.

One presentation drew parallels between Burgess and Richard Hoggart, as 'scholarship boys' they were rare examples of young men from working class backgrounds in Britain who entered further or Higher Education in the 1960s and went on to successful careers as authors. Professor Melanie Tebbutt said the lives and experiences of ordinary boys get lost in discourses dominated by street gangs and youth violence. In reference to 'The Uses Of Literacy' (Hoggart, 1957) she described how boys who could read (like Burgess) would read out the intertitles to other children in the cinema.

Robert Ralphs and Hannah Smithson, both criminologists at MMU, presented together on the negative impacts of contemporary media images of young men in the UK riots in 2011. They spoke about how after the 2011 riots, the national strategy was on suppressing gangs, although only 2.6% of the people charged were members of gangs. It is problematic, they said, that a portion of the knowledge that policy makers use as a basis for action comes from media sources when people working with young people identify more significant problems than gangs, such as domestic violence, drug abuse, sexual coercion and exploitation.

Two more papers, informed by sociology, concentrated on young men's identities, cultural capital and the reproduction of social norms. Three rows of seats were occupied by young people of school age, who were present for most of the afternoon. They left slightly early, missing Aldana Reyes' presentation from a Film Studies perspective, and Schoene's which had a basis in Gender Studies, I later learned that they were collected by bus at the end of their normal school day. One or two questions from the audience followed each of the presentations.

Following a break at 6pm, a free evening lecture was delivered by Professor Andrew Davies of Liverpool University, this was attended by about 35 people, not all of whom had been there for the afternoon event. The author projected images of young criminals to illustrate his research into police archives and his talk was about gangs of youths known as 'scuttlers' who were active in Manchester in the late Victorian period, the scuttlers were men and some women who dressed in a distinctive style and were often arrested for street violence.

Festival events in HiP #1: Tina Chanter lecture and Sensing Place symposium

Another HiP event in the first programme observed was a lecture listed as Feminist art, Politics and Gender: Responding to Jacques Ranciere by a visiting Professor Tina Chanter, Head of the School of Humanities at Kingston University. The event focussed on feminism and the ideas of Ranciere, yet it had been named differently in three places; in the first version of the HiP 2013 -2014 guide it was called 'Philosophy and the feminine', then in the slightly altered 2nd edition of the same guide produced at the start of 2014, it was listed as 'Feminist art, politics and gender: Responding to Jaques Ranciere' and then on the website, it became 'The public, the private, and the aesthetic unconscious: reworking Rancière'.

The lecture was part of the strand 'Women in Philosophy' and held, like many events in the first edition of HiP, in a lecture theatre in the Geoffrey Manton building. At these events, prior registration on Eventbrite was checked at a table in the building's atrium dressed with purple table cloths displaying HiP guides. As at many HiP events, a range of free branded items was on offer, including printed tote bags, plastic wristbands, chocolates, pens and postcards (see figure 21). Free tea and coffee were also available and the event started at 5.30pm. Chanter was introduced by a member of MMU staff, she sat behind a desk at the front of the lecture theatre and read from her notes without stopping for about 40 minutes. She said she wished to make two points in relation to Antigone, who was a character from a tragedy by Sophocles, an "aberration" or child of incest in Greek mythology, and the film 'Rabbit Proof Fence' in which the main characters are half-cast girls in Australia in the 1930s.

She said Ranciere's thesis on the distribution of the sensible calls out the way sanctioned narratives or sanctioned ways of seeing circulate and she read an essay that explained the position she had taken. There were no slides and her presentation was difficult to follow without any prior knowledge of the subject, about 40 people watched from the rows of tiered seats and a few questions from the audience followed the talk, during which she was asked "what is the practical implication of your work"?

The Sensing Place Symposium was an interdisciplinary event, although somewhat shorter than the Droogs event and closer in terms of the style of presentation to Chanter's talk above. The free event combined short talks from researchers in Cultural Geography, Town Planning, Digital Technologies and Health and Social Care, some of which were illustrated with slides and one presenter passed strips of paper to the audience impregnated with different smells, which were said to include 'old hospital', 'new hospital', 'street bomb' and 'dentist' and were passed around the audience from person to person.

HiP #2: Launch and Inaugural lecture



Figure 21. Promotional items at the HiP launch event, September 2014.

The launch of the second HiP festival in September 2014 included the inaugural lecture of Professor Biswell and was held in the Geoffrey Manton building. Several large posters on boards were set up inside the atrium, beside a table of drinks and crisps. Live piano music accompanied the chatter and photos of the festival's two main organisers were taken. Schoene gave a welcome address, saying that the festival this year was bigger and more outward facing. "Just look at these posters; how big they are, how glossy they are" he said. Last year, 3000 visitors attended thirty-seven events. The festival had been "conceived as a major publicity campaign for the faculty as a whole". As well as appealing to the public, another goal was to encourage academics to think about reaching a wider audience with their work and that "engagement can be fun".

Schoene mentioned the award for Knowledge Exchange and expressed confidence in the festival, saying he'd referred to last year's speech while writing this one and noticed that it

had mentioned the threat to humanities disciplines caused by recent government cuts. Now those words seemed anachronistic, he said. “We have come a very long way in a very short time”. A round of applause for Darby was invited, before people were encouraged to go to Lecture Theatre 4. The lecture was about W.H. Auden's poetry, peppered with details of his life and illustrated with pictures and bits of verse. There were more people in the room than usually attended the HiP events I'd been to, about 75, and, unusually, a large bouquet of flowers in a vase on a table at the front of the room. Only a few people took notes and instead of taking questions from the audience, Michael Symmons Roberts, a poet and Professor of Poetry at Manchester Metropolitan University, briefly responded to the lecture, mentioning that he had been the co-ordinator in the School of English for the recent REF submission.

Festival events in HiP #2: Beyond Babel film festival and “History is the new punk”

Two further HiP events were selected from the 2014/15 programme for this study because they broke with the above format. ‘Beyond Babel’ was a one-day Multi-lingual Film Festival that took place at a conference centre owned by University of Manchester, not far from the MMU's Manton building, on Saturday 14th March. Booking was through Eventbrite as usual, but priced at £5 which included three feature-length films and lunch. The familiar HiP welcome desk was set up in the lobby of the venue, loaded with promotional items and staffed by young people in branded T-shirts. A printed booklet, handed out at the door, listed day's events and its cover displayed the festival's twitter account @mmu_hssr and the Multi-lingual Life strand's hashtag #hiplanguage. Inside the guide, equal space was given to films and speakers; a full page on each with a photograph and short write ups, there were two lined empty pages at the back for notes. The first page explained that the purpose of Beyond Babel was “to showcase three extraordinary examples of multilingual and transnational productions” (MMU 2015b p.2) and commended films in general for being “ideal vehicles” for close encounters with “cultures and realities”.



Figure 22. Inside the Cotton Theatre at The Manchester Conference Centre, March 2015.

By 9.30am around forty people had arrived for the introduction and first film, screened in a 120 seat space theatre-style room. Dr Carmen Herrero, MMU's Head of Spanish, welcomed the audience, saying that the day's event had been inspired by her enjoyment of watching double-bills at the cinema in her youth, in Spain, including the 'tertulia' or discussion after the films. Dr Barnaby Dicker, described in the guide as lecturer, researcher, artist-film maker and curator, introduced the first film *Bis Ans Ende Der Welt* (Until The End Of The World, 1991, Wim Wenders). Dicker said the film played with conventions and encouraged contemplation of "the richness of everyday life", inviting a critical perspective on the part of the viewer, in places the film was not subtitled, which he said directed the viewer to its visual aspects and the music. "I'm going to throw in a couple of theories here" he said, mentioning how Gunther Kress' Multimodal Discourse theory of communication and Bakhtin's work on polyphony, heteroglossia and intertextuality could be applied to this work. The film was two-and-a-half-hours long, a science fiction drama and road movie across European borders, set at the end of the 20th Century. After the brief discussion and a break for lunch, Dr Isabelle Vanderschelden and Dr Benedicte Brahic introduced the second film, *L'auberge Espagnole* (Pot Luck, 2002, Cédric Klapisch), a comedy that revolved around the experiences of students on the European Union's Erasmus Programme.

MMU lecturers in languages and sociology respectively, Vanderschelden and Brahic delivered their introduction to the film together. Since 1987, they said, this undergraduate educational exchange programme has enabled more than three million students to attend university in another affiliated country for periods of between three and twelve months. The film fictionalises a typical Erasmus scenario in which the main character, a French economics student, learns to get along with his Danish, Italian, German, British, Belgian and Spanish flatmates in Barcelona. Vanderschelden described Erasmus as a “political programme” that had “transformed into a social, cultural phenomenon”, a life-altering experience for those who take part that has reportedly led to one million ‘Erasmus babies’. Brahic considered whether a “generation” of people who had made the transition from ‘being young’ to being ‘young adult’ in a multi-lingual environment constituted an ‘Erasmus club’. At 4pm Herrero introduced the final film, *Patagonia* (2010, Marc Evans) to a slightly smaller audience than earlier. A fictionalised, intercultural road trip in Welsh, Spanish, English and Polish, the film considered the exodus in 1865 from Wales to Argentina from the point of view of two different characters.

The final strand of the 2014/2015 festival was ‘Future Histories’, which consisted of four events convened by MMU social historian Dr Fiona Cosson. All speakers were said to share an interest in ordinary people’s history as a counterpoint to ‘official’ histories, with an emphasis on how examples from earlier historical practices might be connected to “current struggles for equality and democracy” (IHSSR 2014 p.48). The first three events were Monday evening lectures at the Geoffrey Manton building. ‘History as Activism’ on Monday 10th May at 5.30pm was presented by two members of the International History from Below Network, for whom the HiP guide provided the following introduction:

“It was founded in 2012 in Barcelona to reflect a growing worldwide movement of historical activism and public interest in radical history, and to build an alternative, non-academic resource for the production and transmission of oppositional forms of history.”

MMU HiP Festival Guide 2014-2015 (p.50).

Out of the four events within the Future Histories HiP strand, this one piqued my interest for two reasons, firstly the use of the word ‘radical’ was interesting, and secondly, as the

date of the talk drew closer, I noticed that the event was renamed 'History is the New Punk'. The event details on the Eventbrite booking form were the same as those in the programme guide and the introduction continued as follows:

“As radical history becomes increasingly popular, more and more activists – from squatters and footballers to street artists and curators – are making the transition to historians, merging past struggles, new technology and street culture to build new and surprising narratives.”

Approximately fifty people attended the event, the welcome at the Geoffrey Manton building was slightly more subdued than usual due to its timing falling within the university's exam period, but the two speakers, Peter Box and Roger Ball, delivered a lively lecture in a manner that seemed well rehearsed. Their slides contained a high proportion of images arranged in visually arresting montages and their talk made reference to three earlier people's history projects in Europe, which had existed for a period from the 1960s and 1980s; the History Workshops in the UK, the Dig Where You Stand movement in Sweden and a similar German movement of history workshops called Geschichtswerkstätten.

The first of these had been founded at Ruskin College in Oxford, a college that since the 19th Century had supported members of trade-unions to attend university. In the 1960s, the History Workshop's annual events held at the College attracted hundreds of people, they were “like rock festivals without the mud”, blurring the distinction between the practice of history in the academy and within the British labour movement and trade unions. A paper on the history of the CCCS mentions a famous “showdown” (Connell and Hilton 2015 p.289) between the historian, E. P. Thompson, Stuart Hall, the director of the CCCS and Richard Johnson at one of these History Workshops in 1979. From 1985, however, these citizen movements had faded away, various reasons for this were offered, from the demise of the left wing Greater London Council to the co-option or professionalisation of individual network members into the academy, but they also said that a fragmentation of narrative had occurred with 'post-modernist ideas' and theory had become detached from practice.

The speakers said that people's history was popular again and the examples they gave seemed to suggest that historians were utilising technology, 'live' events and place-based methods of engagement such as themed walks, redrawn maps, illegitimate fly-poster exhibitions in the street, fake blue plaques for forgotten public figures or social activists, self-published literature and reconstructions of protests and riots. In New York, a 'Victoriana day' spectacle had been met by a counter-parade made up of children dressed as urchins protesting for an eight hour working day, while a class-focused Spanish Civil War tour of Barcelona was very well reviewed on Trip Advisor. Some similar interventions were happening in Manchester too; a slide showed two versions of the plaque commemorating the Peterloo Massacre, a violent event in Manchester's history that helped to change public opinion about the right to vote. The presentation suggested that uncovering the forms of organisation and sharing of tactics in these histories presented a challenge to sanctioned narratives and methods, 'history from below' networks often used objects or recordings in private, family collections and community organisations as starting points.

The 'Future Histories' strand was also the last in the 2014/2015 edition of the festival and as a closing event, a celebration of 'Creating Our Future Histories', an AHRC-funded history project that had connected several community groups in the city, was held at the People's History Museum (PHM) in central Manchester. The museum incorporates collections from the former National Museum of Labour History and its permanent and temporary exhibitions chronicle the lives and culture of British working people.

At 5.30pm the open, airy space of the museum's entrance was filled with tables, people and music. By this time a familiar visitor to HiP events, I browsed the stalls with a drink and nibbles, looking at short films on laptops with headphones, posters, publications archive objects, a washing line with photographs pinned to it and talking to a project representative about the launch of a poetry book. "The effect" my fieldnotes record "was discordant and politicised", the project partners included the Greater Manchester District Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

One of the groups presented a short dance performance and then in an adjoining room, Berthold Schoene gave a welcome speech, thanking everybody who had been involved with the project and with HiP for their “commitment, dedication and enthusiasm” and Professor Melanie Tebbutt, a frequent HiP contributor, explained that these stalls were ‘tasters’ for exhibitions and events that would be taking place elsewhere, that they represented ‘seeds’ of new projects for which the PHM was “the perfect backdrop”.

Gothic Manchester Festival: “Paint the city black”

Presented in the first HiP festival guide as a separate ‘festival within a festival’, the first Gothic Manchester Festival marked the launch of a new Centre for Gothic Studies in the English Department at MMU. A separate programme guide for this festival was produced as an A5 booklet, also downloadable from the website, which listed fourteen events taking place throughout one week from Monday 21st to Sunday 27th October 2013. These included talks, book readings, creative writing workshops, film screenings, a pub quiz and a goth nightclub held in a church in Salford from 9pm till 2am. The guide text claimed that the Gothic Manchester Festival was the “first of its kind in England” (p.1). Compared to the rest of the first edition of HiP, this festival connected far more widely with other places and cultural partners in the city; film screenings were held in the Cornerhouse cinema and the Manchester Art Gallery, walks around parts of the city during the festival were entitled ‘Tales of the Manchester Dead’ and ‘Monstrous Manchester’ and other guided tours explored the interiors of Manchester Art Gallery, Manchester Town Hall, the John Rylands Library and Salford’s medieval Ordsall Hall. The main event of the festival weekend was a day-long conference with panel sessions and workshops, held at the MMU campus and billed as an ‘Open Day’ at the new Centre.

The festival immediately followed an earlier HiP festival strand ‘Contemporary Gothic’ which had consisted of a talk by a visiting lecturer on Zombies and a panel of three academics discussing Gothic TV convened by MMU research fellow Dr Xavier Aldana Reyes, also a Gothic Manchester Festival organiser. These events had all taken place before the fieldwork started.

The second festival programme in 2014 again listed fourteen events, taking place over four days rather than seven. Of these, one was an illustrated talk, two were exhibitions, three were readings, four were tours, two of which were outdoor walking tours in Manchester and one a tour around the steam collection at the Museum of Science and Industry, followed by an afternoon symposium on the subject of Steampunk. The weekend included a conference and another night club in the Sacred Trinity church in Salford, which also hosted a group art show called Aerial Burglars of Cottonopolis, then a pub quiz on the last day closed the festival. Every one of these events took place in an off-campus venue.

One of the first events in this second festival was a free, illustrated talk in two parts called 'Gothic Romance and the Phantasmogorical'. It was held in the function room at the IABF, which had been decorated for the event with artworks that included large scale photographs of bejewelled skeletons and a 'curiosity shop' of weird objects along one side.



Figure 23. The 'Gothic Curiosity Shop' at the IABF, Manchester, October 2015.

The first part of this event was an illustrated lecture about the architecture, history and romance of Kenilworth castle, the second part, a theatrical presentation of a magic lantern film show, based on a reconstruction of post-Revolutionary, Parisian supernatural horror show performed in the late 18th Century. References to visual shows called 'phantasmagoria' appear in literary works of gothic fiction, said Dr David Annwn Jones, who wore an elaborate velvet jacket for the event. His presentation has been developed because he had wanted to find out how much it was possible to know about what they really were like and from assembled evidence he had reconstructed a digital version of a theatrical magic lantern show which had been performed by Etienne Gaspard Robertson in an abandoned convent in 18th Century Paris.

The convent was subsequently demolished in 1806 but by making this 'film' and exhibiting it, audiences in the 21st century could experience the place in a sensory way. The story was told in dramatic style, designed to resemble one of the phantasmagorical evenings at the convent. The visual presentation began with a digitised walk-through tour of reconstructed corridors and culminated with a version of the 'supernatural' light show and sound effects, for which Jones used a specially adapted brass magic lantern projector.



Figure 24. A screengrab of a tweet from a Gothic Manchester event, October 2015.

'What is the thing we call Steampunk' was an event the following day at the Museum of Science and Industry in Manchester. It began in the Power Hall, a huge room housing the museum's working steam-powered machines, with a public talk about how these machines revolutionised Manchester's economic history. This talk, which was open to any museum visitor as it was simultaneously part of Manchester Science Week, was followed by a cream tea and presentations in a different part of the museum, costing £5 for a ticket.

The presentations covered topics such as how to make Steampunk gadget inventions, a live display of a lost late-Victorian martial art form and papers on graphic novels, fan studies and 'steampunk and spirituality'. Many attendees of the whole event, tour and symposium, were dressed in eccentric outfits, sporting goggles, striped waistcoats, corsets and high boots, one woman wore an accessory in her hair made of clock hands and another wore a hat that was decorated with a tea strainer.

Discussion: the evolution of the HiP festival and organiser's praxis

A significant change in the overall presentation of HiP occurred when the first HiP festival programme was edited and re-printed for the period 20th January 2014 – 2nd June 2014. This new edition of the programme contained details of a now expanded strand in March 2014 called Encountering Corpses, convened by festival organiser Darby herself with one of her colleagues Craig Young. The strand now included, amongst other things, three cemetery tours, a party in a church in Salford and events at venues in other parts of the city, away from the MMU campus.

HiP festival's changing form echoes the festival's organisers stated intention to open up the University by meeting the public halfway (Malarky and Schoene 2014). This has been brought about by adopting an increasingly 'off-campus' approach to festival planning and sensitivity to selecting content; "you can see particular things, maybe, that were of a level that was slightly harder for public audiences to access than I would be inclined to put in now" Darby said.

In a blog post later that year, the festival's organisers emphasised the effort taken to reach people who might have little or no prior experience of higher education. "From the outset our main aim was to open up the University by meeting the public halfway, which at times meant literally off-campus" (Malarky and Schoene 2014). Darby explained how the HiP festival had its origins in an earlier a series of public events, an Annual Research Programme, that had been organised by members of the Institute for several years, "we changed it to Humanities in Public and made it public facing, but fair bit of this programme was already booked when we decided to make that change". Darby mentioned that James Draper from the Writing School had pointed out that Annual Research Programme was not a good title for the public. "It doesn't say anything to anybody outside the place."

Professor Biswell told me that he thought the HiP festival had a precedent in MMU; "one of the reasons why I think Humanities in Public is called a festival is because out of the Writing School came the Manchester Children's Book Festival, which is organised by the English department". Since 2010, the annual Children's Book Festival has been a feature of the Manchester Writing School' events programme. In 2015, this festival was over a week long, listed thirty-five events in twelve venues and its A5 printed guide displayed the logos of over forty sponsors or partners. An Impact template submitted to the REF by MMU in 2014 states that the Manchester Writing School, which was established in 1998, has been a primary source of impact generation for the Department of English.

"Since the introduction of the impact agenda, this UoA²⁰ as a whole has sought to learn from the strategies... and successes of the Writing School to develop impact-generation within new research clusters, notably The Gothic Studies Centre"

MMU 2014b (p.1).

²⁰ Unit of Assessment: D29 English Language and Literature

The Day of the Droogs event organised by Biswell and Schoene had not originally been intended to be part of the festival. When the organisers assembled the list of speakers in January, the HiP festival programme wasn't ready and by the time it was, the colloquium didn't fit with any of the HiP research themes and so it was listed as a standalone event. Darby confirmed this, saying "I didn't actually have that much to do with Day of the Droogs, to be honest, it was in the programme but I didn't really convene any of it and I didn't attend it." And yet the presentations for Day of the Droogs had not been elicited in the same way as they would have been for an academic conference or symposium. "It wasn't a call for papers, it was more curated than that" said Biswell.

The organisers had identified and approached people within MMU whose work tackled the subject of youth and gangs from different disciplines, in order to get them talking to each other. "I was waving the flag a bit for literature" he said. "I don't know how well it really fitted with the rest of the content of the festival". "We did think the format worked well, and we keep talking about it as something we'd like to do again. I mean rather than have the traditional call for papers, have a curated set of speakers". The events and marketing officer at IABF said she felt that the half day, afternoon format taken by the Droogs event was good for attracting audiences and mentioned that the event had been designed to be appropriate for 6th formers. Indeed, the presence of so many younger members of the audience was striking, compared to audiences at other HiP events.

"I suppose the Day of the Droogs was unusual because that was deliberately marketed to college age students" Biswell said, but he added that A-Level students study 'Orwell and dystopia' for their English literature A-Levels. In fact, the inclusion of Burgess' *A Clockwork Orange* as a recommended text under the 'Dystopias' theme within the present A-level curriculum is mentioned in a case study submitted to the 2014 REF as "a result of Biswell's advocacy of Burgess" (MMU 2014a, p.3). He has also designed an educational resource for A-level students and teachers about this text and other dystopias²¹.

²¹ In 2012 Biswell curated a public exhibition at the John Rylands Library, organised a conference to mark the 50th anniversary of *Clockwork Orange*, was interviewed for a radio programme, *Anthony Burgess: A Clockwork Archive*, broadcast on radio 4. In June 2013, he was promoted to Professor of Modern Literature, his inaugural lecture was the first event in the second HiP programme, launched in 2014.

The other event that Biswell presented at the HiP festival in 2014 was his inaugural lecture in September, which was the first event in HiP's second edition. This was the first public talk he'd given about his research into the poet Auden, which has very few connections with the work on Burgess and was over a year after his promotion to the position of professor, in June 2013. Inaugural lectures are scheduled at certain times, he told me, and he had been offered a slot in June 2014 but decided to wait, "I thought not, I thought nobody would come... They're tired, they've had enough. I got 'bounced' into the following year". Demonstrating his aptitude for public engagement, he explained that Auden reading Shakespeare's sonnets offered a way to connect with a wider audience. "The audience was obviously very different, because it was mostly academic people, but they advertised it to the general public. The reason I put Shakespeare in the title was because I thought more people would come. I was terrified that nobody would come to a lecture about Auden!" The simultaneous launch of the rest of the year's HiP activities may also have helped to attract more people, with the promise of wine and music.

The Beyond Babel film festival was organised by Carmen Herrero who is a full time senior lecturer at MMU. She is also Head of Spanish, Director of the Research Centre for Film, Languages and Media in Education (FLAME) and programme advisor to the ¡Viva! Spanish and Latin American Film Festival. She has produced study guides for teachers and students of Spanish as part of an education programme in conjunction with Manchester's Cornerhouse cinema (now the HOME centre) and applied her knowledge of practice-based film pedagogy to a multimodal literacy project for language teachers at primary and secondary schools called 'Projector: Community Languages' (Chan and Herrero 2010) which has produced film-based education resources in Arabic, Mandarin, Urdu and Italian. For several years, Herrero has also run the Film and Language Teaching Association (FILTA) and she has just published an academic paper on this project. FILTA is a "multilingual community of language teachers" (Herrero 2016 p.191) with members in more than 90 countries, that was set up as part of a scheme supported by HEFCE funds²² to encourage students to take up the study of languages at higher levels. When we met in 2015, she told me why she had proposed a festival of films containing two or three languages for the HiP festival.

²² The project was Routes into Languages, funded by HEFCE from 2006 to 2016

Interested in film pedagogy, Herrero believes that films contribute to opening up discussion about identity and languages. “I don’t think there are enough festivals doing that. Sometimes they are dedicated to Spanish or French or Italian, but life is multilingual”. She said Manchester is a society in which many people live multi-lingual lives, secondary school children for example, may speak two or three languages in a single day, but this is not often reflected in film culture anywhere in the city. She put forward the idea of a multi-lingual film event on behalf of the Department of Languages and canvassed colleagues for ideas along this theme; the suggestion to screen *Bis Ans Ende Der Welt* had come from Helen Darby, who also knew of the speaker who introduced this film.

The cost of film licences, speakers’ fees and food came out of the festival budget. It had originally been hoped that the director of Herrero’s own film choice, Patagonia, would introduce his film, but although interested, he was eventually unable to attend. In a blog post published soon after the event, Herrero said she hoped to do another one next year²³. She told me that while the event had been successful, she had learned from the experience. Three films were possibly too much, she said “the whole day was quite tiring, and not everybody was able to stay there for the whole day”. She felt the next event should aim to engage with different communities in Manchester and screen films in Arabic, Mandarin or Urdu to increase the appeal of Beyond Babel to other language communities in Manchester, and it was hoped that the next iteration of the festival could be a free event, involving only two feature films.

“We’re looking at different spaces where communities can get together and learn from each other”. An Arabic-English PhD student at MMU who volunteered at the first Beyond Babel had become involved in the second iteration and had been sharing ideas about potential films while India Morgan, research assistant at FLAME, had been looking into possibilities for future funding and festival partnerships for the next academic year and beyond, “not necessarily from the academic sector” she told me. “I felt that the venue has quite an importance in trying to engage with people who might not feel comfortable coming onto the university campus”.

²³ blog article by Spiby, 2015 <http://www.humanityhallows.co.uk/multilingual-life-babel-and-beyond/>

Shortly after the most recent restructure, in which the research centres at HLSS were re-organised, the MMU took over a building known as 70 Oxford Street. This building had formerly been known as Cornerhouse and it contained several cinema screens spaces that had been used as a gallery and a café-bar, which quickly became the main venues for HiP festival events. In May 2016 the second Beyond Babel film screening day was organised within the thematic HiP programme of 'World', with two films connected by the subject of immigration and held as a free event held at No 70 Oxford Street.

Discussion: modes of production at the Gothic Manchester Festival

Within the first HiP festival programme, the inaugural Gothic Manchester festival stood out as one of the most outward facing sets of events, with only four out of fourteen events taking place at the MMU campus. The back page of the Gothic Manchester Festival guide in 2013 gave equal space to the festival's three organisers; Linnie Blake, Principal Lecturer in Film at MMU, Xavier Aldana Reyes, MMU Research Fellow in English and Helen Darby, HiP festival producer. The brief summaries for Blake and Aldana Reyes listed their recent publications, while for Darby the text read "Helen carries a special place in her heart for all things goth and Gothic, having been an 80s regular in such legendary haunts as the Manchester Banshee and Leeds Phono." (p.20). Here is where it became more clear how the form of festivity experienced at Gothic Manchester Festival differed to that at the rest of HiP, this statement confirmed what I had already suspected from the organisers' appearances, that the festival was deliberately creating connections between different modes of participation in gothic culture; academic and sub-cultural.

Entrepreneurial members of a locally embedded, symbolic, taste-based cultural community, such as Manchester artist Kolyn Amor, were neither academics or students at MMU, yet had been invited to help with the production of the festival. Amor has been one of the festival's regular participants since the festival began, as a member of the Manchester Gothic Arts Group (MGAG) who curated the Aerial Burglars of Cottonopolis exhibition and also, he told me, as a dj at the ArA goth night.



Figure 25. 'Aerial Burglars of Cottonopolis' at the Sacred Trinity church in Salford, October 2014.

A flyer for the night club held in a church promotes it as 'a sanctuary for the alternative' and for over ten years this regular meeting place has been an important node in the Gothic networks of Manchester. The connection between the academics and the local gothic culture may appear self-evident, but how had the programme of public events been conceived?

Dr Blake is the director of the Centre for Gothic Studies at MMU, this is an academic research centre which, according to its website, is dedicated to the study of literary, filmic, televisual and popular cultural texts. In a short promotional film made about Gothic Manchester Festival and uploaded to Vimeo, she explained that the research centre was possible because she'd realised that the English Literature department had a large number of senior academic specialists in Gothic studies and that this gave them scope to create a structure in which to involve more people in their work. In 2013 the Centre had recruited Dr Xavier Aldana Reyes as a Research Fellow at the Centre, an 'early career researcher' who had come to the UK on an Erasmus undergraduate exchange from a university in Barcelona and completed a Masters in London and then a PhD at University of Lancaster.

The fellowship was an eighteen-month long post with minimal teaching and student supervision responsibilities. Aldana Reyes told me his role was to “aid the working and development of the Centre” and with Blake, he helped to develop the Centre’s activities and profile, creating public engagement strategies, growing the post-graduate community and setting up the Gothic Manchester brand. One of the ways he did this was by creating a “vibrant” presence for the Centre online, particularly via its social media channels. “I was hired to be, if you like, the ‘cement’ putting all those things together” he said. “The Gothic Manchester Festival was my idea” he told me “although it then developed the way it did thanks to essential people like Helen and Linnie” and their ‘insider knowledge’ of the scene. He said that the festival evolved in a “very collaborative” way but that the proposal to develop the idea of a festival had been in his application for the post of Research Fellow, supported by the success of some previous engagement activities. While working on his PhD at Lancaster, he had designed an International Summer Programme for newly arrived international students. This had been “a four-week intensive course for international students arriving at Lancaster and wanting to get a sense of what living in Britain was like, the history of Britain, more specifically the history and context of the North West of England, where they would be staying”. This series of ‘guided visits’ took students to places such as Wordsworth’s house on Grasmere, but as they were not necessarily history or English students, his challenge was to engage them with the places. “How do you get an engineering student to care about Wordsworth?”

These perspectives help to explain why the Gothic Manchester event series was so outward facing and entirely city-based for its second edition. Manchester has many famous buildings and spaces that can be described as gothic, Manchester Art Gallery has a collection of romantic-gothic paintings and the city of Manchester has provided the background setting for atmospheric films, such as the noirish police thriller *Hell is a City* (Val Guest, 1960) or horror film *The Living Dead at Manchester Morgue* (Jorge Grau, 1974). Events at the Gothic Manchester Festival engaged with these historical and architectural assets, but its organisers took idea of the ‘gothic’ further. The ‘gothic’ is traditionally studied as a phenomenon of art, architecture and literature, particularly romantic poetry and prose from the 18th Century and it is also seen as influential in

theatre and media contexts of the same period in terms of visual, sound and dramatic elements. Taking pre-cinematic visual technologies, such as the magic lantern as the starting point, Dr David Annwn Jones' phantasmagoria show explored "the technological side of gothic" (Aldana Reyes 2012). Gothic can also be understood to be a fascination with the dark dimensions of all phenomena. Dr Blake put it like this in a press release for the 2013 festival: "the Gothic isn't simply a popular mode of entertainment. It is a powerful form of storytelling that tells us something about our deepest and darkest fears, about who we are as people and how our society works". The Gothic imagination is interested in the things that 'lie beneath' the everyday world, it is a subterranean metaphor that embraces the idea of multiple historical 'unknowns' as well as real hidden spaces in Manchester's symbolic urban landscape. In his own work, Aldana Reyes, who is now a senior lecturer in English at MMU, has reflected on bridging different understandings of gothic, "contemporary gothic is going through a phase of consolidation and institutionalisation" (Aldana Reyes 2015 p.12). Employing an aesthetic-thematic approach to the study of Gothic allowed for the incorporation of the local symbolic urban landscape and multiple significant cultural texts, objects and signifying practices. The festival emphasises O'Connor's (2004) point about how Manchester's cultural inheritance contributes to the production of a different kind of subjectivity to the sanctioned narratives of grit and 'energetic entrepreneurialism'.

The goth music scene that emerged in the UK in early 1980s displayed a particularly flamboyant, androgynous and theatrical style of dress, in an era of transgressive identity negotiation. The audience members at Gothic Manchester events are often distinctive, their styles of dress indicate a (sub-)cultural affiliation with Gothic music, leisure habits and social activities. A focus on youth in research into subcultural groups has led to them having been primarily understood as youth phenomena, but Hodkinson, a longstanding 'insider ethnographer' of the cultural activities of the goth scene, notes that its older enthusiasts are still "a visible minority" (Hodkinson 2011 p.266). He says "older goths have remained involved in sufficient numbers that their scene itself is increasingly dominated by the over-thirties" (Hodkinson 2011 p.263). Aldana Reyes said he is aware that the festival has been reaching out to a very specific type of community in the city, "as much as we would like it to be as public as possible, we know that mostly we appeal to those with

a strong interest in the area, namely, Gothic academics and students and the goth community.” He told me that he had been worried that the non-academic goth community might have been put off by the academic gaze, or what he called “overtheorising their interests”.

“Sometimes there’s a sense of ownership of what you do in your spare time and when you see other people coming in and giving it a theoretical twist, you feel really personally protective of what you like”. Yet he thought that the festival had struck the right balance and had been delighted when an attendee in 2014 had told him that the Gothic Manchester Festival was now a fixture on her cultural calendar. This demonstrates its value to the community as an ‘appropriate’ form of participation. When the Gothic Manchester festival returned in October 2015, it had ‘spun out’ of HiP and was directly supported by the Manchester Centre for Gothic Studies, yet since the end of Aldana Reyes’ fellowship much more of the festival was organised by Darby, a change that Aldana Reyes attributes to the time pressures of full time academic responsibilities, “Helen became increasingly more involved in the festival, and is now largely responsible for its organisation and running.” An opening party held on campus in the Holden exhibition space at the MMU Art School, included an exhibition launch by the gothic arts collective MGAG. Professor Hyatt, one of the members of MGAG and director of Manchester Institute for Research and Innovation in Art and Design at MMU was also a member of a relatively well known band The Three Johns who were associated with the gothic youth subculture in the 1980s.

Discussion: local structures of feeling

As with Birmingham in the last chapter, the study of the festival has drawn attention to the reflexive processes through which the city’s geo-spatial and historical narratives are being reproduced and mediated and here I follow the example set by Milestone in 2008, also writing about Manchester, which draws on Raymond Williams’ notion ‘structure of feeling’ to grasp the subtle complexity of how these festival experiences have felt to the participant, or participant-ethnographer. Williams used the device as a theory of change in the study of history and culture, to indicate an ‘interaction between epochs’ in a lived,

felt and ephemeral way.

Culture and the contemporary social life of the city exist in a dialectical relationship with its history and built environment. “Representations of place can never really claim to represent everyone’s city; they can however provide us with some clues about how to navigate and respond to particular places” (Milestone 2008 p.1169). Physical and theoretical interactions with real places in the city and mediations between Manchester’s historical past and contemporary experience combine in HiP’s discursive sessions and challenge some of Manchester’s orthodox narratives (O’Connor 2004).

The Day of the Droogs presentations employed gangs and violence as an urban imaginary through which the invited speakers could engage with areas of Manchester’s history and literature. Some of them found an opportunity to make connections between earlier moral panics and contemporary issues in the media about gangs and disorder, problematizing issues of morality and policing by pointing to underlying social inequalities and misunderstandings about young people in urban societies. A picture exhibited in Gothic Manchester festival’s ‘Cottonopolis’ exhibition in Salford referenced the famous Sex Pistols performance at Manchester’s Free Trade Hall, that the picture was hung in a church (that hosts goth club nights) disrupts an older, ‘outsider’ punk rock imaginary.

The Turbine Hall, which houses machinery from the industrial revolution, restored and made accessible for reinterpretation as “emblems of Manchester’s commercial prosperity” (Nevell 2010 p.19) was interpreted by Steampunk researchers as a spiritual experience where God is the engineer, man is the machine and steam represents the Holy Ghost. Heritage ‘assets’ like these, which are displayed at the symbolic site of the former Liverpool Road Station, now the Museum of Science and Industry, show even more clearly how culture and history are suffused with politics. In May 2014, with the conclusion of the devolution process just six months away, it was where the Chancellor, George Osborne gave his ‘Northern Powerhouse’ speech. In this speech, Osborne, who is the MP for a North West of England ward, spoke about his vision to bring renewed prosperity to the major cities in the North and balance the power inequality between these regions and London in the South East. The speech delivered in the Museum’s Power Hall, appropriately surrounded by the steam powered machinery exhibits, emphasised the

importance of geographic clustering to innovation and strength in the knowledge-based economy. It was through science, however, that new sources of economic growth would be achieved and he called for science to be turned into products through “cooperation between academics and industry” (Osborne 2014). This chapter suggests however, that science and culture have been equally strategic in the development of the city’s ‘structures of feeling’ and they are equally a part of a dynamic history that contributes to the shaping of Manchester’s future urban imaginaries.

Summary

This chapter has shown the festival as the product of an evolutionary series of developments, at first designed to widen the appeal of an existing Annual Research Programme, a ‘dissemination model’ where academics would invite guests to present their research and have discussions, but also responding to the perceived image of the humanities as undervalued disciplines. Humanities researchers at MMU had previously had success with festivals as a mode of public engagement, but the study shown that through their research and teaching interests they are genuinely embedded in the region and actively working with or adding to Manchester’s cultural networks and organisations.

HiP’s flexible structure and convened strands is an innovative festival model that can accommodate a diverse set of events and will appeal to people outside the institution. The HiP festival has attracted public interest, with articles about the festival appearing in sectoral press (TES), in national papers (The Guardian) and local independent magazines (The Skinny) and this is favourable exposure for MMU, a benefit to the institution that is, in the words of one respondent, “very interested in public engagement”. The tangible benefits to the university in terms of academic measurable are harder to track, as no individual HiP events so far have contributed directly to measurable REF outputs such as case studies, but the festival project has been successful enough for the institution to ensure its ongoing investment and support, while moving it gradually towards a self-sustaining model that suggests it is valued by audiences.

The HiP event series is given enough cohesion to be understood as a festival because the majority of the events are produced or overseen by Darby. With her specific background and experience in prior roles at MMU she is a creative, cognitive-cultural worker who has developed a tacit understanding of what form a presentation should take and her path through the institution has contributed to this. She produces of a range of different festival experiences with a unifying style and symbolism, from corporate style wine receptions with poster displays, branded chocolates, tote bags, speeches and so on to forms of 'serious leisure' or 'counter-recreations' such as goth clubs, cemetery tours and Steampunk displays. As one of her colleagues has said, to produce a festival MMU needed somebody whose role it is to deliver it, "not just... someone who can do the admin job. They have to have an awareness of the academic world, which is where Helen is perfect, she has that background too".

In the programmes for successive editions of the HiP festival, the number of events held in non-campus venues hint at a move towards Gothic Manchester's engagement model. The successful development over three years of the thematically sustained festival is down to a combined input of skills, interests and knowledge from several people, including Darby, who combine their tacit knowledge of popular culture and the norms and practices of scholarly work in order to create something new and different. Certain unique aspects of the history of Manchester have helped to shape the city's urban cultural identity to which the festival creatively responds. The range of events presented in its programme reveals connections and collaborations between the festival's academic organisers and 'popular gothic' cultural organisations in the city and the Gothic Manchester festival is becoming a node in the networks of both academia and taste based communities. Creating these links with other organisations and institutions, the Manchester Gothic festival has animated a local, taste-based community and linked it to others elsewhere. The two festivals at MMU are, amongst other things, helping to nurture a symbolic and discursive type of interchange, which is relevant to issues relating to the political economy of urban regeneration and contemporary popular culture and will potentially contribute to the ongoing debate about how Manchester's future will look and feel.

Chapter eight. The Bristol Radical Film Festival

This chapter introduces the Bristol Radical Film Festival (BRFF), an annual festival of film-based events that takes place in venues across the city of Bristol in the South West of England. Unlike the previous two festivals studied, the BRFF emerged from within a single academic discipline at a UK university and it is produced by staff and former students from the University of the West of England's Film Studies undergraduate and research programmes. Part of the reason for including this festival as a major site of research is the way it has been produced 'outside' the HE institution that connects its organisers, and yet this research has revealed a number of ways in which it is enabled by their respective positions to it. The festival organisers have specialist research interests in film and it is their stated belief that they have identified something of a gap in the culture and practice of film exhibition.

This chapter places the annual film festival within several important contexts, one being pedagogical; when the production of the BRFF is considered in relation to its institutional context, some of the questions surrounding the changing political economy of HE and its effects on the structural re-organisation of universities in the UK are thrown into a sharp focus. As the festival has its origins in the discipline of Film Studies, an outline of the philosophical, psychoanalytic and critical theories of film and film watching that inform the academic study of film are included in order to grasp how the festival responds to the changing priorities for the study of film culture and what is communicated to audiences.

Through the study of the activities of the BRFF and the range of events it has presented during the entire research period, it has been possible to also observe the emergence of a new network within a nationally and internationally distributed, self-conscious and self-reflexive community of practice. With support from the AHRC, a knowledge-based community calling itself the Radical Film Network has formed and this has provided a way to further examine the interdependency of production, distribution and exhibition of specialised cultural texts and products. The BRFF is therefore also discussed in relation to wider networks of documentary film culture in the UK, and with reference to hegemonic film distribution systems and British Film Industry (BFI) statistics, as well as within its local contexts of the city of Bristol and the University of the West of England.

The Bristol Radical Film Festival: Form, document and encounter

The Bristol Radical Film Festival that took place in March 2014 was the festival's third edition. This festival took the form of a week-long series of film screenings which were held in six different venues across Bristol, with one event taking place in a different venue on the evening of each weekday, from Monday to Friday, followed by a packed weekend with two strands of events taking place each day on different floors of the same venue.



Figure 26. Front cover image of the BRFF 2014 programme guide.

Of the thirteen feature-length²⁴ films that were screened at the BRFF in 2014, most were documentaries²⁵, the programme also included some experimental and non-documentary feature films, video activist works, short films on a range of subjects and a closing party with DJs (without films). According to the inside cover of the printed programme guide in 2014, the BRFF is a festival of “contemporary and historical works of overtly political left-wing documentary and fiction filmmaking” (BRFF 2014). Topics that the films engaged with ranged from the social effects of the Cambodian genocide in the 1970s and the present-day oppression of women in Iran to British coal-miner’s unions, representations of ageing and the plight of Palestinian children. On weekday nights, screenings ran from 7.30pm until roughly 9.30pm and each day in a different venue. Site specific, accessible film screenings are an important part of the festival’s semiology, in 2014 the rationale for venue selection was written in the ‘about us’ section of the festival’s webpage as follows:

“[The festival] aims to draw attention to a range of other progressive, community-based initiatives in the city. Previous venues include digital outreach projects, anarchist social centres, drop-in centres for sex workers, political squats, radical bookshops, community bicycle hubs, trade union halls etc”

‘About Us’, Bristol Radical Film Festival website, 2013

Colours, type font and images are used in a co-ordinated way across the festival’s brochure, social media pages and website to create a public-facing profile and they suggest some obvious and immediate meanings. There is the almost military, hastily printed and scuffed utilitarian look to the main font style, the row of raised clenched fists implying action and collective power and the colour scheme used, black and red, the colours of the anarchist flag. The cover image of a machine gun combined with a video camera points to an association of the production of media with conflict, which is reflected in the programme content, while the choice of non-university venues for

²⁴ Feature length is not a clearly defined term. The British Film Institute suggest a feature film is any film longer than 40 minutes and a short film is no more than 40 minutes, many film festivals use this as a guide as do the Oscars film awards, but in practice the ‘feature’ at a ticketed screening is expected to be an hour or more in length.

²⁵ The first use of documentary as a term applied to film is widely attributed to film maker John Grierson in the late 1920s. Documentary films are what the BFI terms ‘specialised films’ because feature length documentaries intended for theatrical distribution tends to have a narrower appeal than fiction.

screenings and lack of University of the West of England (UWE) logos in the printed materials appeared to be a deliberate distancing of the experience of the festival from the organisers' identities as members of the academic institution that connects them.



Figure 27. Screenshot of the BRFF website (top) and Facebook page (bottom), February 2014

The BRFF screens films that are under-represented on other circuits, even those circuits for documentary or specialist films. The festival is small in scale compared both the other festivals studied for this thesis, it is also very under-resourced and small in scale compared to other UK documentary film festivals.

The Sheffield Doc / Fest, which has been running since 1994, is the biggest festival of documentary film in the UK. The reputation of this festival in the documentary circuit, and recognition of its importance as a cultural asset to the city, have grown its profile to the point that, upon arrival in Sheffield when the festival is taking place, a visitor is greeted by branded flags along the walkways out of the city station and these are placed all around the civic parts of the city centre. In 2014, which was the festival's 20th anniversary, a pink Doc/Fest branded vintage bus was parked outside the station and festival delegates wearing pink branded lanyards and passes could be observed in every part of the city centre. Another annual documentary film festival that has rapidly gained a reputation on the circuit since it was founded in 2011 is Open City Docs, presented by a London university, University College London. This festival also pays a great deal of attention to public realm branding and spatial impact, constructing temporary environments and applying its brand to multiple areas around its centrally located campus.



Figure 28. A composite image of photographs taken at Open City Docs in London, June 2014.

The BRFF has a low visibility in Bristol, a city in which a large amount of cultural festivals take place throughout the year. The BRFF festival in 2014 also had a transient and fugitive model, if compared to the previous festival studies in Chapters six and seven. The festival occupied a different venue in a different part of the city each night, except for at the closing weekend, when it took over an unusual building in the city's centre which it employed as a kind of festival hub. To partially remedy this lack of profile and to 'brand' its venues when a screening was taking place, BRFF posters were applied to windows and doors and event organisers wore T-shirts printed with the festival logo. These posters can just be seen in the photograph of the entrance to the ARC in Bristol, which hosted the weekend of events organised by the 2014 BRFF.



Figure 29. The Arc in Bristol being used as a BRFF venue, March 2014.

The 2014 brochure mentions the ‘headline weekend’ at the ARC as the only time there were ‘parallel’ events on at the same time. The Arc is a multi-floor, multi-use community and cultural space in the city centre that is managed and maintained on a not-for-profit basis by volunteer collective Alien Coconut. In 2013 this building had become a temporary Palestinian Embassy in Bristol and there were obvious signs of this around the building during the BRFF weekend, most notably the Nakba Museum²⁶ which was an exhibition of various media and objects referring to the occupation of Palestine displayed on walls and in spaces on more than one floor of the ARC. The building had glitter paint on the floors and a bar on the ground floor, as well as various social spaces higher up, one of the organisers of the festival said it had once been a nightclub. It was cold inside, two rooms on different floors were used as screening spaces, these were set out with chairs in rows. It was apparent at these ‘pop-up’ venues that members of the festival team were organising the projection of the films and doing the introductions to the films themselves throughout the festival. Despite its small team and obvious lack of available finance, the festival attracted similar sized audiences to its screenings as seen at the better-resourced festival events experienced in Manchester and Birmingham.

Institutional context: “UWE is the whole reason...despite itself”

Since the festival’s first edition in 2012, there have been a number of changes in festival personnel, however all members of the organising team between 2012 and 2014 had a connection with the Film Studies degree course at University of the West of England (UWE). UWE is a large post-1992 university. Archival records suggest that the origins of UWE go back to a Merchant Venturers’ College founded in 1595 (Charles 1951), this became the Merchant Venturers’ Technical College, parts of which later became Bristol Polytechnic, the precursor of the University of the West of England.

Certain spatial and social factors are an important part of the institutional context to the events that will be described later in this chapter. In the academic year 2013 – 2014 the UWE campus was spread over three main locations in the city of Bristol. The Faculty of

²⁶ Nakba means catastrophe, the word is used by Palestinians to refer to the expulsion of Arabs from Palestine and the founding of Israel as a state in 1948.

Creative Arts (FCA), which had been established in 2007, brought together Art, Media and Design with Drama, Cultural Studies, Film Studies, Journalism and Media Studies. The undergraduate courses in Film Studies, Journalism, and Cultural and Media Studies were taught at St Matthias College in Fishponds, a site dating back to September 1853. The original, gothic style college buildings on this campus had originally been a teacher training school for women, when the college ceased to be independent in 1978 its staff and students transferred to Bristol Polytechnic's faculty of education, later being absorbed into UWE when Bristol Polytechnic gained university status in 1992. The St Matthias campus had grown to include modern student residence blocks and facilities, described as "a hotchpotch of architecturally uncoordinated buildings" (Evans 2014). Located within the main building in one of the newer sections of the site was a bar, a refectory and the offices and rooms which comprised the UWE student union.

The St Matthias Campus closed in July 2014 and the site has since been sold to a housing developer. With the Film Studies course relocated from the now closed St Matthias site to a new Faculty of Arts, Creative Industries, and Education, some staff moved to a modern campus at Frenchay, close to the M32 motorway at the northern the edge of the city, built on the site of a former farm.

Important to the wider context of this study are UWE's outposts for film and moving image-based research within the buildings of some of Bristol's major cultural organisations in the city centre. What is now known as the 'City Campus' at UWE includes sites at creative hubs in Bower Ashton, Spike Island and two in the harbourside area in the centre of the city, the Arnolfini arts centre and the Pervasive Media Studio (PMS), which is based at the Watershed Media Centre. The PMS is a partnership between the University of West of England, Bristol University and the Watershed, it is home to the Digital Culture Research Centre, which was founded by Professor Jon Dovey in 2009 and which has performed a pioneering role between 2012 and 2016 as one of four 'Knowledge Exchange Hubs for the Creative Economy' funded by the AHRC mentioned in Chapter two. The university is a signatory to the Manifesto for Public Engagement and the NCPPE is in fact a Bristol-based partnership between UWE and the University of Bristol who hold their annual conferences in the city, at a venue close to the Watershed.

In 2014 the BRFF had five co-organisers, two of whom were lecturing in Film Studies at UWE and four either were or had been Film Studies students there. One of the co-organisers, who has lectured at UWE since 2003, had actually taught all four of the others at some point. One member of the group, who was still an undergraduate at the time of the 2014 festival, had been taught on the Film Studies course at UWE by two of the others and two of the organisers who had completed undergraduate courses at UWE were now making films independently.

The organisers told me in 2014 that they'd never heard of the NCCPE and had self-organised without any significant institutional support. The BRFF team had first met at the St Matthias campus, but by late 2014 those still involved with UWE were based in different places. One organiser had recently completed his PhD thesis at UWE on contemporary activist and radical film in the UK and had remained there first as a lecturer, then a research fellow. A former founding festival team member, a former lecturer on the Journalism BA course at UWE whom I had met in Leeds prior to starting the fieldwork, had been linked with the Film Studies members of the organising team in a way that is best described as simply spatial. At the St Matthias campus, the Film and Journalism staff offices had been on the same corridor. They met through having shared interests in a small campus.

“This became an interesting thing because obviously video activism crosses the lines between journalism and film”.

BRFF co-organiser

When interviewees who had been involved in the first edition of the BRFF were asked about the festival's origins, each had their own versions of a memorable catalyst moment.

“Hay on Wye Film Festival!”

BRFF co-organiser

This was another member's perspective too:

"As the story goes, Steve was doing his PhD on British Radical Cinema and he was walking with his partner somewhere around Britain and saw an ad for the film about Thatcher. And something in the promotion said something along the lines of 'come to see this British film' or 'this is one of the best British films'. ...he went ballistic and went 'no way, this is not the proper British film!' When he came back he got in touch with me and told me 'I have this idea and we need to make it happen'. That was kind of the original embryonic idea of the whole thing."

BRFF co-organiser

Recounting the festival's origins, one founding organiser Steve Presence told me that the idea of a film festival had been in his thoughts for some time, but that Hay on Wye was certainly the catalyst moment.

"Me and my girlfriend [...] were at Hay on Wye Film Festival and the most political British film there was *If*, you know, Lyndsay Anderson's film from 1968... there was a lot of British work in it but this film culture was just absent. And that was the clincher, let's do it, let's organise a film festival... The first year the PhD basically went on hold, it kind of took over my PhD research... it was pretty much a showcase for the work in it."

Another organiser, a former student at UWE, explained how the 'Hay-on-Wye moment' also led to his involvement in the first BRFF:

"[...] just calls me up one day and was just like 'hey I wanna put on a film festival, it's going to be da da da' and it was like 'That's such a fucking good idea, that's exactly what we should be doing' 'do you want to get involved?' 'yes, I want to get involved' and then I was involved"

I enjoyed hearing about this catalyst moment, but it became clear later in the interviews that the festival didn't emerge as a week-long fully formed event without any kind of precedent in practice. When asked about how different people got involved, Humberto Perez-Blanco, a senior lecturer at UWE, mentioned that a colleague, now also involved in the festival, had been "sort of" there from the beginning, because "he'd come to the screenings we were doing at uni".

This was a series of screenings called Reel World, they were organised by two lecturers (and BRFF co-founders) and took place on St Matthias campus on Friday nights, when the films would often be followed by a discussion in the bar. These links to the academic context at UWE may lend the festival the appearance of 'research as practice' or an extension of the pedagogical activity organised by the Film and Media Studies department, however another of the organisers expressed a different opinion. "If it was the department then you might have a lot of other people within the department more directly connected to the festival" said Anthony Killick, who in 2014 had been an undergraduate student at UWE. He had been one of the BRFF's main organisers in 2013 and 2014 and he said he had become involved "through the occupation".

"There was an occupation at (the uni) where we took over...what was the name of the place... Core 24, it was like a café in the heart of the university's main campus, we took all that over, we basically did an occupation against the proposed, at that time, rise in tuition fees.... basically stayed in a café for about four weeks. There was about 30 of us living in that café for about 4 weeks"

Going back to November 2011, before the BRFF started, the Student Union rooms and facilities at both Frenchay and St Matthias campus locations had been occupied by UWE students protesting against increased tuition fees and staff cut backs. The occupation had lasted for three days and was said to have also been in solidarity with UCU members of the teaching staff, who were striking in defence of pensions. "Armed with banners, tents, and a sound system, they claimed a large space and set up an "education camp"" (Killick 2010). During this time, Killick had been travelling to London with other students to attend demonstrations against the raising of the tuition fee threshold, as well as handing out leaflets and talking to students back on campus. He described the sense of camaraderie he felt with other protesters as "solidifying ourselves" as a kind of unit, and especially "against the rest of the university".

"That's how I met a lot of people that I hold as friends today, that's how I saw a lot of people that I didn't really know even existed on a political level before, become politicised."

Meanwhile, in 2011 there were widely publicised riots happening in parts of the UK, including in parts Bristol.

“At the same time there was a bunch of riots going on in Stokes Croft. It was a real heightened period of political awareness and activism and I think the film festival came a lot off the back of that kind of thing, because if you think about it, the first one was what, 2012? So, just after all of this this stuff, and after we had time to really think about it and ruminate on it.... sure, the cuts had gone through, and the tuition fees cap had been raised, but it was time to you know, to take stock, and see what we actually can do.... What could we actually feasibly do, you know.”

Killick’s route through UWE could also be said to be a contributing factor; he had been on a joint honours degree course, which had become fractured after swapping onto philosophy from journalism after year one, meaning his undergraduate studies took a total of four years rather than three and he had less of a workload than other students had in their final year. For him, though, the sense of injustice he felt was the main factor in his involvement in the festival, because “it has to be like that right now”. The student protests had failed to prevent fees from rising, so screening films that actively say “a bit of a fuck you to the political right” and bringing film to other marginalised or oppressed communities was a way he could retaliate. “They can’t touch us for doing that”.

Context: a city perspective

As with the other chapters, it is useful to locate the events within the wider context of the city and refer to how it has been changing in recent decades. Bristol is a large UK city, approximately 150 miles west of London. Built around a tidal river during the early centuries of the last millennium, the city has an ancient history as a prosperous port and a merchant city. It became affluent through Atlantic trade when New World was discovered and this period has contributed a great deal to Bristol’s self-image. The Clifton Suspension Bridge that crosses the river Avon has been an iconic symbol of Bristol since 1864 and when the Plimsoll Load Line was written into the 1876 Merchant Shipping Act it was

named after a Bristol-born merchant, Samuel Plimsoll²⁷. There is of course a darker side to this story of economic growth, as imports from the New World were tied to slavery. Sailors in Bristol are said to have been the whistleblowers on the slave trade (Steeds 2008).

The city, as with the others in the previous chapters, has many examples of traditional commercial buildings and cultural institutions from the Victorian period; a University College was established in Bristol in 1876, which received its royal charter in 1909 to become the University of Bristol. In this city, which has built its image on its industrial and specifically its maritime heritage and well-established harbourside infrastructure, it is possible to discover a familiar story of decline and re-orientation. “From the mid-1970s onwards, manufacturing employment in the city’s traditional industries began to decline rapidly” (Bassett 1993 p.1781). The port closed in 1975, the Avon Gorge channel was becoming unsuitable for the size of modern shipping vessels and much of Bristol’s sea-trading and transport network relocated to Avonmouth, further down the river. Two decades later, despite being home to engineer Isambard Kingdom Brunel’s restored steam-ship ‘The Great Britain’, the docks were seen as a derelict and marginal area; “Bristol’s dockland-waterfront, with its redundant railway sidings, warehouses and goods-sheds, had fallen into disrepair” (Atkinson and Laurier 1998 p.203). Today it is hard to imagine the area as anything other than a lively cultural quarter. Important to the initial regeneration of harbourside area were the relocation of the Arnolfini arts centre to Bush House, a derelict 19th century warehouse (Owen 2015), in 1975 and the move of the British Film Institute’s first Regional Film Theatre to what is now known as Watershed, with a focus on media and film together.

“Watershed opened its doors in 1982 and declared itself to be ‘Britain’s First Media Centre’ seeking to capture and contextualise the shift in media at the point when satellite TV and Channel 4 were starting up.”

Watershed 2015

²⁷ This is painted onto ships’ hulls to mark the maximum load.

Bristol's cultural regeneration strategy for the harbourside area involved the planning of a major event in 1997 to commemorate John Cabot's voyage of discovery from Bristol, which was a controversial move at the time as it necessitated the removal of traveller communities from the 'tourist gaze' (Atkinson and Laurier 1998). The harbour area is now a major centre for tourism and consumption and there are numerous cycling and pedestrian bridges across the docks. In 1999, as a gesture to the injustices of the past, one of these was named after Pero Jones, an African slave brought to Bristol as a servant in the 18th century.

In the late 1990s, Chatterton carried out research into Bristol's symbolic economy and found that the city had "a particular context for student life" (Chatterton 1999 p.119). This was partly due to a "large cohort of traditional students from privileged social and educational backgrounds" (ibid. p.120) and he noted that the University of Bristol attracts a high proportion of its students from fee-paying 'private' schools. Inequalities of wealth and deprivation can be seen quite starkly by walking from Clifton and Whiteladies Road, past the University of Bristol, into the city centre and then heading out again through Stokes Croft area, with its thrift shops, artists' studios, creative businesses, pubs and bars, up to St Pauls, the city's most ethnically diverse area. These areas are changing rapidly (Boyden 2013). In 2008, Bristol was dubbed Britain's first official 'cycling city' and it was the first European Green Capital in the UK in 2015.

BRFF 2014 venues

Observations of the BRFF were made from the perspective of a participant in its 3rd and 4th editions in March 2014 and October 2015. The first event of the 2014 BRFF was a screening of the documentary *Enemies of the People* (Thet Sambeth and Rob Lemkin, 2009) at The Cube Microplex in Stokes Croft, which is an area at the north point of the city centre, stretching up from a huge junction on the city's ring road. Walking through the subway to get across the ring road means passing through a subterranean space, The Bearpit. At the time of the festival, a series of shipping containers had been placed there, one of which had been turned into a café.

A ticket for the screening cost £4 plus a £1 membership fee of The Cube for any non-members who attended. Before the screening started, one of the organisers gave an introduction and declared the festival open, which was applauded by the audience of around thirty people. The film dealt with the aftermath of a period of genocide during the regime of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia between 1975 and 1979.



Figure 30. The Bearpit, on the way to The Cube cinema, March 2014.

The festival venue the following day was the Single Parent Action Network Family and Study Centre at the Silai centre in Easton, about two miles from the city centre in the north eastern part of the city. The event consisted of the screening of two Iranian documentaries about women's rights and the realities of women's lives in Iran. The room was completely full and organisers later told me that people had been turned away earlier due to the lack of space in the screening room. I had been able to get in because the venue was hard to find and I was so late arriving that the films had already started and nobody was monitoring the door.

Roll for the Soul bike café is a street level vegetarian café and bicycle repair shop close to the pedestrian centre of the city, leaflets and posters inside the café gave the impression that it was a kind of hub for alternative lifestyle networks in the city. For the screening on

Wednesday, four bikes were installed inside the café with rows of seats arranged next to the bikes. The cost of the pedal-powered screening was advertised as £4/£5 but it was not clear who is taking money and many people entered the café without paying. In the end a 'charity hat' (belonging to one of the festival organisers) was passed around the audience for donations.



Figure 31. Roll For The Soul bike cafe, a BRFF venue in Bristol city centre, March 2014.

There were two films, the first was a short documentary about a bicycle recycling project in Bristol that donates bikes to refugees, allowing them to learn bicycle repair skills in order to recondition further donated bikes. This was followed by *Man with a Movie Camera* (Dziga Vertov, 1929), a silent, avant-garde documentary film from the Soviet, now considered a classic. A voltage meter attached to the bikes next to where the screen was set up looked a lot like a wooden drawer turned on its end with electrical components inside. The meter inside this device indicated the voltage being generated. Volunteers from the audience take turns to pedal for as long as they chose, which powered the low-power LED projector and the music for the silent film, mixed live on a laptop on the bar.

The Knowle West Media Centre was in a residential part of south Bristol, described by one of the organisers as being a riskier choice of venue because it is 'south of the river'. The building had been purpose built to be a sort of community resource, it had a large white screening room, with projection windows set in the wall above the entrance. Wine from bottles on a table at the back was self-service, for a suggested donation of £1. The film, *McLibel* (Franny Armstrong, 2005) is a well-known documentary that begins with the infiltration of a London activist group and ends with McDonalds attempting to sue two of the activists for libel in the longest case in English legal history. The films at the weekend took place over two floors of the Arc. During the Saturday screenings, some festival participants adjourned to the Roll for the Soul café for a Radical Film Network meeting and after the films on the Sunday, the café became the venue for an after party.

Why radical? The 'real' British cinema

Details about the original catalyst moment for the festival may be slightly contradictory, but the BRFF organisers were unanimous over two points; that the festival has a role to present films that are left out of the main circuits of distribution and that the screenings are for the communication of political ideas. Film festivals offer a platform and a forum for watching and discussing films that are excluded from or under-represented in mainstream cinema circuits, this is frequently due to their low box office performance. For some festivals, this exposure and focus on a particular form of film culture or film making practice can be their sole purpose.

Documentary film makes up around 13% of films released for cinematic exhibition in the UK, but accounts for less than 1% of UK box office sales (British Film Institute 2016 p.5). These figures are slightly misleading, as documentary does not directly equate with 'politically engaged film', the autobiographical film on the career and music of singer Katy Perry, for example, or a film about pop band One Direction were some of the biggest successes in the documentary genre in the UK in 2012 and 2013 respectively (British Film Institute 2013, 2014). The share of box office (and therefore audience) for politically engaged forms of documentary film is therefore very much smaller than 1% of UK box office sales. Radical political films tend not to benefit from formal distribution

arrangements. However, there are many national and international annual documentary festivals (eg. Hot Docs in Canada, Doc/Fest the Sheffield-based documentary festival, Open City Docs in London) and some that are explicitly dedicated to Human Rights (eg. Oxford Human Rights Festival), labour struggles (eg. London Labour Film Festival), ethnic groups or diasporic communities (see Jordanova with Cheung 2010), the environment (eg. UK Green Film festival), and a vast number cultural events around the country deal with politics and ethical issues. Given that these festivals exist already, what is it about BRFF that makes the festival explicitly 'radical'?

"First and foremost it's about politics. The radicalism is political in the sense that we show films that advocate radical social change and are predominantly about democracy, sustainability, equality and social justice"

BRFF Co-organiser Steve Presence, quoted in Sheppard 2014

The BRFF began as "pretty much a showcase" for the rare British films Presence had discovered during the research for his PhD thesis *The Political Avant-Garde: Oppositional Documentary In Britain Since 1990* and it is in this document that he clarifies his own use of and perspective on the use of the word radical in relation to particular types of political film. He acknowledges that other words like 'alternative' or 'counter-culture' are often used when describing films made by auteurs, independent filmmakers and activists, but the word alternative brings to mind its use in other fields, such as alternative lifestyles or alternative music and this immediately poses the question: alternatives to what?

To use 'alternative' would make the assumption that films that engage with overtly left-wing politics and political campaigns are an alternative to the conventions of mainstream film and video culture, although from a cultural studies perspective it has been argued that the terms mainstream and alternative actually play a role in constructing each other (Thornton 1995). 'Alternative' also suggests a personal choice within a plural culture, describing films as 'counter' or 'oppositional' implies an antagonistic relationship with the status quo and all of these terms have the effect of reinforcing the mainstream as 'normal'. For the purposes of Presence's thesis and so by extension, the BRFF, which emerged while the thesis was being written, the word 'radical' is taken to mean 'from the

roots' implying a grass-roots, socially embedded form of political response that critiques the dominance of capitalism as ruling paradigm (Presence 2013 p.17) by taking a position within 'the struggle'.

With respect to film culture, however, the use of the word radical is not limited solely to the kind of documentary work shown at the BRFF in 2014. Forms of aesthetic innovation in film that makes advances in practice in the medium of the film is also frequently referred to as 'radical', but with this form of film making the means, form and sites of distribution help to shape what is being represented.²⁸ These latter works are films that "push against the restrictive and reactionary codes and conventions of mainstream audio-visual culture" (Presence 2013 p.22) but their predominant site of exhibition venue is the gallery space which in his opinion transforms what should be a public function of art into an elitist one. While conceding that many examples of what he calls 'aesthetic radicalism' (meaning film-based art work) also engages with political questions, as indeed it can be argued that all representation is political, confining politics to what he sees as the aesthetic realm is "profoundly asocial" (Presence 2013 p.22) and doesn't aid the development a revolutionary consciousness, which is necessarily part of his and the BRFF's intellectual project.

As another founding organiser explained, Presence's research wasn't the only pedagogical perspective on the BRFF at the start.

"We were very much in the mould of Latin American radical film making, the emphasis is on non-traditional spaces. My own research deals with something in Argentina called Cine-Piquetero which is a form of video activism – which purposively is not screened in cinemas. They go to coffee places, to factories, to community centres. We took that as our model and that's how we kind of developed the whole thing."

"We had to start thinking about which spaces and which films and it developed from there. We were learning as we were going along."

²⁸ The British Film Institute, Arts Council England and the Institute for Contemporary Arts use the term Artists' moving image for this category of film-based work. The Independent Cinema Office say this is a 'kind of work is more usually found in gallery spaces'.

In an interview with Presence, it became apparent that this approach to selecting the venues for screenings had also influenced his thinking.

“The other thing we really wanted to do was map the festival onto the existing kind of counter-cultural, progressive activism scene in the city so that it wouldn’t just be about showing the films... it was about bringing people, audiences, into progressive spaces and trying to build up that solidarity amongst wider movements for social change in the city.”

The festival developed iteratively from there. The group used Facebook messages as their main method of communication for planning the festival, meeting up once a week at the Roll for the Soul bike café in the centre of town.

“In terms of responsibilities, we have a very loose structure. Kind of very post-modern, kind of a network thing.... Initially we had our names on the website, we have removed them. We think that nobody cares.... this is organised by a collective of people, that is the idea, we are trying to move away from this personalisation of things. There is no director and we purposively work that way”.

All five members suggested content, which would be discussed and researched however possible;

“...bouncing around a few ideas, what films we might show, where we might show it, the format of the festival, who we might invite to speak.”

“Generally it’s like, we’ll be sitting around having a meeting or something and it’s like ‘ah, I’ve got a good idea’. Okay, follow that up. Or, there’s a bunch of people that we need to call up, who wants to take that. Oh I can take that, I’ll get on with that later. It’s basically time constraints, whoever’s got time to do it....”

“...sometimes we go slightly mainstream and I kind of go ‘We can only screen that over my dead body’! Someone likes it or thinks that is useful, so okay, well we’ll screen it.”

“Objectives always were very blurred and are still today very blurred... We think about films in particular ways.”

“We knew what we didn’t want to do”

Presence told me that he had wanted the festival to 'overlap onto action' by connecting with social centres around the city and bringing in local community groups. In 2013 the Bristol feminist network had advertised one of the BRFF screenings through their own networks, which resulted in a packed screening, held in a women's centre for sex workers in the St Paul area of the city. In 2014 the Knowle West Media Centre screening was one example of this approach. Knowle West is a deprived area of Bristol and the centre was built as a community resource. As BRFF co-organiser Liz Mizon explained;

"The council built the media centre there which gets used, it does really really good work, but it's out in Knowle West... People don't really go there, don't really know it's there. We wanted to draw attention to the place... it wasn't that they needed our help as such, but it's in Knowle West."

Presence's view of the activist or community group-based screening context is that it offered a way for the films he discovered during his doctoral research to reclaim some of their earlier political agency.

"Here's this culture but it's absolutely part of real life activism and here are the people who are doing it now, and you should talk to them. It was very much about trying not to have this hold on these kind of cultural artefacts as ossified things that are removed from the social and political fabric. It was about saying look, this is what they're designed to do, you get impassioned and pissed off and informed about what's going on and then you can get involved in activism and debate."

Presence realised during his own research that there wasn't a book-length study or history of recent radical, oppositional filmmaking and video activism in Britain. An earlier period has been extensively documented in a book called *Rogue Reels: Oppositional Film in Britain 1945-90* by Margaret Dickinson but "it was as if it had stopped in 1990". He has described it as a 'missing' part of British film culture, "I just got frustrated that there was no exhibition platform for the kind of work I was researching".

Understanding the reasons for the under-representation of certain kinds of films in British cinemas tells us something about the difficulty of challenging hegemonic distribution

systems for any non-mainstream film category in the UK. The example of films made in Britain is well researched and is used for illustrative purposes here. Studios in Hollywood are the biggest producers of English-language films in the world. In the early part of the 20th Century UK film production was waning but British cinema going flourished and audiences had a preference for American films which flooded on to the market, a situation that hasn't changed a great deal since. Unlike in other European countries such as France or Denmark, there is presently no recommended percentage of British-made films for the UK film exhibition sector. In 1983 a quota system originally imposed by the Cinematograph Films Act of 1927 to protect British Cinema from the aggressive distribution tactics of American-made and American-financed films was removed due to it being considered an administrative burden by exhibitors. According to parliamentary records at the time, the quota system was said to be an ineffective strategy that was creating too much administration for 'hard-pressed' theatre-managers. Having a national cinema is thought to be an important part of society's cultural integrity. "As very few British films are made and fewer which deal with British life and manners, the British film has become an unknown commodity" (National Film Finance Corporation, quoted in Wood 1980 p.43). Authenticity is the important concept that applies here beyond this context of the British-made film, what is at stake is how a society represents itself or is reduced to being represented by others, who invariably have a different agenda or understanding.

Turning their own research into practice, the BRFF organisers have experimented with the ideas coming out of earlier periods of oppositional film making, finding out as they progressed that an enthusiastic audience existed in Bristol for the films that they presented. Films screened at BRFF are always followed by a relaxed and unhurried discussion, led by festival organisers and involving the audience and occasionally guests. This mode of exhibition reflects the interests of political film makers themselves, this was particularly apparent in the shared interests amongst the group in Latin American cinema in the late 60s, mediated through the teaching of the Film Studies at UWE.

These were films that, as Killick put it, were "designed to catalyse action, to catalyse people doing stuff about their situation".

“It was an educational tool in order to do that. And that was my main objective for having the festival and this is why we do the discussions after each film. That was the major thing for me, but I think that was the major thing for everyone”

In this way, the content of the film programme drove the form the festival took from a pedagogical perspective. Screenings overlapping onto action and engaging with audiences in community settings is an established practice in radical film culture.

Festival of British Independent Cinema and the Independent Filmmakers Association

In 2015 the BRFF organisers completely changed their festival model. Its fourth edition in 2015 was held over three days at the Arnolfini art centre, in the heart of Bristol’s harbour-side cultural quarter, where the BRFF staged a celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Festival of Independent British Cinema that had taken place at this venue in Bristol in 1975, which showed radical avant-garde work and grassroots films by oppositional collectives such as Cinema Action and the Berwick Street Collective. This festival had screened films from 16mm and 8mm prints, reflecting the explosion in independent film making that the new technology had facilitated, the increasing availability of more portable film equipment was making an ‘alternative British cinema’ as a counterpoint to Hollywood possible. Distribution on the mainstream circuit at that time favoured expensive 35mm prints and films made on 16mm would generally not get a classification certificate or a ‘theatrical release’. Groups of enthusiasts organised their activities in such a way that communal film workshops with public viewing rooms started to appear across the UK and these film clubs and societies circulated 8mm and 16mm film prints, screening them in schools, colleges, universities, town and village halls, offices and factories. Because of the scarcity of the prints, these films are difficult to find and often are only known about by film specialists, but in 2015 some of them appeared in the BRFF programme.

“This year the festival is dedicated to commemorating the 40th anniversary of the First Festival of British Independent Cinema, which took place at the Arnolfini in 1975. Organised by the filmmaker, writer and curator, David Hopkins (1940-2004), the 1975 festival was a landmark event in the history of alternative film in Britain, screening overtly political film alongside aesthetically radical work in celebration of a vibrant independent film culture comprised of different forms, approaches and traditions”

Email communication from the BRFF, 2nd October 2015

In 1975 when the Arnolfini gallery had relocated to the harbourside site, the area was not the cultural quarter it is now. Today, the basement auditorium at the Arnolfini has 200 raked seats and professional lighting, sound and projection facilities. An original objective of the BRFF had been to avoid arthouse cinemas and galleries, venues that were ‘intensely middle class’. Two years earlier, in his thesis, Presence had referred to what he called ‘intellectual and cultural elitism’ leading to the unfair exclusion of political avant-garde film works from academy and gallery spaces. “In these spaces radical politics are all too often acceptable only if they come dressed in the formal attire of the aesthetic avant-garde... the bourgeois gatekeepers of the art world contribute to the effacement of the political avant-garde from the public sphere” (Presence 2013 p.19-20). Holding the 2015 anniversary festival in this gallery space however represented the realisation of an idea that he had ‘had his eye on’ for some time, having learned about the 1975 festival during the PhD research period. “Now I guess I’m changing my attitude to that a little bit.”

This isn’t quite as clear cut as it might seem, though, there had been a precedent. When Presence introduced the 2015 festival, he claimed that it was the first time the BRFF had screened in the Arnolfini, when in fact he was standing in the spot where in 2014 BRFF co-organiser Anthony Killick had interviewed Iranian filmmaker Mania Akbari after the screening of two of her films.

On a table inside doorway of the Arnolfini theatre the BRFF organisers had placed an original 1975 festival programme from the Arnolfini archive under glass. Also displayed on the table were several books on cinema, some with UWE library reference stickers on their spines. The programme for this edition of the BRFF was a wide-ranging view of alternative film practices from the time of the first Festival of British Independent

Cinema; events included an experimental programme of early, silent Derek Jarman films and a discursive session on the concept behind the 1970's Liberation films model of 'trigger films' presented by film practitioner Ed Webb-Ingall. The trigger films technique documents community engagement with social issues, screening them back immediately within the communities involved in their production, with their participation, to transform the act of watching into one of participatory critique.

Other rarely screened films included the collectively-made *The Amazing Equal Pay Show* (London Women's Film Group, 1974) a humorous response to the Labour Government's 1970 Equal Pay Act which put into practice the tenets of feminist film theory with women taking turns in front of and behind the camera, and *Women of the Rhondda* (Ronay et al. 1971) which documented the harsh lives of wives of miners in Welsh valley, affected by the Welsh Miners' Strikes of the 1920s and 30s, director credits included Margaret Dickinson (author of *Rogue Reels*).

Laura Mulvey was a special guest of the festival, her article *Visual Pleasures and Narrative Cinema* (1975) was described by Presence as "the most famous article in Film Studies ever". In his view, the Festival of British Independent Cinema had provided radical, grassroots and oppositional film culture with a forum and it contributed to the formation of the Independent Filmmakers Association (IFA), a campaigning organisation that aimed to provide "a forum and voice for independent cinema" (Wood 1980 p.15). Membership of the IFA was extended to makers of avant-garde and experimental film as well as exhibitors and academics, the group also attempted to develop its own production and exhibition circuits, a networked approach that enabled a wider range of films than would normally be available through the usual channels to be screened in public settings. "The desire to reach wide audiences has led to a growing awareness among independent film-makers that production and exhibition must be developed alongside each other" (Wood 1980 p.15). Its centres of activity included the regional BFI Film Theatres as well as the DIY venues mentioned earlier in this chapter, and the films were usually screened from 16mm, 8mm and video formats.

The development of the Radical Film Network

The production and circulation of individual films involves highly differentiated networks and circuits, within which film festivals are important nodes of exchange (de Valck 2007). This section examines the emergence of one such network during the research period, and where the organisers of the BRFF assuming key roles in its development. It does this in order to locate the events observed in Bristol within a far wider framework. In the 'node in the network' theory of festivals, articulated in Chapter three, flows of cultural commodities can be seen to be influenced by key participants acting within these distribution networks, such as festival programmers. The inclusion of the following section emphasises the value of the node in the network approach to studying festivals.

As mentioned earlier, the annual Doc/Fest festival in Sheffield is the UK's biggest festival of documentary film. Doc/Fest events take place in numerous venues across the city, but one of the main hubs for much of the festival is the Showroom Cinema, which is very close to Sheffield Hallam University, the city's post 92 university. In June 2013, this institution hosted a day long symposium in connection with the Doc/Fest programme, on 'radical' film. Named 'A Time for Invention' the event included presentations from film makers, distributors, writers and archivists. It was organised by Steve Sprung, a lecturer and course leader in film, media and documentary production at Sheffield Hallam. The event's description even hinted at the formation of a new network for those interested in this area.

"The late '60s and '70s saw the development of documentary film collectives in the UK that addressed the burning political issues of their day. They developed radical forms of independent film production and distribution prior to digital or the web."

'A Time for Invention', Sheffield Hallam University website, 2013

The preliminary meeting for the formation of this emergent network, which became known afterwards as the Radical Film Network (RFN), took place in London in September that year and symbolically it was held in the Mayday Rooms in Fleet Street. The meeting notes record that attendees were present from Bristol, Bath, Leeds, Liverpool, London, Sheffield and Worcester and that working groups were assigned to various initial tasks,

including investigating sources of funds for developing the network (RFN 2013). These meeting notes also called for an annual event to bring those whom the network exists to support together. My own first encounter with the RFN was through the receipt of two Word documents relating to the founding meeting in 2013 during an email exchange with Presence in 2014. Gaining this extra knowledge of the start of the research into festivals convinced me that the BRFF should be included as a main festival site, as it was explicitly linked to the formation of a new network for knowledge sharing and cultural practice.

Casual conversations about the future direction of the RFN are said to have taken place at the Liverpool Radical Film Festival and the Worcestershire Film Festival in 2013, but the next formal, organisational meeting of RFN members took place in the midst the BRFF in March 2014, upstairs at Roll for the Soul Community Bike Café. This was a small, but international, gathering of network founders and here some decisions were made about how to structure future communications throughout the network.

On 13 March 2014 the first message was sent to network members using the newly set up mailing list, on 28 April another message sent to the list announced that a website for the RFN had gone live. Writing about the founding of the RFN for an online journal on film research, Presence again expressed his concern about the lack of an organised, activist side to British film culture.

“In the UK in the 1920s and 30s, those involved in the workers’ film movement recognised cinema’s power as a tool for progressive and revolutionary social change and sought to develop national infrastructures for distribution and exhibition”

Presence 2014

He adds that the aforementioned Independent Filmmakers Association (IFA) provides the nearest historical predecessor to the RFN in the UK and asserts that it was their lobbying that led to the creation of a dedicated department for independent film and video within Channel Four, increasing the audience reach of film makers by hundreds of thousands.

The time and place for the next meeting of the RFN had been decided at this meeting so that it coincided with the annual Open City Docs Festival at University College London.

The Saturday in July 2014 that the RFN meeting was scheduled to take place also became a day of protest in the capital; organised by the People's Assembly to protest against cuts, a March Against Austerity started out from BBC Broadcasting House to the Houses of Parliament and many of the RFN members headed directly from the meeting to join in.

In between the two editions of the BRFF in 2014 and 2015, Presence organised the first formal conference of the Radical Film Network (RFN) in Birmingham. Since completing his PhD, Presence had pursued a career as a post-doctoral researcher, securing funding to develop the network which had grounded him in UWE. The conference was held at Birmingham City University, Birmingham's post-1992 university mentioned in Chapter six. Given the title of 'Political Cinema in the 21st Century' it intended to, amongst other things, "broach dissensus" and "re-make links between the radical avant-garde and the aesthetic avant-garde" (RFN 2015). For two days in February 2015, filmmakers, festival producers, critics, distribution organisers, curators and scholars witnessed parallel sessions of presentations and came together at the end as a group to discuss the specifics of the network and how the network should develop.

Pragmatically, the timing of the RFN conference was significant. "My time as co-ordinator is coming to an end, and a different person or group of people in this role would be healthy for the network's development" (Presence in RFN 2015 p.5). This turned out to not quite be the end of his involvement, however. In 2015 and 2016, running the administrative side of the RFN has been sustained by another a project, also run in association with UWE. Further RFN meetings have followed. In October 2015, the next RFN meeting was held in a Chinese community centre in Liverpool city centre that was hosting festival screenings for the Liverpool Radical Film Festival (LRFF). Killick, a former BRFF organiser, now studying for a PhD at Edge Hill University, is one of the LRFF's organisers. A successful bid to the AHRC for a 'Sustaining Alternative Film Cultures' project meant that funding had been awarded, following the RFN conference, that could be used to support this meeting and a further three events expected to take place over two years, one of which would be held in the USA. It was also intended to be used to bring organisations affiliated to the RFN to the UK to speak and because of this, the LRFF in 2015 hosted a talk and screening by organisers of the Subversive Film Festival in Zagreb, Croatia. Another RFN event, an 'un-conference' and festival combined, was hosted by the University of Glasgow in May 2016 and organised in collaboration with local

organisations and academics, bringing together existing and new members of the network for five days of discussions, social events and a range of film screening events.

Three further events were planned and delivered at Sheffield Doc / Fest in June 2016, the first of these being a history of that festival presented by one of the RFN's founding members, Professor Sylvia Harvey, who explained how the origins of Sheffield International Documentary Festival were an act of political resistance, specifically in relation to the changes brought about by the 1990 Broadcasting Act. The RFN panel on the next day was 'Viva la Revolucion: Video Activism and Citizen Journalism', which was an event for Doc/Fest passholders only and included international presenters from Greece and Egypt. Festival delegates turned up in such numbers that the room assigned to it was packed and people turned away. An RFN members meeting on the third day was less widely advertised, so comprised a much smaller group of mainly existing members, whose discussion focussed on the problem that there were no future scheduled UK meetings for the RFN membership and no real agreement on what membership of the RFN really means. A constitution has been considered too divisive, an administrative structure or paid subscription model too cumbersome and exclusionary. The RFN has no formalised business partnerships although some affiliates have loose connections with other distribution organisations such as LUX, Dogwoof. The network's mode of operation takes a creative approach to using existing sites for collecting together necessary resources and it makes interventions into public discourse at thematically linked events, usually but not always in the form of screenings, invariably accompanied by a discussion.

Discussion: The creative industries discourse and its effect on Film Studies

Film Studies as an academic discipline developed out of the diverse fields of cultural studies, which had become established within many UK universities in the 1970s and 1980s, at a time when textual analysis was becoming an increasingly intellectual and reflexive mode of analysis. Film theory bases many of its advances in knowledge on the same epistemological viewpoints, theoretical frameworks and constructs as many other subject disciplines in the humanities and social sciences; as a form of theorization, as it has developed as a discipline it has shared much with other humanities disciplines and

text-based academic practices. Scholarship in this field confronts the dialectic relationship between the objective materiality of a film text and the subjective properties of its content and is as much a process of abstracting truths about identity, society and human nature from the cultural texts being studied as it is about the discovery or cataloguing of texts, documenting the circumstances of their production or descriptive writing. Methods of structural analysis can be employed to study compositional elements, cinematic techniques and sound, yet many researchers use techniques and methodologies from linguistics and psychoanalysis to decode films by exploring the textual and inter-textual references of representational elements, as well as considering cinema's modes of reception and how film-watching positions the subject.

Professor Dovey, a Professor of Screen Media at UWE, has been a teacher and then researcher of film and media-based studies at UWE for twenty years. Dovey is also director of the Digital Cultures Research Centre at the PMC, which is described on its own website as being "founded in Cultural Studies" (Digital Cultures Research Centre 2016). A writer and producer of film and community media before he started teaching, Dovey told me that in the early 1990s he had taught on, amongst other things, a Cultural and Media studies degree course at St Matthias that mixed theory and practice "at about 70-30". He believes that UWE's Film Studies and Journalism programmes at undergraduate level had originally emerged from Cultural Studies, inspired by the Birmingham School in the mid-1980s. "There's a really interesting bit of cultural history here, about how Cultural Studies evacuated its own space.... it was a really successful project that spawned lots of things and left it with nothing to do".

Dovey had been a member of the former department at UWE in which the BRFF organisers and member of the RFN were embedded before it closed, one of his colleagues at this time supervised the PhDs of two BRFF organisers. The department had been close-knit and inter-disciplinary, "we did all really feel we were part of a department".

According to Dovey, the focus of many UWE programmes started to change between 2005 and 2010, "the rate of institutional change has been completely breakneck in the last ten years". During the re-organisation of the creative courses at UWE, several senior members of staff left as courses were re-focussed "towards vocationality" and

relationships with industry, “we are being told that the market looks like this and you can’t do that”. Film Studies as a discipline is concerned with the cognitive and constructive processes involved in interpreting meaning. As Film Studies at UWE became less of a text-based discipline, something which it has been suggested in this study that the introduction of tuition fees was partially responsible for, the “film theoreticians” moved to Frenchay to join what is now called the Media and Cultural Industries department, alongside English and History, where they deliver a new degree called Media, Culture and Practice. Dovey himself currently heads the REACT Hub for the Creative Economy at the Pervasive Media Centre (PMC) in Bristol’s harbourside area, awarded funds by the AHRC for four years to pursue innovation in the creative economy.

Film Practice is now run at the Bower Ashton part of the City Campus and here, UWE has relationships with local industry partners such as the Watershed, Encounters Festival, the BBC and the Wild Screen film and photography festival. This helps to secure placements for students within these organisations and access jobs when they leave, as well as enabling UWE to create new partnerships, such as an MA that the University now delivers with the BBC Natural History Unit as a partner.

Discussion: on ‘being institutionalised’

BRFF co-organisers have cited their own areas of research interest in a topic as a starting point of the BRFF and at least two organisers are film makers as well, but the festival is also a response to some very specific conditioning factors; changing disciplinary conventions in Film Studies, particularly a tension between its elements of reflective theory and creative practice, and a period of heightened student activism following changes to HE policy in 2010 and 2011. The organisers offer these things as motivating factors for producing the festival, usually above their affiliation to UWE, and yet the University always looms large in discourse and actions during festival events as well as in individual orientations to their practice. The next section looks at some instances where that occurred in the study.

In the BRFF festival guide and also on their website, where simultaneous events occurred at the weekend they were referred to as ‘parallel sessions’. Here is a good example of

how the organiser's praxis appears unintentionally in texts and descriptions. It is customary for academics to use the term 'parallel' when producing conference guides but it is not a term often used in festival literature. In terms of events, parallel is an uniquely academic expression, not applied to festivals anywhere else in this study or in my experience. A minor detail in itself, yet interesting because the BRFF brochure looks the least like the more conventional publications produced by other university-festivals and appears in its practices to be the most physically removed from the campus. Nobody speaking at BRFF is addressed as 'Dr' for example, although in conversation during introductions it was clear how their roles connected with UWE. When I pointed this curious use of phrase out to an organiser he clearly hadn't realised that it looked unusual to a non-academic audience. "I'm totally institutionalised" he explained.

In interviews BRFF organisers have spoken of becoming politicised in a very personal way through learning about critical issues of culture and representation and they are aware of having been awarded the relative luxury of time to learn it and the legitimacy that the institutional framework provides, enabling them to put their own research into practice. Theoretically speaking, the type of active spectator that the BRFF organisers are interested in derives more from theories of spectators in theatre rather than cinema, these ideas are from Bertolt Brecht and Paulo Friere as well as Laura Marks and Gilles Deleuze. During the BRFF screenings in 2014, the settings chosen for the events emphasised the connection between content and context, but generally from the point of view of the film's topic. At these events the organisers have defended the value of the Film Studies course in their introductions at screenings and the discussions show that the organisers value a screening format that includes a post-screening discussion highly.

"The lecture screening seminar structure that we have at the university is the structure that we have at the festival.... In certain ways we are promoting the university."

The festival organisers are, however, aware that many aspects of their practice are out of step with the way the wind is blowing and the festival's spatial arrangements hint at

ambiguous relations with the institution. The University of Bristol, the city's Russell Group institution, it was noted by one respondent, still offer "traditional" Film Studies. It is where two of the BRFF organisers studied for an MA in Film Studies, while working on the festival simultaneously.

"I'd hand around programmes and be a little bit proud that we'd been able to organise something that the university would like to be involved in... it's like you're receiving the admiration of your peers. And I felt good about the fact that I was doing that kind of thing within the parameters of the university, when I was able to say to my dissertation supervisor we're doing this."

It is interesting to note how between the activism of the 2014 BRFF and its earlier editions and the changed form of the 2015 festival, there appears to have been a reflexive process and an expanding role in film scholarship for some of the festival organisers. Now that the BRFF was well-established within the (counter-)cultural calendar in Bristol, partnerships with activist groups have been made ("we know them") and the group's activities had expanded, screenings were no longer exclusively bounded within festival dates. Members of the team were working with other cultural organisations and with other festivals, running a monthly night at The Cube cinema for example, programming a series of short film selections²⁹ for Bristol's Encounters Short Film and Animation Festival, participating in the national Scalarama festival in September and arranging events at the Liverpool Radical Film Festival. The realisation that the BRFF was not as well known by the 'establishment' in Bristol as it was by the 'grass roots' had appeared to limit their reach and the organisers were becoming more interested in starting and developing those kinds of relationships.

Discussion: the RFN

Amongst the aims of the BRFF, as articulated by its organisers, two in particular have most clearly contributed to the emergence of the RFN as a significant parallel project to the BRFF. One of these is that the festival organisers want to take films 'into the

²⁹ 'Vienna-Bristol-Riga: a journey in radical filmmaking'

community' and break with the theatrical release and distribution systems for film, the other is the ambition to create or nurture specialist knowledge networks as a kind of supportive infrastructure for the circulation of challenging political films. "Today, radical film is more often exhibited by activist or community groups in cafes, pubs and squats than on television or in cinemas" (RFN 2013) and so "a national network connecting these organisations together seemed an obvious next step towards making this radical film culture sustainable" (RFN 2013).

Practical and theoretical concerns regarding the organisation of the RFN, what it is and what it does with film have never really been resolved. One of the networks' early ambitions was a digitalisation and distribution centre from which tours of particular programmes of films could be organised to increase their reach, but this has not been realised. What was hoped would be a source of infrastructural support for radical film culture (RFN 2015 p.4) has so far largely depended on HE institutions and HE funding bodies. Important to the stated aims of the RFN was that it should be independent, that it shouldn't rely on any single individual, institution or post for its sustainability. While the need for an annual meeting has been voiced repeatedly by its membership since its instigation, the work involved in maintaining the network's activity has fallen heavily on those tenured academics who have taken up that challenge and at present there is no sense of who might be willing to step up next.

New members often raise the question of what 'radical' means, which forces the group to return to a reflexive position, "the politics implied by the word 'radical' – a term already much discussed in the network's short history – is probably the one thing we all have in common" (RFN 2015 p.5). As discussed earlier, 'radical' can refer to aesthetics as much as politics. In the records of the first meeting "overtly political film culture" meant "organisations and groups dedicated to making, distributing, exhibiting, and researching films that are explicitly aligned with the radical left" (RFN 2013).

Socialism and anarchism have been mentioned in meetings as ideological reference points, but radical was decided as "the most suitable adjective" (RFN 2013).

“One of the key divisions in the IFA arose, as the organisation grew, between the politically committed, activist-oriented filmmakers and those other independent filmmakers who simply (and understandably) wanted organisational support to get their films made. Each group had equal claim to being “independent,” and thus to the IFA. The “Radical” in the title of the RFN is an attempt to anticipate and avoid this division”

Presence 2014

Interrogating the concept of radicalism by a group calling themselves the RFN, just as the IFA explored and critiqued the notion of ‘independence’ before them, is indicative of an essential process of higher education, critical thinking, something to which a neo-liberal hegemony is said to be indifferent, or even attempts to eliminate (Giroux 2004). The key decision to name the network ‘radical’ and defend the use of that title is influenced by this reflectiveness. As Presence has said, “it immediately begs the question: what is “radical” film?” (Presence 2014) and he says it is his hope that this challenges those engaged in the network to interrogate their own positions and behaviours. At the RFN conference in 2015, Harvey warned that as the network’s material resources so far had come from universities there was a need for members to understand what was happening within these institutions. The word radical is not always a good fit with the institutional frameworks that have so far been essential for its support. Being awarded the money from the AHRC, Presence has remained an early career academic and is now based at the UWE / Arnolfini site, bringing in the funding for the network has smoothed this over temporarily, but there are signs that this is unsustainable. The other sense I got from studying the Bristol group, that a separation of theory from practice was undermining their very discipline and had the potential to hollow out some areas of film studies, particularly its more critical aspects, for future cohorts of students.

Summary

This chapter has covered two of the years in an ongoing evolution of the BRFF, this is a partial view as the organisation resembles an evolving and non-hierarchical collective and this chapter has only explored the orientations of the people involved at one specific time. The edition of the BRFF in 2015 had a different focus from the one in 2014, which brought it within the boundaries of a newly-articulated City Campus and changed the

form the festival took a great deal. Details for the 2016 festival have not yet been revealed. However, the study has uncovered a number of things; firstly that the BRFF was founded on a combination of an intellectual project and a political moment, and while the under-representation of certain kinds of films in British cinemas tells us something about the difficulty of challenging hegemonic distribution systems for any non-mainstream film category in the UK it seems that internal negotiations surrounding the provision of media studies courses and the 'employability agenda' of creative degrees have added an important layer of meaning to the events studied.

To an extent, what has been found is the mounting of a 'defence' of disciplinary traditions in critical media studies, which is similar to events that made claims for the value of the Humanities disciplines in Chapter seven. There is also both the observance and the articulation of left-wing politics at work in the mode of production concerning not just the stated issues of oppression and access to representation in film pedagogy but also an opposition to policy changes in UK HE and internal restructuring across the sector. Between 2010 and 2011 these coalesced into forms of direct action and this last observation brings the BRFF into dialogue with some of the events surrounding the CCCS50 mentioned in Chapter six. Campus politics appear like snow globe representations of national politics in these instances.

In understanding the conditions of the production of the BRFF, the original study of a single festival has had to be widened considerably to allow for the progression of ideas from the production of a seven-day festival to the founding and incubation of a new and ambitious, international practice-based network, the RFN. This study concludes that the festival here cannot simply be seen as a 'response' to a set of conditions, but that it has provided a method through which to perform a negotiation between issues of theory, practice and activism, both on and off the campus. With a historical precedent based in the IFA in the 1970s, the RFN has also embraced an intellectual project found in Margaret Dickinson and Sylvia Harvey' ground-breaking books and these authors are now engaged in its ongoing development. Following decades of neoliberal politics and technological change, and decades too since the demise of the IFA, the RFN's members, affiliates and curious observers are choosing to respond afresh to some serious issues affecting independent media production, such as workers' precarity, lack of representation within the circuits of distribution, engaging audiences with factual and experimental content

programming and many aspects of film-based practice, theory and culture. Networked knowledge exchange is an important feature in cultural ecology studies, but one of the most important aspects of the Network's identity are that its members and affiliates share a broad, inclusive ideological context, involving the critique of dominant forms of media representation and a commitment to building a culture and space for dialogue to happen. The discursive events arranged by the RFN, which are frequently augmented by film screenings of work from earlier periods of 'radical' filmmaking and contemporary grass roots video-activist movements, open up some 'third spaces' to bring academics, film makers, students, TV practitioners, digital production communities, festival producers and audiences together to debate their work in context. The RFN's use of film festivals as a means to amplify their impact, reach new members and organise the Network's activities in the context of existing film practice also places them directly within an expanded version of the cultural public sphere.

Chapter nine. A discussion of the findings

Findings from the three sites researched in detail have so far been presented in their local contexts. This chapter broadens the theoretical scope by combining observations and re-grouping findings into thematic areas for further discussion and analysis. It addresses the study's wider ambition to use different modes of analysis to construct intersecting 'surfaces' around the phenomenon of university festivals and produce a set of working surfaces with which to construct a picture of the whole. In this chapter, the quotes drawn from the subjective accounts of those involved have been largely anonymised, so that rather than concentrating on individual contexts, the respondents are presented here as a cohort of specialised practitioners. This chapter also brings in simultaneous findings from events experienced at other HE institutions during the course of the study.

As the material and textual aspects of festivals were collected and examined in the course of this research, an important group of textual elements were discovered in the plethora of technologies that organisers and participants use for communications. These are symbolic assemblages of cultural objects, texts and discourses that are produced by festivals and which are amplified, regulated or constrained by social and cultural conventions, event management practices and institutional frameworks.

Something else that became apparent during the course of the study was that, despite some of the literature on festivals that presents them as romantic and spontaneous, a lot of the labour associated with their production is in the form of administrative work. The role of the cultural worker is one important area of this part of the discussion. A cohort of cultural producers can be glimpsed within the compounded data, working within networks and clusters as the literature on knowledge work and cultural work suggests, but in ambiguous and serendipitous employment situations. The interviews have revealed the most about the origins of the connections and partnerships they have and the types of knowledge that these represent, strategically, for the individual, the festival and the institution. The chapter finally reflects on what effects this has for the institutions involved and what other work can be and is being done to develop this nascent but presently growing field of research.

Engagement: process or impact?

Understanding how the impacts of university festivals can be measured in terms of satisfying criteria for 'impact' in the REF addresses one of the thesis' main aims. In this section the evidence from the study is examined to find out if the relationship between public engagement and impact is direct or indirect and whether attempts are being made to operationalise public engagement for future impact case studies. While observing events at the three festival, university REF co-ordinators were occasionally mentioned, this happened at Biswell's inaugural lecture for example, an event at HiP that seemed more internally facing than others. At University of Birmingham, one respondent said the REF co-ordinators were members of the Working Group for Public Engagement. Every respondent interviewed for this thesis was asked whether their activities had been evaluated within institutional frameworks for the preparation REF submissions.

"I'm surprised actually that it hasn't. It's not something that I've picked up on, if it was the case I'd have more academics hammering down my door wanting to be involved."

"The first year I did the evaluation but I didn't really know what I was evaluating for or what I wanted to see. I didn't know if it would carry on or if I would have a role so it didn't really matter that much."

"I don't want to base the festival around REF. That didn't enter our thinking, I'm sure people are thinking about it now."

Of the documents submitted by MMU to the 2014 REF, the 'environment template' submitted in the English Language and Literature category emphasised the link between the earlier, staff-led Annual Research Programme and its current form "to reflect an increased focus on public engagement" (MMU 2014c, p.2) but the festival hasn't been used in the context of any individual case studies. "It will be" Darby has said, "all of this material will be going forward, whichever case studies go forward, it will be used to bolster them." Darby has said that is satisfied that through HiP the HSSR is "starting to get some co-creation and original material and actual interventions and encounters, cultural encounters, to come out of the events". There has been a recent attempt to widen the

HiP festival's range of events to include more areas of MMU research in the festival programme, effectively moving towards a kind 'MMU in Public' festival. "What we've tried to do throughout is move it more towards a conversational two-way impact model for public engagement".

"I like that the programme comes from the university, that it's research led, but I'm aware that it's very much talks. I'd like to improve the creativity behind some of the events".

Because the REF assesses the benefits beyond academia of 'excellent' research in terms of impact, it is not concerned with the process of engagement itself. In order to be useful to a REF case study, impacts achieved through public engagement must be directly connected to an individual academic's research outputs during an assessment period; "the submitting unit must show that the engagement activity was, at least in part, based on the submitted unit's research and drew materially and distinctly upon it" (HEFCE et al 2011 p.30). This is evidenced by referencing academic publications in the case study, and for it to be robust, evidence of impact must demonstrate 'reach and significance'. Exactly what that means isn't immediately obvious, but at all levels of the institution there seems to be an awareness that the documentation of potentially useful evidence is important.

"the old Jamaican guy was talking about the changes and whatever... we were thinking 'is [the organiser] going to write this down?'"

The NCCPE have held discussions on this relationship between PE and impact (NCCPE 2011) and it was the central focus of their annual conference in 2015. At the conference, Steven Hill from HEFCE reported that impact case study submissions that had used public engagement made up just over ten percent of the total number in the 2014 REF, and most of these were for arts and humanities research. Also at the conference was the MMU REF manager Sam Grey, who gave a presentation on the institution's first submission to the REF. In it he shared the details of a public engagement case study that had been put forward by the Manchester Centre for Regional History at MMU, who in 2009 had engaged minority and diasporic communities in Manchester as participants in an archive

film project 'Moving Memories'. The project had used audio visual records and the production of new work to construct the histories of these communities in the city and with elements of evidence and evaluation built in to its design.

Grey noted that as QR funds are awarded for five years following REF results, HEFCE income based on the results of this UoA amounted to about fifteen times the cost of the project itself. "The University sees the value of public engagement", he said, and in November 2015 three more Impact and Engagement Managers were recruited at MMU.

The NCPPE have found that following the REF, strategic support for public engagement does seem to have become more embedded within institutions, but they urge caution. "There is a risk that all PE becomes focused on the REF / impact, meaning that other valuable forms of engagement won't be supported or valued" (NCPPE 2014 p.3). Public engagement has many different aims and stimulating public interest in research or opening up dialogue with the public about the application of new ideas. "To embed public engagement means to make it an explicit part of the identity and values of a university" (NCCPE 2011 p.2). Impacts are not just packaged and summarised at the end of a project, they are part of a larger set of activities, as this interview respondent recognised;

"after REF 2020 life doesn't stop. Nascent academics will be finding their research... we need to encourage new activity"

Extra mural engagement is important in its own right, grounded in an idealism that began with University Extension, the movement begun by James Stuart in Cambridge in 1873 (Steele 2013). Interviewees were philosophical about how this was being incorporated within the impact agenda. "The kind of cultural work of the university has a set of accountabilities nested in it, perhaps before, a lot of people did them just because they wanted to do them". One respondent in this study connected the 'engagement' role he held to years with the WEA, working with libraries and archives as a community historian.

"Prior to coming here I did WEA stuff, adult education, in the evenings, teaching on history, local history, racism, cultural stuff. I also did work for what was then called the extra mural department".

Chapter six revealed that a large HE institution has multiple strategies for engaging communities on and off the campus. One respondent in that study revealed that within the groups and committees that oversee activities, the emphasis placed on public engagement in the language used imagines it as a “fourth strand” of academic work, in addition to administration, research, teaching, one that was rapidly becoming an inevitable part of faculty life.

“It will be weighted differently for different people, or maybe at different times in your career.”

The festival organisers have said that people are increasingly contacting the Cultural Engagement team with ideas well in advance of the call going out.

“It’s quickly become a staple on the university calendar. Now lots of people want to do festivals. We’ve had to do a festival sub-group to make sure people aren’t competing.”

The ambition appears to be that engagement is embedded within the social structures of the institution and the cultural initiatives demonstrate a sophisticated approach to the development of University of Birmingham’s extra mural cultural interests. I could find no document in the University of Birmingham’s 2014 REF submission that mentioned the UBASF, but I did hear about an unexpected impact in one of the interviews.

“The interesting thing to come out of that, is that subsequently Bernadette texted me to say ‘following coming up and doing that show and talking to all those philosophers I’ve decided I’m going to study philosophy’.”

This last point seems significant, but can any REF framework at the University capture such a long term impact of engagement?

Clusters, circuits, networks

Some of the evidence in these three festival studies supports claims made about the nature of knowledge and exchanges in the cultural economy, and at both local and global scales. Much of the debate about the present role of universities in society revolves around their potential to contribute to economic growth. NESTA published a provocation in 2009 that urged for the 'reinvention' of the civic university;

“all publicly-funded universities in the UK have a civic duty to engage with wider society on the local, national and global scales, and to do so in a manner which links the social to the economic spheres”

Goddard 2009 p.4

Although this research was careful not to pre-assume that extra-mural engagement always has an economic agenda, in answer to Goddard's provocation, the research has discovered ways in which the university is 'linking the social and economic' within festival projects. This part of the discussion pulls together some of the findings that reveal how HE is playing a role in fostering strength in its creative and cultural sector, specifically the connections between individual universities and the local organisations and cultural practitioners in their regions.

In Chapter six, the University of Birmingham has been found to be connected to a local creative innovation system through its Cultural Partnerships scheme, a longitudinal study of the careers of the Cultural Interns themselves would make an interesting subject for further research in this area. The University also appeared as a node in the wider creative field through the presentation of many public arts and cultural programmes and links between these and events taking place at other organisations. The symbolic capital of the cultural assets and collections on campus combined with the 'knowledge assets' of its research and curating communities make the University an attractive partner to external organisations, but its remoteness from the centre of the city is seen as a disadvantage, "the whole ivory tower kind of thing... It's one of their big challenges really". Perhaps is the reason for the increase in off campus events seen in later editions of UBASF.

With the re-branding of the area known as Eastside as a cultural quarter and the development of creative industries boosters at Millennium Point, Birmingham City Council has bought into the 'new orthodoxy' of cultural urban development "with vigour" (Porter and Barber 2007). BCU benefits from access to its creative sector businesses and practitioners. It is not just the proximity that has given BCU an advantage, the kinds of courses and training that the post '92 institutions offer in applied arts, visual communications, media production, graphic design and music have also been a significant context in the study of Birmingham and in that of Bristol. The Cultural Engagement team at the University of Birmingham came up with an innovative solution to redress their remoteness, inviting cultural organisations to work with the University in partnership and setting up the Cultural Partnerships scheme.

The University of Birmingham are now a partner in a research project called Birmingham Open Media (BOM) which has the capacity to host public events and exhibitions in the edgier part of the city centre. In 2015, Flatpack scheduled a screening of a documentary called *The Creeping Garden* (Tim Grabham and Jasper Sharp 2014) at a nearby cinema. The screening, which had a scientific slant, catalysed a partnership between Flatpack, BOM and the UBASF, "we've built a whole load of other stuff around it. A mini-version of what we did with Café Neuro." Research carried out into the creative knowledge economy in Birmingham cited the presence of "strong peer networks" (Brown et al. 2010 p.5) in the city as an important factor for the retention of its workforce and the evidence from the study supports this; "they're friends and collaborators, and it makes sense to do things with them". In Bristol, the integration of student facilities and creative clusters at University of West England's City Campus show strategic spatial dimensions that also fit with theories of clustering.

Some of the findings also accord with the theory that festivals are nodes in networks and that they facilitate the flows of cognitive and cultural 'goods', there are many points in the separate studies where these kinds of flows appear. Through interviews I learned that the IABF is a hub venue for the Manchester Literature Festival. Literature festivals can be seen in the context of the theory of networks and circuits. According to Biswell and his colleagues at UBASF, academics attend and present their work during an annual calendar

of such events. Traditionally, this circuit might have involved only conferences but it seems to be expanding to include festivals, or maybe festivals are simply replacing conferences. In terms of literary festivals discovered in this period of research, I can add the Dylan Thomas festival, which has been running for 18 years, the Manchester Literature Festival, the Graham Greene International Festival and a DH Lawrence festival, to the established book festivals such as Hay on Wye, Edinburgh and Cheltenham.

While the individual festival studies have had a predominantly regional focus, they have shown connections between them, such when the 'History From Below' network from Bristol presented on the Bristol sailors in an event in Manchester, or two artists based in Manchester created work for the festival in Birmingham. The CCCS, the subject of one such festival event, reappeared in the discourse at 'History is the New Punk' and the waves created by the Centre's success in Birmingham can also be said to have been responsible for some of the developments at UWE described by Dovey. The process of academic production *is* cultural production in this respect, and in disciplines involved with the visual arts, the two are naturally intertwined.

“It's not like we haven't actually always been involved with the cultural industries because we have in a lot of ways, but suddenly its accountable in a way that it wasn't before”.

An international perspective on networks and circuits comes from activities that started in Bristol that have subsequently developed into an international knowledge-based network. The Bristol Radical Film Festival itself also fits into the 'circuits' model of festivals, it clearly has much in common with other 'radical' film festivals in Liverpool, Norwich, Tolpuddle and so on, but as organisers of a calendar of year round events, the BRFF team are part of a wider circuit of distributed, thematically focussed, university-influenced screening groups, sharing certain similarities and programme synergies with Open City Docs and the Essay Film Festival, both of which are run by London universities, with the Screening Rights Film Festival organised in 2015 and 2016 by University of Birmingham academics at the MAC Arts Centre and Passenger Film, which is run by a group of scholars in London.

Dr David Archibald, a senior lecturer in Film and Television Studies at University of Glasgow organised a festival and conference on behalf of the Radical Film Network in 2016, this event united groups across Glasgow for the purposes of bringing international Network members together. The event in strongly reflected the ethos of collaborating directly with local, politically engaged groups seen at the BRFF in 2014. The visual reference to a camera in a place of war on the cover of the 2014 BRFF guide also put the festival into a tradition of a 'media and conflict interchange' as seen at University of Bradford.

A genealogy of Humanities festivals

This section of the discussion looks a little further into an idea that appears in the chapters about HiP and BRFF and shows how HiP and BRFF can be located as part of a wider phenomenon of trans-disciplinary festivals organised by universities. This is about solidarity within the disciplines that are categorised as 'Band D' subjects and make up the humanities; it relates findings from these two festivals to those from another annual festival of the humanities, Being Human, that appeared shortly after the 2010 Parliamentary spending review.

In 2011, London King's College held a festival of Arts and Humanities organised by the Arts and Humanities Research Institute, who described it as "an annual event which celebrates and disseminates the work going on across the different Departments and Research Centres within the School of Arts and Humanities here at King's College London."³⁰ That festival has its origins in an event called Arts and Humanities Week, which was first held 2009 and repeated in 2010. The festival was repeated until in 2013, when the theme was 'Being/Human', it appeared to change its approach and the following year, a new national festival of the humanities called Being Human was launched. Dr Michael Eades is Being Human festival's curator, he joined the School of Advanced Study (SAS) at the University of London (of which King's College is part) in 2013 as a Research Fellow working on a project with Bloomsbury Festival (Smith 2014). The SAS now organises the annual Being Human festival, which in 2014 ran from 15th to 23rd November and was repeated in

³⁰ About the Festival, <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/artshums/ahfest/about.aspx> (accessed 24-11-2015)

November 2015, when Sarah Churchwell, professor of American literature, became its director. The SAS is an academic centre made up of nine humanities institutes within University of London and receives direct funding from HEFCE to promote and facilitate research in the humanities nationally. The Being Human festival is supported through a partnership with the AHRC and the British Academy for the Humanities and Social Sciences.

The content for the national Being Human festival is selected from two annual 'calls' for events, proposals must clearly state that they will be staged by or in partnership with UK HE institutions. During the first of these calls, small grants are made available to help fund the production of new events for the festival, in the second round, events organised by HEIs using their own resources are considered for inclusion. Successful events are compiled as a festival programme using an online guide and a printed A5 booklet, boxes of which are sent to participants and promoted via the sectoral and national press, as well as online.

In July 2014, MMU's HiP organisers contributed a guest post to the Being Human festival blog. This was at the end of the first edition of HiP and they were looking ahead to an event later that year which was simultaneously part of the second edition of HiP and the national Being Human festival in November. In the blog post, the organisers stressed that their aim was to raise public awareness of what humanities researchers did and why it mattered, "we didn't want our public engagement efforts to be seen as a way of 'saving' the humanities. As far as we were concerned, the humanities did not need saving. They already had what it took" (Malarky and Schoene 2014). This underlines the point made in Schoene's welcome speech at the start of the second edition of HiP, where he had said that the previous year's words spoken at the festival launch seemed anachronistic.

If the HiP festival started out with a 'defence of the humanities' as one of its goals, it seems it had achieved that purpose and more besides in the opinion of its organisers.

A perspective on the cultural intermediary

This thesis could be seen as constructing an argument in favour of universities producing festivals as a mechanism for public engagement and for the development of impact case studies. The NCPPE have also made a case for festivals, suggesting they are also good for skills development and improving the accessibility of university venues (Buckley et al 2011). Here the discussion considers how the individual organisers' experience and praxis contributes to the successes of these events and draws attention to their working conditions.

Well-represented within faculty, but often under-represented in the literature on academic labour are the people who are involved in the delivery of engagement strategy outcomes (Brew et al 2015). The work of festival organisers involves interpretation, framing and administration, the first two are related to its curation and design and are hallmarks of cultural intermediary work. The cultural intermediary is framed and understood as a freelance professional, "the aesthetically reflexive self" (O'Connor 2013 p.6). When it comes to actually producing festivals, a lot of the labour is in the form of administrative work: spreadsheets, communications, marketing, logistics, print layout, proof reading, finance processing, data crunching and sifting through evaluation reports. As one respondent has put it: "a 'Swiss Army knife' of soft skills".

"[Festivals] take a long time to organise, to organise properly, you know, all the work that people don't see, the admin behind it, emailing people, sorting out dates, sorting out prices for things, distributing things. It's a full time job, so when I was hired to do that full time it was great because I was being paid to do it. But it's a very different type of job from the academic job"

"You realise what a particular skill it is when you work with other people to have a genuine collaboration. When someone's coming in and having control over some of that stuff, it's quite difficult to pull that off."

"it actually takes quite a bit of thought to come up with these ideas".

"For me it is kind of natural"

A knowledge of university procedures and relationship with suppliers from a previous role proved useful for one festival organiser:

“I have worked with some marketing and branding. I haven't been trained in it.... I don't know, the most important thing for me was that it did have a consistent feel to it, so that if somebody came to something, that they would recognise it”

“I've had to draw on my experience, my connections and that sort of thing, which is fine because I've got that. I wonder if somebody else in my role who didn't have that to draw on would find it quite so easy.”

Not all festival co-ordinators or producers of events were employees of the University, but all respondents in this study had degrees and over 75% of respondents had a higher qualification or were progressing along higher education pathways. Two were in the early stages of academic careers, four were senior lecturers and four were professors. I asked the respondents about their education history, their career development and the prior relationships they had with the universities or departments they were involved with and also about relationships they had with external organisations who were partners in festival events. I wanted to consider the how the organisers' experience and praxis had a bearing on the production of the festival.

Here are some of their responses:

“I worked in bar management and banking, then I came here. I was departmental administrator for the department of information and communications.... We did quite a lot of events as well, so I got quite a lot of events experience out of it.”

“I did a Master's part time... and then started my PhD full time. While I was a full time PhD student I started working part-time on public engagement activities, the website... then I was asked if I wanted to take a full time position for a year on a temporary contract, so I suspended my PhD to do that and then they decided that when we started the [festival] they wanted to make it a full time permanent post so they advertised that and I applied for it and got it”

“While I was working as PhD student and associate lecturer.... I worked for an international summer programme there, which was a four week intensive course for international students arriving at [the university] and wanting to get a sense of what living in Britain was like... more specifically the history and context of the North West of England, where they would be staying”

“There were about 6 months last summer after I finished my PhD and the teaching dried up... it’s just teaching for the academic year so you effectively get sacked for the summer... I took a job as a security guard for a bit on the campus which was just horrendous and then I got really lucky and got two research associate posts.”

What this means is that these people not only have well-developed administrative skills but they have mastered the distinctive vocabularies and abilities to express sensory or existential ideas coherently in the context of public engagement. For some respondents, festival work also tied in with the pursuit of their personal and research objectives.

“it just happens I have been researching films for my teaching I kind of go, ...actually, this one might not be entirely fit with my course but is very good for the festival.”

“I’ve known about this for years and had my eye on doing the anniversary of it.”

Festival work also had a value for many of them in terms of career development.

“now I have become the expert on film festivals within the department... my colleague asks me to do a guest lecture.”

“what I do with the festival is my contribution to the research culture of the department, to do things within the university. The university is very much engaged... in terms of reaching out to the community, doing outreach work with particular sections of society”

“I may not publish, but I do all those other things, I tick all the boxes.”

“[a colleague] used that experience to get a job as a fundraiser for some arts organisation. [another colleague]’s got a PhD on festivals now.”

“It’s really helped with my career, absolutely. It’s put me in touch with a lot of people I wouldn’t be in touch with otherwise.”

Elements of precarity are perceptible in these self-reflexive descriptions of the careers of many of the respondents. One of the BRFF organisers told me how she had deliberately created multiple volunteer opportunities for herself simply because she didn’t know of any paid jobs she could do and volunteering offered her a way to progress. “If I want to do stuff I need to just volunteer, I need to just get up and do it.” She approached the BRFF at a screening; “I walked up... and said ‘hey I really liked your film, I want to be involved in your film festival’ and he said ‘alright’ and that was it.”

When we spoke in 2014, she was working on the next edition of the festival, was heavily involved in the production of two feature films and still regularly volunteered at a screening venue. She had recently co-produced a third film with a group of people, all of them working unpaid. All these roles were unpaid but she explained how they had value, kept her motivated and taught her how to work with people who are “difficult to work with”.

“It’s taken a long time to get it done. I think that working for free and doing stuff without a deadline... obviously that has a downside, but it has meant that I’m not working for money so I can’t be sacked I guess! And it has meant that I can make mistakes, and realise if I’m not doing something very well I can just go ‘well that was good learning experience’”

She explained how she’d established her identity as an equal member of the BRFF team, at first informally, but “as time went on I realised that they saw me as just one of the organisers.” “I started calling myself co-director of the film festival...it sounded good, so I just went ahead and did it”. The festival had since acquired a legal basis as a community interest company and she was an equal partner in this, but the financial arrangements still sounded risky. The directors would pay the costs of the festival and be repaid from the takings. “When these two films are finished... I intend to get paid” she said. “That’s

the plan.” The similarity between this research into academic forms of cultural production and that which has problematised the realities of cultural work is striking:

“[it’s] a fairly new role, we’ve only been in post 18 months... We were brought in as a bridge between the academic staff and the students”.

“they decided that it was worthwhile to make it a permanent position”

“I didn’t know if it would carry on or if I would have a role”

“Because I’ve started [the festival], it’s kind of progressed with my role. My predecessor didn’t do it. Nothing’s been taken from my role, it’s like a wedged-in thing.”

“You could make all of the posts full time, there’s enough to do.”

Communication work is cultural work. Universities have traditionally had text-based or oral cultures, communicating research for different audiences is a skill that future academics will all have to master. The materiality of communicating research has shifted in the same way culture has, into technological assemblages and aggregating platforms. As technology has enabled unprecedented levels of communication and cultural participation, staff at universities are using new tools to disseminate their work, their lectures and in the creation of course materials.

“I think people have this view of Twitter as this frivolous thing for finding out about what celebrities are up to.... then I started using Twitter and I only followed organisations and other researchers. I suddenly started to realise it was a really powerful tool.”

“The more you tweet about your work the more people are likely to read it, write about it, you get citations, your impact goes up”

“There’s no one who could start at a university now who could say I’m not going to use an email, I’m not going to use a computer... and eventually I reckon it will get to that point with social media.”

Mentioned in Professor Biswell’s REF case study in 2014 was the positive feedback left in the form of ‘online reader reviews’ at Amazon UK. This study suggests that researchers will increasingly feel pressured to demonstrate the usefulness of their work, but they may now be able to draw on a cohort of staff working in engagement in UK HEIs, albeit on part time contacts, to do the cultural work of communicating with audiences for them. Within this cohort there are sub-groups who specialise in particular disciplines, ‘science communication’ for example, or developing public art strategies.

The contribution this thesis has made to this area of knowledge, through its ethnographic approach and multiple insider views, has been to show that while this cohort can be taken to be a community of practice, there is a distinct lack of qualitative evidence about how they feel about their work and how they navigate between institutional requirements and personal identities and goals. These findings accord with Gill’s work into the conditions, practices and relations of cultural workers. Knowledge in these practices is tacit and the motivation to produce a festival has been shown to have had more to do with individual experience, praxis and with personal, professional or political interests than with corporate engagement strategies and training.

Respondents have spoken of pre-existing collaborations and friendships that lead to the production of events for a festival. At the launch of the HiP festival’s ‘Sex’ sub-programme at HOME in Manchester in 2016, Schoene’s welcome speech thanked Helen for her “imagination, contacts, patience and co-ordination skills”, acknowledging that these are significant assets to HiP’s festive appeal.

This could be a potential drawback for the festival if she ever left her post. In the longer term it may be her colleagues’ skills in demonstrating the ongoing value of the HiP programme to the institution, through the application of long-term evaluation techniques and the production of robust case studies, that ensure the HiP festival receives continued support.

Machinic assemblages: production techniques and technology

One unexpected finding of the study has been the importance of 'new' technologies, particularly communication technologies, to the organisational, economic and cultural processes involved in the festivals studied. One way in which festivals announce their presence is the application of their logos to whatever spaces, objects, publications and individuals (in the form of badges and t-shirts) there are available. Through the use of social and microblogging apps like Twitter, Facebook and Instagram, a festival is able to produce further representations of itself, creating a polyphonic and dispersed profile of multiple messages. Forms of social media have become a familiar point of encounter with many aspects of the social world but there were similarities and differences in the uptake and use of certain standard electronic platforms by the organisers of the three festivals studied. This section details some of the festival production techniques that rely on these communicative technologies that were encountered throughout the study in order to point them out as material elements of the design and experience of a contemporary cultural festival that are so common they could be missed.

"University of Birmingham's leafy Edgbaston campus is home to a diverse cultural offer with free admission to public museums, galleries, archives, libraries and cultural venues"

@CultureUoB twitter profile in 2015

There is a Twitter account associated with each of the festivals studied, these are @CultureUoB with 772 followers, @mmu_hssr with 2254 and @BristolFilmFest with 1,134. Interaction on Twitter is actively conditioned, a user must 'follow' accounts to see their messages. The platform limits messages to 140 characters, with the option to share embedded web links and photographs. MMU HSSR have a Vimeo channel containing nearly 30 uploaded videos filmed at festival launches or at events in the HiP programme, the University of Birmingham's Vimeo platform hosts short films from 'One Minute Movie' competition in the UBASF. Film making apps, editing software and aggregating platforms such as Vimeo, YouTube, Soundcloud are free to use for sharing and storing uploaded content and these have enabled even non-specialist users of internet

technology to become increasingly creative online. As well as being useful for broadcasting messages to audiences, these technologies have enabled cultural producers to gain new insights into where those audiences are and what they think.

“Social media gives you a massive amount of information about the customer experience that we couldn’t get before... showing stakeholders what an effect the festival has”.

“It has levelled the playing field for smaller events”

All three festivals use Facebook as a tool for reaching audiences, recording and disseminating activity and mediating messages. Facebook is a platform that requires an individual user register a profile on its site before they can set up and manage a ‘page’³¹ for a non-human entity. These organisational pages on Facebook are useful for marketing and single event pages can be used in combination with organisational pages to add specific information such as venue address, price and content and shared across the whole Facebook site without restriction and for free. Money can also be spent on Facebook to promote these events within designated groups of Facebook users; commercial festivals frequently use this strategy.

‘Culture at UoB’ is the page on Facebook used to promote UoB events and news, which shows a peak of activity around festival times although news, exhibitions, activities and opportunities in the cultural sector also regularly appear. Each of the ‘cultural assets’ at the University also has an individual page for news and programme updates. Perhaps because of this, the Culture at UoB page has just over 600 ‘likes’.

Although it represents a much smaller group of individuals, the Bristol Radical Film Festival Facebook page has 2,250 ‘likes’ and displays new posts on a more frequent basis and often there are several posts a month. The festival organisers run a series of discursive documentary screenings at The Cube cinema in Bristol on a year-round basis, which provides ongoing content for Facebook updates outside of festival dates, while the page is also used to share news and current affairs, information about other film festivals,

³¹ The administrators of Facebook insist that a user profile that is a named individual, so where the name of the profile could once be the name of an organisation, these must now be converted to a ‘page’.

fundraising campaigns, occasional amusing internet memes and details of events arranged by other organisations; Twentieth Century Flicks, Papergirl Bristol, 8th Sense Media. Rather than just advertising events, though, the BRFF organisers can be observed interacting with each other socially on this page and sharing posts from each other's personal accounts to a greater degree than on the other festival pages. This reflects the organisers of this festival's self-articulated use of this particular platform in the work processes of the festival itself;

“We organise mostly on Facebook chat... we can contribute from wherever and there's a record of it...”

The Radical Film Network also has a Facebook page, with a follower number of over 800 and rising.

The Facebook page for the Faculty of Humanities, Languages and Social Science at MMU promotes the HiP festival events has 900 likes. Events are listed here more systematically, with links to online articles that are mainly about HLSSR research, and photographs from previous events. Each individual event has a page linking the browser to online booking portal and event management website Eventbrite.

There are many ticket selling platforms available online, Ticketmaster, owned since 2009 by music promoters Live Nation, is the largest commercial ticket seller in the market, followed by See Tickets (Competition Commission 2010). Eventbrite is not a market leader for ticketed events and it doesn't offer seating plans or some of the specialist functions demanded by box office management, its biggest advantage is that it can be free to use, charging a commission only when tickets have a price, so if the event is free, the tool is free. This has helped it to gain popularity with not-for-profit and academic event organisers. A mobile app assists with the process of checking in guests, tickets can be set to use QR (Quick Response) codes or barcodes, a setting allows for rapid one-swipe check in of guests on mobile devices or the list can be printed for use at a more traditional sign in desk. Respondents in this study have found the level of data capture Eventbrite offers useful, up to a point.

“I use Eventbrite for everything, I'm now collecting whether they are a member of staff or student at MMU, a member of staff or student from another university or not any of those, ie. public. I didn't do gender, because there wasn't an option, there weren't the options I needed.”

The advantage of Eventbrite from the user's side is that once registered with the service, an event can be joined with a very short interaction online, the Eventbrite site remembers a debit or credit card so entering just three digits results in “congratulations, you're going to...”. The HLSSR account on Eventbrite shows over 100 events listed by the faculty since the start of the HiP festival in 2012³².

The systematic booking of HiP events is different to that at University of Birmingham, which reflects its centrally organised programme. In contrast to all this, sending an email to an event organiser or navigating the registration for an online box office system seemed awkward and off putting. At the Arts and Science festival, tickets and registration for events are organised by collaborating departments or venues using a variety of techniques, with no centralised point of access.

A frequent feature of publicly funded events is the audience survey or response form after the event has taken place. SurveyMonkey is an online questionnaire service that is free to use.

“I do a Survey Monkey questionnaire electronically to everybody who registered, not the attendees, because I haven't found an effective way of making sure who exactly has attended at a lot of these events, so it goes to everybody who registered.”

The same respondent described how Eventbrite's integration with SurveyMonkey turned what used to be a biro and clipboard activity into an online one.

“Afterwards there's a ten question survey with Survey Monkey which is basic monitoring, evaluation, questions and some free text for comments. I consolidate that into an end of year report.”

³² Their 'past events' tab also shows twenty-seven events listed in one year prior to the start of the festival.

Another application of technology, which isn't always made explicit to participants, is the analytical side of online data management and what it can reveal about them.

"I use Sumall to evaluate Twitter reach for the [twitter account] tag.... It's like Google Analytics, you can tie it to whatever platform you want but I've got it signed up for Twitter."

"Our mention reach is 2.77 million and 4K people who retweeted something we said... All of those retweets exponentially hit 4.38 million different accounts.... we've had 1.3K favourites, 1,300 people who've 'starred' us, said a tweet was a favourite."

One respondent described Twitter as "a direct conversation with the audience". Hashtags are often used to collect material across platforms, such as #artsscifest and #ArtsSci in Birmingham or #gothicmcr and #HiPSEX in Manchester. Data crunching and digital marketing has rapidly become an extremely specialised activity, but even with advanced analytical tools, reporting and interpretation is time consuming and some of this online work was outsourced, due to either a skills or time shortage.

"I've had someone doing all my social media for 9 months. If all my work's expanding, I don't have any space for it."

Another respondent described how one of their high-performing students ended up being recruited to work on the festival because of skills in IT.

"he was a bit of a genius... He was like 'techy skilled up'... he could build websites, and manage social media and all that sort of stuff"

Although toolkit of methods, technologies and mobile apps being used are a fairly recent addition to the festival or event organiser's toolkit of techniques, they created an unexpected 'working surface' in this study, encountered during all phases of observation. They rely on follower uptake to be effective, but pre-designed corporate platforms such as Twitter, Facebook and so on combine textual elements to create social exchanges that can reach potentially global audiences.

The social role of objects

The Handsworth Scroll from the CCCS Archive, the machines in the Power Hall at the Museum of Science and Industry or the films of Mania Akbari at the Arnolfini in Bristol represent wider discourses in society. For the interpretivist researcher, such objects and texts are not representative of an objective universality; as carriers of discourses they are interpreted through an interplay of ideas, values and emotional connections that structure their social meaning.

Collections of cultural objects encountered at UK HE institutions have a special status in that they are often used for articulating a kind of institutional cultural capital. As discussed in Chapter six, universities belong to the ensemble of institutions that operate within Bennett's culture complex (Bennett 1998, 2013). These are civic structures that are important to the identity and social organisation of places. As sites of differentiation of culture and hegemonic power they have a role as preservers, commissioners or 'patrons' of arts (Comunian and Gilmore 2015). They form part of a city's critical infrastructure.

There are different types of value discourse at play when it comes to their collections, there is that of ownership and that of interpretation. When circulated with other texts, intertextual connections and relations between discourses and their meanings are produced;

"the same objects might operate in quite different ways in performing the social depending on the overall organisation of the networks into which they are assembled"

Bennett 2007 p.613

Exhibitions are employed as a technique of display, a form of cultural production that can be understood as the creation of 'working surfaces on the social', by which he means that a kind of public organisation is sustained through the assemblage of objects and discourses. Not all events at university festivals in this study happened on campus, but in one set of festival findings in particular, the experience of the campus and objects mobilised in the discourses at events has been intrinsic to the experience of the festival.

University art collections have a function as signifiers of institutional prestige and social influence but are also useful for animating public spaces. The campus-based walking experience can be elaborated on using theories of institutional power and social influence. There is a dominant regime of 'admissible' arts and cultural forms structures the social space in art worlds, managed by a super-elite of social actors who have been prepared to defend the public value of the art, often invoking notions of rationality, reason and humanism, or utopian ideals (O'Connor 2011).

"Acquisitions have historically been driven by particular individuals, or by small ad hoc groups, notably in the 1960s and 1970s"

UoB 2009 (p. 24).

Paolozzi's Faraday sculpture is one of around 1,500 objects and artworks that make up the Research and Cultural Collections, much of which is exhibited in the departments and public spaces around campus. The Art and Architecture Walk led its participants through spaces loaded with meaning, the objects and buildings observed in the 1960s Art and Architecture Walk when also seen in the context of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the IKON gallery in the city of Birmingham are not only part of the University's collections but belong to a micro-history of how the contemporary art scene in Birmingham became established.

In 2015, the UBASF programme listed an exhibition of photographs called 'The Sound of Sister Cities: Home, Harmony and Hope'. Throughout the festival, the entrance lobby at the Bramall Music Building hosted this collection of framed photographs of rock 'n' roll and blues musicians. The information panel text referred to the 'sister city' agreement that Birmingham has had with Chicago since 1993. It described both cities as "second cities", with a shared a historical experience of declining industrial economy, programmes of slum clearance, social housing and the effects of multi-culturalism. At the end of the 20th century, like so many cities that had formerly been centres of large scale engineering and manufacturing industries, both Birmingham faced huge challenges. "Communities", said the panel text, "gave voice to the city's struggles" and the production of distinctive music and food cultures.

In Chicago, the migrants had been Europeans and those from Southern states. In the 1970s the city of Birmingham was known for reggae, bhangra and Balti curry houses while Chicago had deep dish pizza and its mid-20th Century music scene was a mixture of jazz and Earth, Wind and Fire.



Figure 32. Photographs on display in the Bramall Music Building, March 2015

The photographs and discourses presented in this exhibition offer an intriguing precursor to the development of Birmingham's cultural economy strategy, they were taken by Jim Simpson, a musician who had been the first manager of Birmingham rock band Black Sabbath, a role which in the 1960s had given him unique access to musicians such as Nina Simone, Howlin' Wolf, Chuck Berry and Little Richard. This exhibition acts as a reminder of a relationship that is evolving all the time between the university's cultural assets and the city.

Chapter six revealed a further role for institutional object collections, which is when they are employed in teaching and even in recruitment. The pilot module 'Making culture: new ways of reading things' was set up by Grosvenor and Mullett in the academic year 2012-13, introducing an object based learning option to many undergraduate programmes at the University of Birmingham, although places on the module are limited to fifteen.

UoB Curatorial Assistant Chloë Lund was one of the module's first undergraduate participants.

“My own assignment considered a work that I, like most students of the University, was already familiar with: Eduardo Paolozzi's colossal sculpture Faraday... I considered the work as a commodity; assessed how digital media could enhance public engagement with the sculpture; and evaluated the way that the work is interpreted within the context of the University Collections.”

Lund 2014

Mullett has also used the object collections to create a 'Call my Bluff' game, which is used for examining prospective students applying to the BA 'Liberal Arts and Sciences' degree programme, as we saw in Chapter six.

Public sphere

This section considers how the lens of the cultural public sphere, as discussed in Chapter three, can be a helpful critical tool when considering the social role of university festivals. The recent report by Crossick and Kaszynska (2016) on the value of culture makes the point that cultural consumption increasingly involves personal isolation, as a massive amount of culture is now 'consumed' in the home. Festivals on the other hand represent an opportunity to be with other people. They are strategic social relations of cultural production.

“It's fundamental that we're using films to create a situation where people can talk about a shared experience and learn from it. It's about seeing how we can take on the issues that the films are trying to talk about, learn from them and take action. People change things, not films.”

Steve Presence quoted in Sheppard 2014

Festivals may even create new communities. Festivals have been said to “draw their own boundaries for the occasion and redraw the boundaries of the host community” (Abrahams 1977 p.178) which suggests the potential for the production of a new kind of public space.

Burawoy is concerned that “publics are disappearing - destroyed by the market, colonized by the media or stymied by bureaucracy” (Burawoy 2005 p.8) while Nussbaum believes that the reforms to the funding of HE have led to the value of ‘humanistic education’ being undermined (Nussbaum 2010).

Humanities disciplines have long engaged with a pervasive, historical anxiety about the social effects of ‘passive’ cultural consumption. Adorno and members of the Frankfurt School in the 1940s contended that any form of mass culture was regressive and in the 1960s (Miller 2009) and Guy Debord warned that all society does is consume ‘spectacles’ where the emphasis is always on novelty and consumption. “Drama has taken over from history” as one academic has put it, referring to becoming involved with the BBC as an advisor for the on-screen commemoration of the 1st World War. Here, historical contexts suffered from what he called “over-simplification” and he warned, as others in this study have, that popular myths are being reinforced by a lack of engagement with research and complex ideas.

The theory of the cultural public sphere is inherently discursive and if, following Anderson (2006), we also accept that communities can form by imagining themselves then this leads to the possibility of festivals creating new publics through the production of plural or ‘counter’ public spheres. “Festivals are about transmitting ideas, more specifically the ideas of openness, curiosity, cultural diversity, internationalism and, last but not least, critical inquiry” (Magauda et al 2011 p.68). This idea of group discursivity could be extended to thinking about how certain ‘macro discourses’ have appeared in all of the festival studies that contribute to the sense of a community of shared interests or concerns.

One of the most striking examples of these is the concern about riots and protest. ‘366 Days of Kindness’ was a social project and theatrical show in response to the nationwide riots in 2011, Killick’s occupation of UWE student union buildings happened at around the same time. At HiP, Day of the Droogs was an inter-disciplinary reflection on young people

and disorder, which probed the issue of urban violence from different standpoints; historical, criminal, sensational and so on. The production of Droogs event was helped by the cross-faculty institute whose purpose it was to draw people together and identify common areas in their research, according to its organisers the event had the effect of “beginning a set of conversations which are still going on”.

American author and cultural critic Henry Giroux contends that neoliberal corporate culture is limiting “the vocabulary and imagery available to recognize anti-democratic forms of power” (Giroux 2004 p.494). It was encouraging to hear academics confronting issues of moral panic and violence with their research and counter-theories of gentrification and social exclusion, challenging the popular media and implicating its inaccuracies and sensationalist tendencies in producing inappropriate policy solutions to social problems;

“a portion of the knowledge that policy makers use as a basis for action comes from media sources when people working with young people identify more significant problems than gangs, such as domestic violence, drug abuse, sexual coercion and exploitation.”

Speaker at Day of the Droogs 2014

BRFF organiser Anthony Killick, writing about the RFN, said “members of the public... cannot let images and representations mediated by neo-liberalism dominate the public sphere” (Killick 2013). Reclaiming public space and public discourse as a self-organised act offers a way to reclaim agency.

“We should not think of publics as fixed but in flux and that we can participate in their creation as well as their transformation” (Burawoy 2005 p.8). The public sphere is meaningful social discourse that engages many different communities in its production and participation (Giorgi, Sassatelli and Delanty 2011). However, if those publics who chose to attend a public lecture tend to be people already interested in research, then the public sphere theory is proved to be a liberal concept, not a radical one (McGuigan 2011). In an ideal democracy, all citizens should speak for themselves but the language and practices of culture, academe and policy often excludes people.

If they are to be thought of as constitutive elements of such a public sphere, then it is important to recognise where HEIs engage in practices that exclude some publics, for the benefit of others. While visiting MMU in 2015, I became aware of a scenario that bore a resemblance to the eviction of 'undesirable' communities by the local authority who staged the International Festival of the Sea in Bristol (Atkinson and Laurier 1996). The MMU All Saints campus is located in an urban area of high deprivation in Manchester and in 2015 a camp had been set up by rough sleepers under a motorway flyover close to the All Saints campus in an effort to tackle homelessness. Local activists had helped to develop this camp, however as it was on university land it was forcibly removed over a period of a few weeks and evidence of this ongoing struggle was obvious to me as a visitor to the Geoffrey Manton building.

In January 2014, undergraduate students were arrested for protesting on the University of Birmingham campus and charged with "domestic extremism" (Allen 2014). Police allegedly kettled a group of students calling themselves Defend Education Birmingham (DEB) and arrested fourteen people. Five UoB students were subsequently suspended from their courses and the incident and its response were reported in the national media (Rawlinson 2014). An article in the UoB Guild of Student's newspaper Redbrick (Kirk 2014) accused the intervention of damaging one of the three re-instated students' campaigns to be elected in the forthcoming elections for sabbatical officers.

It would appear that the forms of direct action used by activists to address contemporary social problems as they happen are still too far removed from the academic modes of reflexive problematisation seen at a university festival for the latter to be the most immediately appropriate mechanism with which to tackle instances of social injustice.

Militant disciplines and 'academic activism'

Chapter two briefly introduced some ways in which universities play a role in the political sphere. From popular student uprisings such as Serbia's Exit Festival to the protection of space for 'dissident' ideas (Brennan, King and Lebeau 2004) there has long been a sense

that there is a fight going on over the public sphere, in which colleges and universities are battlegrounds for a more critical public pedagogy (Burawoy 2005, Giroux 2004, Aronowitz 1977). Universities are mobilised as imaginaries by different groups, both internally and externally, to achieve their political ends.

An institutional focus on returns on investment and measurables in the form of income streams, league table positions, employability statistics and student satisfaction questionnaires³³, is leading to ideological decisions being made regarding the focus of programmes of study and research. There was evidence in this study that these changes were affecting the attitudes of its participants.

“We are being told that the market looks like this and you can’t do that and the intellectual concerns that you have had for half a lifetime... are no longer relevant, so you’re going to have to go in this direction”

One respondent indicated a concern that science disciplines would dominate university engagement events if the humanities failed to contribute content to the institution’s festival, but admitted that sometimes it was tough to compete for attention.

“It’s kind of easier to attract people with the science thing, I had a monkey glove puppet and a picture of a monkey and was asking which was real... opposite us there were electronic microscopes and dinosaur bones for children to dig for”

Under the banner of ‘public engagement’, university festivals are organised according to a different logic to that of the market for cultural products and experiences. The banner headline over the official webpage of the Faculty of Humanities, Languages and Social Science is “Humanities: Creativity, Community and Critical Thinking”. Where issues of conversation, encounter and participation inform the curatorial idea, a festival is a site of an intervention into the public sphere.

³³ It is expected that the annual National Survey of Students will now inform a new Teaching Excellence Framework proposed in the most recent White Paper on Higher Education in the UK.

Chapter three shows that there are ways for cultural production, when it sets itself apart from capitalist production, to be able to play a more critical role. Some participants in this study have self-reflexively identified a duality between their activist identities and the roles they performed at institutions.

“As someone who is by nature is an activist and an engager, the current moment has served me very well.”

Presence says that he named the film research and practice network he helped to found ‘radical’ so that it will encourage this kind of critical reflection on cultural practices.

“...it immediately begs the question: what is “radical” film? ... I hope the RFN will push and challenge those of us who identify as being engaged in “radical” film culture – in whatever form that engagement may be – to interrogate our own positions and behaviours, to explore the kinds of social, political and environmental worlds in which we want to live and to be creative in how we represent those futures to ourselves”

Presence 2014

During the negotiation of permission to use quotes while writing this thesis, I asked each organiser to check how their comments were being presented and received this reflexive reply from one member of the BRFF team;

“I notice that I frame Knowle West as though 'people' (i.e. middle class people from the city centre) should be made aware of it, rather than in its own right as a community resource for the people of Knowle West”

Email correspondence with BRFF orgainser, September 2016

This appears to prove that the respondent has developed a deeper reflexive and self-conscious awareness of diversity and issues of equality during their involvement with the festival.

Summary

The discussion in this chapter has examined some common areas between the three studies and presented them as an evolving set of findings. The university has historically been seen as a legitimator in matters of culture, performing a claim to 'difference' and elevating some cultural forms over others. In this study's findings, object collections are displayed for prestige or used for learning purposes, acceptance of this idea of legitimation is an acknowledgement that hierarchies must exist in how people perceive culture, but the study has also shown how objects and spaces may be appropriated to make for more critical interventions into the public sphere.

Technology is also changing modes of language and visual communications and altering the materiality of how the cultural and the social world acts on our senses. As this is expected to expand over time, the techniques employed by researchers of social and cultural worlds need to be flexible enough to adapt to these changes. These forms of instant affective conversation and manipulation of multiple texts is unprecedented at such a scale, the cultural practice of selecting and curating objects or artefacts and presenting them within a coherent narrative constitutes a kind of legitimation of culture.

Techniques and methods for the production of festivals continue to evolve, guided by the findings from the first batch of REF case studies. The techniques for producing festivals are dependent on the organisers interpretative and communicative skills, part of the cultural intermediary's skillset, but the roles for Public Engagement workers as a cohort of skilled and educated professionals are in flux. The problems inherent in cultural work 'outside' HE are very visible in its internal staffing arrangements with problems of precarity, short term contracts, project based working and continuous reskilling.

There is also tension between the political messages acting upon HE and the positions of those within it. Some respondents feel that that their academic and teaching concerns are no longer relevant, which leads them to cast themselves as 'activists' in relation to their interests. The festival has the potential to reconfigure and create new meanings out of the contexts within which it originates and create a space for an intervention into the public sphere.

Chapter ten. Conclusion

In the production of this thesis, different methods and approaches have been employed in order to document and explain the phenomenon of university festivals: how they originated; what they represent; what their purpose is and how they are developing. It has done this with reference to the political economy and cultural histories of their institutional partners, the spatial effects their campuses, and the disciplinary knowledge, skills and experience of their communities.

It is clear that festivals exist at different times and for different, and often plural, reasons. Festivals take a wide range of forms and are organised by a range of social actors, from grassroots groups and organisations to corporations, administrative bodies and governments. They produce many different effects and are evaluated for different outcomes, measurable impacts or benefits. That they are collectively organised, social events and was thought to be enough to consider them a significant cultural phenomenon, worthy of serious and sustained study.

The theoretical framework, developed in Chapter three, offered a new way to approach the study of universities. It allowed institutions to be seen as cultural intermediaries, while the qualitative and interpretative approach allowed the empirical work to make discursive forays into the biographical details and institutional conditions that have shaped the festival organisers' praxis.

Parts of the thesis have been concerned with understanding how universities exert a cultural influence on the regions and set the parameters for the discussion of culture. One important thing this research has revealed are the contemporary social issues that producers of individual events at festivals have been engaging with. This thesis suggests that through the production of festivals, institutions have created a platform for individuals to turn those conversations into a performance. The thesis concludes that university festivals encountered during this period are part of a process, they represent a moment in a time of change.

Festival as method

Festivals are times of increased levels of activity. At the outset, I suggested that the production of a festival by a university could be a response to a particular set of conditions; the changing criteria for resource allocation to universities and changes in the national political, social and economic climate. During the course of the research I have come to see the production of a festival more as an active project, almost a provocation. Response has started to seem too passive a word for what has been going on.

A festival can also be seen as a method itself, to make an intervention in the realm of social exchanges. Because festivals are episodic and cyclical events, they mark time, creating temporally and spatially bounded opportunities for interaction, experimentation and exhibition, in between these there is a reflexive process, it can be looked forward to and looked back on. A festival is an unusually intense period of creative activity that requires partnerships and teamwork to bring together a range of selected discourses and cultural forms.

The 'time out of time' perspective, developed in Chapter three, sees the festival as a way to challenge social conventions and disrupt order. A sense of sociability and festivity at the festivals studied has been experienced more than once, such as at the BRFF closing party or the Gothic Manchester Festival's Steampunk day at the Museum of Science and Industry. At UBASF, the festival had a conspicuously celebratory aspect, due in part to the timing of its events, which mainly occurred at lunchtimes and after work sessions.

In 2015, a 'guerrilla' event appeared in the festival. Not listed in the guide, this was a spontaneously organised 'Arts vs Science Bake Off' that was publicised only on Twitter and held in a space at the entrance of Staff House (see Figure 20). Despite this, it still seemed impossible to imagine how anything held on campus might act as a 'feast for the senses' or open windows on supersession and abolish rank. At the Bake Off, I overheard one member of staff complain that there were more cakes that 'represented' science than arts.



Figure 33. 'Fukushima nuclear plant' cake and dinosaur biscuits on sale at UBASF, March 2015.

At MMU in 2015, an academic historian broke her own rules for presenting academic work at an interdisciplinary HiP festival event, by speculating on an aspect of French royal history. She immediately qualified her comments to her panel colleagues, telling them "I'm saying this because it is a public presentation, there's no way I'd do this anywhere else".

Are these the moments where the carnivalesque inversion of order can be located in university festivals? Can the free tea and coffee so frequently served temporarily dispel the pessimism of faculty?

"Books, cakes etcetera, joy, music" one festival participant said about the off-campus location of an event.

"One of the reasons that the University people like coming here is precisely because it's not in the University... lecture theatres can be pretty joyless as a place to go. If people are coming from the outside and they might have spent all day in offices. They don't want to sit in a slightly dirty lecture theatre, with obscene graffiti on the desks".

Important to the 'time out of time' theory of festivals developed in this thesis is the 'festival as pop-up third place' (see p. 76). The use of space is an important consideration for the festival producer.

In mixed festivals where no single cultural genre dominates to define the festival as a whole, place becomes the defining feature;

“festivals define themselves by referring to the place that hosts them, most often a town or city”

Giorgi, Sassatelli and Delanty 2011 (p.48).

The sensations and semiotic effects produced by the experience of place have been part of the affective impact of many festival events. Comunian and Gilmore (2015) have pointed out how HE institutions' outposts are important to local cultural eco-systems and lend 'porosity' to campus boundaries and this thesis has shown how they also contribute to the experience of university festivals. At times, events in this study have simultaneously had the feeling of being of both 'town and gown' at the same time, while the changing form of the BRFF and its distribution of events across the city of Bristol seems to echo UWE's fractured and shifting campus.

The guided tour is a popular and recurring element of festival programmes. On UK campuses, self-guided tours have proliferated, turning parts of the campus or the city into spectacle. There are blue plaque and sculpture tours at University of Birmingham, public art tours at University of Leeds, a 'Rock around the campus' geology walk at University of Nottingham and so on. At UBASF these walks have been recreational, educational or even experimental: artists in residence at UBASF have been drawn to the symbolic fabric of the campus to perform a playful sort of renegotiation of its symbolism.

Walking events presented at HiP drew attention to Manchester's nineteenth century urban public institutions, graveyards, churches and historic machines, imaginaries that continue to be sources of symbolic value as they shift over time. There is a synergistic relationship between the festival and the city that has had a bearing on the types of event that have been offered. The John Rylands Library in Manchester is one of five prestigious libraries that have been designated National Research Libraries, they are supported directly by annual allocations from HEFCE. The Manchester Gothic festival organisers have

worked productively with their local Gothic library from the outset, curating exhibitions as well as hosting events there.

According to the History from Below Network speakers, their practice of co-producing history with communities tends not to take place in universities because “people feel intimidated by universities” and don’t trust academic researchers. So clearly, spatial concerns are of paramount importance and the cultural intermediaries, the ‘boundary spanners’ in this study, appear to sense where boundaries lie and work across them productively, framing events for plural participants.

With the identity of the university in a state that some regard as a crisis, I have imagined the festivals that I have visited during the fieldwork as temporally bounded discursive spaces, in which aesthetic, social, economic, pragmatic and political aspects of the university as an institutional actor are revealed and where the communities within can reflect on their conditions. A number of things may happen within these festivals that create a diversion from ‘business as usual’ at the institution. Festivals seem to offer a mechanism by which members of an institution can take a risk, a festival is a mode of participation that can have an element of lateral serendipity. In a time when there is a perceptible sense of crisis within the institution itself, these festivals offer some respite and a way of carrying out the reflexive processes of negotiating problematic issues within the communities that make up HEIs. A festival is a method in itself, and a process.

Rousseau and Bakhtin wrote of festivals as transformational, processual, symbolic of change and renewal. Von Geldern pointed out how the built environment in post-revolutionary Russia, which could not easily be altered, could be re-cast and given new meaning when animated by a public spectacle. He argued that new repertoires are needed for new times and new audiences and this is my thesis too.

The festival form offers resistance to edified and functionalist narratives because it is the presentation of a separate acts. If it presented its action as a single and unified programme, a festival might start to look like an institution itself. The festival’s fluid form means that it can change dates, duration, director, programme, venues and time of year, it can miss a year if it chooses to. Its fugitive form can be reconfigured every time it is held.

The festival is in some ways the cultural form of the moment, an ideal model for capturing change, a way of devolving money and power from the centre and also an austerity measure. A glance at the back pages of festival guides usually reveals a page studded with the logos of partners, sponsors and collaborators. This leads us to the next point of this conclusion, which is whether any of this activity is contributing to the promotion of growth in the cultural economy.

Festivals as a sector?

In Chapter two the thesis looked at how, over the past decades, the value of culture has been reassessed within theories of economic restructuring and the creative economy discourse. Discourses around instrumentalising the 'creative industries' as either a growth sector or for social outcomes has had the effect that the arts became more prominent in public discussion with a new attitude to their economic potential "in spheres that once upon a time did not have to engage with them" (Crossick 2006). The same thing can be seen to be happening with education and the knowledge economy. What is being produced is a coercive policy discourse in which every form of measurement is subordinate to quantifiable economic value.

Neo-liberalism is an ideological project that has strengthened the commensurability between value and money and the UK has been said to be "the European country which has had... the most pervasive and consistent series of neoliberal policies" (De Angelis and Harvie 2009). The appearance of a new kind of economy created by new possibilities for rapid flows of information, images and ideas acts as a compelling driver for adapting all forms of production to fit this model. This, in combination with innovation and entrepreneurship agendas in the creative economy and the global competitiveness of cities have led to developments within HE infrastructures that are having impacts on the academic disciplines most connected with the production of culture (Miller 2009).

At the back of my mind throughout this project, there were always questions about the connection between what I was observing and the discourses surrounding the creative economy that throughout the research remained unresolved. Although festivals are not

exactly classified as part of the 'creative industries' and I do not yet see any work where they are considered to be a discrete economic sector, they are nevertheless frequently evaluated for their economic impacts and the use of 'sector' has appeared in the literature (BAFA 2008 p.3). While much festival research is still interested in a 'festival economy' (BOP Consulting 2014, Visit Britain and UK Music 2013, 2015) festival scholarship itself is a growing field in which research interests and epistemological positions are diversifying (Getz 2010, Robinson 2016, Webster and McKay 2016).

The 'node in the network' theory offers research into this aspect of festival a basis for ongoing work into the field. Using the methodological concept of phrases, developed by Fuller and Goriunova (2012), the hermeneutic process of relating the parts to the whole (a 'line and dot' approach) allows the exchange of ideas and cultural texts to be observed as flows within the field of study. This field of festivals being produced by and with academics is where questions of instrumentality, serious leisure, festival culture's oppositional context and issues of what I have called 'recuperation' can and will continue to be explored. I have been encouraged while conducting this project to find other researchers taking an interest in this area of academic cultural production. For example at University of Salford, Dr Gary Kerr is using qualitative social research methods to examine the modes of science communication used at academically produced science festivals. At Leeds Beckett University, Dr Ian Lamond and Karl Spracklen continue to look at how festive culture and activism can animate cities and citizens (Spracklen and Lamond 2016) and November 2016 sees the start of a new series of events in Leeds on urban protest and deviance with a working title of DisrUPt!

Last word

In this thesis I have tried to show the versatility of the festival as a cultural form. Whereas events are singular, festivals are polyphonic and plural. The festival produces a container and it creates a forum, it is a contact zone and a conduit, a structural bridge to hold together a plural discursivity. For the university, it can be the liminal pop-up third place that encourages openness, which resonates with John Henry Newman's Idea of a University suggested the university could be "a place of concourse" and "the assemblage of strangers from all parts in one spot" (Newman 2008 [1852]). Festivals are not aggregating platforms, they act through a combination of curation, communication and publicly accessible spaces to connect active citizens into responsive communities. University festivals in this view appear as a kind of counter-recreation. The 'serious festival' in this study seems to be interested in the production of 'citizen humanists' in the same way that science festivals promote citizen science.

It is important to set out the limits of this conclusion as well. Whether in fact the events studied are festivals in any one true sense of the word is an unanswerable question, particularly in light of the review of festival literature in Chapter three. What this study does conclude is that the term university is an equally contested definition and this is a finding that is echoed elsewhere; HEIs are "a highly diverse set of institutions ranging from very well resourced and long standing organisations with a global reach, to significantly more economically precarious institutions" (Facer and Enright 2016 p.13).

Within the academic field, the global leaders are those who can attract the most funding, recognition and prestige and in the contemporary political climate, the idea of competitiveness between universities is as pervasive as competition between city regions and festivals are implicated in this too.

The continuing institutional commitment to the production of some of these festivals and the recruitment, secondment or reorienting of staff for that purpose implies that the exercise is of value to the institution, but perhaps the larger the festival is, the closer it is to the institutional centre and the greater the risk that it will become rational and goal-directed rather than communicative and discursive. Successful festival models may begin to resemble each other more often as they learn from each other and settle into a better

developed typology, which presents the possibility of further avenues to be explored through research.

When MacMillan (2013) looked at the funding arrangements for arts festivals she suggested making a “distinction between festivals that have a commercial purpose and those that aim to generate creative synergies within the space of the festival” (p.23). Perhaps a similar distinction could be attempted between ‘instrumental’ university festivals run by teams including REF managers and university marketing bodies and those that are set up to foster critique, participatory forms of co-production and discursive sessions. It would be difficult to make that distinction work; some of the festivals that universities choose to host or present can be seen to be matters of prestige for the institution and some festivals are still best viewed as student showcases. The typology developed to help categorise festivals in this study could not adequately deal with the diverse range of events, variance or changeability of an individual festival. It has been said that festivals respond to the policy objectives of their funders by highlighting activities that will persuade them to support their activities but they frequently have different objectives of their own (Rolfe 1992).

This thesis is interested in the possibility for the production of these festivals to offer new kinds of cognitive-cultural production in the climate of austerity. Taking into consideration the lack of any direct link between the festivals in this study and the REF in 2014, I suggest that this early wave of university festivals have been created for other reasons than to contribute to impact case studies. Seeing festivals in relational terms, as an assemblage of discursive forms and as a form of cultural politics, it is a circulation of ideas that can be understood as ‘agonism’ rather than confrontation. If you take into consideration the diverse history of the social and cultural role of festivals within historically specific moments explored in Chapter three, this study supports the view that festivals are agonistic cultural phenomena that appear during periods of re-orientation that exist in relation to a changing political situation.

The festival provides a catalyst and a deadline and between those two points there is a finite arc of time in which everything else has to be negotiated, a dynamic and challenging process. A festival viewed as a method in itself that makes a deliberate intervention into social space.

Out of the three festivals studied, the BRFF maintains the most consistent message and semiology across its entire programme of events, derived from the combination of content and context. It claims its oppositional context at a time of changing political culture. The festival has also created a public brand that is appealing to other festival organisers, resulting in 'guest slots' at, for example, Encounters Short Film Festival. It has also created a parallel project, a network that connects similar events and organisers including a large community 'beyond' academia, proving there genuinely was a gap in film culture for this project.

With the emergence of the RFN, which aims to be a source of sustainability, infrastructural support and improved visibility for film makers and video activists and the group's conversations are set to continue for some time yet, providing support can be found. The BRFF therefore also appears as a 'node in the network', albeit in a highly specialised one.

Although the BRFF initially seemed removed from its institutional partner, yet the study has shown that where HEIs are involved in the production of culture there is a distinctive legitimating factor at work: the social influence of the doctorate. As one of the BRFF team pointed out "I think the importance of being affiliated with UWE... is that people don't just see us as a bunch of red flag waving loonies, they go 'oh, ok, so your ideas came out of a book'."

One of the more surprising findings of the research is that the biggest community on campus, the undergraduate student body, is so under-represented in this activity. The UBASF does not, for example, elicit events from the student body, there are no pop music concerts in the festival programme, very little in the way of queer culture, crafting, computer gaming or sports-based activities. With the exception of the student-produced play at Selly Oak, audiences at UBASF were mostly an older crowd. Even at HiP, where contemporary horror films and sessions that deal with identity, gender and lifestyle are common, undergraduate students still have to be bribed to participate in festival events.

University festivals, perhaps unwittingly, set limits to participation. Only the BRFF had student programmers, choosing content and delivering events in front of the audience. With international students forming around one-fifth of the HE student intake, there is the potential of another blind spot developing in cultural programming at UK universities in that the production of the festivals studied doesn't anticipate a truly global audience.

McGuigan's theory of the public sphere insists that its critical function is dependent on inclusivity and the questioning of received norms. Universities can be seen to play a role in the political public sphere, offering a 'protected' space for 'dissident' ideas (Brennan, King and Lebeau 2004) and as a traditional site of popular student uprisings. Here, the university context of the festivals studied challenges some established conventions found in the generic contemporary festival experience.

In a consumption-led model of festivals, such as the dominant, commercial live music festival sector, the behaviour of participants may seem to be transgressive and escapist, through the consumption of alcohol and illegal drugs, but the context and the cultural content that the majority of the bigger, corporately run festivals present today is no longer oppositional. The hedonism that these 'ephemeral open-air communities' of consumption represent is strangely nostalgic, as the expected behaviour is so predictable.

A festival with research-led content attracts older people and exhibits quieter behaviour but the content can be far more radical. Some university festivals are platforms for framing and debating non-mainstream political messages or act as spaces for discussing contested or marginalised issues. The festivals in this study present themselves as quite distant from mass culture, standing apart from the dominant tastes and trends particularly of younger groups.

It is therefore important not to lose sight of the festival in terms of the performance of popular resistance to hegemony or as an antagonistic response through forms of cultural practice, consumption or behaviour. The festivals produced by the post-1992 universities in particular have originated out of a distinctive triad of elements; a mix of disciplinary orientation, institutional strategy and an academic counter-politics that has positioned the festival in a role as the 'guardian' of disciplinary traditions and the distinctive practices of academic research. The HiP festival celebrates interdisciplinarity, the BRFF is grounded within a small niche of film and media culture and acts to direct public

attention to that niche. Engaging with research in the humanities is a mode of 'cognitive-cultural' development (Scott 2001, 2008) and contributes to the generation of better, more engaged and critical cultural production.

Through their reputation as authorities on matters of culture, universities prefer to respond to contradictions by laying claim on all available narratives, in both critique and in cultural engagement, a form of academic recuperation if you like.

In the chapter on Birmingham's Arts and Science festival I drew attention to the difference between interpreting institutional art collections with sanctioned narratives and an artist's practice where the outcomes are unpredictable and may result in critique. This illustrates that remembering is selective, and that not every perspective counts equally. The Muirhead Tower was an 'object' in the Art and Architecture walk and the venue for the catalysing meeting of the institution's Cultural Strategy, the artists in residence in the archives of the CCCS were ones who could hold on to the tensions the represented for the CCCS 50. One respondent, a senior academic with a long history of public engagement, put it like this;

"in amongst the instrumentalisations, and the metrics, and the reductivist understanding of universities and knowledge... there is a range of extraordinary opportunities for new kinds of subjectivities, in terms of different kinds of academic practice. There are all kinds of potentials for those engagements to take a life of their own which may escape the context that they come from and become other things."

As Becker (1974) has said, change can occur when someone devises a way to gather the resources required. The arrival of the REF impact agenda in 2010 presented some little gaps of opportunity between policy objectives and institutional frameworks for experimentation and implementation with cultural engagement, where previously there was a little space for contested practices and struggle within the formal culture and sanctioned narratives of the institution, the aim to connect with community groups and to share findings with a wider public has ushered in a greater range of practices into the academy, albeit maybe briefly.

Public Engagement has entered into institutional discourses, but recognition of the cohort of 'academic artisans' who deliver the strategies must follow and this is an ongoing project of which this thesis has been a part.

Knowledge and culture may be central assets for future economic growth, but knowledge and culture will always be about more than the economy. Knowledge is the desire to discover and pass on, and for that there must be an ongoing and deep concern with its processes, and particularly how to preserve fair, collaborative access for all to participate in the practices of its communication and negotiation.

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Bis Ans Ende Der Welt (Until The End Of The World) (1991) Directed by Wim Wenders. Paris: Berlin; Argos Films.

Hell is a City (1960) Directed by Val Guest. London: Associated British Picture Corporation Ltd.

Enemies of the People (2009) Directed by Thet Sambeth, Rob Lemkin. Oxford: Old Street Films.

Jazz on a Summer's Day (1960) Directed by Bert Stern, Aram Avakian. USA: Galaxy Productions.

L'auberge Espagnole (Pot Luck) (2002) Directed by Cédric Klapisch. Spain: Mate Producciones and France: BAC Films, Studio Canal.

Man with a Movie Camera (1929) Directed by Dziga Vertov. Ukraine: The All-Ukrainian Photo-Cine Directorate (VUFKU)

McLibel (2005) Directed by Franny Armstrong. London: Spanner Films.

October: Ten Days That Shook the World (1927) Directed by Sergei Eisenstein, Grigori Aleksandrov. Russia: Sovkino.

Patagonia (2010) Directed by Marc Evans. London: Rainy Day Films.

The Amazing Equal Pay Show (1974) Directed by the London Women's Film Group. London: London Women's Film Group.

The Creeping Garden (2014) Directed by Tim Grabham and Jasper Sharp. Brighton: Cinema Iloobia.

The Living Dead at Manchester Morgue (1974) Directed by Jorgé Grau. Spain: Star Films S.A.

Women of the Rhondda (1971) Directed by Esther Ronay, Mary Kelly, Mary Capps, Humphrey Trevelyan, Margaret Dickinson, Brigid Seagrave and Susan Shapiro. London: Eleventh Hour Films.

Glossary

AHRC	Arts and Humanities Research Council
BAFA	British Arts Festivals Association
BCU	Birmingham City University
BOM	Birmingham Open Media
BRFF	Bristol Radical Film Festival
ECRs	Early Career Researchers
GMCA	Greater Manchester Combined Authority
HEFCE	Higher Education Funding Council for England
HiP	Humanities in Public Festival
HLSS	Faculty of Humanities, Languages and Social Science (MMU)
IABF	International Anthony Burgess Foundation
IHSSR	Institute of Humanities and Social Science Research (MMU)
MMU	Manchester Metropolitan University
NCCPE	The National Co-ordinating Centre for Public Engagement
NESTA	National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
RAE	Research Assessment Exercise
REF	Research Excellence Framework
RFN	Radical Film Network
SAS	School of Advanced Study
SME	Small to Medium Enterprise
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics
UBASF	University of Birmingham Arts and Science Festival
UoB	University of Birmingham
UCG	University Grants Committee

Appendices

Appendix 1

Towards a classification system for university-festivals.

'civic festival'	A geo-political or placemaking role, concerned with prestige, usually with a regional focus. Opening galas with local press coverage and invited guests are a feature of this kind of festival.
'conference as festival'	An event that used to be an annual conference rebranded as a festival, or a festival that has an academic conference at its core.
'node in the network festival'	Has a commercial focus, presents work by cultural producers, concerned with networking opportunities and publicity.
'final year show' or 'showcase'	A showcase or platform for emerging cultural production styles and new work, particularly that of graduating students.
'public engagement with research'	High level of content produced by academics, often held on campus and focusing on engaging non-academic audiences.
'practice-based festival'	A form-based specialist programme, with less focus on place and more on excellence and international performers.
'open gardens model'	A mixed-form, multiple venues event, where each event is produced by a separate part of the institution and the festival is the umbrella that links them.
'season'	A form-based specialist programme in a single location.

Appendix 2



Participant information sheet

This research is part of a PhD attached to the Arts and Humanities Research Council funded research project **Cultural Intermediation in the Creative Economy**, which is part of the **Connected Communities** programme, due to run 2012-2016. Part of this project, including this PhD, is being led by Dr Beth Perry and Professor Tim May at the Centre for Sustainable Urban Regional Futures, University of Salford.

The PhD investigates the role and value of festivals as an intermediary mechanism between different communities, particularly in the case of cultural or arts festivals that are developed and presented either by or with universities. This topic was selected for investigation following some earlier research into the ways in which universities play an intermediary role in the creative cultural economy.

The rationale for the research is to critically examine a few selected festivals, looking at their context, form, content and how the texts, materials and discourses are presented in the programme. The researcher has experience of working in festival teams and understands the co-created nature of these events. She would like to ensure that all participants understand how the research is to be conducted and that findings may be analysed and published.

Observations made during events, printed materials, online texts and other ephemera will be used to give an overview of events. Semi-structured interviews allow the creators and representatives of festival programmes, such as university staff, students, managers and engagement teams, to explain their own practice, subjectivities and orientations to the festival.

In line with the University of Salford's ethics guidelines, anybody participating in interviews will be given an informed consent form, outlining how their comments will be stored and published. Permission will be sought before any comments or images connected directly to an individual are published or reproduced. Participants may withdraw from the project at any time and if they do so their data will be deleted.

Following the ethics guidelines of The Social Research Association (SRA):

Even if research subjects do not perceive any danger to themselves of data disclosure, nevertheless it is the task of the researcher to maintain principles of confidentiality as far as possible so that the interests of subjects are protected.

SRA (2003) Ethical Guidelines p.25 (source <http://www.the-sra.org.uk>)

If anybody involved would like the opportunity to discuss the project at any time, please contact the project leader or the academic supervisors, their contact details are given below.

Thank you.

Project leader

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Appendix 3



Individual's statement of informed consent

This research is part of a PhD, due for completion in 2015. Please refer to the participant information sheet for more details of the project and its objectives.

Before we can work together, I would like you to read the following information, which explains how I will use any information you give me.

I would like to be able to record our interviews, make notes about things that happen at public events that you might be a part of and possibly take photographs that might depict you in your working environment. Participation is voluntary, of course, and you can withdraw at any time, or for recordings, photographs and transcripts of your interviews to be excluded from the project.

Interview transcriptions, photographs and fieldwork notes will be archived at my own house. Any files which identify respondents by name will be password protected and stored on my laptop before being transferred to a portable hard drive, kept in a locked cupboard. Anything that contains your name or contact details will also be password protected. At no point will ANY personal information that could identify you be divulged to any third party without the consent of the participants concerned.

The publication of material associated with your comments will depend on which option you tick below. Publication may take the form of journal articles as well as my thesis, but you will be given the opportunity to review all transcripts and photographs that apply to your involvement in this project before publication occurs for any audience. Once the thesis is finished, any original data not used will be deleted.

If you have any questions about how the research is being conducted, please get in touch with either the project leader or academic supervisors:

Project leader

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I have read the above and consent to take part in the research project described.

Name (Print) _____ Signature _____

Date _____ Email/contact telephone number _____

I am happy to have my name associated with my comments (tick if applicable)

I am happy to participate but wish to remain anonymous (tick if applicable)

I **may** be happy have my name associated with my comments, but please check with me first (tick if applicable)

I give my permission to be photographed for this project (tick if applicable)

I do not give consent to appear in any published photographs (tick if applicable)

Appendix 4

Events included in the fieldwork in 2014.

UBASF 2014

The Handsworth Scroll: Radical Politics on the High Street

Friday 21st March, 1.30pm - 2.30pm, Danford Room, Arts Building, free.
Presented by Cultural Engagement in partnership with CCCS at 50³⁴.

366 Days of Kindness - A Talk,

Friday 21st March, 3.30pm - 5.30pm, European Research Institute, free.
Presented by the School of Philosophy, Theology and Religion.

1960s Art and Architecture tour

Saturday 22nd March, 1.30pm - 2.30pm, starting at Paolozzi statue, Westgate, free.
Presented by Research and Cultural Collections in partnership with Ikon Gallery.

Phono-Cinéma-Théâtre

Sunday 23rd March, 3pm, The Barber Institute of Fine Arts, £12.
Presented by Flatpack Festival in partnership with The Barber Institute of Fine Arts & Cultural Engagement.

Mary Shelly

Sunday 23rd March, 7.30pm - 9pm George Cadbury Hall, Selly Oak campus, £7.
Presented by The Department of Drama and TheatreArts.

Flatpack / University of Birmingham 'Café Neuro' neuroscience events:

Gheorghe Marinescu: Science Film Pioneer

Friday 21st March, 12.30pm - 1pm, downstairs at the 6/8 Kafe, free.

Neurocinematics: The Neuroscience of Film

Friday 21st March, 6.15pm - 8pm, Birmingham Midland Institute, free.

Birmingham University Imaging Centre

Saturday 22nd March, 11am, Imaging Centre, University of Birmingham, free.

³⁴ CCCS at 50 is an abbreviation in the festival programme that indicates the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at 50 project.

MMU HiP 2014

Day of the Droogs

Wednesday 29th January 2014, 2pm - 5pm, including evening public lecture at 6pm, International Anthony Burgess Institute, free.

Feminist art, Politics and Gender: Responding to Jacques Ranciere

Monday 24th February 2014, 5.30pm - 7pm, Geoffrey Manton building, free.

Sensing Place symposium

Monday 19th May 2014, 5pm - 7.30pm, Geoffrey Manton building, free.

2nd edition of HiP 2014-2015 launch event, including the Inaugural lecture of Professor Andrew Biswell

Monday 29th September 2014, 5pm - 7pm, Geoffrey Manton building, free.

Beyond Babel, a one-day Multi-lingual Film Festival,

Saturday 14th March 2015, 10am - 6pm, Manchester Conference Centre, £5.

“History is the new Punk”: The International History from below network

Monday 11th May 2015, 5.30pm - 7.30pm, Geoffrey Manton building, free

Manchester Future Histories Exhibition, The Manchester Centre for Regional History.

Monday 18th May 2015, 5.30pm – 7.30pm, People’s History Museum, free.

Manchester Gothic Festival events:

Arial Burglars of Cottonopolis, art exhibition, visited Thursday 23rd Oct 2014, 12 noon, Sacred trinity Church, Salford, free.

Gothic Romance and the Phantasmogorical, including the Gothic Curiosity Shop

Thursday 23rd Oct 2014, 7pm – 9pm, International Anthony Burgess Institute, £5

What is this thing called steampunk? One day symposium and tour of the Museum of Science & Industry Steam Hall

Friday 24th Oct 2014, 2pm – 5pm, Museum of Science and Industry, £5

BRFF 2014

Enemies of the People

(Thet Sambeth and Rob Lemkin, UK/Cambodia, 2009, 94min),
Monday 3rd March 2014, The Cube, doors at 7.30, 8pm start, £5/4

Our Times and We Are Half of Iran's Population

(Rakhshan Bani E'temad, Iran, 2002/2009, 75min/47min)
Tuesday 4th March 2014, Single Parent Action Network (S.P.A.N.) Centre, doors at 7.30,
8pm start, free

Bristol Bike Project and The Man With a Movie Camera

(Alistair Oldham, UK, 2010, 18min) / (Dziga Vertov, Soviet Union, 1929, 68min)
Wednesday 5th March 2014, Roll for the Soul, doors at 7.30, 8pm start, free/donation

McLibel

(Franny Armstrong, UK, 2005, 85min)
Thursday 6th March 2014, Knowle West Media Centre, doors at 7.30, 8pm start,
free/donation

From Tehran to London and Dancing Mania

(Mania Akbari, Iran/UK, 2012, 45min) / (Roya Akbari, Iran, 2013, 25min) + Director Q&A
Friday 7th March 2014 The Arnolfini, doors at 7.30, 8pm start, £6/£4

Workshop - Languages of Video Activism

With Concha Mateos and Luis Lanchares, academics and political activists from Madrid.
Saturday 8th March 2014, The Arc, Broad St, Floor 1, 5.00-7.30pm, included in day pass.

On the Art of War

(Luca Bellino and Silvia Luzi, Italy/USA, 2012, 85min) British Premiere + directors Q&A.
Saturday 8th March 2014, 8pm, included in day pass, and party at Roll for the Soul, 10.30-
late, free

BRFF Radical Shorts Competition

Sunday 9th March 2014, 1pm-3pm, Floor 2, included in day pass

Matewan (John Sayles, USA, 1987, 135min)

Sunday 9th March 2014, 3.30pm – 6pm, Floor 2, included in day pass