

**A critical analysis of the geographies of
Afrikaans arts festivals in South Africa**

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Abstract

The tourism products in pre-democracy South Africa had been fairly limited and included only one arts festival, the National Arts Festival held annually in Makhanda since 1974. This tourism sector has seen sizeable growth since 1994 including both national and international tourists. Festivals have proliferated in recent years with South Africa presenting more than one thousand (1000) festivals every year. However, a thorough examination of published literature has shown that there is a shortage of research regarding the spatiality and interconnection between these festivals, and specifically arts festivals.

In contrast to most local festival research which had been quantitative in design, this investigation followed a qualitative research design. After having completed ethically guided field work at five major Afrikaans arts festivals (Aardklop, KKNK, Innibos, Vrystaat Arts Festival and Woordfees), the interviews were transcribed, coded and analysed.

The original contribution to knowledge lies in the analysis and description of the various geographies exhibited by stakeholders contributing to Afrikaans arts festivals in South Africa. The spatialities of the arts festivals were most prominently observed in the travel behaviour of artists and stall holders. These individuals designed their routes to suit their unique travel needs and could be divided into two broad categories; the travelling merchant / artist and the touch-base merchant / artist. Valuable insights were gained from attendee travel behaviour. It was found that arts festivals draw attendees from their home province as well as from the Gauteng Province; but with the new finding that attendees from the south are less inclined to travel to attend festivals than their counterparts from the north.

New insights were gained regarding management, stakeholder and attendee perceptions on various topics including festival spaces, festival impacts, cultural dimensions, audience development, attendee experiences, spaces of exclusivity and festival ranking. By providing findings on the topics mentioned here, this investigation contributes an improved understanding of the Afrikaans arts festival phenomenon in South Africa and provides a valuable pre-COVID-19 baseline for future research, in particular the life of these festivals after COVID-19.

Key words: Tourism geography, Afrikaans arts festivals, Cultural expression, Stakeholder spatiality, Festival networks, Festival history, Festival management.

Opsomming

Voor die aanbreek van demokrasie in Suid-Afrika, was toerismeprodukte beperk en het Suid-Afrika net een groot kunstefeeste gehad, die Nasionale Kunstefeeste wat jaarliks, sedert 1974 in Makhanda gehou is. Vanaf 1994 het Suid-Afrika se toerismesektor aansienlike ontwikkeling beleef wat plaaslike én buitelandse besoekers betref. Boonop het kunstefeeste in Suid-Afrika die afgelope jare meer algemeen geword. Daar word gereken dat hier jaarliks meer as 'n duisend (1000) feeste gehou word. 'n Deeglike ondersoek van gepubliseerde literatuur het egter getoon dat daar 'n tekort is aan navorsing met betrekking tot die ruimtelikheid en interkonneksie tussen hierdie feeste - spesifiek tussen kunstefeeste.

Hierdie ondersoekontwerp is kwalitatief, in teenstelling met die meeste feestoerisme-navorsing in Suid-Afrika wat 'n kwantitatiewe benadering volg. Nadat uitgebreide veldwerk by vyf groot Afrikaanse kunstefeeste (Aardklop, KKNK, Innibos, Vrystaat Kunstefeeste en Woordfees) uitgevoer is, terwyl streng etiese beginsels nagekom is, is die onderhoude met deelnemers getranskribeer, gekodeer en ontleed.

Die oorspronklike bydrae tot kennis is die blootlegging van die verskillende geografieë en ruimtelikhede van belanghebbendes wat bydra tot Afrikaanse kunstefeeste in Suid-Afrika. Dié ruimtelikheid van die kunstefeeste is die prominentste in die reisgedrag van kunstenaars en stalletjie-eienaars. Hierdie individue beplan hul roetes om by hul individuele behoeftes te pas, opgedeel in twee breë kategorieë - die reisende handelaar / kunstenaar en die terugkerende-handelaar / -kunstenaar. Waardevolle insigte is verkry deur die oorsprong en reisgedrag van hierdie feesgangers te ondersoek. Daar is gevind dat kunstefeeste besoekers uit hul tuisprovinsie sowel as uit Gauteng getrek het, maar met die nuwe waarneming dat deelnemers uit die suide minder geneig was om na die noorde te reis as dié uit die noorde wat maklik oorreed is om suidwaarts te reis om kunstefeeste te besoek.

Nuwe bevindings is ook gemaak rakende bestuur, belanghebbendes en feesgangers se persepsies oor verskeie onderwerpe, insluitend feesruimtes, feesimpakte, kulturele dimensies, toeskouerontwikkeling en -ervarings, ruimtes van eksklusiwiteit en feesrangorde. Deur bevindings oor die onderwerpe wat hier genoem word, te verskaf, dra hierdie ondersoek by tot 'n beter begrip van die Afrikaanse kunstefeestesbedryf in Suid-Afrika en bied 'n waardevolle pre-koronavirus grondslag vir toekomstige navorsing, veral met betrekking tot die bestaan van hierdie feeste ná COVID-19.

Sleutelterminologie: Toerismegeografie, Afrikaanse kunstefeeste, Kulturele uitdrukking, Belanghebbende-ruimtelikheid, Feesnetwerke, Feesgeskiedenis, Feesbestuur.

Preface

This preface provides the background against which this investigation should be interpreted. It contextualises my 17 years of involvement in arts festivals, and separately how I developed as a geographer with an interest in tourism geography and specifically arts festivals.

During my undergraduate years I was trained in Geography and Tourism and in my ensuing post-graduate years in environmental science. As an undergraduate student my involvement in the arts started with my joining the university choir. This resulted in several overseas concert tours which broadened my horizons and also entrenched my interest in the performing arts. As part of my choir life, I accepted performances at the local Aardklop arts festival in Potchefstroom (my home town) without hesitation. Arts festivals therefore have been part of my existence since 2004. Several performances at other arts festivals followed, either as a member of the North-West University (NWU) university choir or as part of a small *a capella* ensemble, the Boulevard Harmonists, also affiliated with the NWU. The latter resulted in my involvement in the National Arts Festival (Grahamstown / Makhanda), Klein Karoo Klassique (affiliated with Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees – Oudtshoorn) and Aardklop. This involvement sparked a keen interest in the arts festival phenomenon that ultimately led me to this research.

The data gathering commenced in 2018 and concluded at the end of 2019. At the time no one could have foreseen the turmoil and devastation the COVID-19 pandemic would bring to the arts industry. The arts playing field has changed dramatically and with it the way arts festivals are and will be presented. Festival management had to be creative in their approach to keep the festivals going, mostly in online format. This investigation can therefore be viewed as a baseline; a snapshot of the Afrikaans arts festivals phenomenon pre-COVID-19.

Interviews were conducted with certain participants intricately involved in the establishment of Afrikaans arts festivals. As custodians of significant living and oral histories that informed this investigation, their responses are cited as personal communications. In accordance with ethical considerations individual names cannot be linked to specific comments, but a list of these individuals is provided after the reference list.

Emanating from this investigation, the following works were published:

- Paper published in 2021 (This paper draws from Chapter 6):

Stander, J.H., Sandham, L.A. & Visser, G. 2021. The geographies of artists and stall holders at Afrikaans arts festivals, South Africa. *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure - Themed Issue: Advances in Geographical Studies on Tourism*. <https://www.ajhtl.com/>

- Paper delivered at the IGU International Geographical Congress in 2021:

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- Paper delivered at the Biennial Conference of the Society of South African Geographers in 2021:

Stander, J.H., Sandham, L.A & Visser, G. 2021. *Perspectives of festival stakeholders participating in selected Afrikaans arts festivals*. Paper delivered at the 2021 Joint Biennial Conference (6-8 September) (virtual). pp.56.

- Paper published and delivered at the Biennial Conference of the Society of South African Geographers in 2018 (This paper draws from Chapter 7):

Stander, J.H., Sandham, L.A & Visser, G.E. 2018. *The Geographies of Arts Festivals: Exploring the KKNK*. In: Van der Walt, A., Barker, C., Kruger, E. & Kotze, N., eds. *Conference proceedings*. Biennial Conference of the Society of South African Geographers: 1 – 5 October 2018, University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa. Bloemfontein: Society of South African Geographers. <http://www.ssag.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Proceedings-of-the-Biennial-Conference-of-the-Society-of-South-African-Geographers.pdf>. pp. 225-237

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List of Abbreviations

Aardklop	Aardklop Nasionale Kunstefees
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
Innibos	Innibos Laeveld Nasionale Kunstefees
KKNK	Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees
KRUIK	Kaaplandse Raad vir die Uitvoerende Kunste
MACUFE	Mangaung African Cultural Festival
NAF	National Arts Festival
NALN	Nasionale Afrikaanse Letterkundige Museum en Navorsingsentrum
Naspers	Nasionale Pers
NATi	Nasionale Afrikaanse Teater-inisiatief
RSG	Radio Sonder Grense
SANDF	South African National Defence Force
SUKOVS	Streeksraad vir die Uitvoerende Kunste in die Oranje Vrystaat
TRUK	Transvaalse Raad vir die Uitvoerende Kunste
US Woordfees	Universiteit Stellenbosch Woordfees, also known as Woordfees
WOW	Woorde Open Wêrelde / Words Open Worlds

1 Chapter 1 - Festivity at a glance

1.1 Introduction

From an economic geography as well as from a modern consumer culture perspective, the tourism industry has emerged as a major economic role player and a tool for economic development (Jain & Mishra, 2020; Kimbu & Tichaawa, 2018; Pulido-Fernández & Cárdenas-García, 2021; Vicente, Barosso & Jiménez, 2021). People have increasingly become more inclined to travel for leisure purposes as disposable income increased (Coe, Kelly & Yeung, 2013; Ioannides & Debbage, 1998). People travel to escape their normal everyday lives and to explore places and gain new experiences. These places and experiences vary considerably based on what the tourist wants and views as worth visiting. As Ioannides and Debbage (1998:3) stated, “Like most other social scientists, geographers are intrigued by tourism’s economic, socio-cultural and environmental impacts in a variety of settings”. A facet of the tourism industry, more specifically urban tourism, that has seen enormous growth post World War Two is that of festivals (Attala, 2012). South Africa has also witnessed this phenomenon, especially after 1994 (Hauptfleisch, 2006).

South Africa has seen exceptional growth in the tourism industry in the last two decades, in relation to both local and international tourists (Scholtz, Viviers & Maputsoe, 2019). Also, arts festivals have become a common sight in South Africa in recent years with the National Arts Festival in Grahamstown being one of the longest running, first starting in 1974 (Saayman & Rossouw, 2011; Snowball, Antrobus & Ndhlovu, 2016). Other popular festivals include The Klein Karoo National Arts Festival in Oudtshoorn, the Aardklop National Arts Festival held in Potchefstroom, The Vrystaat Arts Festival in Bloemfontein and the Innibos Laeveld Nasionale Kunstefees held in Mbombela (previously known as Nelspruit). From a tourist’s perspective, Bhand (2021) listed fifteen (15) must-visit festivals in South Africa, not all of them arts festivals, but festivals celebrating some theme. Van Zyl and Botha (2004) suggested that there were seventy-nine (79) annual festivals held in South Africa at the time they did their research. Visser (2005) identified two hundred and eleven (211) annual festivals, while Botha, Viviers and Slabbert (2012) claimed that three hundred (300) festivals were presented locally with arts festivals growing in size and number. Saayman, Kruger and Erasmus (2012) however claimed that there were more than five hundred (500) annual festivals which were taking place in diverse settings around South Africa, and Donaldson (2018, 2021) stated that small towns host in excess of one thousand (1000) festivals annually. Many festivals are on offer, yet there seems to be no comprehensive inventory of festivals (including arts festivals) in South Africa and it is clear that the festival segment was an ever growing sector, pre-COVID-19. Several scholars focusing on South African arts festivals concentrated on the demand side of the festivals by investigating visitor’s experience, visitor loyalty, push and pull factors, culture and

community perceptions. (Erasmus, 2012; Kruger, 2020; Kruger & Saayman, 2012; Kruger, Saayman & Ellis, 2011; Saayman, 2011; Saayman & Saayman, 2015; Saayman, Saayman & Slabbert, 2011; Slabbert & Saayman, 2011; Van Zyl, 2012; Visser, 2016, 2005; Visser & Hoogendoorn, 2011; Viviers, Botha & Perl, 2013). Some research was also conducted on the economic aspects and impacts of arts festivals, with these studies recommending and encouraging further research in this field (Labuschagne, 2014; Saayman & Rossouw, 2011; Saayman & Saayman, 2006, 2015; Snowball & Antrobus, 2001, 2005; Strydom, Saayman & Saayman, 2006; Visser, 2005). Both Labuschagne (2014) and Visser (2005) recommend further studies on the competitiveness of arts festivals, the influence of role players in arts festivals, as well as spending, and how much money really had gone to the local community. Despite the published research there is a limited understanding of these festivals (Visser, 2005).

Research on the economic aspects of arts festivals has shown that there is a measure of “leakage” from most festivals (Labuschagne, 2014; Van Der Merwe, 2008; Saayman & Rossouw, 2011; Saayman & Saayman, 2006, 2015; Strydom *et al.*, 2006). Leakage is when a portion of the income generated by the festival does not stay within the host community but leaks to other localities. Saayman and Rossouw (2011) used the multiplier effect of tourist spending to calculate a theoretical benefit to the community and the region, but this does not really give a clear picture of how much income is lost to the region in the form of leakage. It also does not show where this lost revenue goes to and who benefits from it.

Arts festivals in general promise to bring some benefit either to the arts or to the communities in which they are held, or both. But do they really bring benefit and if so, how can this benefit be quantified? Observations made at the National Arts Festival, the Klein Karoo National Arts Festival and the Aardklop National Arts Festival, reveal that arts festivals do not purely focus on arts as the names would suggest. They also cater for shoppers and holiday makers by hosting large flea markets, eateries and restaurants as well as beer and wine tents (Kruger, 2020). These festivals therefore also cater for people wanting to relax and socialise in between arts events. Some festival goers only visit these festivals for the social component and not necessarily for the arts (Kruger, 2020; Kruger & Saayman, 2012). This however varies from festival to festival (Labuschagne, 2014). A great deal of duplication occurs, since some stall owners make a living by travelling from one festival to another and selling exactly the same goods at the different festivals in a nomadic lifestyle. This phenomenon warrants further study and will be explored in depth later in this thesis.

There is strong sense of place attachment, a palpable relationship between the attendee and place attachment (Ma & Lew, 2012), although Labuschagne (2014) found that regardless of where a festival takes place, festival attendees would still attend a festival. There is a definite link between festival locality and the success of the festival, as the festival attendee relates to a certain experience associated with a specific place (Davis, 2016). Festivals are an opportunity for locals

to showcase their own culture and it is a place's local culture that distinguishes it as a suitable venue for an arts festival (Labuschagne, 2014; Ma & Lew, 2012). This is what differentiates one festival from another. Major arts festivals have a propensity to standardize their programming, which contributes to the loss of cultural uniqueness. (Davies, 2016; Ma & Lew, 2012). This may lead to the downfall of a particular festival and may be one of the contributing factors to the near demise of the Aardklop National Arts Festival in the beginning 2016. Certain places host more festivals than others and this phenomenon also warrants further research (Visser, 2005).

The artistic programming of a festival, as well as the setting in which it takes place, is critical to the success of a festival (Ma & Lew, 2012). The diverse festival material appeals to a wide range of attendees, but it is unclear which factors impact each arts festival's programming. It may be the public or the sponsors, be it private or governmental. The festival content may be inspired by the location in which it is held, contributing to the residents' sense of place, or it may represent a more international artistic theme (Ma & Lew, 2012). The content of the arts festival should be aimed at the target market, but the target market should also be financially stable with a disposable income (Saayman, Saayman & Slabbert, 2011). This inevitably excludes a very large portion of the society and immediately creates tension because the majority of the South African population does not have the economic means to support the arts, due to the very complex history of South Africa past injustices suffered by many cultural groups (Quinn, 2006; Skot-Hansen, 2005). The dilemma is that the content of a festival cannot simply be adjusted to reflect the demography of the general public because a festival should ideally also be financially viable. This puts considerable pressure on the festival organisers to promote content that would guarantee an income but also to promote content that would appeal to previously disadvantaged groups (Davies, 2016). To emphasise this point, Visser (2005) recommended further research into the cultural upliftment of minority groups in South Africa, which may be excluded by the current festivals' landscape.

Very little has been published on the history of arts festivals in a South African context and why and in which context different festivals came into being. The historical dimension of arts festivals emphasizes the experiential aspects of these festivals. Contemporary festivals are more profane and secular than traditional festivals, which have their roots in religious rites, agricultural activities, and the re-enactment of historical events (Ma & Lew, 2012). Contemporary festivals have evolved from the traditional festivals and have become more tourism orientated. The social and cultural meaning of festivals have undergone great changes, yet a clear theme and a sense of celebration still exists (Ma & Lew, 2012). It is unclear if the South African festival environment has evolved in the same way as international festivals have and if they have been in existence for long enough to have shown any sign of evolution.

The global COVID-19 pandemic has also wreaked havoc in the South African tourism industry. Research into the impacts of Covid-19 is ongoing (Bama & Nyikana, 2021; Rogerson & Rogerson,

2021a, 2020a,b; Rogerson & Baum, 2020) and how the festival scape is adapting to the new era (Bama & Nyikana, 2021; Daniel, 2021) is also being investigated. The effects of the pandemic however do not fall within the ambit of this study. All the field work has been conducted before the pandemic and therefore provides a picture of what was, a time before the pandemic. This investigation may in this sense be used as a *baseline* against which future post-Covid-19 studies can be measured.

1.2 Research aim and objectives

The following research goal is derived from the various elements of arts festivals introduced above. Accordingly, the aim of this investigation is: ***To investigate, analyse and describe the various geographies of Afrikaans arts festivals in South Africa.***

This research aim will be achieved by exploring the following research objectives:

- 1. To provide a review of relevant research regarding arts festivals, including their history, nature, recent changes, and in particular, their spatialities and Geographical contexts.*
- 2. To provide an overview of the spatial context, spatial connections and history of major South African arts festivals.*
- 3. To determine the character of Afrikaans arts festivals with regard to language, ethnicity and gender.*
- 4. To explore the perceptions of various stakeholders on the socio-economic impacts of Afrikaans arts festivals.*
- 5. To investigate the personal histories, gather individual feedback and cultural perceptions and explore the mobilities of participants.*
- 6. To make visible the unexplored connections between Afrikaans arts festivals.*

By achieving these objectives, the following contribution is made to knowledge:

1.3 Contributions of the study

The original contribution to knowledge is the illustration of the various geographies and spatialities of stakeholders contributing to Afrikaans arts festivals in South Africa. To date most research has followed a case study approach by only investigating and comparing one or two festivals at a time. No study has investigated the major Afrikaans arts festivals to this extent.

Valuable insights were gained by exploring the origins and travel behaviour of attendees as well as contributing stakeholders¹. Interesting findings were also made regarding management, stakeholder and attendee perceptions on various topics including festival spaces, festival impacts, cultural dimensions, audience development, attendee experiences, spaces of exclusivity and festival ranking, to name but a few.

This research contributes towards the understanding of the Afrikaans arts festival phenomenon in South Africa and provides a valuable *baseline*, a snapshot of what was before Covid-19.

A brief chapter outline is now presented.

1.4 Chapter outline

Chapter 1 consists of a brief contextualisation of the study by providing an introduction to relevant festival literature and positioning the study by illustrating the gap in the literature. This is followed by the research aim and objectives. The original contribution of the research is also outlined and so is the content of the various chapters. The chapter is concluded by an explanation of the key words. *Chapter 2* contains the literature review pertaining to arts festivals. The review commences with arts festivals in international literature, festivals as part of event tourism and also the concept of festivalisation. Cultural identity, place identity, cultural tourism and audience motivations are touched upon. Festival research from a geographical perspective is also explored, stakeholders in festivals briefly visited and the chapter is then concluded by a brief overview of festival research in a South African context. This chapter argues that the geographies of Afrikaans arts festivals have not been extensively researched and positions this investigation in this gap in the literature. *Chapter 3* outlines the methods applied in this investigation, beginning with a description of the study area and an exploration of the methods of gaining access to the festivals. The sampling methods, sample size and interviewing techniques are also described and it is argued that the methods applied in this investigation differ from the mostly quantitative approach followed by most local scholars. The questionnaire design, data analysis, and validity are also explored in detail. The chapter is concluded by casting light upon validity in the research as well as ethical matters considered during the study.

The results of this investigation are contained in Chapters 4 – 7. *Chapter 4* provides a brief history of arts festivals and specifically Afrikaans arts festivals in South Africa. It also furnishes the reader with background information on the various arts festivals explaining the context within which to interpret the results of this study. *Chapter 5* focuses on the perspectives of management on the different aspects pertaining Afrikaans arts festivals. It starts out with insights into relationships with

¹ Artists, stall owners and technical support.

local government, local community and with sponsors. It explores the concepts of audience development, both in terms of the education of the audience and the creation of future audiences. The perceptions on local economic impacts are explored and the various considerations surrounding the festival space are analysed. The chapter concludes with a section on the sustainability of arts festivals. The main message of this chapter is that Afrikaans arts festival management can benefit from more intensive collaboration. *Chapter 6* focuses on contributing stakeholders who are responsible for creating the arts festivals. This segment is arguably the most overlooked of all stakeholders with local research mostly focusing on attendees and their perspectives. These stakeholders are typified based on their demographics and their travel behaviour which are the most prominent finding of this chapter. Other themes explored are their personal histories, feedback on festivals, festival ranking and cultural expression. *Chapter 7* illustrates the importance of festival attendees. Without attendees there would be no sense in having festivals. Attendee demographics are explored to provide an indication of who have been interviewed. Attendees are typified and their travel behaviour explored. Motives to visit festivals are distilled from the data and their perceptions on cultural meaning are presented. Spaces of exclusivity is a theme that has emerged from the data. This is explored to some extent and the temporal perspectives of attendees conclude the chapter.

The thesis is concluded by *Chapter 8*. The findings gained from the preceding chapters are presented and summarised. A comparison is made between the literature and the findings of this study, demonstrating the contribution of the thesis.

Our focus now turns towards arts festivals in the literature.

2 Chapter 2 - Arts festivals: The research context

2.1 Introduction to festival literature

The 1980s saw a cultural turn with regard to the research into tourism related products and this was associated with a change in the nature of tourism itself (Aitken & Valentine, 2009; Barnett, 1998; Crang, 2010; Donaldson, 2018; Hall, 2013; Van Hoven, 2011). The emergence of adventure and ecotourism, historical tourism, and niche marketing of cultural events characterized this shift. This resulted in a new era of tourism in which the cultural aspects of tourist experiences have received greater attention (World Tourism Organisation (1985) in Donaldson (2018)) and which shifted the study of tourism more towards the social sciences (Rogerson & Visser, 2020b). Related to this, Getz (2013) identified three major discourses within festival studies and these discourses are on: the cultural impacts, meanings, and roles of festivals; on festival tourism; and on festival management. These discourses fall specifically within the ambit of this study and will be explored by visiting concepts including festivity, festivalisation, festival tourism, local festival ecology, place identity, place making, cultural identity and -tourism, audience motivations as well as the geographies of arts festivals.

In order to understand how festivals work, it is also important to visit stakeholder theories as three general categories of stakeholders have been interviewed as part of this study: management; contributing stakeholders; and attendees. These stakeholders make up most of the structures of arts festivals and it is thought that their respective geographies will shed light on the interrelationships between arts festivals in a South African context. Stakeholder theory will also serve to ground this investigation with the resulting chapters building on three types of stakeholder; attendees, contributing stakeholders and management.

Touched upon, but largely excluded from this literature review, are concepts investigating the economic dimensions of arts festivals including economic impacts; although very important to measure the value of arts festivals and use as motivation for sponsorship (Drummond, Snowball, Antrobus & Drummond, 2021; Snowball, 2016; Snowball & Antrobus, 2005) these have been exhaustively researched by various scholars (Saayman & Rossouw, 2011; Saayman & Saayman, 2006, 2015; Saayman *et al.*, 2011; Strydom, Saayman & Saayman, 2006) and will not form part of this research. Also excluded are concepts focusing on push and pull factors, market segmentation and spending behaviour (Kruger & Erasmus, 2012; Labuschagne, 2014; Viviers *et al.*, 2013).

This chapter will commence with a focus on (arts) festivals in the international literature followed by an overview of festival research in a local context. It will argue that arts festivals and specifically Afrikaans arts festivals have not been intensively investigated from a geographical perspective.

2.2 Festivity – why we celebrate

Festivals and festivity are as old as the human race and are at the very core of humanity itself (Falassi, 1987). Celebrations are mentioned frequently in religious texts and can be traced throughout history (Carter, 1988). Prominent historic festivals mentioned in the literature are the Dionysian festivals of classical Athens and much more recent festivals such as the Bayreuth Festival founded in 1876 and the Salzburger Festspiele dating from 1920 (Sassatelli, 2015). More recently, and developed out of a need for re-engagement with culture after the Second World War, we have the Edinburgh Arts Festival dating from 1947 and the festival of Avignon in 1947 (Newbold, Jordan, Bianchini, & Maughan, 2015). Falassi (1987:2) defined a festival as a: “periodically recurrent, social occasion in which, through a multiplicity of forms, and a series of coordinated events, participate directly or indirectly and to various degrees, all members of a whole community, united by ethnic, linguistic, religious, historical bonds, and sharing a worldview”.

Although people’s interaction with, and exposure to festivals date back millennia, the research into festivals is still relatively speaking, in its infancy (Newbold & Jordan, 2016). Jordan (2015) described festivity as a time and place for celebration which is distinct from everyday life, something which is different from the daily routine. Some link festivity to leisure time where one breaks free from the constraints of everyday life and the creation of spaces where a person can be truly authentic, away from the control of authorities (Jordan, 2016a). A festival is a unique gathering that brings people together in a spirit of celebration and enjoyment (Ma & Lew, 2012). In essence, that is exactly what a festival is all about – a celebration. In modern times nothing much has changed and society is characterized by numerous festivals celebrating many themes. Getz (in Quinn, 2006) went further by stating that festivals are public themed celebrations. This description has sparked a wide-ranging inquiry into how festivals work as culturally meaningful, historically anchored practices (Quinn, 2006).

Part of what we associate with festivity is the accompanying décor. This is partly to remove as many reminders as possible of everyday life and to create the idea that for a limited time different rules will be followed and that in that specific space new ideas and people will be welcomed into what was previously a normal everyday setting (Jordan, 2015). It offers the visitor the opportunity to escape the mundane everyday world and to temporarily transform into a different being (Davis, 2017). Festivals may therefore be seen as socially sustaining occurrences that allow people to express their identities, interact with their surroundings, and communicate with the reality other than that within the festival (Quinn, 2006). It is this detachment from the outside world² that draws people to attend festivals offering them the opportunity to come to life in an environment where freedom of personal expression is encouraged (Davis, 2017). Festivals are also predominantly

² Home or work life.

social activities since people usually choose to attend in groups as an expression of group living which in turn is rooted in collective experience. Also, festivals are embedded in social and cultural life and are 'public facing' events which in essence is the disruption of the 'normal' (Newbold *et al.*, 2015).

To create these spaces for cultural escape and expression, certain individuals seek to create and facilitate processes to make these events a reality. Festivals are often created by a handful of individuals - usually with similar backgrounds - for consumption in ways which are similar (Ronström, 2011). The situation with the Afrikaans arts is very much the same, with many facets duplicated ranging from management to the duplication of content (Davies, 2016). Getz (2013), in contrast, pointed out that many festivals and cultural celebrations emerge organically from the needs and wants of communities and interest groups, with little prospect of becoming tourist attractions. This is a debateable notion as locally it may not necessarily be the case. Most of the festivals included in this research were started with other benefits in mind, including the rejuvenation of local economies, preservation of culture, and boosting tourism appeal. Integral to the preservation of culture is the preservation of language which is vitally important in cultural expression.

While some festivals have their roots in climate cycles like harvest festivals, modern festivals are created with different motives in mind and may have different meanings in different places (Bourque, 1995; Getz, 2010; Pirkova-Jakobson, 1956; Walker, 2009). Falassi (1987) has suggested that modern urban festivals were inauthentic traditions aimed at celebrating economic success. Moreover, this celebration can be interpreted as a 'binary position', a polar opposite to the everyday world where joyous adjectives are used to define it, making it desirable and affording value to festivals. Herein lies the challenge to create festivals as authentically as possible.

Research into the various dimensions of arts festivals has been ongoing for decades and festivals are often conceptualised as events warranting even further research through this focus.

2.3 Festivals and event tourism

Events as part of event tourism are designed to attract visitors to a specific place due to a unique offering the destination might have (Golob & Jakulin, 2014). This is mostly done to promote the location or to provide beneficial economic, social, and environmental consequences that may influence growth in the host town and hence contribute to a higher quality of life for local citizens (Boisen, Terlouw, Groote & Couwenberg, 2018; Golob & Jakulin, 2014). Festivals have a role in tourism by drawing tourists to locations, contributing to place marketing, and functioning as catalysts for other types of growth Getz (2013). Festival tourism motivation studies, various segmentation approaches, economic advantages of festivals and festival tourism evaluations, as

well as festival tourism planning and marketing at the destination level, have dominated this topic in recent years. (Kruger, 2020; Visser, 2005; Viviers *et al.*, 2013).

Regarding the segmentation of events, Donaldson (2018) proposed that eight distinct categories of events can be identified (Table 2-1). Festivals are grouped with cultural events as can be derived from the table. It is, however, not that simple, since festivals are generally far more complex and may traverse several categories.

Table 2-1: Types of events

Event category	Type of event
Political / state	VIP visits, rallies, assemblies, inaugurations
Sport	Professional, amateur
Recreational	Games, sports, entertainment events
Educational and scientific	Seminars, congresses, workshops, conferences
Cultural	Festivals, carnivals, parades, religious events
Entertainment	Concerts, exhibitions, awards, performances
Business	Fairs, markets, auctions, public relations events, meetings
Private	Social celebrations, social events

Source: Golob and Jakulin (2014) as used in Donaldson (2018)

Arts festivals have the potential to not only be showcases of contemporary arts but also to be enriching events as part of creative tourism where festival-goers are invited to partake in enriching activities such as master classes or conferences for example (Du Cros & Jolliffe, 2014; Gordin & Matetskaya, 2012).

Compromised events are events that took bold or risky actions in order to stand out, or events that, due to a lack of creativity or conflict or loss of funding, ceased to exist either temporarily or permanently. Also part of this category are events that had to restructure in order to survive. A sign that something is amiss is when an event is cancelled for a year to address certain managerial problems e.g. Glastonbury Festival of the Contemporary Performing Arts, commonly referred to as Glastonbury (Du Cros & Jolliffe, 2014). This festival closed for a year in order to solve problems due to overcrowding and also to tighten security and ticket management. It was able to leave behind problematic management styles that had been a result of various factors from its past.

Hallmark events have received much research attention after first being introduced as a concept in the 1970s (Donaldson, 2018; Dunn & McGuirk, 1999; Müller, 2015; Nordvall & Heldt, 2017). Hallmark events were described by Getz as “an event that possesses such significance — in terms of tradition, attractiveness, quality and publicity — that the event provides the host venue, community or destination with competitive advantage” (in Donaldson, 2018:149). Variations in dedicated papers include the understanding of the roles of “primary stakeholders in hallmark event tourism research” (Todd *et al.*, 2017), hallmark event failure (Nordvall & Heldt, 2017) and also occurred in other publications investigating aspects of events including event stakeholders (Van

Niekerk & Getz, 2019), tourism management progress (Hall & Page, 2009), social impact perceptions of events (Scholtz *et al.*, 2019), festival tourism (Quinn, 2006) and sustainable travel (Collins & Potoglou, 2019).

The popularity of events has been growing and this led to the festivalisation of almost everything. Our attention now turns towards this concept.

2.4 Festivalisation

In the Western world, festivals have become a prominent form of cultural production since the 1990s (Ronström, 2016). This is evident across all spheres of culture including sports, urban development, marketing, food and all sorts of cultural expression, collectively referred to as festivalisation (Hague, 2021; Richards, 2007). This term became especially popular among scholars from the 2000s onward and this is when the events market was transformed and condensed into festivals (Ronström, 2016). Festivalisation, to expand on this notion, is the commercialisation of festivals by tourism and destination promoters, all within the context of festival tourism as a subset of event tourism (Getz, 2013; Mulder, Hitters & Rutten, 2021; Richards & Palmer, 2010).

Festivalisation as a concept was introduced to describe the proliferation of festivals around the globe, in which ways are found to celebrate anything from the significant to the mundane (Jordan, 2015; Négrier, 2014). Furthermore, five festival dimensions are described; festivity, experimentation, spectacularisation, theming and participation (Jordan, 2016b). These dimensions, in varying levels of significance, can be found in a local context and will be explored and elaborated on throughout this text.

Festivalisation was discussed in four ways by Ronström (2016); in the semantic realm of events, in music behaviour and life, as a type of mediaisation, and as a tendency defining society as a whole³. It is the first and the last that are of more concern to this research. Regarding semantics, festivalisation entails the renaming of all kind of events and gatherings such as historical or religious happenings, fairs and markets, shows (Ronström, 2016), and in a South African context, even church bazaars⁴, as festivals. It has been a trend lately to use this buzzword to label all sorts of

³ “A first facet of festivalisation is semantic. It concerns a current trend to rename as “festivals” all kinds of traditional forms of gatherings, celebrations and festivities, from calendar to historical events, religious to secular rituals, markets, fairs, commemorations and anniversaries.” ... : The second facet concerns the expansion of festivals also in terms of time, space and content, a trend that has been termed “festivalisation of festivals” ... “A third way to understand “festivalisation” is as a companion to “mediaisation”, an analytic tool for describing a process of adapting music and musical behaviours to the festival format.” ... “The fourth facet or approach to festivalisation concerns a tendency in present-day, western societies to arrange cultural production in a festival-like way.” (Ronström, 2016:67)

⁴ Church bazaars are essentially flea markets aimed at raising funds for a church or congregation.

events to realise marketing potential, amongst other things. The term 'festival' was turned into a generic label which can today be applied to almost anything (Jordan, 2016a). The term festival is also frequently used as a marketing tool in order to compete for media attention and to promote certain phenomena. Ronström (2016:72) listed these as: "region, a village or a town, a minority group, be it cultural, ethnic or defined by sexual orientation, peculiar types of food, drink, costume, dance, music, cinema, literature, etc.". In the arts festival context, a number of these phenomena are grouped together in the form of a single celebration which then also may serve several purposes (Ronström, 2016).

Festivalisation can result in over commodification of the festival content, thus reducing it to a mere entertainment product (Hadžić, 2020). Festival organisers may be tempted to over standardize their content and hereby lose their unique offering and appeal (Ronström, 2016). To standardize content has its advantages such as lending a longer lifespan to programme content and realising more value for money for the donors and sponsors, but it should be handled with care because too much standardization also has disadvantages (Davies, 2016). Négrier (2015:26) warned that one should be careful of assuming simple explanations for festivalisation and that festivalisation may be deeply differentiated and "potentially a new modality of cultural practices in the 21st century".

Festivals of the performing arts, among others, have become a worldwide tourist attraction. The reasons for the increase in festival attendance are numerous; "ranging from supply factors such as cultural planning, tourism development, and civic repositioning to demand factors such as serious leisure, lifestyle sampling, socialization needs, and some market segments' desire for creative and 'authentic' experiences" (Prentice & Andersen, 2003:8). The link to the expression of group identity was also mentioned (Johnson, 2015).

In their research on Chinese festivals, Ma and Lew (2012) stated that what could be a unique local event elsewhere, is often marketed across China and abroad to attract tourists, establish place images, and stimulate regional economic growth. A variety of issues have arisen as a result of the competitive development of events, including the loss of local authenticity in traditional festivities, the acceptance of festivals that are not related to or embraced by the local community, and poorly designed events. Although several of these challenges are common in other parts of the world, the speed and magnitude of festivalisation in China, and Asian migrant communities abroad, is unprecedented (Johnson, 2015; Lu, 2008). A similar trend in the proliferation of festivals has been experienced South Africa risking the erosion of local- and cultural identities (Hauptfleisch, 2006, 2007).

Since arts festivals are intricately linked to cultural tourism, our focus now turns in this direction.

2.5 Cultural tourism

Festivals bolster identity and have the potential to bind people to their communities (Zhang, Fong, Li & Ly, 2019). Festivals and similar activities, according to Getz (2013), can help to establish and maintain collective identity. At festivals, attendees have the opportunity to have a liminal experience and also to obtain socio-cultural affirmation and personal transformation (Ma & Lew, 2012; Pielichaty, 2015).

According to Prentice and Andersen (2003:7), some festivals “are a form of serious leisure and festivals regularly attract serious attendees or arts consumers to these events”. These serious attendees peruse the familiar as art form or they attend for the social aspects of festivals. Serious attendees are those for whom cultural excursions are a way to create identity and they attend arts festivals in a regular and almost religious way (Kim & Jamal, 2007). This forms part of creative tourism as a niche (Scherf, 2021).

Festivals are commonly used as a means to brand a town or place and to form and cultivate a certain place identity (Brown, 2016; Chen *et al.*, 2018; Crang, 1998). Local flavour and the essence of local culture also draw visitors to a specific region or place. What makes a city unique and authentic should be considered when the city markets itself (Brown, 2016; Hadžić, 2020; Pugh & Wood, 2004). Furthermore, according to Richards and Palmer (2010:2): “Pressures of globalisation and problems caused by economic restructuring, as well as the need to establish new civic identities, have prompted cities to utilise ‘cultural’ assets and resources in an attempt to become distinctive, to regenerate the urban fabric and to create economic, social and cultural prosperity”. This may be the case in an international context or for destinations which have a homogenous cultural base but it is not necessarily accurate for places where multiple cultures exist in close proximity.

Cultural and creative industries have been undervalued in both developed and developing countries as festivals may boost tourism and create value in the arts industry (Rentschler & Lee, 2020; Snowball, 2016). Value can be divided into two categories; intrinsic value and instrumental value (Snowball, 2016). Intrinsic value relates to the event's distinct cultural and social worth, which may include aspects like inspiration, education, identity information, and pride in an individual's cultural background. It can also aid in the building of social and cultural capital and social cohesion (Blešić, Pivac, Dordević, Stamenković & Janićević, 2014; Fleischer, Fuhrmann, Haferburg & Krüger 2013; Snowball & Webb, 2008). These values are all non-market values and hard to quantify in monetary terms. Instrumental values, on the other hand, are those market values linked to the event that may be identified through extra expenditure in the region. These quantifiable economic impacts serve as a valuable means to secure future grants and sponsorship (Duran, Hamarat & Özkul, 2014; Snowball, 2016).

Although research into the social and cultural impacts of arts festivals have been explored by anthropologists in the 1970s and 1980s it can be said that only recently researchers have engaged with comprehensive event impact research (Getz, 2013; Kwiatkowski, 2016). These recent studies included both quantitative and qualitative approaches developing resident attitude scales as social impact indicators, but were also exploring resident perceptions of event impacts (Getz, 2013; Scholtz, Viviers & Maputsoe, 2019). Further to resident attitudes, recent studies focused on the sustainability of cultural development in small communities of which creative tourism is the key (Getz & Page, 2014; Zhang *et al.*, 2019). Scherf (2021:20) mentioned five interrelated circumstances that, when present, make sustainable cultural development in small communities possible. These are the promotions of embedded sense of place, the organic identification of cultural assets by community-led planning processes, the identification and promotion of extant creative clusters, a favourable relationship between visitors and residents and lastly the presence of the creative tourist. It is clear from these conditions that community involvement is the key to the success of cultural events (Adendorff, 2008). Establishing these conditions is difficult for festivals which usually only take place once a year for a couple of days and even more so if management do not reside in the host town (McKercher, Mei & Tse 2006).

Snowball (2016:167) mentioned that the “Festival Social Impact Attitude Scale” developed by Delamere, Wankel and Hinch (2001) has been tested at several events and some social benefits identified include the role of the festival in building place identity, building social cohesion and social capital. Social costs on the other hand “included aspects such as an increase in traffic congestion, litter and environmental damage”. This investigation explores some of these aspects by gaining the perspectives of participants on these themes.

Festival value can be derived in economic terms but also in social terms (Ziakas, 2016). Education, creativity and invention, social cohesiveness, and identity development may all be used to justify the latter (Drummond *et al.*, 2021). These values play a role in the cultural development and placemaking of a host city and the culture value that is derived is elucidated by the following indicators: “audience development and education, human capital and professional capacity building, inclusive economic growth, social cohesion, and community development, and reflective and engaged citizens” (Snowball *et al.*, 2016:4). Drummond *et al.* (2021) point out that these cultural indicators contribute to the conditions likely to influence sustainable cultural development. They contemplate that festivals that are strongly grounded in local sense of place will contribute to social cohesion and community development (Wilson, Arshed, Shaw & Pret, 2017). Drummond *et al.* (2021) also explicitly state that those festivals that make use of “local organizers and artists contribute to the development of human capital” and are perceived by festival attendees to be more authentic as demonstrated by their case study of the Mahika Mahikeng Festival. Scherf (2021:10) notes that, “The more the interests of tourists and residents are aligned, the more social cohesion

and social capital are generated". While it is critical to recognize the benefits of arts and culture for economic growth and employment, it is also vital to recognize the sector's contribution to social goals (Snowball, 2016).

Audience development and the widening of cultural experience are some of the main roles of arts festivals and a reasons for people to attend (Bakič, Cuenca-Amigo & Cuenca, 2021; Kemp & Poole, 2016; Snowball, 2016). Our focus now turns towards the concept of audience motivations.

2.6 Audience motivations

Motivational research involves investigating how people make their choices to attend festivals (Collins & Potoglou, 2019; Jaimangal-Jones, 2014; Van Zyl & Botha, 2004). Audiences attending festivals have different motivations for attending festivals to those attending theatre or classical concerts (Donaldson, 2018; Newbold *et al.*, 2015). The same was found to be the case locally (Kruger, 2020; Kruger & Saayman, 2012; Kruger, Saayman & Ellis, 2010; Slabbert & Saayman, 2011).

Some researchers have relied upon market segmentation when conducting research on motivations and very few mentioned theory on social identification and cultural aspects (Getz, 2013; Kruger *et al.*, 2011). It is a basic need for humans to interact and so much the better to do it in a cultural setting where they can relate in a positive manner. Novelty seeking, learning, socializing, diversion and entertainment are some of the benefits of attending festivals (Loots, 2010). Serious leisure and involvement theory are some of the lenses through which one can view motivation studies and offer great possibilities for researching event-specific motivations (Getz, 2013; Laing, 2018)⁵. Experiencing a spectacle is an important motivator for audiences but this larger-than-life visual stimulation may also detract from basic purposes of and expressions of festivity (Getz, 2013).

Festival motivations are linked to many and varying aspects that play a role in people's decisions to attend an arts festival and if they do attend, what content to support. The primary determinant in people's choices to support or consume art is education, with higher education resulting in higher levels of participation in the arts (Hughes, 2000; Reeves, 2015). Motivations may overlap to a great extent, including factors such as escapism, relaxation and aesthetic appreciation, but in the end the arts seem to appeal more to those individuals who wish to learn (Hughes, 2000). In this light one can distinguish between arts and entertainment and the level of education determining which of these the audience would support.

⁵ The researcher takes note of these theories, but it does not fall within the ambit of this research to further elaborate on these theories.

The authenticity or uniqueness of festivals is central to maintaining the attention of possible attendees, especially with the ever increasing number of festivals, both locally and internationally and is considered an important motivator for attendees to attend (Chen *et al.*, 2018; Ma & Lew, 2012; Tanford & Jung, 2017). Festivals also provide a space in which socially controlled social transgressions can be forgiven, specifically because festivals create safe spaces for personal and group expression (Markwell & Waitt, 2009; Skot-Hansen, 2005). Another important advantage mentioned, is that festivals can provide cultural reassurance, especially in trying times (Ma & Lew, 2012).

There does appear to be an international cross-cultural set of motivations that entice people to attend festivals, leading to the idea that people are generally similar regardless of their culture. This brings into focus a spatial element in the motivations to attend festivals.

2.7 Festivals in geographical focus

“Understanding the historical and geographical context in which celebrations occur can provide a framework through which the central issues and challenges of different types of festival tourism events can be identified” (Ma & Lew, 2012:15). It is clear from this statement, as well as from the literature, that the geographic context of festivals plays a prominent part in the positioning of festivals (Cudny, 2014). The place or the space in which an event takes place does matter, whether it is the physical spot on the globe where it takes place or the sense of place or character that it derives from being in a specific locality (Finkel, 2009; Leenders, Go & Bhansing, 2015).

Tourists / attendees expect to derive experiential value from visiting arts festivals and this is dependent “on the historic and geographic context” of the festival (Ma & Lew, 2012:14). The context may be historically grounded, contemporary, specific to a place or not. The historical and geographic circumstances give a fundamental understanding of festival theming and attendee experience (Kim, 2015; Ma & Lew, 2012). Festivals take place in a certain historical context, whether steeped in tradition or current or future-focused, in a particular geographical environment, with issues that are either localized, or based on broader national or global discourses (Davis, 2016; Ma & Lew, 2012).

Tourist expectations for authentic experiences and distinct local cultures are more likely to be influenced by festivals that have a track record of being based in place-bound customs (Kim & Jamal, 2007). In contrast, events that are more contemporary in their approach, create tourist expectations that are more consumptive in nature (Prentice & Andersen, 2003). Festival managers may therefore choose to link the festival to a specific place or region, or to a specific place based culture or to a certain regional climate. Geography can therefore either be intricately part of festivals or festivals may also opt to be placeless (Crang, 1998; Jarman, 2018; Waterman, 1998). An

international example of a place specific festival is the Edinburgh Arts Festival having the city's name in its title (Prentice & Andersen, 2003).

Climate, in relation to geography, may considerably influence festival tourism (Collins & Potoglou, 2019). In the northern-European context outdoor festivals usually equals summer (Ronström, 2016). Festival attendees are exposed to the natural elements bringing with it a level of risk because should the weather turn, then it might have a detrimental effect on attendance (Ronström, 2016). Stall holders are also directly exposed to the risks of bad weather such as rain or cold spells, as this may influence income potential, not to mention the risks of flooding during extreme rainfall events. Other elements that need to be taken into account are heat, harsh sunshine, strong winds and dust.

2.8 Festival spaces, networks and spatiality

Festivals are generally linked to the destination in which they are presented, they tend to have a certain reach where possible attendees are concerned and they are usually bound by a geographical space where the festivity takes place (Jarman, 2018). Festivals are also known to transform spaces and to give meaning to under-utilised areas which may previously have been unwelcoming or crime ridden (Jarman, 2018; Landman, 2016, 2017; Richards, 2017). Festivals provide communities with the resources, motivation, and opportunity to modify familiar settings, resulting in local centres of activity, which assist to identify places and foster a sense of place for both locals and tourists. Depending on the type of network and the viewer's perspective, festival networks can be understood at various scales (Jarman, 2018). In contrast, festival networks are interpreted by some researchers as the social networks that exist between volunteers and locals (Mair & Duffy, 2019).

Festivals are designed to encroach on and occupy public places in order to make them more accessible and pleasurable (Smith, 2017). Festival spaces can be open and welcoming, places where positive interactions can be had (Jarman, 2018; Markwell & Waitt, 2009). Debates on the exclusivity of festivals, however, present themselves in festivals temporarily excluding the public from certain areas (Jarman, 2018; Smith, 2017). The memory of such activities might last longer if festival surroundings are perceived as solely for those who can afford to participate in them (Jarman, 2018).

Some researchers have examined the origin of attendees (Harmer & Rogerson, 2016; Liang, Illum & Cole, 2008) while others studied the location of arts festivals and its effects on economic impact (Saayman & Saayman, 2006). Research has also shown that some festivals are less place dependent than others (Leenders *et al.*, 2015). Slocum, McDowell and Huang (2020) have found that attendees exhibited different sustainability practices at a festival than at home, implying a

geographic determinant in their behaviour. Specific locations of events within a particular festival space also play a part in visitor experience and satisfaction (Morgan, 2007). Others describe the journey to the event as an event in itself (Luckman, 2014). Aspects not mentioned in the literature are the networks connecting different festivals.

Our attention now turns towards stakeholders in arts festivals.

2.9 Stakeholders in arts festivals

Stakeholder theory asserts that an organisation will be more sustainable and perform better if it addresses the interests of its stakeholders (Freeman, 2010). All parties, regardless of their power or interests, should be taken into account and all stakeholders ought to have a direct effect on management choices (Sautter & Leisen, 1999). This is crucial for the sustainability of an organisation or festival (Clarkson, 1995; Lo, 2013).

The importance of identifying and properly engaging with stakeholders have been noted by various scholars (Rust, 2020; Sautter & Leisen, 1999; Wallace & Michopoulou, 2019) and others emphasised the proper designation of stakeholders (Van Niekerk & Getz, 2016). "Festivals are coproduced by a collection of stakeholders, and festival organizers facilitate the festival outcomes by interpreting stakeholders' contributions, aims, and concerns" (Van Niekerk & Getz, 2016:419). Some studies followed a skewed hierarchical approach by sorting them as either primary or secondary and suggested that stakeholders should rather be divided into five categories; customers and employees, suppliers, investors, and the local community (Garrod, Raley, Aznar, Espinosa, Barreteau, Gomez, Schaft & Turpin, 2013). Van Niekerk and Getz (2016:425) distilled from the literature the following categories of stakeholders; customers (attendees and vendors), competitors, employees, government, owners, special interest groups, suppliers and senior management. When the categories of stakeholders have been identified, a review of the expectations, requirements, and conflicts, agendas and needs of stakeholders should be conducted (Van Niekerk & Getz, 2016). These are affected by and have a stake in the event or festival's outcomes. Because of their unique expertise and the resources they can provide to the festival, these stakeholders may be very valuable.

It was suggested that whenever an overly simplistic approach to the identification and engagement of stakeholders have been followed, the long term sustainability of the festival was at risk (Van Niekerk & Getz, 2016, 2019). According to stakeholder theory, good management is founded on an awareness of the frequently complex connections that exist between and among stakeholders (Todd *et al.*, 2017). Engaging a larger spectrum of stakeholders not only helps the festival achieve its goals, but it also helps to reduce the likelihood of negative consequences and is also likely to assure the festival's success and long-term viability (Jones, Hiller & Comfort, 2014). If stakeholders

are not actively involved, the gap between what they expect and what really happens will expand and herein lies the potential for disappointment, and by implication, risks to the sustainability of a festival, as they will be unlikely to attend future events (Crowther, 2014).

The focus now turns toward festival research in a South African context.

2.10 Festival research in South Africa

As with most of the world, South Africa has also seen a rapid development of festivals (Hauptfleisch, 2006). Although some festivals did exist prior to 1994, it is of note that in line with what happened elsewhere, South Africa also saw a tremendous increase in festivals after democracy (Drummond *et al.*, 2021). Along with the new dispensation came new hope which resulted in vibrant creativity and therefore a need for an outlet and spaces to celebrate.

South Africa is a contender for international mega-events (Van Zyl & Botha, 2004) and is no stranger to hosting events of this scale, taking the rugby and football world cups that were successfully hosted here as examples. Festivals and events have also become integral to boosting and reviving local economies and developing countries like South Africa, have come to realise this as festivals and events have also increased tremendously on local shores (Saayman & Rossouw, 2011; Van Zyl & Botha, 2004). According to Donaldson (2018) the most successful arts festivals on local shores are the National Arts Festival, KKNK and Aardklop with KKNK setting the benchmark to which local Afrikaans arts festivals are measured, yet he contended that the local festival market is saturated. Kruger and Saayman (2012) have mentioned that KKNK was already in decline by the time they did their research and specifically attributed this decline to the proliferation of local festivals (Van Zyl & Strydom, 2007). To counter this effect and to maintain interest, it is vital to have well-known actors, musicians and playwrights as part of the festival program (Botha *et al.*, 2012 in Donaldson, 2018).

Some research (Ntloko & Swart, 2008; Scholtz, 2014) highlighted the social aspects of tourism and by implication that of arts festivals. It is observed that when people meet, they create specific social relationships. As is the case in the tourist business, these social ties involve the interactions of ethnicities, languages, various cultures, lifestyles, and degrees of financial standing. This includes the behaviour of people who are no longer bound by the social and economic limitations of normal life, as well as the behaviour of the host community, who may benefit financially but must deal with the presence of strangers in their neighbourhood. Put differently, the social effect of tourism is the influence the operations of the industry may have on the host communities, hence fostering positive or negative social connections (Scholtz, 2014; Scholtz *et al.*, 2019).

Scholtz (2014) built on the work of Butler by stating that visitor characteristics might have a greater influence than their numbers would suggest (Butler, 1980). The length of their stay, as well as their ethnic and economic characteristics, must all be taken into account in addition to their numbers (Saayman & Rossouw, 2011; Smith, 2009). Also, the host town's characteristics can help determine how much tourism development it can tolerate, without being overrun (Donaldson, 2018). The degree of economic growth, the dispersion of its tourist activities and the political attitude are some of these characteristics. These characteristics will influence how successfully a place manages and maintains its tourism products and accompanying visitors (Van Zyl, 2012). Scholtz (2014) also contended that the intangible social impacts may be more useful than the tangible impacts, especially in a developing world context. Positive intangible social impacts include, among others, the preservation of heritage and traditions, the dismantling of language barriers, destination image promotion, community pride, intercultural interactions, and social inclusion. Negative intangible social impacts can include the commercialisation of culture, social dualism, stereotyping and increased costs of living (Mahony & Van Zyl, 2002; Ntloko & Swart, 2008; Saarinen, 2010).

South African festival research has been reviewed by several authors over the last two decades (Hoogendoorn & Rogerson, 2015; Rogerson & Visser, 2011, 2020a; Visser, 2005). Many towns and cities have started to incorporate festivals in their economic development strategies and that it now forms part of urban development thinking (Donaldson, 2018, 2021; Visser, 2005). Visser (2005:155) stated that despite the proliferation of festivals in South Africa "there appears to be very little by way of published research that might assist in understanding their occurrence in both space and over time, for what purpose these festivals have been introduced, or what their impact on host communities might be". Regarding media attention, Visser (2005) noted that none of the local major arts festivals overlap because they cannot risk losing media exposure. In addition, Donaldson (2018:150) stated, "spatio-temporality and uniqueness are key requirements for successful events in small towns". Donaldson (2018) also mentioned that the hosting of events plays a vital role in small town development. Saayman and Saayman (2006) did investigate the influence of location on the economic impact of arts festivals and have found that the location of the festival determines the origin of attendees and their appetite for spending. They also recommended that more small towns within reach of affluent cities should consider creating new events to boost economic development.

Much research attention was focused on the economic impacts and spending behaviour of South African arts festivals (Kruger, 2009; Labuschagne, 2014; Saayman & Rossouw, 2011; Saayman & Saayman, 2015; Saayman *et al.*, 2011), cultural value, -economics and -impacts (Drummond *et al.*, 2021; Snowball *et al.*, 2016; Snowball, Jamal & Willis, 2010; Snowball, 2016; Snowball & Antrobus, 2001, 2005, 2020), audience behaviour in the form of ticket purchases (Botha *et al.*, 2012; Viviers & Botha, 2019) to community perceptions and impacts (Van Niekerk, 2016; Viviers & Slabbert,

2012) and market segmentation (Kruger, 2020; Kruger *et al.*, 2011). Donaldson (2018:160) also offered a valuable critique of the “methods and challenges of assessing economic impacts” of arts festivals. A favourite tool among policy makers to uplift small communities is utilizing festivals to contribute to local economic development (Donaldson, 2018; Mahony & Van Zyl, 2002).

Most local motivation research included rigid, pre-designed motivations in their questionnaires from which participants were then encouraged to choose and little room was provided for individual motive expression (Kruger *et al.*, 2011; Saayman, 2011). Some of the motivations mentioned, such as enjoying the festival food, enjoying the festival crowd and observing other attendees, are also mentioned in international literature (Van Zyl & Botha, 2004).

Recent tourism research in South Africa has split into two major themes; rural tourism and urban tourism with the balance leaning towards the latter (Rogerson & Visser, 2020b). Rogerson and Visser (2020b) also argued that pre-2015 tourism research had been present minded; focusing on the now and disregarding a historical view, barring a few publications. Donaldson (2018) placed a focus on small town tourism by studying various aspects such as branding, promotion, and how festivals are used to promote and in some cases resuscitate these towns . It is also suggested that similarities exist between the cultural landscape of rural South Africa and that of rural Australia (Donaldson, 2018; Gibson, Waite, Walmsley & Connel, 2010; Phipps, 2016). It is mentioned that, regarding rural cultural festivals, little is known about “(a) their geographical and numerical extent; (b) their cumulative (rather than individual) significance; and (c) crucially, whether or not (and how) cultural festivals are being incorporated into formal regional development and planning strategies outside Australia’s major cities” (Gibson *et al.*, 2010:281). These aspects relate directly to this current study as these are the geographies and also the Afrikaans arts festival phenomenon as a whole which are being investigated.

The South African tourism sector, of which arts festivals form an important part, has not escaped the devastating impacts of the global Covid-19 pandemic. A body of research is fast developing with these impacts at its focus (Bama & Nyikana, 2021; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2021a, 2020a,b, 2021b; Rogerson & Baum, 2020) and also how the festival scape is adapting to the new era (Bama & Nyikana, 2021; Daniel, 2021). In response to the pandemic and the resulting mitigating measures imposed by government, most arts festivals were forced to cancel their festivals for 2020 (Brink, 2020; Pienaar & Bessinger, 2020; Pople, 2020; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2020b; Steyn, 2020) and increasingly in 2021 opted to move their content online in an attempt to maintain some continuity for the future when festivals can again be held in normal conditions (Die Burger, 2020; Opperman, 2020). The virtual format of the festivals inevitably had a major impact on the travelling artists and stall owners who make up a large part of the festival content (Kruger, 2020), and by extension the geographies of role-players in this sector can also be expected to change fundamentally (Rogerson

& Baum, 2020). The effects of the pandemic, however, do not fall within the ambit of this investigation.

2.11 Conclusion

Arts festivals fall within the domain of event tourism and have been widely researched by a variety of authors. The concept of festivalisation has been covered in some depth by various scholars since it is a widespread phenomenon occurring across the globe. This proliferation of festivals has also occurred in South Africa as noted by local scholars (Donaldson, 2018, 2021; Drummond *et al.*, 2021). Most local research on arts festivals, however, focused either on the demand side or the supply side of arts festivals with scant research attention focusing on the geographical aspects, or spatialities of arts festivals. Some research was directed at the origin of attendees, but scant research attention has been paid to the origins and travel behaviour of stall owners or artists.

The cultural dimensions of arts festivals, including cultural tourism and cultural identity, audience motivations and arts festivals were also visited. Cultural identity was found to be an important aspect to consider when investigating arts festivals as it was closely linked to place identity which in turn forms an integral part of festival attraction. Audience motivations have appeared frequently in the literature and was found to be of major importance to festival management as it serves as a guide informing management what to include and focus on in their planning.

Stakeholder theory in events management has been investigated by various authors who proposed several approaches towards identifying and managing stakeholders. A common finding proved to be that festival management need to invest more resources in identifying future stakeholders (i.e. possible new attendees) and place more value in the relationships with current stakeholders (i.e. artists, stall holders and sponsors).

Local tourism research, of which festivals form part, recently paid much attention to the impacts of Covid-19 and how the industry has responded. Published research also pointed towards new pathways for future post-Covid-19 investigation. It is of note however, that in their recent book on the research directions in tourism in South Africa, Rogerson and Visser (2020a) did not mention festival geography as a future research theme except for fairly recent research on matric vacations (rite of passage events for affluent youth) events in coastal towns (Harmer & Rogerson, 2016). This points to a current paucity of research in South African festival geography research and creates room for the current research. This chapter satisfies Research Objective 1.

Our focus now turns to the methodology which is explored in the next chapter.

3 Chapter 3 - Research procedures

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this study is to critically describe and analyse the geographies of Afrikaans arts festivals in South Africa. This entails the description of the spatial connections and spatial reach of these festivals as well as the spatial context in which these festivals take place. In order to achieve this, field work was conducted at five of the six prominent Afrikaans festivals.

While visiting these festivals on numerous occasions, prior to and during the formal investigation timeframe, interviews were conducted with three types of role players; attendees, stakeholders (stall holders, artists and service providers) and individuals in managing these events. Their perceptions of several themes were recorded with the premise that various types of geographies would emerge from the data collected.

The aim of this chapter is to describe the methods applied during the study. It sets out describing the study area, the processes of gaining access to arts festivals and how the sampling methods were applied. The questionnaire design is explored and the ensuing data analysis process contemplated. The chapter concludes with the ethical considerations and the possible limitations of the study.

3.2 Researcher positionality

Fundamental to developing a better understanding of the research process, researcher positionality is an important aspect to consider (Darbi & Hall, 2014; Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2012; Visser, 2001). Visser (2001) contended that this may represent a useful conceptual vantage point for understanding potential limitations in certain research contexts and endeavours. Considering the Afrikaans cultural identity of the researcher (which holds many meanings in itself) it can be assumed that the researcher has a certain advantage as a possible insider researching a predominantly Afrikaans phenomenon according to the 'insider-outsider' positionality nexus as discussed in the literature (Browne, 2020; Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2012; Visser, 2001). This insider position embodied by the researcher has several implications for the research depending on who the interviewee is and what the setting is in which an interview takes place. There is the potential risk that the types of narratives a researcher can or cannot produce may lead to an unintended silence regarding the voice of those not of the same background as the researcher (Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2012; Visser, 2001).

Interviewing 'up', 'down' or 'sideways' may also greatly impact on the dynamics experienced during an interview (Darbi & Hall, 2014). This dynamic is of course dependent on the researchers'

positionality in particular societies and by implication in the field. Bygnes (2008) postulates that understanding the superstructure of a society is necessary for a researcher's overall understanding of the power relationships present in the field. When 'interviewing down' the interviewer (academic) may be seen as an expert and may in a way intimidate a participant (attendee) as opposed to 'interviewing up' where the participant (management) is seen as the expert and this may tempt them to articulate their views extensively, thereby posing a possible challenge to the interviewer (Bygnes, 2008).

In this investigation, positionality varies depending on the type of interviewee. When interviewing attendees, a mutual camaraderie was experienced with the attendee because the attendee recognised the researcher to be of the same culture sharing group⁶ resulting in a relaxed free-flowing interview. When interviewing stall holders, a slightly different attitude was experienced. Stall holders are generally inclined to talk to strangers since their business depends on interacting with the public, stall owners, however, also belong to a culture sharing group, a 'family of some sorts' which may position the researcher as an outsider.

When approached unannounced, actors and performing artists initially displayed a completely different attitude than attendees and stall holders. They were initially very evasive and in some cases aloof, refusing to engage in an interview. Most likely these individuals mistook the researcher as a member of the media or a member of the general public, but when following different avenues like first engaging with the actor's managing agent and then setting up an interview, these role players were found to be very cooperative, providing a wealth of information. Management of the various festivals were in general approachable and willing to participate in a research project of this kind, but owing to their busy schedules it was difficult to get them to commit to a time to sit for an interview. Again, this may be due to the power dynamics at play between the researcher and management.

Regarding the general research approach, this study uses characteristics of ethnography as well as a case study design (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Yin, 2009) in that it investigates the interpretations, perceptions and geographies of a culture sharing group present at five different Afrikaans arts festivals which may be viewed as five different cases that all share the same theme, i.e. Afrikaans arts. The field work took place in a timespan of approximately eighteen (18) months (as discussed below) during which time the researcher was immersed in the festival culture while interviewing the selected individuals. A combination of random and snowball sampling was employed throughout, taking care to include individuals representing different genders, age groups and different backgrounds.

⁶ Both having the Afrikaans language in common.

In the following sections, the design of the study is discussed. Details such as the questionnaire design, the administration of the questionnaire, the number of the participants, the role of participants, the time frames of data gathering, the analysis of the content as well as ethics and limitations of the study are explained.

3.3 Methods of data collection

Here consideration is given to the data collection process starting with gaining access to the arts festivals, followed by the sampling methods and concluding with the interview process.

3.3.1 Study area selection

As mentioned earlier, South Africa is host to a myriad of festivals, including many arts festivals. Keeping this in mind it was necessary to narrow the focus of this study. The following exclusion criteria were therefore used in selecting the festivals to be investigated:

1. It has to be an arts festival
2. Afrikaans has to be the main language focus, either currently or in the past,
3. The festival has to have a national reach and influence, and
4. The festival has to stretch over at least four days.

Five festivals met all of these criteria, and are included in this study; Aardklop, Innibos Laeveld Nasionale Kunstefees, Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees (KKNK), Vrystaat Arts Festival, and Woordfees. Their locations are depicted in Figure 3-1 (p. 26).

The initial intention was to identify one prominent arts festival per province in order to make this study nationally representative. This was, however, not feasible since although the Limpopo Province does have a sizeable festival named Kierieklapper Arts Festival, it is not an arts festival with the same significance or reach as Aardklop. The Northern Cape on the other hand did have a prominent arts festival called the Gariiep Kunstefees, but this festival ceased to exist fairly recently leaving this province without an art festival that meets the criteria⁷. The same applies to KwaZulu-Natal and the Gauteng Province as they also do not have a major Afrikaans arts festival. This latter province does however host numerous other arts events, but none of which fit the criteria for this research. In contrast, Mpumalanga does have a very prominent Afrikaans arts festival known as Innibos Laeveld Nasionale Kunstefees.

⁷ Why this particular festival is no longer taking place will be explored later in this study.

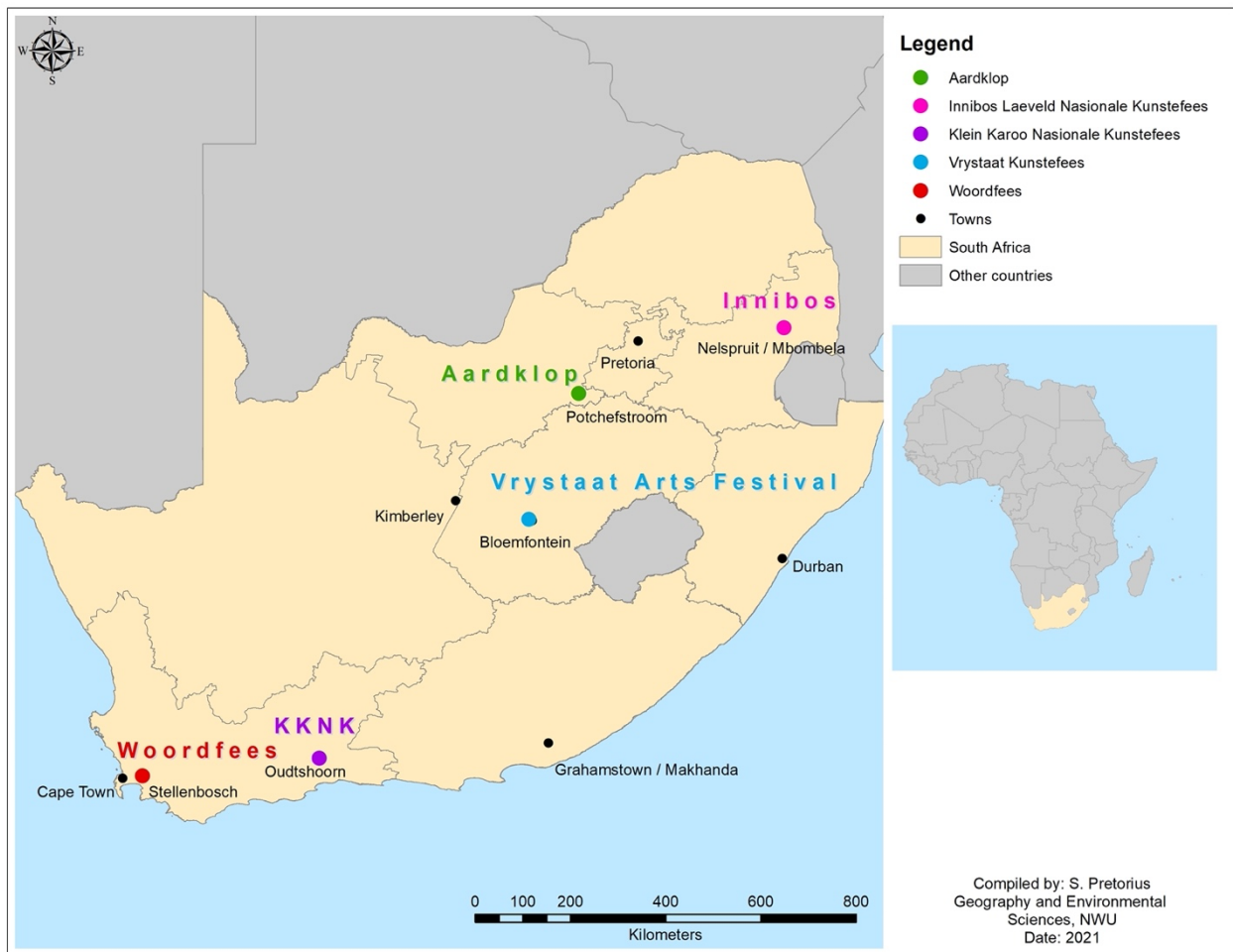


Figure 3-1: Location of the five major Afrikaans arts festivals

The second oldest national Afrikaans arts festival named Aardklop National Arts Festival, is hosted by the North West Province. This festival is usually planned for the last week in September or the first week in October every year depending on when the school holiday is scheduled. The Free State province boasts the Vrystaat National Arts Festival which takes place in Bloemfontein in July every year. The Eastern Cape is home to the National Arts Festival which is arguably the oldest National Arts Festival in South Africa and is hosted in Makhanda, formerly known as Grahamstown. However, this festival is a predominantly English festival and was therefore not included in this study.

Owing to the unique demographics of the Western Cape Province where Afrikaans is more prevalent than in the rest of the country, this province hosts two major Afrikaans National Arts festivals. The older one of the two is the Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees hosted in Oudtshoorn, usually during the April school holidays. The second is the Toyota US Woordfees (hereafter called Woordfees) which takes place in Stellenbosch every year in the first week of March.

Three of these festivals are held in university towns (Stellenbosch, Bloemfontein and Potchefstroom) whereas two of the festivals are held in non-university locations (Oudtshoorn and

Mbombela). Those festivals which are held in university towns do make extensive use of the university infrastructure in the form of lecture halls, theatres and auditoriums. The academic character of these towns also lends a certain gravitas to the festivals and they tend to be more academic in their approach. Oudtshoorn did formerly have a teacher training college but this infrastructure is currently part of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) premises. Part of the infrastructure of this college was an auditorium that is currently utilised by the KKNK as a venue for theatre productions. Although Mbombela has had a university since 2017, it did not have one when the Innibos Laeveld Nasionale Kunstefees came into existence in 2004. This town is, however the provincial capital and is large enough to have the necessary infrastructure to support an arts festival.

3.3.2 Gaining access to arts festivals

The arts festivals were visited and data gathered during these time frames:

Table 3-1: Timeframes when arts festivals were visited

Arts festival visited	Dates visited	
	From	To
Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees	31/03/2018	04/04/2018
Innibos Laeveld Nasionale Kunstefees	27/06/2018	29/06/2018
Aardklop	03/10/2018	06/10/2018
US Woordfees	02/03/2019	09/03/2019
Vrystaat Kunstefees	01/07/2019	07/07/2019

In order to enable research and to establish a good relationship, contact was made with the festival management in the weeks leading up to the festival. This was then followed up with an application letter outlining the scope and objectives of the research and accompanying fieldwork. The intended questionnaire for the interviews was also included in the email. This application was then tabled at a festival management meeting during which it was discussed and a decision was made.

In each case the applications were approved by the respective management teams and the research into the geographies of festivals was welcomed and encouraged. In most cases a festival pass was issued which enabled unlimited free entrance across the festival space and also included a parking space in a reserved parking lot. This enabled free movement and a greater exposure to the festival as a whole and also to possible interviewees in general which was most welcome.

After having attended a number of these festivals previously in a personal capacity, the researcher attended all of the arts festivals listed for the duration of the festival in order to experience the festival first hand and to capitalise on the festival atmosphere. Where possible interviews were

conducted during the festival and in the festival space, and if not then interviews were either conducted in the participant's home town or via video calls. The interviews took place mostly in Afrikaans and in the rare instance that an interviewee could not speak Afrikaans, then the interview was conducted in English.

3.3.3 Sampling methods and sampling size

Where most other local research tended to be quantitative in nature, this investigation relies on a qualitative approach. This investigation applied a combination of availability and snowball sampling. Following a replication logic approach, there is a fair assumption that the findings would reproduce under comparable conditions, as evidenced by the saturation of replies obtained (Yin, 2009, 2011).

Table 3-2 summarizes the number of attendees, stakeholders and management interviewed for each arts festival. Although the Gariep Kunstefees no longer exists, the former festival director was interviewed as it was until very recently a prominent Afrikaans arts festival in Kimberley in the Northern Cape. To leave it out would leave the picture incomplete. This interview only contributed to the history of arts festivals (Chapter 4) and management feedback (Chapter 5).

Table 3-2: Number of interviews per arts festival

Arts festival	Attendees	Stakeholders	Management	Total
KKNK	8	11	3	22
Innibos	6	5	3	14
Aardklop	12	9	2	23
Woordfees	9	5	3	17
Vrystaat Arts Festival	7	7	3	17
Gariep Kunstefees	0	0	1	1
Total	42	37	15	94

Various factors influenced the number of participants that were interviewed, particularly the duration of the festival. In other cases, it was found that data saturation started to occur. In the case of the Woordfees (Stellenbosch), although it is a festival with a substantial duration allowing ample time for interviews, it was very difficult to distinguish the true festival attendees from tourists, local inhabitants and students since Woordfees does not have an enclosed festival space and takes place mostly on and around the campus of the University of Stellenbosch.

Regarding stall owners, the method followed was a snowball sampling technique, i.e. to select the first one purely on availability. The researcher was subsequently introduced to other stall owners, who then introduced him to more possible volunteers. Interviews were then either conducted right away or scheduled for a later time when the participants were available. Following this, more stall

holders were contacted in order to increase the diversity of participants depending on the wares they sold, including stalls for food (freshly prepared or baked and packaged), durable imported goods, self-made artwork or locally manufactured goods.

Actors and singers were interviewed by first consulting the festival programme to determine if they were involved in productions at the festival. If they were to be present at a particular festival, then the agent of the actor was contacted to arrange a possible interview. It proved difficult to get actors and singers to agree to a face-to-face interview because their schedules are usually tightly packed in order for them to make the most of the arts festival in terms of revenue and exposure. Some did however agree to participate and in these cases they were either interviewed in person during the festival or by means of video conferencing after the festival. A mix of thirty-seven (37) stall holders, artists, actors and service providers were interviewed across the five arts festivals visited.

Interviewing attendees occurred at random across all the Afrikaans arts festivals adopting an availability approach. The researcher would for example approach an attendee and then strike up a casual conversation after which the attendee would be asked if they were willing to participate. Details on this interview procedure follow below. Care was taken to include attendees of all ages, gender and cultural backgrounds. Altogether forty-two (42) attendees were interviewed.

All the current festival managers have been interviewed remotely before or after the festivals as during the festivals they were completely tied up with responsibilities. Current festival managers have also referred the researcher to previous festival managers and also assisted in making contact with these individuals who were either interviewed during the particular festival or afterwards. This was to gain a temporal insight from a management perspective. Altogether fifteen (15) members of current or previous management were interviewed.

In the following section the interview process is discussed in detail.

3.3.4 Qualitative in-depth face-to-face interviews

By conducting qualitative, in-depth face-to-face interviews, the participants were encouraged to verbalise their perceptions of different topics contained in the questionnaire (discussed in Section 3.4). The interviews were mostly conducted in Afrikaans, but where it was necessary the interviews were conducted in English. The researcher has personally conducted all the interviews.

The interviews were recorded using a small voice recorder. This allowed the researcher to concentrate on what is being said thereby enabling him to guide the interview and to probe the interviewee on certain relevant topics. The interviewees all gave consent to be interviewed and for the conversation to be recorded. Some interviewees were initially visibly aware of the recording device but this mild unease quickly abated and the interview continued in a relaxed manner.

The qualitative interviews generally followed the guidelines of normal conversation during which the conversation is guided to suit the topic and matters at hand. Interviewees were encouraged to elaborate and reply in depth.

The interviews consisted of various stages that were followed consistently during all interviews but were sometimes adjusted to suit certain interview scenarios, and were often blended into each other depending on the situation and on the interviewee. The interview stages were based on Rubin and Rubin (1995) and used as in Heumann (2010) as follows:

- 1 *Creating a natural environment:* When attendees were approached the researcher made sure not to intrude or be of nuisance, for example when they were having a meal. If and when potential participants appeared approachable, the interviewer then introduced himself and asked if the participants were willing to sit for an interview. If they were willing, but not immediately available, the researcher made an appointment for a later stage. Stall owners and artists were usually approached at random or on referral from other stall owners. Participants in management have been selected beforehand and formal appointments were made to conduct interviews. They sometimes recommended former management or technical service providers to be interviewed.
- 2 *Obtaining consent:* The researcher then provided detailed information on the purpose of the research and what was expected of the participants. The ethical considerations of the interview process were then explained and it was pointed out that participation was voluntary and that the interviewees could choose to withdraw from the interview if they were uncomfortable. The participants were then asked if they were still willing to continue with the interview. If affirmative, then an informed consent letter was signed by the participants.
- 3 *Introducing the voice recorder:* The researcher then took out the voice recorder and asked the interviewees if the conversation could be recorded. If the interviewees gave consent then the interview commenced.
- 4 *Encouraging conversational competence:* The researcher emphasised that the knowledge and experiences of the interviewees were valid and that this was valuable to the research. The interviewees were reassured that their views were unique and that they were experts because of this.
- 5 *Showing understanding:* Verbal and non-verbal communication was employed to validate the conversations and to encourage the participants. Body language, posture, facial expressions and nodding was used. Phrases like “I see”, or “Please elaborate” were used to show understanding.

- 6 *Getting facts right and detailed:* Whenever misunderstanding was possible or whenever clarification was needed, the researcher asked the participants to clarify or elaborate upon certain issues.
- 7 *Guiding to an end:* When all the questions were answered the researcher would ask the interviewees if they had anything more to add. This created the opportunity for interviewees to express any thoughts that had developed during the conversations or to pose any questions that had arisen.

After the interview had come to a close, the interviewees were thanked for their time and willingness to participate in the study. The recording was then stopped, the signed consent form was filed and the researcher then excused himself.

In the following section the questionnaire design is discussed in detail.

3.4 The questionnaire

The questionnaire, presented in abbreviated form in Table 3-3 and in expanded form in Annexure 11.2, was designed to structure interviews with willing participants. The questionnaire was submitted for expert review to Dr Nicole Claasen, who is a specialist in qualitative questionnaire design and it was also subjected to a trial for content validity. The questionnaire was subjected to scrutiny by the promoters of this study as well as an independent qualitative research specialist, Dr. Nicole Claassen (Heuman). It was also subjected to field trials at KKNK in 2018 during the first days of the festival.

The questionnaire is subdivided into four sections, the first three (qualitative) to allow for different types of participants (attendee; stall owner, artist, service provider; management), and the last section (quantitative) for demographic background.

In the sections for festival attendees, and stall owners / artists / service providers respectively, the questions were designed to gain insight into the geographies of the participants in the form of their places of origin, typical itineraries and distances travelled. Further questions aimed to learn more about participants' perspectives on many elements of festivals, such as content, cultural relevance and meaning, community development and civic pride, perceived economic effect, festival ranking and –evaluation. Section D aimed to investigate at the demographic and geographic characteristics of the attendees, including the distance travelled to the festival.

Attendees were those individuals who visited the arts festivals solely for arts consumption and for personal entertainment. Exhibitors / stall holders were those participants who prepared fresh wares on site (e.g. fresh food), those who sold their own goods and those who resold goods, whether locally produced or imported. Artists could include those who were active in visual or performing

arts. Management included everyone from those at the helm of festival management to sponsors and municipal representatives.

Table 3-3: Abbreviated questionnaire

Section A: General festival attendee		Section C: Management / Institutional	
No.	Theme	No.	Theme
1	Establish role	25	Management structure
2	Itinerary	26	Festival content
3	Festival content	27	Festival growth
4	Cultural meaning / significance	28	Audience development
5	Historic significance	29	Destination development
6	Community development and civic pride	30	National / local pride
7	Perceived economic impact	31	Social impact - cultural diversity
8	Reason for festival existence	32	Social impact - wellbeing and quality
9	Festival ranking	Section D: Demographic / background	
10	Festival evaluation	33	Status at festival
11	Festival attendance	34	Age
Section B: Stall owner / Artist / Service provider		35	Nationality
12	Role	36	Gender
13	Merchandise	37	Languages
14	Mobility	38	Highest qualification
15	Itinerary	39	Employment sector
16	Origin	40	Household income
17	Lifestyle evaluation	41	Province of origin
18	Festival ranking - most lucrative	42	Town of permanent residence
19	Festival ranking - favourite	43	Distance travelled to festival
20	Festival evaluation	44	Route followed
21	Attendance - attendee response	45	Number of times visiting festival
22	Attendance - interesting experience	46	Probability of repeat visit
23	Time perspective - own involvement		
24	Time perspective - festival change		

The respective sections of the questionnaire are now discussed in detail.

3.4.1 Questionnaire Section A: The festival tourist / attendee

This section of the questionnaire consisted of eleven questions, the first of which was to establish the role of the participant at the festival. This question allowed the participant to independently define his or her own role at the festival giving enough scope to uniquely express their own view.

Questions 2 - 11 were designed in such a way as to explore the different aspects that make up the festival as well as to get to know the participant better. The participants were often asked to express their own personal perspective on different matters pertaining to arts festivals. Question 2 asked the participants to elaborate on their annual arts festival itinerary; which festivals they visit each year. It is well known that some festival attendees would not only visit the festival at which the interview was conducted, but that some would also visit another festival or two and that a few would emerge as true festivalites and visit all the major arts festivals that South Africa has to offer.

Question 3 asked the festival attendee about their takes on the content available at the festival, whether it was the stage productions, the visual arts displayed at the different galleries or stall spaces, the music that was available on the various stages or the content of the flea market. The information gained from this question would give some indication of what the participant considered worth their while and what their ultimate purpose was for the visit to the festival in the first place. Should a participant place an emphasis on the content of the stage productions then it could be deducted that this was what drew the participant to the festival in the first place.

Question 4 encouraged the participant to express their perception of the meaning of the festival to them personally in terms of their culture. The participant was also asked to elaborate on the discovery and the expression of culture. This question left enough room for participants to place themselves in various categories.

Question 5 asked participants to supply their perception of the historic significance of the festival. The purpose of this question was to establish whether the participant perceived the festival as an event that would perhaps one day be remembered as some significant cultural phenomenon. The participants were, however, repeatedly confused by this question and the researcher approached this question differently as time progressed changing its focus more towards sustainability of the festival rather than the historical value per se. This the participants more readily understood.

In Question 6 the participants were asked to provide their view on the festivals' impact on community development and civic pride. Usually festival goers would not be much concerned about this aspect of festivals as their main focus would usually be personal cultural enjoyment. This question would however prompt the participant to critically think about the influence that the festival might have on the local community and if the local community actually invested in the festival on an emotional level.

Arts festivals are perceived to have an economic impact on local communities and Question 7 aimed to gather individual views on this from the participants. This question proved to be straightforward to some and complex to others.

Many people do not give much thought to why a particular festival came into existence. Some festivals take place in towns where universities are also present while other successful arts festivals

are found in towns where there are no tertiary institutions which can render support to the particular arts festival. The purpose of Question 8, was to determine if participants have given this matter some thought.

The following two questions in the questionnaire prompted the interviewee to consider ranking the particular Arts Festival. Question 9 asked participants to name their favourite festival and to supply a reason for their answer. It was thought that the festival that was being attended was not necessarily the participants favourite Arts Festival and that this question would allow them to express this. Question 10 asked participants to elaborate on what they experienced as strengths and weaknesses of the particular arts festival

In order to ascertain the experience of participants at different arts festivals they were asked in Question 11 to elaborate on their experience at other arts festivals. They were asked to highlight experiences that they have found particularly interesting and that stood out in their memory.

3.4.2 Questionnaire Section B: Stakeholders - Artists, stall owners and service providers

This section was aimed at stall owners, artists and service providers. Some duplication exists between Sections A, B and C of the questionnaire and only Questions 13 – 24 are highlighted.

Question 13 was designed to establish what the artist or stall owner was selling or offering and they were asked to elaborate on their product and whether they made it themselves or if it was supplied by another party. Some artists and store owners make their products themselves while others are the merchants or in the case of performing artists, perform covers of works by other artists. The aim of this question was to establish the originality of the product offered whether these were the performances of performing artists or goods sold in the festival space.

Arts festivals are inherently geographic in nature as they draw participants from different places and all walks of life. In order to grasp the extent of the mobility of participants they were asked in Question 14 to elaborate on their itinerary and to state which arts festivals they visited each year. Questions 15 and 16 followed the same theme. Question 15 asked the participant about the route they typically followed and whether they travelled from festival to festival or if they touched base between festivals. Question 16 asked the participants if they had a permanent home or if they lived on the road permanently.

Since many people make a permanent living from arts festivals and events, Question 17 prompted participants to share their story on the events that led to their role as a merchant or artist at the particular festival.

The arts festival and events market is perceived to be a very competitive phenomenon. In Question 18 and 19, participants were asked to state which festival was the most lucrative for them and to

possibly also rank the festivals in order of profitability. In Question 19 they were also asked to name their favourite festival which may very well not necessarily be their most lucrative one.

In Question 20 these particular participants were also asked to evaluate the festival based on strengths and weaknesses. Artists and service providers experience an Arts Festival very differently from a typical festival attendee (Section A). This question was designed to gather the insight of these participants on what the festivals do right and what they do wrong.

In order to grasp the extent of the experience of exhibitors and artists they were asked about how people react to their merchandise, their artwork, or their live performances (Question 21). This will provide an indication of the satisfaction of these role players with regards to the Arts Festival visited. In Question 22 people were asked to share an interesting story about their experience at arts festivals. Positive as well as negative stories were expected which in turn may have provided insight into festival experience in general.

As artists, exhibitors and service providers are intricately involved in arts festivals and have considerable experience from a temporal perspective they were asked in Question 23 to elaborate on the time they have been involved in arts festivals and at Question 24, how the festivals have, in their experience changed over time.

3.4.3 Questionnaire Section C: Management - Historic and current

The questions in this section mainly served as a guideline because the interviews with festival management were usually open-ended in nature. Current and former festival managers were given the opportunity to just tell their story. The interviewer then probed these participants from time to time in order to cover all the themes as explained below.

Although most of the Afrikaans arts festivals in South Africa were established by the same role players (see Chapter 4), each arts festival has its own unique management approach that had developed independently over time (Question 25).

Question 26 intends to establish how management went about selecting the content to be included in each Arts Festival. Content may be interpreted in its broadest sense referring to everything which is included in the arts festivals, from visual arts to stall content and merchandise to drama productions and music performances. At some arts festivals one may find festival spaces assigned exclusively to certain main sponsors and these spaces usually have a stage with a set programme with artists performing mostly popular music. The question arose whether these artists were selected by festival management or by the sponsors themselves and if the latter, then to what extent did festival management have an influence over these stages?

Participants that have been identified as management were asked to elaborate on festival growth during the time that they were involved with the festival (Question 27). They were also asked about their perception of how that festival has developed over time and also to highlight difficult and successful years and also how they sustained growth. As pointed out in the literature review, a festival can be expected to grow and wane as with any product life cycle or destination life cycle as per Butler (1980). It is reasonable to expect that management may shed some light as on certain festivals' life cycles.

Audiences can be expected to change over time and hence management were asked in Question 28 how they have perceived the development of their festivals' audiences during their involvement. This question created room for different members of management to contribute to the research in unique ways.

Art festivals are used and employed for different purposes depending on the host city or town. Sometimes festivals are established as a marketing tool for the host region or it may be employed as a means to promote local or national pride. Questions 29 and 30 were designed with this in mind. Questions 31 and 32 addressed the social impact of arts festivals with the former focusing on cultural diversity and community cohesion and the latter on the impact of arts festivals on the well-being and quality of life of local residents.

3.4.4 Questionnaire Section D: Demographics

All participants were requested to complete this section on demographics. As the questions in this section were ideally suited to be converted to an online questionnaire, a Google (Drive) questionnaire was duly developed. This section was usually completed in the presence of the participant, but in certain cases where time did not allow, the participants were asked to complete it in their own time. In these cases the link to the questionnaire was then either forwarded by an email or by a text message.

First of all the participants were probed about their status at the festival (attendee, stakeholder or management) and with which arts festival they were associated with. The participants were further probed about their age, nationality, gender and home language (Questions 33 - 37), and then about the highest academic qualification obtained, in which economic sector they were employed and what the annual household income was (Questions 38 - 40).

Questions 41 to 44 queried the geographies of the participants by enquiring about their town of permanent residence and the distance travelled to the festival. They were also asked to disclose if they travelled to the festival from the town of permanent residence or perhaps from a different town. The reason for this was that some of them may have travelled from a different festival or event to the particular festival where the interview took place thereby implying a form of nomadism. The last

two questions (45 and 46) sought to establish how many times the participant has visited that particular festival and whether the participant would consider visiting the festival again in the future.

The results of the data gathering were stored on a password protected Google Drive to ensure the privacy of the participants and the integrity of the data.

3.5 Data analysis process

Data analysis is not a process set in stone, but rather an approach tailored to each research project (Creswell & Poth, 2018). They further claimed that data collecting, data analysis, and report writing are not separate steps in the process, but rather are interconnected and frequently occur at the same time. Finally, the data analysis process conforms to a general contour, a data analysis spiral. In this spiral the researcher moves in analytic circles rather than following a linear approach (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

This was approached by following the next steps repeatedly (adapted from Creswell and Poth (2018:185):

- 1 *“Managing and organizing the data”* - While conducting fieldwork, the voice recordings resulting from the interviews were saved on a computer and backed up to a Google Drive. These recordings were stored in files labelled by date, name of arts festival, type of attendee and the name of the attendee in order to enable the searchability of the data. The transcriptions were labelled in the same way and stored in the corresponding files in Google Docs and PDF formats. The participants were then coded according to the role they fulfilled at the arts festival; the code structure followed the rule of <Festival name> <Role> <Number of participant>, e.g. KKNK M1. The letter ‘M’ was used for Management, the letter ‘S’ for Stakeholders and the letter ‘A’ for Attendees.
- 2 *“Reading and memoing emergent ideas”* - Before coding would commence, the researcher would read through the transcriptions several times to reacquaint the researcher with the data. While reading, the researcher would memo emerging ideas using a notebook as well as the memo writing facility in Atlas.ti. Following this, coding would commence.
- 3 *“Describing and classifying codes into themes”* - While coding the data using Atlas.ti, the individual codes would be described using the notes function in the software. The notes would describe the function of the code as well as inclusion and exclusion criteria. After the first rounds of coding the codes would then be grouped and organized into themes, some pre-determined and some emerging from the data.
- 4 *“Developing and assessing interpretations”* - The process of coding and theming would continue while interpreting the data. This was an ongoing process which would be revisited several times while analysing the data.

- 5 *“Representing, visualising and discussing the data”* - The pre-determined themes and interpretations of the data would then be discussed in detail using significant quotes from interviews to anchor the discussion and interpretation.

This data analysis spiral (Creswell & Poth, 2018) is followed throughout the research process and the results are discussed in the chapters following.

The discussion now turns to validity and transferability in qualitative research.

3.6 Validity in research

Validity and the validation of research is an essential factor to consider when doing any research and in this case, qualitative research (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Flick, 2018; Heumann, 2010; Huberman & Miles, 2002; Yin, 2011). These authors illustrate both traditional and contemporary perspectives on validation. Creswell and Poth (2018) encourage the researcher to use multiple validation strategies regardless of the type of qualitative approach, and suggest using at least two of the following nine strategies:

- 1 *“Corroborating evidence through triangulation of multiple data sources”* - where the researcher uses a variety of sources, methodologies, investigators, and ideas to give supporting evidence;
- 2 *“Discovering negative case analysis or disconfirming evidence”* - where the researcher refines working hypotheses in light of negative or contradictory evidence as the investigation progresses;
- 3 *“Clarifying researcher bias or engaging in reflexivity”* - where the researcher shares his or her perceptions of the biases, values, and experiences that he or she could bring to qualitative research;
- 4 *“Member checking or seeking participant feedback”* - where the researcher asks participants for their opinions on the trustworthiness of the results and their interpretations;
- 5 *“Prolonged engagement and persistent observation in the field”* - where the researcher decides what is important to the study, relevant to the study's aim, and of interest or emphasis on the basis of field observations;
- 6 *“Collaborating with participants”* - where the researcher incorporates opportunities for people to participate in various ways and degrees throughout the study process;
- 7 *“Enabling external audits”* - when the researcher assists the auditing of the study process and results by an external consultant or auditor;
- 8 *“Generating a rich and thick description”* - where the researcher specifies the environment or participants so that readers may make their own conclusions on transferability;

- 9 “Having a peer review or debriefing of data and research process” - where the researcher seeks a second opinion from someone who is familiar with the topic or issue in question.

Validity as part of this research endeavour was achieved by a combination of the following three strategies as suggested by Creswell & Poth (2018), selected from the list above:

1. *Clarifying researcher bias or engaging in reflexivity:* Throughout the research process the researcher was constantly aware of the possibilities of researcher bias⁸ towards the manner in which the research was conducted. Researcher positionality was touched upon earlier in this chapter. Throughout the discussions of the results the researcher frequently engages in interpretations of the data in order to expose the influence of personal background. This enables the readers to identify this and to make their own personal interpretations.
2. *Generating a rich and thick description:* To enable the reader to make decisions about transferability, the researcher describes the research setting in detail throughout the text as well as in chapter 4. This thick description enables the reader to transfer information to other settings because of possible shared characteristics (Creswell & Poth, 2018). The detail emerges in this study by the description of broad as well as narrow ideas, and substantiating this with quotes from the original data.
3. *Having a peer review or debriefing of data and research process:* The researcher seeks an outside check from someone who is knowledgeable and familiar with the study and the phenomena being studied. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) as used in Creswell and Poth (2018) the role of this external person is to play devil’s advocate and to keep the researcher honest by asking tough questions about the methods, the results and the interpretations. In this case these external debriefers are the supervisors to this research thesis. Audio recordings as well as written accounts of the sessions with the supervisors were kept and revisited throughout the research process.

As with any study, ethics are an important aspect of doing research. The ethical considerations for this research project are discussed in the next section.

⁸ Making use of a gate-keeper when doing field work is also a means of avoiding and managing researcher bias. Although gate-keepers are not central to the method of data acquisition in arts festivals, the various festival directors did act as principle gate-keepers by providing permission for the field work to take place.

3.7 Ethical considerations

Ethical issues in qualitative research can occur in any phase of the research process; from the beginning of the study; during the data collection process; when conducting the data analysis; when reporting the results; and in publishing the study (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

Before embarking on the study it is necessary to gain approval from the university's ethics committee (Creswell & Poth, 2018). This study was classified as a low risk study and obtained ethical clearance with the following reference number: NWU-01569-20-A9.

It was also necessary to obtain permission from the particular arts festival management to gather data during a festival as discussed above. This was done via email prior to the festival commencing. This application was directed to the festival director or the operations manager after which it was tabled at a management meeting. In all instances permission had been granted before the festival started.

Due care was taken to gather data in an ethical manner. No participants younger than 18 years were approached or interviewed. All participants were informed about the following ethical guidelines by which the study was conducted:

- That it was entirely their choice to participate,
- That they might leave the study at any moment and not suffer any consequences,
- That all information would be held in strict confidence,
- That their identity or that of any organisation would not be made public by the research, and
- That feedback regarding the research would be made available to them on request.

Participants were then asked to complete and sign an informed consent document (Annexure 10.1) which was kept safe for the duration of the festival and also backed up daily to a password protected Google Drive. The hard copies of these consent forms were then filed in a filing cabinet in a locked office on the Potchefstroom Campus of the North-West University. A copy of the informed consent document is included as Annexure 11.1.

Publishing the results emanating from the investigation is very important and so is sharing the findings with participants and stakeholders (Creswell & Poth, 2018). As pointed out above, interviewees were given the opportunity to indicate if they were interested in receiving feedback on the study. After completion of this research project, those that have indicated that they were interested will receive a link to an online electronic copy of the final manuscript of this study.

3.8 Limitations of the study

Every effort was made to select participants who are representative of the average festival attendee and the average festival exhibitor, but it was inevitable that some researcher bias would occur. This tendency was kept in mind and avoided whenever possible.

When walking through a festival space the researcher would identify certain individuals who seemed approachable and who seemed to exude friendliness. This was based on potential participants' body language and general demeanour. It was also observed that when people were found in groups of more than two then they tended to be less approachable as they were focused inward and on their friends who were accompanying them at the festival. When people were found in groups of two or less they tended to be more open to a stranger approaching them. Of course it was easiest to approach single participants as they had no social obligations to adhere to. It was observed that the festival attendee who was most approachable was generally older than 40 years of age and female. Couples were also very approachable in general, especially when they were comfortable in each other's presence and when they were directing their energy outward and not inward towards one another.

At most of the festivals visited, there were other research teams also present. The research approach of these other research teams differed from this project as they were quantitative in nature and relied on extensive questionnaires as means of data collection. These teams mostly moved about at the festival spaces and approached mostly festival attendees who rendered these participants unapproachable, either because they were saturated and felt that they played their part in research or in some cases they were found to be irritated and therefore very unwilling to participate. This was very apparent at KKNK as well as at the Vrystaat Arts Festival.

Few interviews were conducted after sunset because the atmosphere at the festival tended to change as the day progressed. People were usually less approachable later in the day which may be attributed to them either being tired or their time being more constrained. Evenings were usually characterized by a younger audience, who (as mentioned earlier) tended to be found in groups rather than walking around individually, making them less approachable. Also present around sunset were families with young children, most likely people who had just finished work and were looking to wind down in the festival space. It is also very difficult to interview families or individuals within young families with toddlers or children about, who were inevitably the primary focus and responsibility of the parents.

Noisy spaces on a festival terrain were avoided, because excessive background noise makes it difficult to record an interview (and transcribe afterwards). At four of the five festivals there had been several open stages where music performances took place throughout the day. These spaces were avoided as they were too noisy to conduct an interview. Festival attendees who avoided noisy

spaces tend to be older and more mature, and they would typically seek refuge in quieter spaces which made them ideal candidates for interviews.

When selecting stallholders, the first available exhibitor was approached also according to his / her / their general approachability. Stallholders were easier to interact with as it was in their interest to interact with the public in order to market or sell their goods. Also, the risk of rejection by an introvert was far less when dealing with exhibitors as most of them tended to be extroverted and sociable. After approaching the first exhibitor, he / she would recommend other exhibitors that might be willing to participate in the study. To avoid possible bias resulting from such referrals, the researcher did not rely exclusively on personal recommendations. Another method of avoiding bias was to select exhibitors that traded in a variety of different themes of goods, in order to improve representativity and maintain texture and variety in the data.

When identifying participants who were involved in management of the festivals, all incumbent festival directors were approached and where possible, former directors or festival managers were also interviewed. Former managers were selected according to availability and willingness to participate. In order to obtain an institutional or community opinion of the different festivals, the current festival directors were asked for recommendations on whom to approach.

The researcher was aware of these possible limitations and tried to manage them as best possible throughout the research project.

3.9 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to describe the methods applied during the course of this research. This was accomplished by outlining the study area, the processes of gaining access to arts festivals and how the sampling methods were applied. The questionnaire design has been explored and the ensuing data analysis process contemplated. The chapter concluded with the ethical considerations and the possible limitations of the study.

The study area comprised the five most prominent Afrikaans arts festivals; Aardklop, Innibos, KKNK, Vrystaat Arts Festival and Woordfees. These festivals were visited over a span of eighteen (18) months from April 2018 through to July 2019. Where possible the festivals were visited for the duration of the festival to maximise exposure to the festival atmosphere. Access to the festivals was gained by prior application to the relevant festival management. Interviewees had been selected according to snowball and availability sampling techniques and the interviews were conducted in the festival space where possible and in rare cases via video call. Ethical considerations and protocols were adhered to at all times as was discussed in the relevant section above.

The questionnaire with the outcomes of the study in mind was submitted for professional review with a qualitative research specialist. It consisted of four sections aimed at different categories of participants; the attendee, the contributing stakeholder (artists, stall holders, technical support) and management. The last section of the questionnaire aimed to gather demographic data from the participants.

The data were analysed using professional qualitative data analysis software after having received the appropriate training. During analysis, prominent themes emerged from the data which are discussed in the following data chapters. Validity considerations were also considered and elaborated upon. Possible limitations to the research were considered and explored.

The focus now first turns towards the historical background of Afrikaans festivals followed by three chapters considering the results of this research.

4 Chapter 4 - Afrikaans arts festivals: Historical and Geographical context

In order to understand the phenomena that this study intends to deal with, it is important to explore some aspects which define festivals. Festivals tend to find their identity in some genre or arts focus in which they then specialise (Sassatelli, 2015). In this light we find themed festivals such as rock festivals or jazz festivals, food festivals, beer festivals, to name a few, of which hundreds can be found in South Africa. Arts festivals in essence do not focus on a single genre, but represent a broader palate of arts. In an international sense, multidisciplinary arts festivals draw specificity from the combination of different artistic genres that they represent (Sassatelli, 2015), but no single genre dominates so they tend to define themselves by their hosting destination, or in South Africa, a combination of language and place.

The word 'arts', is usually associated with high culture and refinement, while entertainment is more mainstream or popular (Getz, 2013; Snowball & Antrobus, 2020). These are the two extremes within which festival programming has to operate. In a local context, festivals have successfully positioned themselves in this spectrum and so developed a unique character which in turn is expected to draw a certain type of attendee. Thinking further about a festival's reason for existence, the following quotes serve as reference: "The use of festivals and other mega events is an alternative strategy that attracts visitors to a destination which may not have any significant attraction during low seasons" (UNWTO, 2015:9); and also, destination tourism is an important motivator to establish a festival (Newbold *et al.*, 2015). The historical development of tourism and recreation has attracted some research attention and three broad eras have been highlighted; the pre-Mandela era, the Mandela period of national unity and the post-Mandela period (Magi & Nzama, 2002). The Mandela period of national unity saw the whole tourism system in South Africa being rethought and recalibrated and this created a fertile space for new tourism products to be born (Hauptfleisch, 2007; Magi & Nzama, 2002). The importance of a historical or temporal perspective on festivals is therefore important to gain insight into the reasons for a particular festival's existence.

It is the objective of this chapter to provide current and historical context of the major Afrikaans arts festivals in South Africa (Objective 1). This will be achieved by presenting a brief historical account of the development of these festivals, followed by a section dedicated to the contextualisation of each festival.

4.1 A brief history of Afrikaans arts festivals

In order to provide a historical context for this study, a brief overview of the evolution of Afrikaans arts festivals is provided. This history is based on formal published material as well as on interviews with various members of management representing the five Afrikaans arts festivals visited.

For two decades, before any competition appeared on the arts horizon, the festival landscape in South Africa was defined by the National Arts Festival. First held in 1974, this National Arts Festival saw the light as an initiative to promote the arts in all its facets in the university town of Grahamstown, today known as Makhanda (Snowball & Webb, 2008). This quote from their website: “The National Arts Festival has always been open to all regardless of race, colour, sex or creed. As no censorship or artistic restraint has ever been imposed on works presented in Makhanda (formerly Grahamstown), the National Arts Festival served as an important forum for political and protest theatre during the height of the Apartheid era” (NAF, 2020). This arts festival held its inaugural festival in the 1820 Settlers National Monument which remains the festival headquarters (NAF, 2020). Although the National Arts Festival initially set out to celebrate English cultural heritage, it has gradually evolved to include art from other cultures as well. According to a report published by the South African Cultural Observatory in 2016, this festival was in that year the largest arts festival in Africa (Snowball *et al.*, 2016).

In contrast to the liberal approach of the National Arts Festival, the Afrikaans arts scene was dominated and censored by the apartheid government, as remembered by one (artist) interviewee. The Afrikaans arts industry was funded and curated by the district arts councils, or in Afrikaans, *die streeksrade* or *kunsterade* (Regional Arts Councils). Prominent examples of these were *KRUIK* (*Kaaplandse Raad vir Uitvoerende Kunste*), *TRUK* (*Transvaalse Raad vir Uitvoerende Kunste*) and *SUKOVS* (*Streeksraad vir die Uitvoerende Kunste van die Oranje Vrystaat*). Because of the censorship imposed by these arts councils, the National Arts Festival has served as a welcome haven for free thinking Afrikaans artists, a management interviewee remembered (Aardklop M2⁹).

Rumours about the possibility of an Afrikaans arts festival were already present in Grahamstown (now renamed as Makhanda) during the National Arts Festival in July 1994 (Aardklop M2). By that time the plans for establishing the first Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees (KKNK) in Oudtshoorn were in an advanced stage having already secured a sizeable donation from Nasionale Pers (Naspers) earlier that year. These were times of momentous change, but also of great uncertainty. With the regional arts councils failing and along with it the patronage of the apartheid government, the future of Afrikaans was no longer guaranteed. These factors have proved to be a very fertile

⁹ Participants were assigned a code identifier to indicate their role at the festival and at which festival they were interviewed. Participants were assigned the letter ‘A’ for attendees, ‘M’ for management and ‘S’ for stakeholders e.g. Aardklop M2 was interviewed at Aardklop and was the second member of management to be interviewed.

combination from which this new platform for the Afrikaans arts would develop organically, yet also out of necessity (Aardklop M2, Hauptfleisch, 2007).

Nick Barrow, founder member of the KKNK, along with his family, visited the National Arts Festival in the winter of 1992, during which he realised that although the National Arts Festival did host Afrikaans productions, these were sparse and under-represented. It was here that he realised the potential of establishing an Afrikaans arts festival in his home town of Oudtshoorn, not only to support the Afrikaans arts, but also to draw tourists to this charming town in the Little Karoo (Barrow, 2014). Barrow then contacted his friend in Naspers, Andrew Marais, who in turn set the plan in motion to convince Naspers to provide seed funding for the KKNK (Barrow, 2014). With the Naspers cheque in hand they convened a community meeting in Oudtshoorn in early 1994, during which the planned festival was met with enthusiasm and the date was set for the first festival in September 1994. The initial committee included individuals such as Rhodé Snyman, native to Oudtshoorn, and Anet Pienaar, then from the Knysna Publicity Association, later remarried to Ton Vosloo, the then head of Naspers (KKNK M4). Pienaar shortly after accepted a position as liaison officer at Naspers which made her instrumental in the establishment of most of the Afrikaans arts festivals to follow (KKNK M4). Snyman later became director of the KKNK as well as CEO of Kunste Onbeperk and has served as such up to 2018 (Oudtshoorn Courant, 2017).

The initial date of September 1994 had not realised and was promptly moved to April 1995. Karen Meiring, also of Cut Glass¹⁰ fame, was brought on board in late 1994 to act as the first artistic director of the festival. Meiring later served as executive director of KKNK and currently is a prominent player in commercial Afrikaans television as the director of Afrikaans channels at M-Net, an independent local television company and also part of Naspers. The KKNK was refreshing in its approach as it had not imposed censorship of any kind on the productions that it enlisted. Afrikaans speakers, hungry for a space to express their threatened culture, flocked by their thousands to Oudtshoorn for the first festival held in April 1995. The KKNK was an immediate success and after having proved its initial success, attracted many prominent sponsors, with Naspers becoming more prominently involved with the second festival in 1996, providing extensive media coverage in Die Burger and also establishing the first festival newspaper, Krit, which Anet Pienaar was then also responsible for (Pers. Comm 1 & 2).

Following KKNK's tremendous success and realising the immense potential of Afrikaans arts festivals, an influential group of individuals, including Ruda and JP Landman, Martie Meiring and Neil van Heerden¹¹, have pondered the idea of establishing an Afrikaans arts festival in the northern part of South Africa (Pers. Comm. 3). They successfully approached Naspers for funding to which Naspers agreed and as part of the agreement sent Anet Pienaar (Vosloo) to oversee the

¹⁰ An all-female a-capella vocal ensemble very popular in South Africa during the 1990s and 2000s.

¹¹ Prominent figures in Afrikaans media.

development of this new festival and also to serve on the board of directors. Conceived in a corporate boardroom, this new festival was looking for a town to set down its roots. With the insight and guidance of Giep van Zyl, former business partner of Karen Meiring and native of Potchefstroom, this university town was selected to host the second major Afrikaans arts festival to see the light in October 1998 (Pers. Comm. 3). This festival became known as Aardklop Nasionale Kunstefees and incidentally, drawing from the data, Aardklop is the only major Afrikaans arts festival not to have developed organically in the town in which it is hosted. Aardklop was a success under several directors, but abruptly came to an end in 2016, mainly due to lack of funding (Aardklop M1). That same year a new Aardklop promptly rose from the ashes under leadership of Alexa Strachan and continues to this day, albeit in much smaller form. Aardklop, the same as with the KKNK, has seen exponential growth in its early years and this continued up until the late 2000s (Erasmus, 2012). As the available Afrikaans arts and festival-offering grew, the various festivals have started to feel the pinch since they had to start innovating in order to show growth amongst ever growing competition.

Meanwhile in 1999, Kimberley already had an established local festival called the *Gatjol* which when freely translated means the 'hole party', an apt name as Kimberley is known for the sizable historic open cast diamond mine adjacent to the town. This festival was in fact held at this historic mining site. In this same year they formalised the festival by compiling a formal business plan, appointing a board of directors and renaming the festival as *Gariep Kunstefees*, translated as Gariep¹² Arts Festival. The aim of this festival was to provide a platform for upcoming artists, to support Afrikaans music and to stimulate the local economy. The festival management, under the leadership of Marius Nagel and Theuns Zimmerman, contacted the two other major players in the Afrikaans arts festival scene, Karen Meiring (KKNK) and Giep van Zyl (Aardklop) to consult on various issues including festival scheduling, and decided to host the festival in August each year. By this time this festival was held in the Oppenheimer Gardens in the heart of Kimberley. In the autumn of 2000 the Gariep Kunstefees arranged a meeting with Die Volksblad (Naspers) in Bloemfontein during which this regional newspaper agreed to sponsor the Gariep Kunstefees. By this time Die Volksblad's editor, Jonathan Crowther, was already contemplating an Afrikaans arts festival in Bloemfontein, but Naspers wanted to promote the arts in rural South Africa in towns similar to Oudtshoorn (KKNK) and Potchefstroom (Aardklop), so Kimberley was a natural fit. The Gariep Kunstefees, like the other arts festivals, saw tremendous growth in the early years of its existence with visitor numbers increasing exponentially every year. In May 2001 however, during the sponsor meeting with Die Volksblad (Naspers) in Bloemfontein, Die Volksblad failed to provide a clear commitment to the Gariep Kunstefees of that year and indicated that they would consult with upper management and provide feedback. In the days following this meeting, newspaper

¹² Gariep means river in the local Khoekhoe language.

posters appeared in Kimberley announcing: “*Vrystaat kry sy eie fees*”. Translated it reads, “Free State to receive its own festival”. This signalled the start of the *Volksblad Kunstefees* to be held in Bloemfontein annually during winter, and Naspers communicated that they would no longer be supporting the Gariep Kunstefees. This came at a crucial time, three months before the festival was to take place, placing this festival in a very difficult situation. The festival management was, however, resilient and decided to continue with the festival regardless of this setback. The Kimberley business chamber however promptly threatened to withdraw all their advertisements from Die Volksblad should they go through with this decision. A meeting was arranged in Kimberley attended by Die Volksblad, the members of the Kimberley business chamber as well as the Kimberley municipality. Die Volksblad reconsidered their decision and decided to back the Gariep Kunstefees as main media partner while also promoting their own new festival in Bloemfontein (Gariep M1).

The Gariep Kunstefees grew steadily and by the late 2000s had established itself as a main player in the Afrikaans arts festival calendar. It was also the annual glamour event in Kimberley with the locals looking forward to this major event. Times were however changing in Kimberley and with the coming of the new university, a large portion of the Oppenheimer Gardens, the main festival space of the Gariep Kunstefees, was earmarked as premises for university residences. This and other pressures led to the decision to reconsider the sustainability of this festival.

The following quote was retrieved from the Gariep Kunstefees page on Facebook (Gariep Kunstefees, 2018):

Kimberley 2018: This time it is not farewell, but good bye.

The board of the Gariep Kunstefees took the difficult decision to not continue with this year’s annual arts spectacle in Kimberley. After 18 years of festivals they now announce the end.

According to the executive manager of the Gariep Kunstefees, Bernice Versluis, it was a difficult yet necessary decision. With the current uncertainty about funding combined with unfavourable environment, it was decided to not continue with the festival.

According to a former member of management, the demise of this festival may be attributed to various factors, most prominent of which was political interference. Government sponsorship in Kimberley (as with Bloemfontein and Potchefstroom) came with strings attached (Gariep M1). This interference was ever present because the local government was a key funder from the start but later put too much pressure on the festival management to satisfy the political needs imposed on the festival and in the end it inevitably became unbearable. The interference possibly pressured the management to veer away from the original aims of this festival, rendering the continued existence of the festival unfeasible. The festival was still in a good financial position and decided

to host a closing ceremony during which the life of the festival was celebrated. The physical infrastructure that had been accumulated over 18 years was donated or sold to local causes.

At the start of this millennium, the printed media were in a vastly different position than in 2021. Die Volksblad newspaper was a strong regional force with a circulation across the Free State and Northern Cape provinces. Steeped in Afrikaans heritage and noticing the success that Die Burger was reaping from the KKNK, the then editor of Die Volksblad newspaper, Jonathan Crowther, started advocating for an Afrikaans arts festival in central South Africa. He approached Anet Pienaar, the liaison officer of Naspers, the parent company of Die Volksblad to pitch his idea. By this time the perception was that Afrikaans arts festivals were more at home in rural areas, so it was decided to partner with Gariep Kunstefees. During the second year of this partnership, Crowther still strongly felt that Bloemfontein with its strong theatre infrastructure, its vibrant Afrikaans population, its central locality, and the presence of a national airport, should be home to another Afrikaans arts festival. With the help of Stef Coetzee, then principal of the University of the Free State, this idea was proposed at a council meeting at Naspers where it was accepted. Partnering with the University of the Free State, then a vastly different entity than it is today, they started the first Volksblad Kunstefees on the university campus, where it has been held annually during winter up to 2019 since when it has been prohibited due to COVID-19 (Vrystaat M1).

This festival had a difficult start due to some internal friction in with Die Volksblad in the early years, but as it grew, this newspaper saw the marketing potential and decided to get on board again during the first few years. By the early 2000s the four existing Afrikaans arts festivals started to take up a sizeable portion of the Naspers marketing budget which lead to a push for more independence from its resources. By the late 2000s Adri Herbert took over from Doks van der Linde as festival manager and in light of the Naspers policy, was burdened with the task of steering the festival towards a more financially viable entity, which she did successfully by the late 2000s at which time the festival's name was also changed from Volksblad Kunstefees to Vryfees. This signalled a new approach and character in order to keep up with an ever changing society. This festival has also evolved over time by actively diversifying its audiences, especially in recent years since the appointment of Dr Ricardo Peach (the third festival director, following Adri Herbert), who has extensive experience and connections in international arts management. This festival, now (2019) known as the Vrystaat Kunstefees / Arts Festival, as with the other festivals, had grown exponentially at first and then settled into a steady growth path up to the COVID-19 pandemic. Dr Ricardo Peach has since left Vrystaat Arts Festival in early 2021, making way for the new festival director, Corneli van den Berg (Vrystaat Kunstefees, 2021).

Turn back time to 1999 where a 24-hour poetry festival started at the University of Stellenbosch. The principal of the University of Stellenbosch instructed the academic Department of Afrikaans and Nederlands to come up with a way to be more engaging and visible in the community and the

result was a modest poetry festival held throughout the night. Under the leadership of Dorothea van Zyl¹³, this event was an immediate success with tickets completely sold out. This signalled the birth of the Woordfees which is scheduled for early March each year. The university's Drama Department also came on board early on and by the second year the festival also included classical music productions. Also part of the programme was an array of short previews of what was to come at that year's KKNK which usually took place within a month after the Woordfees. This practice lasted for a number of years but was eventually stopped due to the work not being contextualized or not yet fully rehearsed. In 2007 Sanlam¹⁴ saw the potential of the festival and committed R500 000, which allowed the festival to incorporate a complete drama programme as part of its offering as well as to appoint some permanent staff. With Saartjie Botha as the second festival director, this festival has continued to grow steadily to become one of the most prominent South African arts festivals. It was pointed out that festival growth is cyclic by nature and that the Woordfees will probably go through a temporary negative growth cycle, as the KKNK did in the last decade, but the festival was determined to accommodate and compensate for this occurrence (Woordfees M3). A Woordfees participant pointed out that, with the relentless festivalisation of traditional and new events countrywide, attending a festival has lost its novelty. It was not special to attend a festival anymore and this put pressure on festival attendance. Woordfees is in a very unique and fortunate position as it is within easy reach (or almost part) of the larger Cape Town metropolitan area, which means a large potential audience and lower production costs because a sizeable number of artists live in this area. This contributes positively to the growth and sustainability of this festival. The Woordfees has also become a significant contributor to Stellenbosch University fundraising and marketing (Woordfees M3).

Also part of the early festival boom, but the last to join the major festival ranks, is *Innibos Laeveld Nasionale Kunstefees* (Innibos) which first started in Mbombela in the lowveld region in 2004. It was deemed fit to include the region in the festival name, a region known for its pleasant winter climate and close proximity to the famous and historic Kruger National Park (Innibos M1). Innibos is held annually during the winter school holidays, which makes it an ideal event to incorporate into a trip to the mentioned national park or to visit *en route* to Mozambique. This festival, the only Afrikaans arts festival to still have its initial creators in full control, is popular amongst music lovers and draws thousands of visitors to Mbombela every year. Andy Lubbe and Sandra Jacobs were both active participants in the arts scene in Mbombela and because of this, a friendship ensued. After attending the other successful Afrikaans arts festivals at the time, they saw the potential of bringing the arts to their home town. They paid a visit to Giep van Zyl, then in charge of Aardklop, who in turn served as early mentor to this fledgling festival. Innibos was an immediate success and

¹³ Formerly a professor at Stellenbosch University, Department of Afrikaans and Nederlands.

¹⁴ Sanlam is a diversified financial service provider in South Africa since 1918.

saw steady growth every year, except for 2010 when it had to make way for the Soccer World Cup which was presented in South Africa in that same year (Innibos M1). Mbombela played host for this tournament and Innibos had to move their festival to September that year, which also meant it was in direct competition with Aardklop. What differentiated Innibos from the other Afrikaans arts festivals, however, was that it initially chose not to focus on producing new art, but rather to only include proven productions in its programme. This proved to be good policy as they effectively placed this risk and burden on other festivals. Only much later did Innibos start to contribute to the creation of new content. Innibos is also unique in that its daily programme line up pivots around an anchor music production presented on a world class stage every evening (Pers. Comm 8). Innibos is undoubtedly a local success story and it continues to grow steadily to this day.

In the following section the geographical location and the unique character of each of these Afrikaans arts festivals will be explored.

4.2 Contextualising the selected arts festivals

Flowing from the brief history presented in the previous section and based on the observations stemming from intensive field work at the selected Afrikaans arts festivals, the following is presented to provide context for each of the arts festivals.

4.2.1 Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees (KKNK)

The Klein Karoo National Arts Festival hosted in Oudtshoorn in the Western Cape Province is arguably the oldest Afrikaans arts festival in South Africa and is an annual highlight in the calendar of this historical and quaint town in the Little Karoo. The festival capitalises on the rural hospitality and warm and friendly atmosphere which is encountered in the hometown of the renowned Afrikaans writer, C.J. Langenhoven. It was only fitting to establish the first Afrikaans Arts Festival in this town, since Langenhoven has played a formidable role in the development of the Afrikaans language. In fact, the festival headquarters is located in the house in which Langenhoven had lived.

The festival makes use of several venues spread across town, ranging from the Civic Hall right through to local school halls (Figure 4-1). The main festival space concentrates around the prominent Baron van Reede Street as well as at the town's Recreation Ground. This festival caters for the arts enthusiast, as well as for the layman who may perhaps only be interested in the flea market and the festive atmosphere that it provides. As with most events and destinations, this festival exhibits the same life cycle stages as can be found in a typical product life cycle (Butler, 1980). It has seen considerable growth in the mid to late 1990s up to the mid-2000s and as a result

of many contributing factors, saw a decline in the two decades that followed. It is however now stable and sustainable, according to management.

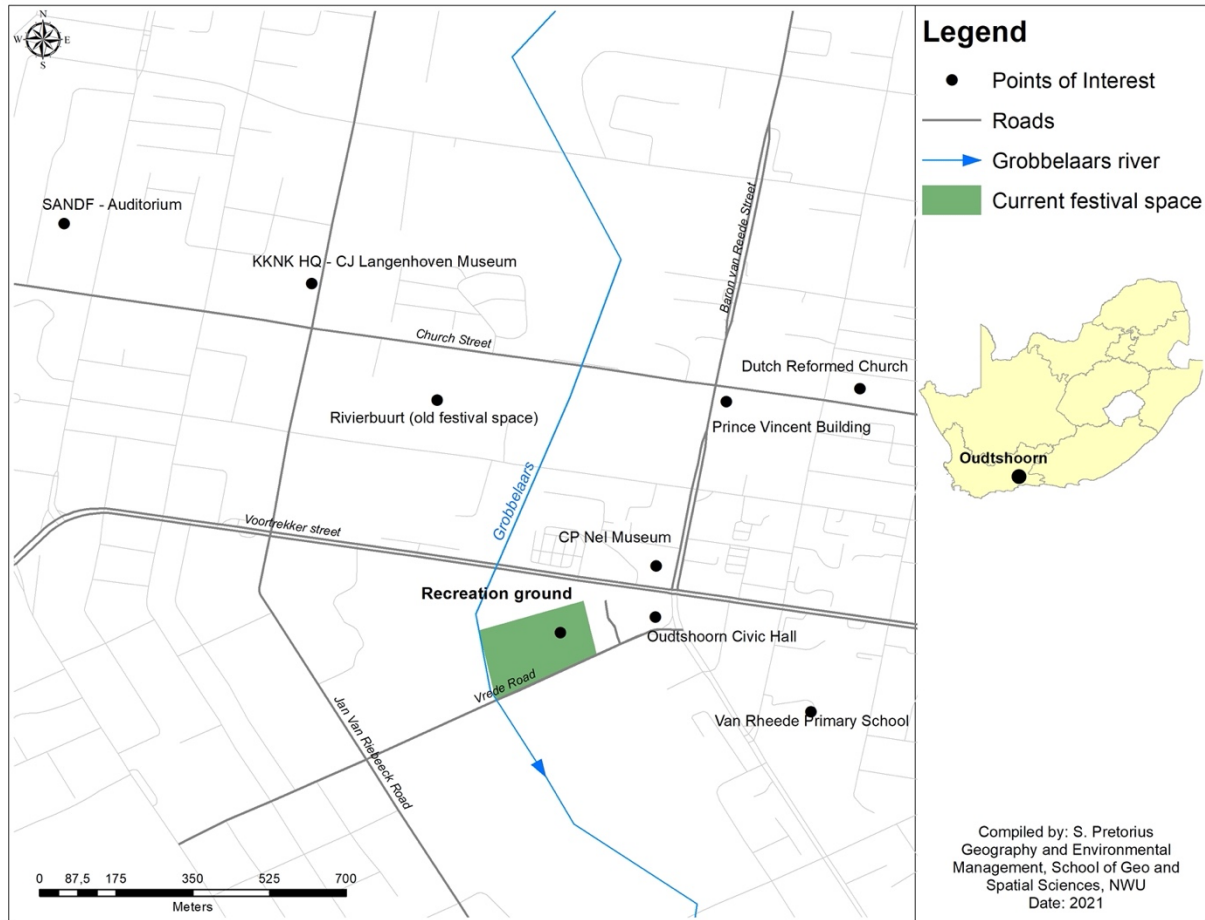


Figure 4-1: Oudtshoorn locality map

Entering through one of the checkpoints that allow access to the main festival space, one is immediately aware of the safe, vibrant and festive atmosphere that is created here. The main festival space has three entrances, one being next to the pavilion in Voortrekker Street and the other two in Vrede Street, a portion of which is cordoned off for the festival. This location is conveniently close to the Civic Centre, which hosts two major venues for the festival one of which is a decent theatre. The portion in Vrede Street is reserved for food stalls catering almost for every possible taste. These food stalls vary from franchise food carts by two local restaurant owners, to entrepreneurs who only get involved in the food industry during this festival.



Figure 4-2: KKNK festival space in Oudtshoorn (KKNK, 2018)

Towards the southern side of Vrede Street, the flea market is hosted in six marquee tents (Figure 4-2). These tents are positioned in an oval shape which draws the crowd from one tent to the other. Along the tree edge on Vrede Street one also finds various stalls. On the northern side of Vrede Street is the main stage (Figure 4-3) on which the daily evening programme takes place. Food stalls line the outer edge of the sports field and beer tents containing smaller stages (where lesser known artists perform) can be found on the edge of this space. The line-up of the main stage is carefully curated, while the line-ups to be found on the smaller stages are more informal in nature and curated to a lesser extent. The official festival programme caters for most tastes ranging from high to popular arts. This includes drama, music (popular and classic), visual arts, discourse and book discussions, to name a few.

Following Baron van Reede Street from the Civic Centre in the direction of Prince Albert, the Prince Vincent building can be found on your right. This is the main venue for the official visual arts associated with this festival. The C.P. Nel Museum (Figure 4-4) is also a prominent landmark and well known venue at this festival since RSG (an Afrikaans radio station) broadcasts from here during the festival. Also to be found at this museum is a very popular community-run food stall best known for their traditional dishes, especially *roosterkoek*¹⁵. The festival also created a space for artistic expression as displayed in Figure 4-5.

¹⁵ Bread baked directly on a fire / embers.



Figure 4-4: Festivity at KKNK - CP Nel Museum



Figure 4-3: KKNK main stage with crowds forming



Figure 4-5: KKNK – Artistic (international) transport

Between events people can be found walking in significant numbers along Baron van Reede Street. This street also hosts several street performers treating visitors to impromptu performances. Several popular restaurants can be found in this street making it a popular choice amongst festival-goers. Another festival hub is at the Dutch Reformed Church in Church Street. Conveniently located next to the church is a modern and very popular coffee shop which presumably benefits tremendously from the annual festival.

This festival takes place during the annual March / April school holidays, as stated earlier. Oudtshoorn lies on one of the main access routes to Hartenbos, which is a very popular holiday destination amongst Afrikaans speaking people. The KKNK capitalises on this almost annual pilgrimage that holiday-makers undertake to get to their holiday destination. It can therefore be expected that some festival-goers do not necessarily only visit Oudtshoorn as a destination, but also as day visitors visiting from the coast specially to attend the festival.

During the heyday of the festival several schools availed their sports fields to serve as camping grounds for festival attendees. These fields were filled to the brim with tents and caravans, but this is not the case today (2018). A limited number of attendees and stall holders do still camp, but not nearly in the numbers as was the case fifteen to twenty (15 to 20) years ago. Other festivals have also seen this trend in their host towns.

Following the success of KKNK, the need arose for a festival in the north of the country and so Aardklop was conceived.

4.2.2 Aardklop

Aardklop is an annual Arts Festival taking place in the September / October school holidays and university recess in Potchefstroom in the North West Province. This festival first saw the light in 1998 (Van Zyl & Botha, 2004) following the tremendous success of the Klein Karoo National Arts Festival. The main festival space was originally situated in a park in a suburb called *Die Bult*. This park is between Esselen and Borchards Streets to the south and north respectively and Hoffman Street to the west and Steve Biko Avenue to the east.

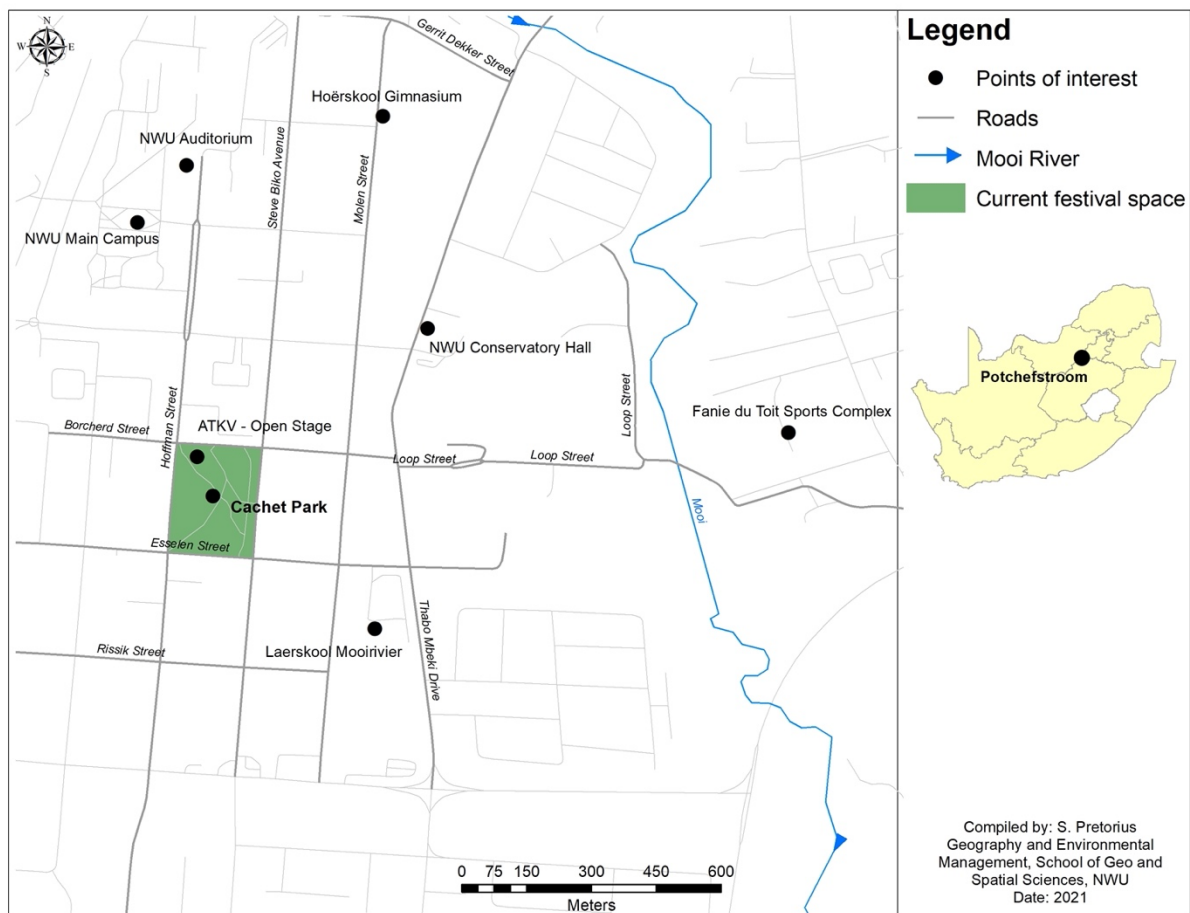


Figure 4-6: Potchefstroom locality map

Die Bult (area displayed in Figure 4-6) is popular amongst students studying at the North-West University (NWU) as well as amongst other locals, due to its abundance of restaurants and prolific nightlife. At first the festival space was open allowing uncontrolled access. When this was the case, about a three-block radius around the festival space was cordoned transforming it into pedestrian zone. Only delivery vehicles and vehicles of local residents residing within the space were allowed entry. This resulted in the area adjacent to the park (to the right of the green space in Figure 4-7)

becoming a vibrant space with numerous stalls popping up on pavements and seeing the businesses on *Die Bult* capitalising on the drastic increase of visitors.



Figure 4-7: Aardklop festival space before the festival (Credit: Tian du Preez)

The restaurants and coffee shops facing the main festival space (to the right of the green space in Figure 4-7) increased their seating by spilling out onto the pavement and street and onto the parking lot found between the park and Steve Biko Avenue. Business premises such as estate agents cleared their shops to make way for pop-up art galleries, these only to be found during the festival time.

Placing this festival on Cachet Park at *Die Bult* (Figure 4-7), was a strategic move in order to capitalise on nostalgia that exists in ex-students of the former Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education (now the NWU). *Die Bult* has been a popular hangout and social hub in student life for several decades. Many visitors are alumni of the university and use the festival as a time to reminisce and to relive their student days. Of course many of students' parents also studied at this university and these parents use this opportunity to visit the children as well as to attend the festival and to get their cultural fix. This same strategy is applied by the Woordfees which takes place in Stellenbosch, also relying to some degree on the nostalgia of alumni.

Some permanent infrastructure was erected in the park in the form of the ATKV open stage (top left corner in Figure 4-8). This is a permanent brick structure and it is mainly used during the festival but can also be used throughout the year. However, this is not the case. Other than this structure there are two ablution blocks that have existed prior to the festival. Of course additional infrastructure was installed in the form of water and electricity outlets that are activated specifically for the festival.

Later on the festival space was moved to the Fanie du Toit Sports Complex (see Figure 4-6) which belongs to the North-West University and is situated along the Mooi River in Potchefstroom. The main motivation leading to this decision was to phase in a new model for the festival, based on that of Innibos where entrance fees include live entertainment on a main stage in the festival space. This move took place in 2014 and continued for three years, after which it was decided to abandon the festival. A handful of passionate individuals and people loyal to the festival immediately started reviving the festival. The efforts of these individuals resulted in the festival not skipping a single year but continuing uninterrupted in 2016 on the original festival grounds on *Die Bult*. According to management, the festival is not out of the woods yet but it looks promising for the future (Aardklop M1).

The festival grounds, as these were originally and currently used, is located right next to the university grounds and therefore close to university infrastructure. The festival makes use of several spaces on campus including the main auditorium as well as smaller halls and theatres. Also to be found in this suburb are two prominent schools, *Mooirivier Laerskool* and *Hoërskool Gimnasium*, the school halls of which are also used by the festival as theatre venues (see Figure 4-6). Also contributing to the success of this particular space, is the abundance of trees providing shade (Figure 4-10 and Figure 4-11) in the sweltering days of October. The relative compact size of the festival grounds contributes to a cosiness and a vibrancy only to be found when compact spaces are inundated by energetic and festive people, becoming an attraction in itself (Figure 4-9). As soon as a space is too big for a certain festival, then it requires a lot more energy to create the same welcoming atmosphere. This may very well be the reason why the years spent on the sports grounds are regarded by many as the low point for this festival.



Figure 4-8: Bird's eye view of Aardklop festival space during setup in 2018 (Credit: Tian du Preez)



Figure 4-9: Aardklop terrain main entrance (2019)



Figure 4-10: Aardklop festival space



Figure 4-11: Visitors taking a break at Aardklop

The Aardklop programme starts out on the Monday evening with an ‘arts safari’ during which all the venues are visited hosting the official curated visual arts. Most of these venues are situated on the main campus of the university (Figure 4-6). This is a vibrant and stimulating experience where attendees are exposed to modern and challenging visual art and where the artists also address and interact with the attendees. In the days following this event, from Tuesday through to Sunday, the curated arts programme is presented in various venues across Potchefstroom. The Aardklop programme is similar to that of KKNK, offering unique productions but also duplicating some of the productions found at other arts festivals. Although the Aardklop programme is substantial, it is surpassed by that of Woordfees.

4.2.3 US Woordfees

Located in Stellenbosch, the Woordfees has started its life as a literary or poetry festival in 1999. Stellenbosch is a well-known tourist and academic centre close to Cape Town in the Western Cape Province. This historical town is characterized by two main functions, amongst others; the wine industry and the historic university which also has the town's name. The Stellenbosch University is the main driver behind the Woordfees held annually in March.

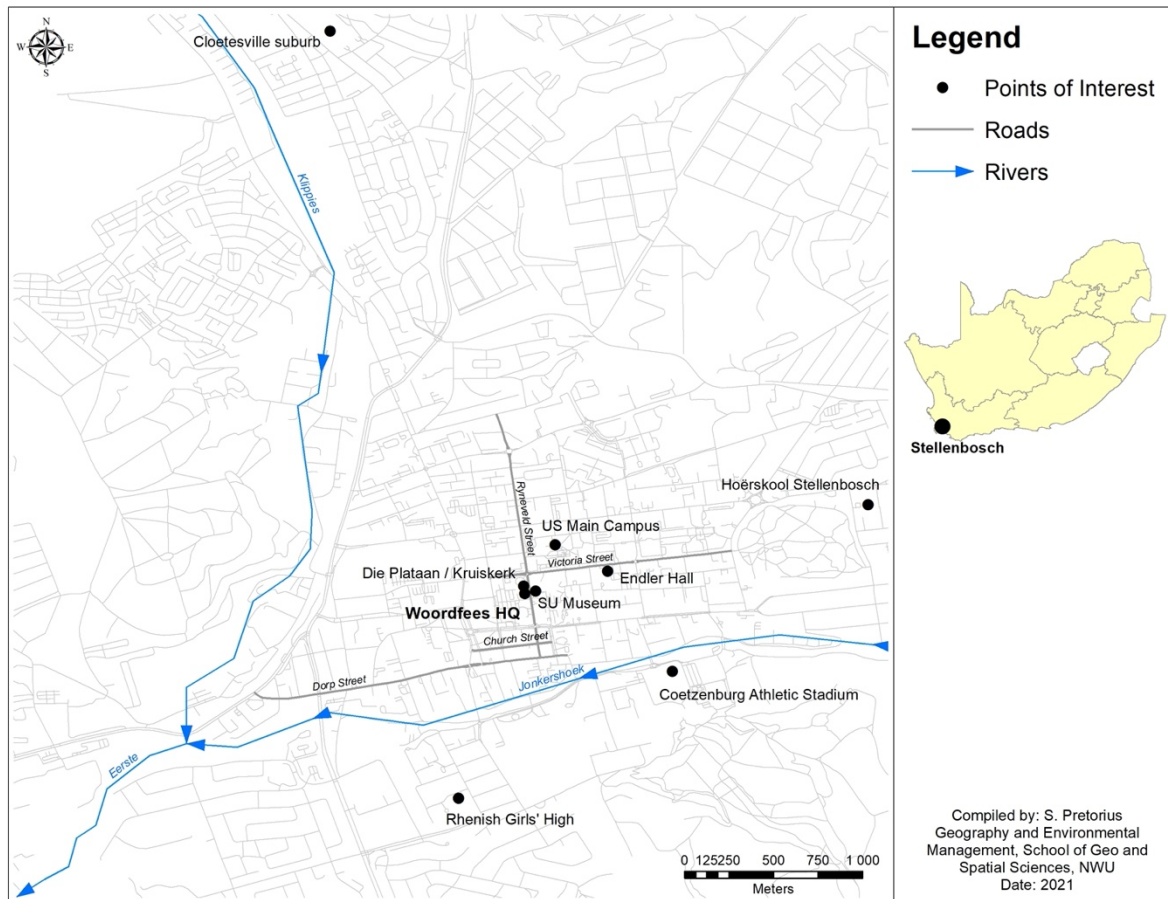


Figure 4-12: Stellenbosch locality map

Unlike the other festivals which are included in this study, this festival does not have a designated and closed off festival space. Instead the festival creates areas of festivity at various spaces around the university (Figure 4-12). The university museum is used as a gallery during the festival, as well as the rest of the year, and across Ryneveld Street in Ehrfurt House is the Woordfees Headquarters (Figure 4-15). Figure 4-17 and Figure 4-18 display some of the productions on offer at the 2019 festival. Right adjacent to the gallery is the venue in which book discussions are held and where the ATKV *Boeketent* is erected (Figure 4-14). Seating shaded by umbrellas are placed between these two tents and people gather here between formal activities. This was one of the spaces which proved to be ideal to approach participants who may be interested in partaking in this study.

Right across Van Ryneveld Street, and directly next to the festival office, is a gathering place known as *Die Plataan* (Figure 4-13, Figure 4-16 and Figure 4-20). This is on the same premises as the *Kruiskerk*. From this space the popular Afrikaans radio station, RSG broadcast live while the festival is taking place, using their mobile studio. From here they also broadcast panel discussions on current affairs in which the public can also take part. The space also has venues in which various tastings are done and also where cooking courses are presented. Anchoring this space is a food and beverage stall manned by a local restaurant. This is arguably the hub of the festival and a meeting place for festival-goers whenever they have time on their hands.



Figure 4-13: *Woordfees* - Street view of *Plataan kafee*



Figure 4-14: *Woordfees* - The ATKV boeke-oase at *Woordfees 2019*



Figure 4-15: *Woordfees* - Ehrfurt house – *Woordfees* administration

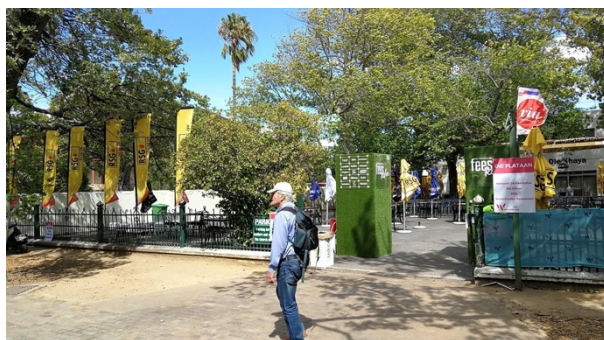


Figure 4-16: *Woordfees* - Festival attendee at *Plataan kafee*.

About two blocks from the main festival office is the Endler Hall at the conservatory of the Stellenbosch University. This is in Victoria Street (see Figure 4-12). Here one also finds a designated festival space where people can gather and relax before and after events held at the conservatory. Around this space there were five vendors selling produce ranging from wine and foodstuffs to high-end DVDs and CDs aimed at the classical music lover.

As with all the other arts festivals in South Africa this festival makes use of several venues across town that are suited to theatre productions (Figure 4-19). The spaces are often optimised by adding custom lighting, sound and seating. At most of these venues you'll also find food and wine stalls to capitalise on the waiting festival attendee. This festival, as with other arts festivals hosted in university towns, has a vibrant character attributed to the abundance of young people studying at these institutions. This makes for a rather enjoyable atmosphere.

One thing which is different from other festivals is that this town has a continuous presence of international tourists originating from all over the world and as this festival is mainly aimed at Afrikaans speaking people, these tourists may be completely oblivious to this prominent festival taking place in their midst. It could of course also be that the festivalgoers displace the international tourists to some degree during the festival, rendering Stellenbosch much more Afrikaans than what might usually be the case that time of year.

This international presence, albeit difficult to measure, makes it difficult for the researcher to identify the typical festival attendee when not in the typical festival spaces. It can be expected that the festival attendee will mix with other tourists in regular restaurants and coffee shops, but on the other hand, the international tourist will most probably not be found in the social space created specifically for the festival. The classical music productions, as well as the visual art exhibitions associated with the festival, may just be attractive to the international tourist if they had been informed about it at all. No international visitors were interviewed during this study.

Unlike other arts festivals included in this study, this festival does not take place during a university or school holiday, which means that the typical visitor is expected to be a dedicated festival attendee and not somebody who stumbles upon the festival by chance. This scheduling also means that the content of the festival is much more accessible to the students studying at the host university and that they are not necessarily tempted to return to their hometowns as is the case with other festivals taking place during university holidays. This means that there are many more students visible on the street than what is typical for similar festivals.

The images (Figure 4-17, Figure 4-18 and Figure 4-19) depict some scenes from the Woordfees, unique in the way that it does not have an enclosed festival space. Instead of a main space, smaller more compact spaces are created in which festival attendees socialise, as is illustrated in Figure 4-20. Almost a polar opposite to Woordfees, Innibos pivots around its vibrant festival space.



Figure 4-17: Woordfees 2019 Fringe festival programme



Figure 4-18: Some productions on offer at Woordfees 2019



Figure 4-19: Woordfees - Adam Small Theatre



Figure 4-20: Evening atmosphere at the Plataan kafee - Woordfees 2019

4.2.4 Innibos Laeveld Nasionale Kunstefees

Innibos Laeveld Nasionale Kunstefees (Innibos) takes place annually during winter in the town of Mbombela (previously known as Nelspruit) for four days towards the end of June (see Figure 4-21).

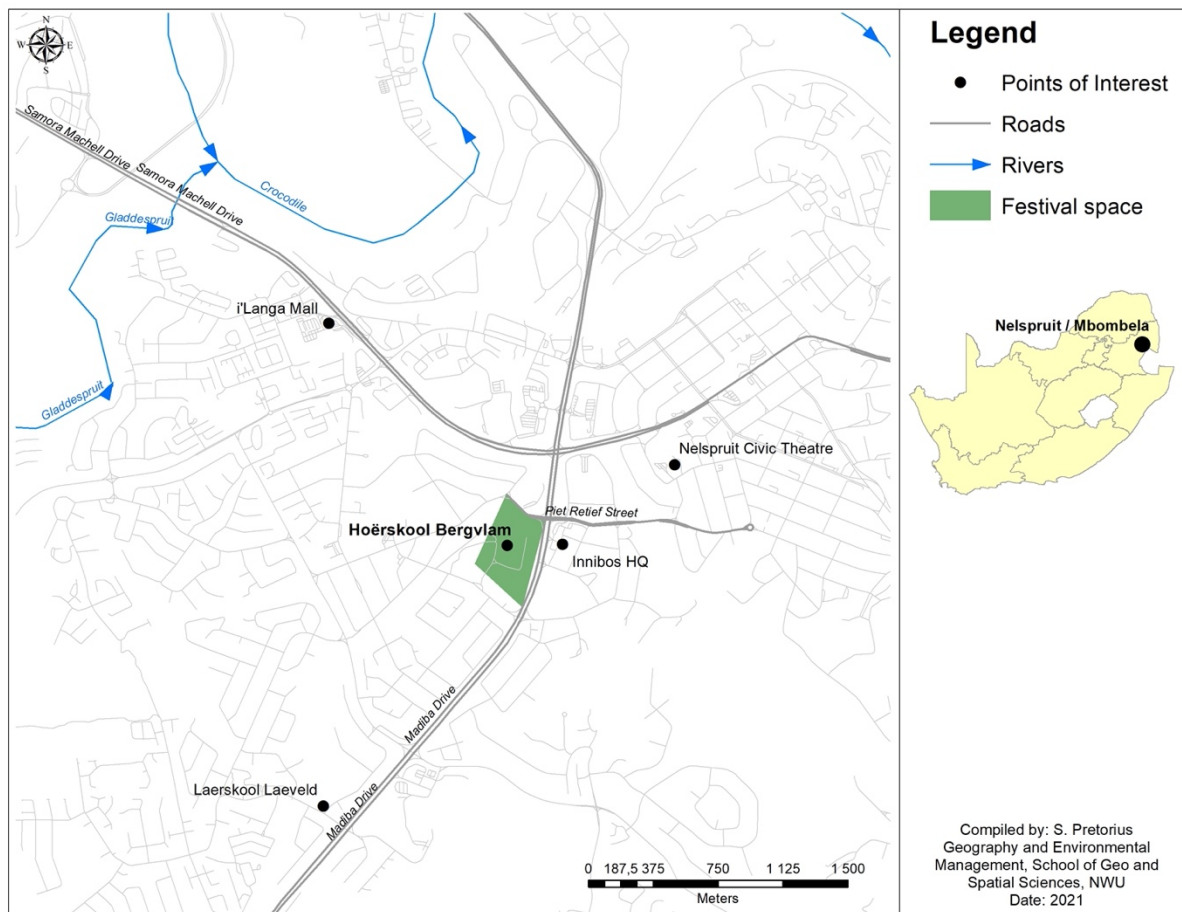


Figure 4-21: Mbombela locality map

This is the Afrikaans arts festival with perhaps the most vibrant atmosphere of the festivals included in the study. This makes it very popular with the youth and students alike. As with KKNK, Aardklop and Vrystaat Kunstefees, this festival is also a family orientated festival. It is also the festival which has shown sustainable growth in the less-than-ideal circumstances in which South Africa finds itself today.

Gathering enough momentum to create a festive atmosphere in a town like Mbombela is difficult due to its size, but the management of Innibos succeeds in accomplishing this (Figure 4-23 and Figure 4-24). Hoërskool Bergvlam's school premises on the corner of Piet Retief and Madiba Drive (Figure 4-21), play host to the main festival space with the main sports field housing the main stage, some food stalls and the beer tents. The surrounding parking area hosts the retail space (Figure 4-22). The carefully selected exhibitors sell carefully curated goods in stalls varying in size, but based on a 3 x 3-meter primary space, as is the case with the other family-orientated festivals. A considerable variety of products can be found in this space and, as with the other festivals, makes

for a significant festival attraction. This space is commonly used to occupy festival-goers during their free time between shows and therefore maximizing the opportunity for festival attendees to spend their budget. Some festival goers visit exclusively for this arts market and show no interest in the comparatively small theatre component at this festival.



Figure 4-22: Innibos retail space



Figure 4-23: Festive atmosphere at Innibos



Figure 4-24: Large scale daily music concerts are a trademark of Innibos (Walkersons, 2016)

This festival also has the most expensive daily entry fees starting at R120 per day on Tuesday and peaking at R200 per day on Saturday (for the 2018 festival). This daily fee includes entry to the premises as well as a daily entertainment programme at the various stages throughout the space, and culminating in a spectacular live show every evening. This is a trademark of this festival as

they are well-known to stage renowned and internationally acclaimed bands and artists during these shows.

As with the other festivals, this space also has a dedicated hall or tent for visual arts. Here the festival-goer can interact with the artists in person which may add value to their festival experience. The theatre component of the festival offering is housed in various school halls around town which are furnished with appropriate seating, lighting, sound and ventilation for the duration of the festival. This is also the case for the other major Afrikaans festivals across South Africa.

The close proximity of the Kruger National Park, as well as the temperate lowveld climate, makes Mbombela, and by implication Innibos, an ideal destination during winter. Visitors often combine a visit to this arts festival with an outing to the adjacent national park which also contributes to the attraction and success of this festival.

Innibos has come to rely on substantial support from the local municipality, as well as from the provincial government. This is quite unique in a South African context; as other festivals experience the opposite. Other festivals' experience with local government can vary from indifference to outright antagonism or hostility. This places Innibos in a very favourable position and invariably contributes to this festival's future sustainability.

Also taking place during winter, Vrystaat Arts Festival is a popular choice amongst art lovers in central South Africa.

4.2.5 Vrystaat Arts Festival

The Vrystaat Arts Festival takes place annually in July, usually during the week following Innibos Nasionale Kunstefees (Mbombela) and the National Arts Festival (Mahkanda / Grahamstown). A unique feature of this festival is that it takes place almost wholly on the campus of the University of the Free State, making interaction with the municipality of Bloemfontein almost unnecessary. A limited number of other venues are used across the city, mostly in the form of school halls and the NALN (Nasionale Afrikaanse Letterkundige Museum en Navorsingsentrum) (see Figure 4-25).

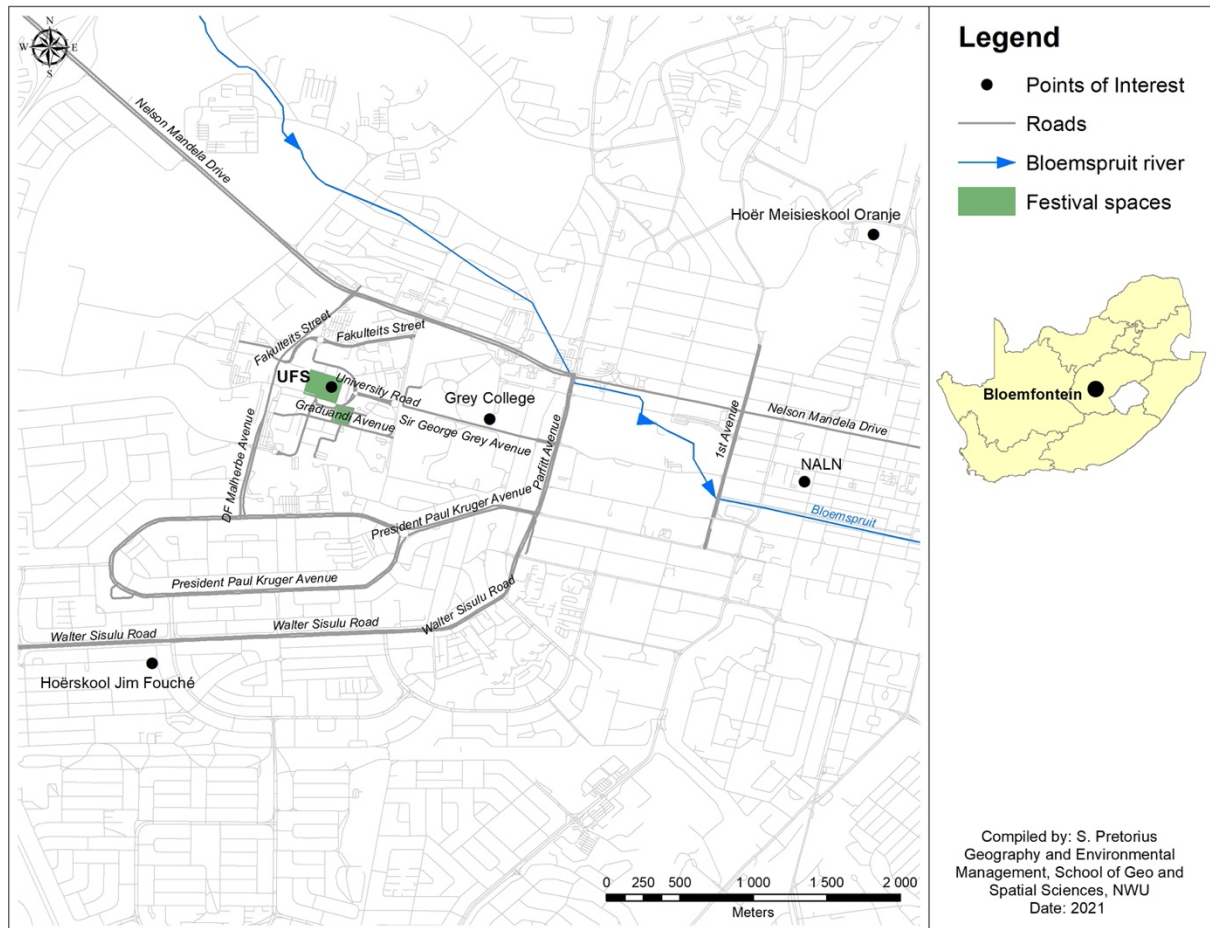


Figure 4-25: Bloemfontein locality map

Stretching from Monday to Sunday, this festival is a longer running arts festival on offer in South Africa, putting it in the same category as Woordfees, National Arts Festival and KKNK in this regard. The arts market however only takes place from the Tuesday to the Saturday and this is hosted in the park and streets directly in front of and to the east of the campus's main building (Figure 4-27). There is no indication that the arts market is arranged by theme. However, it would seem care was taken to maintain a balance in stall content as duplication between adjacent stalls would not be favourable.

Closer to the main building to the northern side of the main festival space, a grouping of food vendors could be found with a variety of products on offer ranging from seafood to Indian cuisine, from traditional South African dishes to traditional Italian. Dotted between these food stalls, one could find beverage vendors selling anything from craft beer to bottled water and milkshakes.

On both the southern and northern sides of the main festival space, lecture theatres and multi-purpose halls would be furnished with art exhibitions, whether private retailers or official exhibitions, making part of the official festival content. Various theatres, auditoriums and sports complexes would also be utilised either for theatre productions or to host more vendors and retailers respectively (Figure 4-28).



Figure 4-26: Vrystaat Kunstefees - Festival coming to life



Figure 4-27: Vrystaat Kunstefees - Main avenue hosting retail space



Figure 4-28: Vrystaat Kunstefees - Callie Human hall retail space



Figure 4-29: Vrystaat Kunstefees - Mobile art and crowds

Right adjacent to the traffic circle in front of the main building, a rather large stage would be erected accompanied by a marquee tent where alcoholic beverages could be obtained. This main stage hosts a programme running from about midday and continuing late into the evening. This space is characterized by a younger audience seeking social interaction and popular music and is also the only space to stay open much later than any of the other vendors and exhibitors. A drawback of such a highly social space is that it tends to be noisy, making it difficult to conduct interviews within fifty metres of the stage, depending on time of day.

Other than this main stage space where ample seating is provided, numerous spots are created across the festival space where similar seating is provided, but not necessarily associated with a particular activity or stage. A popular local restaurant set up in a building to the south of the main festival space, providing excellent cuisine and abundant seating. These spaces, as well as the area right in front of the Scaena theatre, proved to be areas ideally suited to approach possible interviewees and also to conduct the interviews.

This festival, as with Aardklop, has a children's entertainment area consisting of various inflatable attractions such as bouncing castles. These areas are enclosed, offering a safe environment for children to play in. Parents dot the periphery, keeping an ever watchful eye on their young ones and obediently paying for more tickets to the various activities available. Based close to this space,

an entrepreneur catches the attention of the researcher. This individual offers rides on carts mimicking a train. The 'wagons' making up the 'train' are ordinary 200 litre plastic containers (drums) which were lengthwise cut in half and mounted onto an axle, each containing a single seat. These 'wagons' are tethered together and drawn by a four-wheeler motorbike. This popular train does countless rounds every day on a set route through the festival space, constantly avoiding pedestrian traffic. This is true entrepreneurship and this specific person offering this activity was present at KKNK (2018), Vrystaat Arts Festival (2019) as well as at Aardklop (2018). It may be possible that he was also at Innibos (2018), but the author cannot specifically recall seeing him there.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter set out to explore the history of Afrikaans arts festivals in South Africa. This phenomenon started out with the KKNK in Oudtshoorn in 1995 and was soon after followed by Aardklop in Potchefstroom in 1998. In 1999, what is known today as the Woordfees, saw the light in Stellenbosch as a small literary and poetry festival and in 2000 the Northern Cape Province saw the establishment of the Gariiep arts festival. In 2001 Bloemfontein received its own festival in the form of the *Volksblad Kunstefees*, today known as the Vrystaat Arts Festival. Inspired by the success of the other Afrikaans arts festivals, Innibos was created in Mbombela in 2004. These festivals effectively commodified Afrikaans arts and Afrikaans as language following the disbanding of the district arts councils in the mid-1990s.

Each of these arts festivals has also established its own character which inevitably contributes to each festival's attraction and also to local sense of place. Mostly cut from the same cloth initially, festival character has evolved and diverged in unique ways to such an extent that by today, although still having much in common, they have become polar opposites. Here Woordfees is referred to, which draws the cultured attendee, and Innibos, which draws the popular music enthusiast. This unique character is a favourable outcome as it contributes to the diversity and the richness that is Afrikaans culture. In this chapter, Research Objective 2 was achieved.

These festivals, initially a celebration of the arts, have also become synonymous with their host towns by becoming ambassadors of local culture and cultural pride. These themes will be explored in the chapter to follow.

5 Chapter 5 - Creating, sustaining and managing festivals – Perceptions and realities

5.1 Introduction

Festivals are in many cases used in the same way as expos, trade fairs and conferences as a means to connect artists with producers and in turn, producers with sponsors; it is essentially a way to give the artistic community an opportunity to rub shoulders and to interact with each other in order to sprout new opportunities and perhaps rekindle old acquaintances (Jordan, 2015). This may result in new collaborations or at the very least, renewed relationships (Jordan, 2015). Furthermore, festival managers have to try and satisfy the needs of attendees and supporters while simultaneously promoting the arts, all the while trying to ensure the general sustainability of the arts festival.

The way in which festival management experience festivals contrasts with how stakeholders and also festival-goers experience the festival. In the context of a larger political, economic, social, and cultural climate, to management a festival is the product of a series of agreements and actions (Newbold *et al.*, 2015). Throughout current festival literature themes such as community cohesion, community and economic development, and job sustainability emerge (Haines, 2017). These themes were therefore included in the section of the questionnaire aimed at management.

Management at five of the prominent Afrikaans arts festivals in South Africa were interviewed based on relevant sections of the interview questionnaire. The questions are presented in Table 5-1 in abbreviated form.

The objective of this chapter is to shed light on the managerial aspects of Afrikaans arts festivals by covering themes such as relationships with local government and the local community, community cohesion, audience development, perceptions on local economic impact, relationships with sponsors, creating a festival space, sustainability of arts festivals and cooperation amongst festivals. These themes emerged from the data based on the emphasis participants in management placed on it.

Table 5-1: Abbreviated questionnaire relevant to management¹⁶

Section C: Management / Institutional	
No.	Theme
25	Management structure
26	Festival content
27	Festival growth
28	Audience development
29	Destination development
30	National / local pride
31	Social impact - cultural diversity and community cohesion
32	Social impact - wellbeing and quality of life of the local residents
Section D: Demographic / background	
33	Status at festival
34	Age
35	Nationality
36	Gender
37	Languages
38	Highest qualification
39	Employment sector
40	Household income
41	Province of origin
42	Town of permanent residence
43	Distance travelled to festival
44	Route followed
45	Number of times visiting festival
46	Probability of repeat visit

5.2 Relationships - local government, local community and sponsors

When there is public and private goodwill, respect for the arts and artists, possibilities for knowledge transfer, practice, and training, and daring creative individuals to try new event forms or revive and repeat old ones in a new way, the most spectacular and enduring annual events occur. This will also only happen if there are circumstances present for a healthy cultural and art ecosystem to sustain the arts (Du Cros & Jolliffe, 2014). Governments are in a position to create these

¹⁶ The missing questions relate to participants other than management.

circumstance and therefore the relationships with local government, the local community, and sponsors will now be explored in the following sub-sections.

Local government

In a local South African context the above statement is accurate for most Afrikaans arts festivals, particularly so for Innibos. According to a municipal representative (Innibos M3), Innibos enjoys significant support from the municipality in the form of various services. These services include the free provision of traffic and firefighting services, free electricity and water, free use of community centres for concerts and events and also free advertisement space at intersections where banners and posters can be installed. The municipality recognises the sizeable positive impact that the festival has on the local economy and attributes its goodwill towards the festival to this positive effect. Innibos is unique in that it has had the same executive management since its inception in 2004. One of the positive effects of consistency in management is the ability to cultivate quality long lasting relationships with local government, and this shows in the positive attitude displayed by the local authority as is the case with Innibos enjoying high level support from the Mpumalanga provincial government in that it is regarded as a flagship and export event for this province.

The KKNK also reports a good relationship with the Oudtshoorn local municipality. A former festival director (Woordfees A8) remembers that they have actively engaged with members of both the governing party as well as the opposition as Oudtshoorn's political playing field was quite unpredictable and unstable during the first two decades of the festival's existence. KKNK enjoys logistical support in the form of general municipal services, but the main difference with Innibos for example is that the civic theatre is not free of charge and neither are electricity and water. This same participant has pointed out that there are similarities between the municipal leadership situation of Oudtshoorn and that of Potchefstroom. According to this participant, for the first twenty (20) years of democracy, no political party that won a local election in Oudtshoorn had survived their five-year term in office. Currently however, there seems to be stability in the support that the KKNK receives, as a municipal representative (KKNK M3) pointed out. The Woordfees also reports positive support from their local municipality in Stellenbosch (Woordfees M3). This is to be expected, as Stellenbosch is also tourism orientated, meaning that the municipality already has the inclination to be open to events promoting this tourism destination and university town.

In dealing with the local municipality in Potchefstroom, Aardklop experiences somewhat of the opposite. When Aardklop was established in 1998, the management composition of the then Potchefstroom municipality was fairly different to what is the case today. From the interviews with three informants who have served in Aardklop management (Aardklop M1; Aardklop M2; Pers. Comm. 4), it is clear that the relationship with the local municipality has started out as very positive

when the festival came to life, but it gradually deteriorated over the years into the tense relationship which it is today. Initially the municipality has contributed by installing all the electrical infrastructure on the *Bult* festival space and happily provided logistical support. As mentioned earlier and drawing from the data, the Aardklop festival management¹⁷ became increasingly aloof and antagonistic towards the town as well as its contributors resulting in relationships gradually deteriorating. During the life of the festival the municipality changed from a predominantly white Afrikaans speaking entity to a much more demographically representative institution. This also applies to all other local municipalities where festivals are held; the main difference however is that although completely transformed today, Oudtshoorn and Stellenbosch have predominantly Afrikaans speaking populations making these municipalities more inclined to support an Afrikaans arts festival. Furthermore, from the interviews it is evident that politics within the Potchefstroom municipality lead to considerable hardship in 2018 when two factions within the municipality deliberately made life difficult by continuously contradicting one another in decisions concerning the festival. Municipal infrastructure such as the Banquet Hall is also deteriorating, making it harder and more expensive to run as a festival venue. Fortunately, this festival has a good relationship with the North-West University which provides valuable infrastructure such as auditoriums and lecture theatres to be used as festival venues.

The now defunct Gariep Kunstefees in Kimberley used to host their festival in the Oppenheimer Gardens, a public park under the control of the local municipality of Kimberley. As a former member of management remembers, the year that the new university earmarked for Kimberley was to start its construction, it was communicated to the Gariep Kunstefees management that university residences were to be built on this site and that the festival would no longer be able to use a sizeable portion of this park (Gariep M1). This was devastating news to the festival as they had invested heavily in the establishment of electricity and water infrastructure for this park since the inception of the festival. This infrastructure was designed to accommodate the complete festival space with approximately three hundred (300) vendors / stalls as well as open stages. As part of this public-private partnership the festival has supplied the hardware while the municipality did the installation. It is understandable that this development put even more pressure on the relationship with the local authority. The local municipality was also a financial contributor to the festival, but as the interviewee mentioned, the reliability of this support became increasingly problematic because the municipality was at times reluctant to commit to the support. Sometimes they would agree to sponsor, only to withdraw the sponsorship a few months later, and then recommitting during the

¹⁷ This refers to Aardklop management before the festival was disbanded in 2016 after which it was re-established. Some refer to the previous rendition of this festival as 'old Aardklop'.

week that the festival is to commence. This is very problematic for management from a financial risk point of view, as pointed out by the interviewee.

Vrystaat Arts Festival is probably worst off as it has to compete with the annual MACUFE (Mangaung African Cultural Festival) festival also held in the city of Bloemfontein, the latter being more in line with the cultural vision of their local municipality resulting in MACUFE receiving much more support and assistance from local government, as pointed out by three participants. Since the early days of this festival and drawing from experience obtained during their involvement with Gariep Kunstefees, Vrystaat Arts Festival management actively avoided interaction with, and dependence on the local municipality. From the data it is also apparent that local politicians often expect something in return for their sponsorship. Municipal involvement, support or sponsorship therefore often have strings attached which is often not in line with a festival's vision or purpose. Current management report a general dismissiveness exhibited by local government, a kind of denial that the Vrystaat Arts Festival even exists, making it a rather hostile situation in Bloemfontein (Vrystaat M2). Fortunately, the Vrystaat Arts Festival is held in partnership with the University of the Free State and makes use of the premises and facilities of this institution. This makes it less vulnerable to the whims of local politicians. It is, however, not immune and management has to make considerable efforts every year to ensure survival and to improve this festival's public image.

Local community and community cohesion

Festivals have a vital role to play in engaging with communities in that they facilitate development, further community cohesion, and serve as a platform for marketing the town in which it is hosted (Attala, 2012; Jarman, 2018; Scholtz *et al.*, 2019). Scholtz (2014) goes further by stating that the South African government recognizes tourism (and by implication festivals) as a key strategy that can lead to community upliftment. For an arts festival, this is an opportunity to participate in a community, but it is also a difficult task to accomplish as the typical South African arts festival spans over less than a week. This leads to a situation where the festival is perceived to be ever present in a community; however, this is not necessarily so. In the case of Aardklop, the festival does not even have a physical office in Potchefstroom anymore, as permanent staff work from home. This can very easily create the impression that a festival only exists for its own benefit or for the benefit of its target audience and thereby excluding a sizeable portion of a local community. Festival organisers therefore had to devise creative ways to manage this situation.

According to Aardklop management, although their mandate is primarily the promotion of Afrikaans arts, they see great value in including especially classical music in their programme as they claim that music is a universal language which appeals to many different cultures (Aardklop M1). Having different cultures in an audience again enhances local social cohesion. This can also be said for

Innibos and KKNK who also include various artists as part of their main music programme. This variety of artists appeal to a variety of different cultures and is not limited to the Afrikaans culture. In the case of Innibos, the Mpumalanga government sees it as an event through which they as a government structure can contribute towards social cohesion, this according to Innibos management.

Kunste Onbeperk, the parent organisation to KKNK, also see it as their responsibility to be involved in in the local community throughout the year. They accomplish this through various efforts such as the *Teksmark* (Script market), the aim of which is to develop new South African scripts and to create a platform for playwrights to market their work (KKNK, 2020). To quote a member of management (KKNK M2),

“...the ability to give a voice to a previously unheard dialect, to hear this dialect on stage, these types of things, I can give several examples of where arts, theatre and a festival such as the KKNK becomes an example of what our country could or should be like.”

Interestingly, this initiative is hosted in the Baxter Theatre in Cape Town and not in Oudtshoorn where the parent festival is held. Efforts local to Oudtshoorn include the arts and music originating from all Afrikaans cultures resulting in an eclectic mix in festival programming also promoting social cohesion. The KKNK offers casual job opportunities and accompanying training to local job seekers. Furthermore, the KKNK is also installing permanent public art in its host town and has made it an annual priority to engage with local schools and old age homes and also to provide feedback to the local chamber of business.

As a community outreach project, the Woordfees in Stellenbosch has launched the WOW- project. *Woorde Open Wêreld* (Words Open Worlds) is funded by NATi (*Nasionale Afrikaanse Teater-inisiatief*) who in turn is funded by the *Dagbreek Trust*. Woordfees is a product of the University of Stellenbosch which makes this project essentially a university outreach programme. This project is aimed at the promotion of language, literature and arts in schools in previously disadvantaged communities by broadening the horizons of learners and teachers in these communities (Woordfees, 2020). This is a clever way of introducing potential students to the University of Stellenbosch, while simultaneously sourcing potential future audiences for Woordfees. This festival also strives to shift perceptions about local neighbourhoods by utilising a venue in Cloeteville, a previously disadvantaged neighbourhood in Stellenbosch. This draws attendees into a neighbourhood which they would never before have dared to enter, hereby also broadening horizons. One interviewee recalls a conversation with an attendee where the latter admitted that by attending an event in Cloeteville it was the first time in the 21 years that she has lived in Stellenbosch that she set foot in this previously disadvantaged neighbourhood (Woordfees M3). The Woordfees also hosts concerts in affluent parts of town, aimed at residents from previously disadvantaged neighbourhoods in an attempt to blur the borders instilled by heritage and privilege.

Aardklop has attempted something similar by presenting shows in Ikageng in Potchefstroom, but not with the same levels of success (Aardklop M1).

From most of the interviews with members of management, the inevitability that local residents in the immediate vicinity of the festival would complain about noise, traffic, and access to their neighbourhood, was apparent. Festivals tend to fence or enclose the immediate vicinity of the festival space in order to control crowds and traffic, among other reasons. This leads to considerable frustration on the part of locals. This is a phenomenon that needs careful consideration from management, since when it is ignored it can lead to considerable resistance towards the festival, especially when neglected for prolonged periods. In order to manage this, festivals need to continually engage with residents in order for residents to feel heard and included.

As an integral part of local community, the relationships with the local businesses also warrant consideration from festival management. At the KKNK, a local restaurateur complained about being excluded from benefit as the festival effectively captures its audience inside the festival space (KKNK S6). When shared with a former festival director, she shared an interesting insight regarding this sentiment. She pointed out that this restaurateur in all probability has not contributed to the planning and marketing of the festival and expected to benefit from the festival by 'riding along' in the wake of the festival's success. The former director was of opinion that the restaurateur should get involved by hiring stall space in the enclosed festival space which incidentally is exactly what this restaurateur then did, with considerable success (Woordfees A8). What can be drawn from this, is that while festivals bring visitors and possible business to a destination, many locals start to see it as their right to benefit from the festival. Locals are however reluctant to contribute or get involved in organizing the festival.

Related to this phenomenon is predatory festivals. This is a parasitic initiative where local opportunists use the momentum generated by the arts festival for their own benefit (Aardklop M1). This is usually done by hosting a festival of their own during the same time in the same or neighbouring town as the authentic arts festival. Another common occurrence is when a local venue, after functioning as an official festival venue for several years, decides to go private and host its own events or musical programme during the arts festival. Attendees are then fooled into assuming that the programme presented at this venue is part of the official programme. The predatory venue does not necessarily need to blatantly mislead attendees but can do so by timing their programme or line-up in such a way that it coincides with the official arts festival. Festival management uses several avenues to discourage this behaviour ranging from contractually binding / restricting artists who are part of the official programme, to law suits with individuals who deliberately use the festival name in the marketing of their events. In general festival management would first engage with such individuals to find a diplomatic solution before litigating (Aardklop M1). Our focus now turns to the relationship with sponsors.

Sponsors

Sponsors come in different shapes and sizes and with different motives as pointed out above. A current festival director divides sponsors into three broad categories; the donor, the sponsor (looking for advertisement value) and lastly, the production sponsor (Aardklop M1). The donor is the most sought after of all types of sponsors, but from the data it is apparent that sponsors are becoming less inclined to sponsor festivals unconditionally. Initially sponsors have been quite eager to contribute financially towards the fledgling Afrikaans arts festivals, but this traditional patron of the arts is fast becoming an endangered species. They do however still exist in the form of the *Dagbreek Trust*¹⁸ as it is the mandate of this trust to support and sustain Afrikaans in the broader sense.

Sponsors tend to want value for their money, mostly in the form of advertising. According to a current festival director, sponsors would first consider what they want to realise from sponsoring a particular festival (Aardklop M1). Should a sponsor want to reach the general festival attendee, then they would be offered a space on the main festival space or in the official programme, for example. Should they want to reach a specific market segment (e.g. teenagers) then they would be encouraged to sponsor a production aimed at this market segment. Sponsors are therefore allowed to choose products that fall within their mandate. Naspers / Media24 have initially provided the seed funding for the establishment of the KKNK, and as soon as they realised the advertising potential associated with arts festivals, they were more motivated to participate. This advertising potential also drove them to establish the Vrystaat Arts Festival, then known as the Volksblad Kunstefees. This was discussed in the previous chapter.

Sponsorship can also be used to influence festival management. The Mpumalanga provincial government, after initially withdrawing its sponsorship after Steve Hofmeyr sang the Afrikaans cultural song and previous South African national anthem (*Die Stem*) at Innibos in 2014, renewed its support to Innibos and increased its sponsorship to this festival in 2015, no strings attached (Lowvelder, 2015). This artist is known for his controversial and divisive sentiments and festivals tend to avoid him after this debacle. Festivals are quite sensitive about the image they portray publicly, as this inevitably influences future sponsors on which festivals rely heavily for survival. Arts festivals are, however, not only focused on survival, but also need to develop current and future audiences as this also contributes towards the success of the festival.

¹⁸ The purpose of Dagbreek Trust is the promotion of the Afrikaans language and culture by promoting Afrikaans in its full diversity across racial boundaries (Dagbreek Trust, 2021).

5.3 Audience development and programming

Audience development can refer both to the expansion and development of current and future audiences as well as the educational development of current audiences (Kemp & Poole, 2016). All current festival management deemed it important to challenge their audience's perceptions through thought provoking programming. It is through theatre productions and visual art dealing with difficult topics that they strive to influence and expose their traditional audience to new reconciling ideas. Scripts dealing with current issues in South African society are deliberately included in the programme to achieve these ideals. One interviewee states that if an audience returns home and do not talk about the productions they have seen, then management have failed in their task (Aardklop M1). They (the audience) do not necessarily have to agree with what they have seen, but as long as critical thought and discussion takes place, then the festivals have succeeded in their mandate. A further aim of festivals is to open up the experience horizons of attendees. A municipal representative in Mbombela mentioned that had it not been for Innibos, there would be countless productions that he would never attended and this has broadened his perceptions considerably (Innibos M3).

Curating the programming at festivals is no easy feat, as can be gathered from this excerpt from an interview with a former festival director on audience development and the integrity of programming (Woordfees A8):

"I think what started happening at Aardklop and the KKNK is that they grew too big, with one free-entrance stage on the other, so you have a lot of people there that do not pay for the arts, they come there and spend the whole day at a free-entrance stage, a (non-paying) culture was created by doing this. In the beginning we went through a lot of trouble by requiring artists to sing original Afrikaans music and to have live accompaniment, because Beeld had a stage and ATKV had a stage and so on. But then a sponsor comes and offers half a million rand but they want a stage in exchange. So during the first year we succeeded in selecting artists in cooperation with them, but that faded later on. Eventually it became overwhelming and (I) just told them to carry on and do their thing."

The practice of having free-entrance shows at festivals has been present since the inception of Afrikaans arts festivals and was used as a means to draw attendees to festivals and to provide a platform for upcoming artists to gain experience and exposure. As this interviewee also points out, it can be harmful to the quality and by implication the reputation of a festival as well. Along with the free-entrance stages comes a crowd that prefer not to pay for entertainment. This creates problems for festival management because now you have to cater and provide services for attendees who do not contribute to the survival of the festival or the arts in any way. Services such as parking, toilets, and security have to be provided to these attendees at the expense of the festival, an expense not only in the literal sense, but also because the discerning well-heeled high-arts

consumer typically prefer not to mix with the masses. This high arts consumer is exactly the type of attendee a festival wishes to draw, as they are accustomed to pay for entertainment and as a result tend to spend more per capita on theatre tickets; which is what actually support the arts directly. These attendees do not want to fight for parking, they prefer not to be crowded and they typically do not set foot on the main festival space. They are found in the theatres and in local restaurants, this according to several members of current and past management and discerning attendees alike. The only festival veering from this point of view is Innibos. According to this festival's management, the typical Innibos attendee attends for the extensive live music programme and the arts and crafts market, with a smaller portion of attendees interested in the theatre component (Innibos M1, M2). For this reason, the theatre programme at Innibos is limited in comparison to other Afrikaans arts festivals, but the expensive daily entrance fees to this festival compensates for this and it suits their business model rather well.

A current festival director said it well (Vrystaat M2):

“I also think the social impact function of festivals help people to negotiate issues with themselves in a space that is relatively neutral and safe. The impact of a festival is not only what happens here (at the festival), it is what happens to the people that are here and who then return to their communities who were not present at the festival.”

This underlines the far reaching importance of festivals in that they do not only provide growth to the individuals that visit them, but also influence communities across the country because when attendees experience personal growth and enlightenment at festivals, this is transferred to their individual spheres of influence. A telling example of this is an attendee interviewed at Aardklop, who is a passionate high school teacher from Rustenburg. She attends for two reasons; to get her own annual cultural fix and to gather ideas and inspiration for her teaching back home (Aardklop A8).

An initiative employed by at least two of the festivals, Aardklop and Woordfees, is to be involved in the development of young audiences. Aardklop has initiated a new project, *Pronkpodium*, which provides a platform for student and teen drama productions and also serves to develop an appreciation for the arts with potential future audiences (Aardklop M1). Aardklop hereby also deliberately set out to re-engage with local university students by sponsoring local university drama competitions and inviting the top three teams to perform during the annual arts festival. Management stated that this was done in order to attempt to undo the damage done under previous management when entrance fees were set completely out of reach of the average student and also to reintroduce the festival to this student market. Another advantage of hosting teen drama productions is that the festival is introduced to the parents of these participants thereby serving as a valuable marketing tool. Woordfees is also involved in future audience development in the form of the WOW project as discussed above.

Discourse and public debates, as part of festival programming, are gaining popularity locally. During these sessions panel discussions are held with local experts on pressing current affairs. These discussions are open to the public and sometimes broadcasted live on national radio, mainly RSG (*Radio Sonder Grense*), also a prominent sponsor. An interviewee recalled a session she had attended where matters were discussed so directly that the average citizen would cringe at what was said (Woordfees M1). She pointed out that arts festivals facilitate neutral and intellectual environments in which such discussions can safely take place and she was of opinion that it had 'tremendous' ripple effects on society and that it inevitably resulted in mind shifts in people. Similar to this, a current festival director had the following to say (Woordfees M3):

"A festival should be a space where you can ask any question as long as you are prepared to hear an honest and direct answer. This is to me the main purpose of an arts festival. Not only is it there to create entertainment, yes it is an escape, but ultimately it is for the thinkers, it is to provide people with a fresh perspective on life, to provide new energy and to hopefully create new positivity which can then be transferred to a community. It is interesting to sometimes observe, where a country is finding itself at a certain stage, that same pressure or unease you will see at a festival."

It is clear that these two participants have the same line of thought, which is understandable as they both reside in Stellenbosch, yet they are responsible for different festivals or aspects of different festivals. It is clear that they form part of the same school of thought and that they have regular contact. This does not however detract from the validity of their statements.

Creating new interest, reinforcing current loyalty and cultivating new future audiences are vital to the sustainability of an arts festival. As arts festivals inevitably play an economical role in a society, it would be important to explore the perceptions on local economic impact. Our focus therefore now turns to this topic.

5.4 Perceptions on local economic impact

An ideal way to ensure a positive local economic impact which in turn contributes towards a positive attitude from local residents is to involve local charities, organisations and entrepreneurs. It will, however, not be covered in depth as other authors have done so extensively (Drummond *et al.*, 2021; Saayman & Rossouw, 2011; Saayman & Saayman, 2006, 2015; Snowball *et al.*, 2016; Snowball & Antrobus, 2001, 2005; Strydom *et al.*, 2006; Tanford & Jung, 2017; Viviers & Slabbert, 2012; Van Zyl, 2008; Van Zyl & Botha, 2004). This section therefore aims to explore only the perceptions on local economic impact. These perceptions may include those of all participants in arts festivals, from attendees through to management.

One Aardklop participant pointed out that this festival has positive as well as negative economic impacts (Aardklop A3). He pointed out that the congregation¹⁹ to which he belongs has had a successful food stall since inception of this festival and that this food stall has done well over the years. Proceeds from this festival directly benefits the local community, if not only financially then socially and spiritually as well, as this congregation does local charity and community upliftment. From observation it is common to see local congregations, schools, retirement homes and other charitable organisations running food stalls at these arts festivals which form part of this research. For some organisations the local arts festival is their main fund raising event for the year. At Aardklop these organisations are not necessarily resident in Potchefstroom, but originate from the greater Potchefstroom / Klerksdorp / Fochville district indicating a wider regional economic influence. This can be said for Innibos, Vrystaat Arts Festival and KKNK as well, but due to the lack of a retail / stall space at Woordfees, it would have to work harder to contribute economically to the region as a whole. Woordfees does have community upliftment programmes as discussed in Section 4.2.3, but from observation it lacks self-initiated community efforts which are found at the other major Afrikaans arts festivals.

Several participants at the various arts festivals have pointed out that the hospitality sector benefits tremendously from the arts festivals. They have pointed out that all accommodation is mostly fully booked and that restaurants are fuller than normal. It must be kept in mind that these are the perceptions of visitors. Some participants also had the insight to point out the economic spin-offs from an increased volume of visitors to a host-town. They have pointed out that the hospitality sector had to hire more staff during the festival time to accommodate the increase in guest numbers. This increase in employment stretches for longer than the festival duration and can start from two months leading up to a festival and ending in the month that the festivals takes place. This is because extra staff need to receive training and have basic work experience prior to the festival. Participants identifying as management, have also mentioned that most of the casual appointments are sourced locally. Casual or temporary appointments include anything from security staff, ticketing, stage hands, cleaners, ushers, cashiers, bartending, waiters, kitchen staff to name but a few examples. It can be gathered from this that festivals do create ample temporary job opportunities. KKNK management has pointed out that they aim to have a more permanent positive influence by offering apprenticeships in technical theatre support, such as lighting and sound operations. These skills can later be put toward a career, should the apprentice choose to pursue a related career (KKNK M2).

Economic impacts are, however, not always positive. The Aardklop participant mentioned above has also pointed out that the butchery situated close to the Aardklop festival's space, annually close

¹⁹ Congregation in this context refers to a local church group participating as a stall owner at a particular arts festival.

their business for the duration of this festival (Aardklop A3). This is due to the festival closing off (in recent years) a one-block radius around the festival space and thereby cutting off the regular clientele. This applies to similar businesses such as accountants, lawyers, estate agents who do not necessarily benefit from the average festival attendee. These businesses either close shop completely for the duration of the festivals, thereby losing income, or they clear their premises and let it to prominent art galleries who then utilise these spaces as temporary exhibition spaces. The businesses choosing to follow this route at least generate some rental income in festival time. It should also be pointed out that the negative economic impact is not limited to the duration of the festival. It can stretch from two to three weeks prior to the festival to at least one week after the festival. This is the time when the festival sets up and prepares for the actual festival and also the time it takes to dismantle the festival infrastructure and clear the actual festival space and surrounding areas. During this time skittish local residents choose to rather avoid the immediate vicinity of the festival space, resulting in a decline or loss of income for local businesses. From observation, this is unique to Aardklop in Potchefstroom; Woordfees in Stellenbosch; and KKNK in Oudtshoorn, to a lesser extent. The remaining two festivals, Vrystaat Arts Festival and Innibos have enclosed festival spaces, removed from the town centres and therefore have a smaller negative impact on local businesses.

It must be pointed out that most of the stalls at an arts festival are not owned by locals, but rather by dedicated travelling entrepreneurs who travel from festival to event to festival to sell their goods or produce, a type of travelling economy (Aardklop M1). Much of the revenue generated by these non-local vendors inevitably leaves the host town, but is revenue generated from attendees visiting from elsewhere which means that this practice does not drain the local economy. When asked about these various impacts and observations, management has invariably claimed that their festival had had a nett positive effect on the host town and that they urge locals to become more involved in the festivals. They base their claims on independent economic impact studies that they initiate from time to time (Aardklop M1; Innibos M1, M2; KKNK M2, Vrystaat M2).

These economic activities are mostly concentrated on a dedicated festival space which brings with it a myriad of organisational elements. These will be discussed next.

5.5 Festival space – The embodiment of the festival

“Festivals that exclude local residents and stakeholders from public spaces do so only temporarily, though the legacy of such actions can extend further if urban environments become seen as reserved only for those who can afford to engage with them” (Jarman, 2018:339). The festival space makes out an integral part of each festival as all of the festivals visited had a festival space where a festive atmosphere (‘vibe’) could be detected. Setting it apart from other festivals, the

Woordfees (Stellenbosch) does not have an enclosed retail space, yet when confronting management with this observation, it was pointed out that they do in fact have pockets of festivity such as at the Endler Hall (Victoria Street), the Erfurt Building and at the Stellenbosch University Museum and Art Gallery (Ryneveld Street). These spaces host pop-up restaurants and book shops which buzz with activity during the festival's duration (Woordfees M3).

To some attendees the flea market or stall space is a major attraction and motivator to visit festivals (Kruger, 2020) while others, usually high art consumers, have an aversion to it as one attendee and several members of management stated (this is discussed further in section 7.3.2). The type of festival space therefore affords a certain character to a festival and in return the festival contributes to place making in the town in which it is hosted.

Aardklop, Woordfees and KKNK are reliant on public spaces to host their festivals whereas Innibos and Vrystaat Kunstefees make use of private property. This brings with it several issues with regards to the preparation and use of these spaces. In the case of Aardklop it has become increasingly difficult to maintain consistent input and commitment from the local municipality. Potchefstroom is no stranger to urban decay, more so in recent years and this was evident in the suburb where Aardklop is hosted. Municipal infrastructure visibly deteriorated in the years that the researcher had been visiting this festival (2004 - 2019²⁰). Deterioration of public spaces, where festivals usually are held, has occurred widely in South Africa in the last two decades as value and the use of public space changed in the African context. Soft public spaces such as public parks see degradation because of the lack of understanding of the role that these spaces play in urban survival in South Africa (Landman, 2016). This makes for an increasingly difficult situation as far as festival management are concerned, a situation not necessarily receiving the desired attention from local government because of differences in priorities and context as gathered from Landman (2016). The only current festivals having to deal directly with the deterioration of public space are Aardklop and Woordfees, the latter taking place in a much better managed urban area.

All arts festivals where an arts market is present, curate goods sold in the festival space craft markets, insisting that goods need to be handmade and authentic, hereby ensuring a certain level of quality which in turn differentiates the festival markets from common flea markets. This policy regarding the authenticity of crafts, is passionately enforced at Innibos by their experienced crafts market curator, highlighted by both public and stall owners as a strength of this festival. This level of vigilance concerning product quality aims to ensure the integrity of the arts market and also leads to the continued sustainability of such a market. As one management interviewee explained, as soon as mass produced merchandise, commonly Chinese made products, are allowed to the enter

²⁰ The last Aardklop arts festival to be held in Potchefstroom before Covid-19 struck was in 2019. The 2020 festival was cancelled and the 2021 edition was held as a much smaller festival, mostly in Pretoria.

the market, then the character of the market changes and along with it, the type of attendee. This then detrimentally influences the character of the festival as a whole, not to mention the loss of income potential as a result (Innibos M1, M2).

The management of a festival space is an exercise in balancing different needs from different role players. Attendees, stall holders / vendors and artists impose different needs on a festival space. The attendee sees this space as a place to socially engage with other likeminded individuals and hopefully also engage with the arts, whereas the artist uses this space as a means to express themselves creatively. Stall owners or vendors use it purely as a retail space. In the early days of Afrikaans arts festivals much attention was given to the integrity and quality of the products found on festival spaces. Aardklop, KKNK and Gariep arts festivals have explicitly stated that no back tracks were to be used as part of musical performances on official and informal stages, implying that artists had to employ live accompaniment. Although this policy generally still applies for both performing and visual arts, this was relaxed to some degree at open stages which usually form part of beer gardens or public spaces. An Aardklop director explained that along with the exceptional growth that this festival has experienced during the first years of its existence it became very difficult and unviable to curate the open stages found in beer gardens and open spaces as these spaces were often hosted in a sponsored space where the sponsor demanded a level of autonomy regarding programming choice (KKNK M2). KKNK has a sponsored main festival stage and when asked on the programming choice, current management clearly stated that they have full control over the content of this stage, but less control over smaller informal stages found in beer tents. Innibos also has complete control over the programming on their various open stages because the content of these stages is the main attraction at this very popular arts festival (Innibos M2).

This practice was overly abundant during the early years of Afrikaans festivals, yet still present at today's festivals. Open stages are handy as a marketing tool and as a means of drawing crowds to a festival. Sponsors also enjoy open stages as it results in exposure for their product or brand. As stated previously sponsors want something in return for their sponsorship and this is an easy way to satisfy a sponsor. This comes at a cost, however, as the content at these stages erodes the integrity of the other arts present at the arts festival. Crowd pleasing or popular arts which draw large crowds does not necessarily contribute to the aims of an arts festival and the crowds resulting from these free to attend stages also do not necessarily contribute to the festival as a whole. They are a liability rather, as services need to be provided to these individuals in the form of safety, sanitation and parking to name but a few. According to a former director, these attendees tend not to support the official festival programme by buying tickets to stage or theatre productions, ticket sales on which the festivals rely for survival and to fund the creation of new future arts content. This necessitated the enclosure of festival spaces in order to realise value for the festival by charging an entrance fee to enter the space in which the free attendance stages are hosted (Woordfees A8).

Festival spaces have, depending on the festival, taken on different guises and stood for different values over time. As the festivals grew, they also had to take cognisance of their realities and future growth paths and this has inevitably presented issues with the space where the festivals were held and also the character that these spaces embodied. KKNK, the pioneer Afrikaans festival²¹, had its first festival in the suburb known as *Rivierbuurt* in Oudtshoorn. At first this festival space was completely open and offered free entrance while visitors were expected to purchase tickets for concerts held in formal concert venues elsewhere in town. This practice established a culture of non-payment with a certain grouping of festival attendees, mainly those who attend solely to socialize and browse the arts market. As a current festival director pointed out, this resulted in considerable problems for current festival management because a sizeable portion of attendees expect to attend a festival free of charge. This is not sustainable, unless abundant sponsorships present itself, which is not realistic in the current economic climate in South Africa. In order to recoup the costs of setting up and running a festival space, a practice of charging entrance was pioneered by Innibos after which Aardklop and KKNK soon followed suit (KKNK M2).

The fencing and containment of festival spaces also serve to contain and separate the low arts consumer from the high arts consumer, the former usually attending for the arts market and for having a good social time and the latter attending to support the high arts or formal theatre productions on the official festival programme. These two types of consumers are different species and tend not to mix well as pointed out by two former festival directors (Aardklop M2, Woordfees A8). This is why Woordfees is regarded by many as the more exclusive festival, as the general beer swigging public is not present at this festival. The absence of the free-to-attend stages in the upmarket town of Stellenbosch contributes to the connoisseur character of this festival. A drawback of an enclosed festival space, although merited, is that it excludes a portion of the local population, a portion that does not necessarily have the means to buy a daily entrance ticket to enter this now exclusive festival space. When asked about this, a number of former and current festival directors have pointed out that a discounted multiple entry ticket is available and to mitigate this issue further, this ticket is offered at an even larger discount to the local community for a limited period in the weeks leading up to the festival (Aardklop M1, KKNK M2). Although this goes some way in addressing this issue, it does however still exclude a portion of society, leading to negative perceptions towards the festival as elaborated on in section 5.2.

A negative aspect of the KKNK, according to a local restaurant owner in Oudtshoorn, who also had two stalls in the festival space, was the practice of charging admission to the festival space. She reasoned that this has a negative economic impact on local businesses since it keeps people out of town and out of restaurants. She also noted that in order to get the most out of their admission

²¹ KKNK came into existence in 1995.

payments, attendees tended to spend their time inside the festival space effectively monopolizing revenue for the festival (KKNK S6). When asked about this, a former KKNK director has pointed out that this was intentional, as the restaurant owner does not necessarily contribute to the festival but that the opposite is true. The local businessman typically chooses to benefit from the surge of customers resulting from the festival's sizeable marketing efforts without contributing anything towards marketing. The perception that the festival has the sole responsibility to draw people to the town, for the benefit of the town, can easily emerge. This, however, is skewed. While the festival does contribute to the economic upliftment of the town in general, it still has a responsibility towards its own sustainability and also the sustainability of the arts. These interests are the priority of the festival management and following this, the interests of local businesses (Woordfees A8).

Managing these various aspects surrounding the festival space, public perceptions towards it and also the economic sustainability of the festival is vital to the survival of the festival. Our attention now turns towards the sustainability of arts festivals.

5.6 Sustainability of arts festivals

The sustainability of arts festivals has the potential to be a contentious issue, as sustainability as a concept can take on different meanings. Business sustainability is one aspect which festival directors need to keep in mind while also considering the sustainability of Afrikaans arts as a whole. From a government support point of view, the South African arts landscape is generally biased against the Afrikaans arts because of the political baggage associated with this language. For this reason the six producing Afrikaans arts festivals²² need to source their own funding in order to achieve their goals.

A current festival director has a strong vision for sustaining the Afrikaans arts (Aardklop M1). First she points out that in a South African context one should distinguish between producing and non-producing arts festivals. Producing arts festivals aim to produce new arts content while non-producing festivals tend to stage already existing productions with the aim of maximising profit from these productions. For this reason, it is not worthwhile for producing festivals to engage with non-producing festivals. Furthermore, in order to promote the arts and in order for the Afrikaans arts to survive, arts festivals need to cooperate much closer in the future. She envisions a situation where the producing festivals can pool their resources to enable more bargaining power. If the producing arts festivals can engage with possible sponsors, the Lottery Commission or with the National Arts Council and demonstrate how many people are employed in the Afrikaans arts industry as a whole, then it might convince these bodies to support the Afrikaans arts. Equally important is to

²² Aardklop, Innibos, KKNK, Suidoosterfees, Vrystaat Arts Festival and Woordfees.

demonstrate that Afrikaans does not equal white (in the outdated apartheid sense) anymore, but that it represents a much wider culture encompassing multiple races and cultural groupings. Not one festival manager or director mentioned crowd funding a means to obtain vital seed funds to host arts festivals. Most festivals rely on big sponsorships, donations and ticket sales for income (Aardklop M1).

The difficulty lies therein that each festival is entwined in its own individual fight for survival and until festivals reach a point that they realise that they are not necessarily in competition with one another, but it is a joint struggle for survival, will they unlock the potential of collective bargaining.

Towards festival synergy

Former festival directors have provided insight into the early festivals' management approaches and from this it is evident that competition amongst the first festivals was and still is, although not fierce, definitely present (KKNK M4). Festivals today compete on several fronts, amongst which are festival character, pricing, geographical reach, regional character and of course, arts content. A current festival director has pointed out that festivals not only compete for a limited pool of sponsors, but also added that there is much more cooperation than competition. The type of content presented at a festival resonates with a certain target audience and it is very important for an arts festival to distinguish itself by staging new and innovative content. Festivals, however, cannot stage only new content as it is very resource consuming to create new productions. This has led to a situation where a particular festival would fund the creation of a new production with the premise that this production would then debut at that particular festival (Aardklop M1, Woordfees M1).

The drawback of creating bespoke work is that considerable energy and resources are expended for a very limited production run. A solution to this is to have productions run at multiple festivals, but the drawback to this results in duplication amongst festivals which in turn erodes the festivals audience as pointed out by a former festival director (Woordfees A8). For example, a traditional KKNK supporter living in Durbanville (Cape Town) would think twice before driving the 400 odd kilometres to Oudtshoorn to see a theatre production which could have conveniently been attended at Woordfees in Stellenbosch a few weeks earlier. The same applies to a person living in the eastern Free State who would rather attend the Vrystaat Arts Festival than drive to Potchefstroom to attend Aardklop, assuming that there will be duplication in festival programming. These two examples are based on arts content alone. Should other factors such as sense of place, regional character of natural beauty be factored in, then attendees from Gauteng tend to be lured to the KKNK or Woordfees, as these are also destination festivals because of the natural beauty associated with the home towns of these festivals. The opposite is not true as attendees residing

in the Western Cape are reluctant to visit the so-called northern²³ arts festivals. This will be discussed in Chapter 7. This reality results in so-called *national* arts festivals inevitably becoming regional arts festivals. This is especially true for the northern festivals where they claim to have a national reach but in actual fact only draw attendees from Gauteng and the festival's host province.

In order to ensure sustainability and to realise more value for their initial investment, arts festivals would sell to other arts festivals the products or productions that they had initiated and funded. It is also so that festivals would cooperate and fund new productions on a more informal level. A current festival director has pointed out that this cooperation is more common between Aardklop, KKNK and Woordfees as these seldom include the other three producing festivals, the reason for this being that these three festivals' vision and purpose are more or less aligned (Aardklop M1). This is a positive development as it also ensures more performances for the actors and technical staff, bringing more stability to this arts ecosystem. This form of inter-festival cooperation takes place in an ad hoc fashion. Building on this practice, arts festival directors, in cooperation with funders, have established the Festival Forum (*Feeste Forum*). The Festival Forum consists of the directors of the 6 major producing Afrikaans festivals²⁴ as well as the CEO of NATi. This body's main aim is to encourage and facilitate inter-festival cooperation and dialogue. Together they choose a number of productions and projects to be supported in a particular year. Apart from this, NATi also cooperates and supports individual arts festivals as well as independent artists (Woordfees M1).

NATi (*Nasionale Afrikaanse Teater-inisiatief*)²⁵ was established in 2015 as an initiative of the *Dagbreek Trust*. This initiative's aim is to ensure the sustainability of Afrikaans content in local theatres. It also aims to produce at least four Afrikaans productions per annum in cooperation with the Festival Forum with the premise that these productions run at as many Afrikaans arts festivals as possible (Dagbreek Trust, 2020). This goes a long way in ensuring sustainability in the Afrikaans performing arts. As an interviewee stated, if the state cannot be relied upon to fund the arts and in this instance, the Afrikaans arts, then initiatives such as NATi becomes indispensable. Should funding by NATi and by implication the funding provided by the *Dagbreek Trust*, be withdrawn, then it would leave a void in the sustainability of the Afrikaans arts (Woordfees M2).

Apart from the duplication of content, festivals tend to also have a duplication of management functions. Each festival, although with small differences in general approach, all work towards the

²³ Northern arts festivals: Aardklop, Innibos and Vrystaat Arts Festival.

²⁴ Aardklop, Innibos, KKNK, Suidoosterfees, Vrystaat Arts Festival and Woordfees.

²⁵ "The National Afrikaans Theater Initiative (NATi) is a non-profit, independent organisation, funded by the Dagbreek Trust, which strives for and focuses on the promotion of Afrikaans theatre on premise of inclusivity for the benefit of the broad South African community. NATi was established as a funding and development initiative of deserving Afrikaans theatre in collaboration with the Festival Forum (Aardklop, Innibos, KKNK, Suidoosterfees, Vrystaat Kunstefees and Woordfees) and independent producers. NATi focuses on projects that serve the theatre industry as a whole and add a voice or perspective to a South African narrative in Afrikaans" (NATi, 2021).

same goal, the furthering of Afrikaans arts and culture. Until fairly recently these festivals have functioned independently and were very much focused inward. As mentioned above, festivals are increasingly cooperating with regards to the production of content, but taking into account the current economic situation, it may be prudent to share other functions as well. The KKNK and Aardklop already share a technical manager, but one former festival director is of opinion that this can be implemented on a larger scale which should result in significant savings while promoting sustainability (Woordfees A8). The duplication of functions among festivals is arguably wasteful when a person performing these functions cannot be effectively employed for a full year. According to this former director it is pride standing in the way of the sharing of resources and this person goes further in stating that most of the festivals can be run centrally by a core management who in turn function through a small local staff component who are responsible for local operations (Woordfees A8). This view can lean towards the extreme, but there is merit in this viewpoint as the author is convinced that a level of duplication exists amongst festival management functions. Of course the type of festival ownership will dictate to which degree they would be prepared to relinquish responsibility. In the case of Woordfees it would be unlikely, as this festival is a flagship product of the University of Stellenbosch and in the case of Innibos they would be wary, as this festival reportedly is a privately owned entity. Still, this idea warrants further consideration in order to ensure the future sustainability of Afrikaans arts festivals. If management across Afrikaans festivals can become more lean, then it could lead to considerable savings, an important consideration, especially when rebuilding the festival scape post COVID-19.

5.7 Conclusion

Although various aspects of management are well researched in an international context (Duran *et al.*, 2014; Flinn & Frew, 2014; Frost & Laing, 2015; Luonila *et al.*, 2016; Pugh & Wood, 2004; Todd *et al.*, 2017), it is an often overlooked area in local festival research. For this reason, various individuals in current and past management have been interviewed to gain insights into aspects such as relationships with local government and the local community, community cohesion, audience development, perceptions on local economic impact, relationships with sponsors, creating a festival space, sustainability of arts festivals and cooperation amongst festivals.

The relationships with local government have proved to be varied and complex, depending on the town in which a festival is hosted. In towns where Afrikaans speakers are in a minority (Bloemfontein and Potchefstroom) the relationships have been tense to non-existent; with Mbombela being the exception (where Innibos is held). KKNK has reported less strained relationships with the Oudtshoorn municipality and Woordfees has indicated that they were in rather good standing with the Stellenbosch municipality. Support and funding from the local municipality

in the case of Gariep Kunstefees in Kimberley have proved to be unreliable and were found to often have strings attached in the form of political motives which often would turn out to be detrimental to the festival.

Festival management not only cultivate relationships with local government but also with the local community, as well as with sponsors. Local communities and sponsors have contrasting relationships with arts festivals as they have differing expectations. Local communities stand to benefit from festivals economically and culturally. Sponsors on the other hand mostly want something in return for their sponsorship. Managements have developed ways to satisfy the needs of both local communities and sponsors but it remains an ongoing endeavour to keep the relationships with all parties in good standing.

A further aim of festivals is to open up the experience horizons of attendees. Management aim to deliberately include thought-provoking content in their festival programming, content that would challenge audiences to address issues (current and past) that they normally would not dare to consider. They (the audience) do not necessarily have to agree with what they saw, but as long as critical thought and discussion takes place, then the festivals have succeeded in their mandate. This happens mostly in the theatres and art galleries, but can also happen on the main festival space, the space that for most festivals embodies the festival.

For most Afrikaans arts festival audiences, the main festival space is seen as the festivals and may be the main reason for many to visit a festival (Kruger, 2020). For this reason, festivals (Woordfees excluded) take great care to establish and operate a temporary public outdoor space where arts can be consumed and festivity can be experienced. The presence and importance of a festival space was found to be a contentious subject as it draws large crowds who do not necessarily support theatre, and those who do support theatre tend to avoid the festival space and the large crowds it draws. For the management of Innibos and the now defunct Gariep Kunstefees the festival space is (was) considered a very important component of the festival offering, deserving of great attention. For other Afrikaans arts festivals, the importance of the festival space is not held in such high regard and at Woordfees the festival space is mostly absent. The latter is a more theatre orientated festival explaining the lack of a festival space.

The sustainability of Afrikaans arts festivals also came under the spotlight during the interviews with management. Afrikaans arts festivals have experienced very strong growth in the late 1990s and this continued for a decade thereafter. The only festivals currently showing strong growth are Innibos and Woordfees with the other festivals having to be creative and innovative to survive, let alone grow. Afrikaans arts festivals also became less attractive to sponsorship, as wealth is no longer situated with the Afrikaans middle class. In order to make the existing Afrikaans arts festivals more sustainable, the festival management are collaborating more across festivals. They are more inclined to co-produce theatre productions, although much competition still exists in which festivals

get to debut the co-produced theatre production! Also promoting collaboration among festivals is NATi whose aim it is to inclusively promote the Afrikaans theatre and to the benefit South African society in general. A typical way in which they would realise value for their contributions, is by requiring that a sponsored theatre production be presented at as many festivals as possible. This is good for all who work in theatre and arts but can be detrimental to the unique character of each festival, as content is inevitably duplicated. Afrikaans arts festivals have also created the Festival Forum which should go a long way in promoting cooperation and sustainability in the Afrikaans festivals market.

Afrikaans arts festivals have become accepted as a vital aspect of Afrikaans culture, especially as Afrikaans in general does not enjoy any significant support from government. In order to preserve and promote Afrikaans arts and culture, it is vitally important that Afrikaans arts festivals continue to survive and thrive. To accomplish this, it must be recognized that festivals are co-produced by many different stakeholders who all contribute towards the making and survival of these festivals. Research Objective 4 was achieved in this chapter.

We now turn our focus towards these contributing stakeholders.

6 Chapter 6 - Contributing stakeholders: The modern nomad

6.1 Introduction

When considering contributing stakeholders in arts festivals, various types of stakeholders should be considered (Wallace and Michopoulou, 2019). In the context of this chapter, stakeholders specifically refer to those individuals and entities that contribute towards the arts on offer, as well as the technical support that is needed to make up a successful arts festival. This may include, but is not limited to artists, musicians, actors, various stage management personnel, security, tickets sales, and vendors (stall owners). These role players in arts festivals, especially in a South African context, are an often overlooked aspect of festivals and deserve research attention as the stall fees generated from this sector finances about one-third of the total budget of some arts festivals, with sponsorship and ticket sales making up the other two thirds respectively - this according to interviews with festival management.

For this chapter particular preference was given artists (actors, visual and performing arts) and vendors. The last mentioned make up a sizeable portion of the festival content and by extension a considerable portion of the attraction of local arts festivals. This is true for four of the five festivals visited, with Woordfees being the only major arts festival not to feature a dedicated retail space like Aardklop, Innibos, KKNK and Vrystaat Arts Festival. Role players, selected vendors and actors were however interviewed at Woordfees in order to ensure consistency in the data.

The interviews were guided by a questionnaire which consisted of four sections. A portion of Sections A, Section B and D were relevant to attendees and is presented here in condensed form. An in depth discussion of the questionnaire can be found in section 3.4.

These interviews were transcribed, coded, and analysed. Selected themes emerging from interviews with this grouping of festival contributors will hence be explored in depth. These themes were identified based on the number of participants mentioning and discussing it. The chapter consequently first explores the demographic aspects of stakeholders followed by a description of stakeholders based on their travel behaviour. Then follows a discussion of personal histories, stakeholder feedback and festival ranking. The chapter is concluded by a discussion on cultural expression.

Table 6-1: Abbreviated questionnaire relevant to stakeholders

Section A: General festival attendee	
No.	Theme
1	Establish role
2	Itinerary
3	Festival content
4	Cultural meaning / significance
Section B: Stall owner / Artist / Service provider	
12	Role
13	Merchandise
14	Mobility
15	Itinerary
16	Origin
17	Lifestyle evaluation
18	Festival ranking - most lucrative
19	Festival ranking - favourite
20	Festival evaluation
21	Festival attendance - attendee response
22	Festival attendance - interesting experience
23	Time perspective - own involvement
24	Time perspective - festival change
Section D: Demographic / background	
33	Status at festival
34	Age
35	Nationality
36	Gender
37	Languages
38	Highest qualification
39	Employment sector
40	Household income
41	Province of origin
42	Town of permanent residence
43	Distance travelled to festival
44	Route followed
45	Number of times visiting festival
46	Probability of repeat visit

6.2 Demographics

All participants in this study were asked to complete a section in the questionnaire on demographics. The data pertaining to all role players other than attendees and management have been grouped together across the festivals studied and are now presented in this section.

Of the stakeholders interviewed, twelve (12) had a Grade 12 high school qualification, one reported a trade certificate as highest qualification, nine (9) participants indicated a diploma, eleven (11) indicated a bachelor's degree and one (1) indicated an honours degree as highest qualification. This indicated a relatively high level of education for stall holders, role players and artists mostly indicating that their involvement in arts festivals was by choice and not desperation.

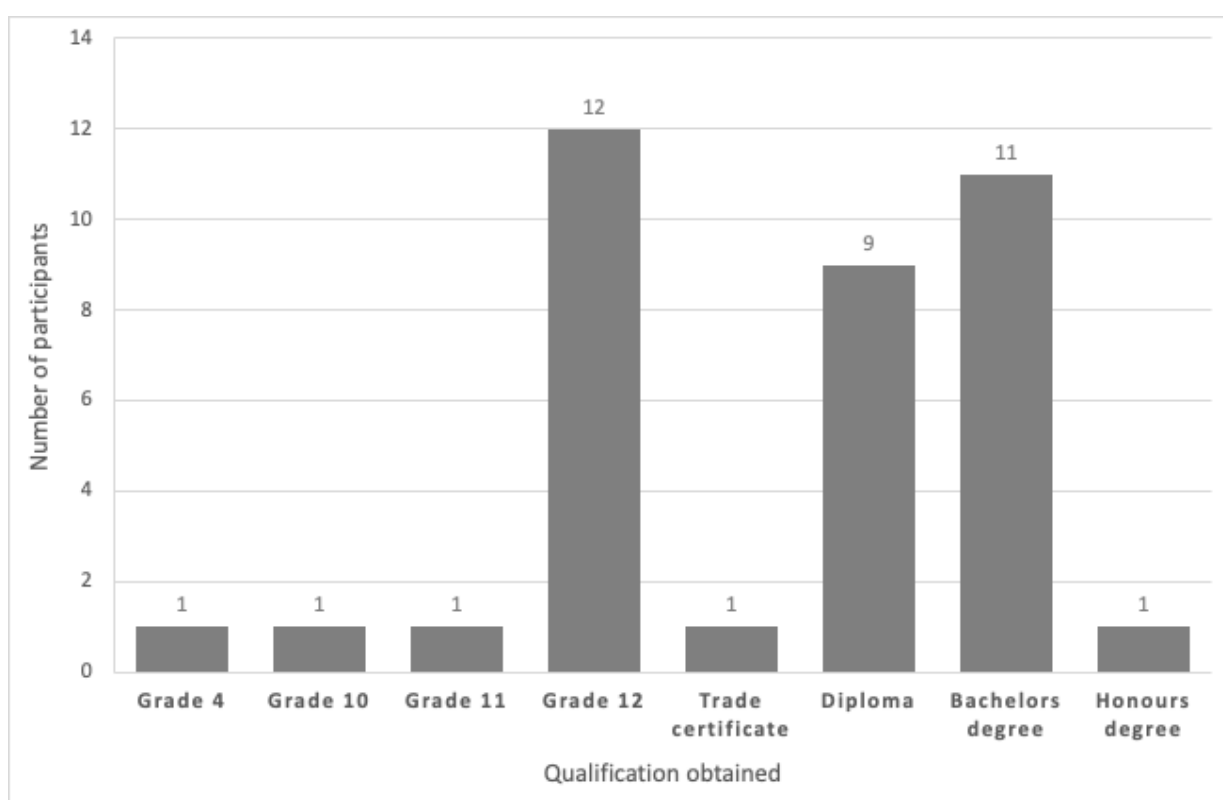


Figure 6-1: Stakeholders - Highest qualification obtained

Most stakeholders were guarded about disclosing their annual household income (Figure 6-2). Most of the stakeholders have indicated an income ranging from lower than R75,000 per year to more than R1 million per year. The income bracket most chosen (by those choosing to share information), was R75,001 to R100,000 per annum. Almost a third of the stakeholders opted not to disclose their income at all. From the interviews with stakeholders and management it was apparent that stakeholder income, and in this case stall owner income, was a contentious issue. Depending on the business model of a particular festival, a percentage commission could be charged on all

transactions involving the sale of goods in the dedicated stall space. In the case of Woordfees for example, the management enforces a cash-free environment. This has the advantage of increased safety as large volumes of cash are avoided completely, but it also allows management to closely monitor the sale of vendors at the festival. This business model involves issuing all vendors with an official card machine linked to the festival bank account. This in turn allows management to deduct a percentage commission from all sales before pay-out to the vendors and it also serves as marketing statistics when festival management approaches possible funders and sponsors. According to management, this is sound business practice, but it causes some mistrust and unhappiness with vendors explaining their hesitance when sharing information on sales or personal income. From past experience some vendors / stall holders were of the opinion that as they already pay rent for their stall space, they are entitled to all income from their sales and that a commission on transactions negatively impacts on their business sustainability. This past experience is not necessarily true for Aardklop, Innibos, Vrystaat Arts Festival or KKNK, but true for their past experience with trade shows and expos, yet it remains applicable as management of these festivals should take note of this sentiment. One participant bluntly stated that this was the reason why she does not and will not exhibit at Oppikoppi or Woordfees.

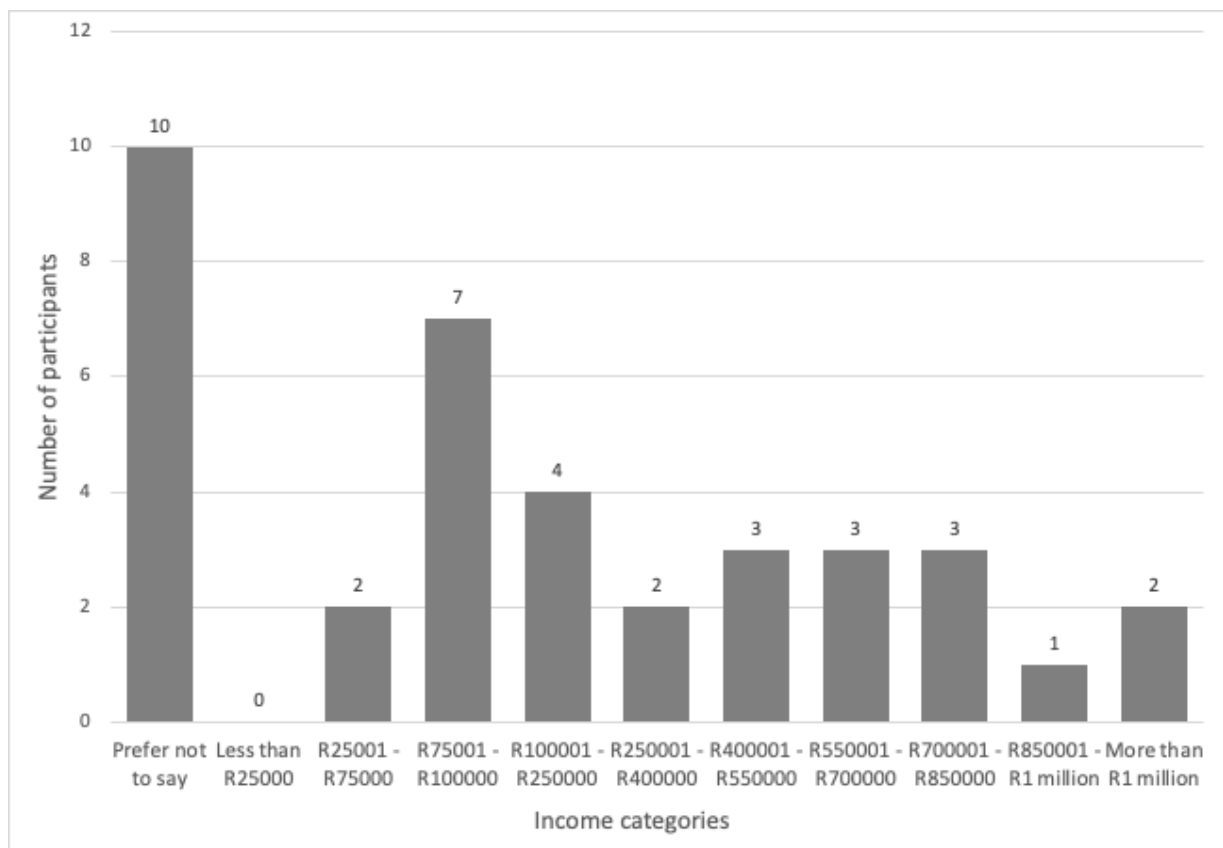


Figure 6-2: Stakeholders - Annual household income

On the theme of festival loyalty (Figure 6-3), when asked about the number of times that stakeholders attended a particular festival, most stakeholders fifteen (15) indicated that they have attended that particular festival more than ten times. Eight stakeholders indicated that they have exhibited between seven and ten times and four indicated that they have exhibited between four and six times. Six stakeholders mentioned that they have exhibited between two and three times and four stakeholders have exhibited or traded at that particular festival for the very first time. The latter indicates healthy renewed interest which is positive for festival sustainability. While most stakeholders were very loyal by choosing to exhibit as a particular festival for more than ten times (not necessarily for consecutive years), it is heartening to observe that there is considerable renewal of interest among new exhibitors and that the existing offering at the festivals are not stagnant or stale.

Renewal can either be driven organically by new entrepreneurs entering the market, as is evident with the number of first time traders present at the festivals, or it can be driven institutionally by management pruning old growth in a manner of speaking. It is expected that the latter is not the case. Renewal or festival loyalty can rather be attributed to a natural life cycle of exhibitors / vendors growing older and choosing not to participate anymore and then being replaced by new entrepreneurs who choose to enter the market for whatever reason.

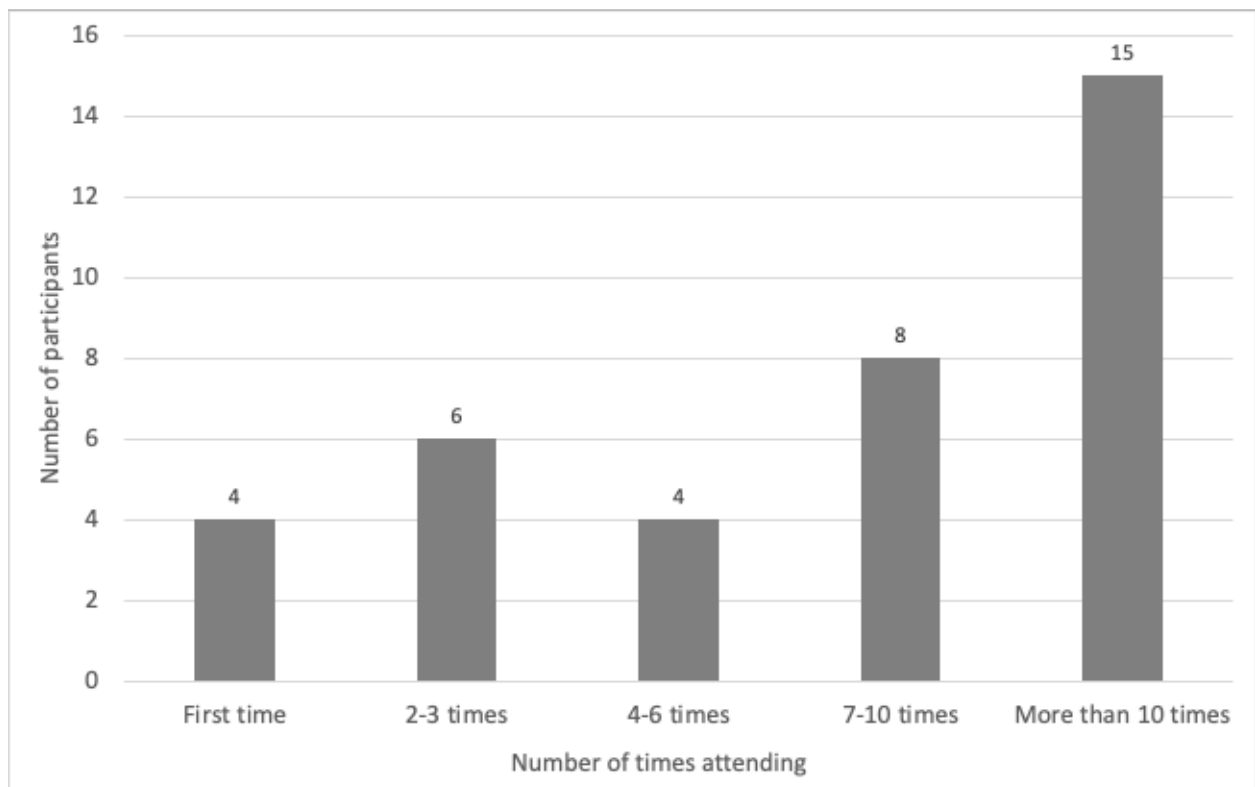


Figure 6-3: Stakeholders - Number of times attending a particular festival

From the data, as well as from field observation, it was evident that the age groups best represented among stakeholders at Afrikaans arts festivals were the ages forty-one to fifty (41-50), fifty-one to sixty (51-60) and sixty-one to seventy (61-70) (Figure 6-4). The age group twenty-five to thirty was totally absent and only one stakeholder in the age group eighteen to twenty-four (18-24) was interviewed. Individuals representing the age groups seventy-one (71) and older were all female. In the most represented age groups the gender representation was almost similar.

The youngest vendor who was a barista manning a coffee stand at Woordfees, was an entrepreneur. He is a co-owner of a coffee roastery and the coffee stand was a logical extension of this business. Also of interest is that this individual represents the age group in which it is trendy to own and run a coffee business. Running the risk of stereotyping, the oldest participant traded in home-baked goods (at Innibos) such as rusks and biscuits and capitalised on her grandma image by dressing age appropriately and employing her own grandchildren to help out at the stall.

Most stakeholders were between forty-one (41) and seventy (70) years of age indicating that these stakeholders were generating their main income by trading at events such as arts festivals. This was confirmed during the interviews. Their various reasons for choosing to lead this lifestyle will be explored in the next section.

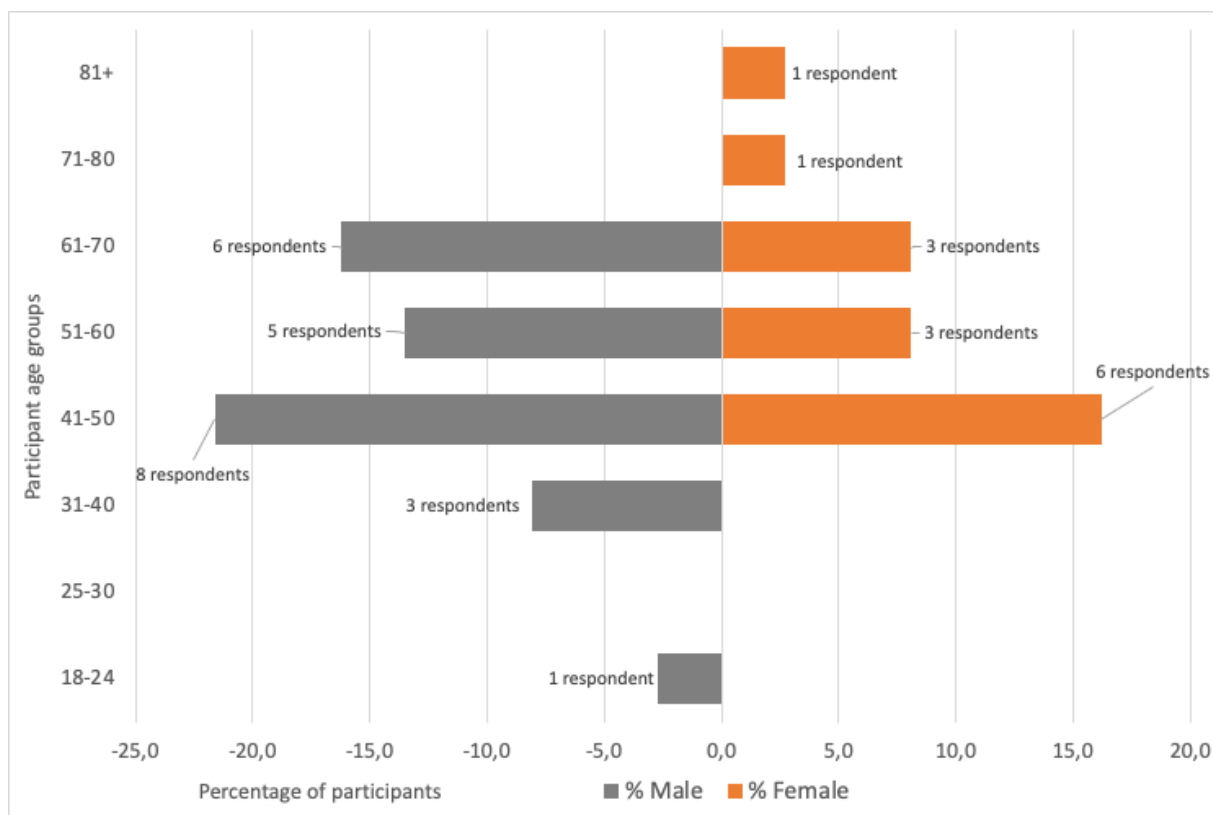


Figure 6-4: Stakeholders - Age versus gender

The following section will explore the different types of stakeholders present at arts festivals.

6.3 Typifying stakeholders

Arts festivals draw participants from all over South Africa and in some cases from Southern Africa. It is the places of origin and the routes that the participants follow (the spatialities) to and from arts festivals which make up the various geographies of the Afrikaans arts festivals. The following map (Figure 6-5) depicts the spatiality of the various stakeholders interviewed.

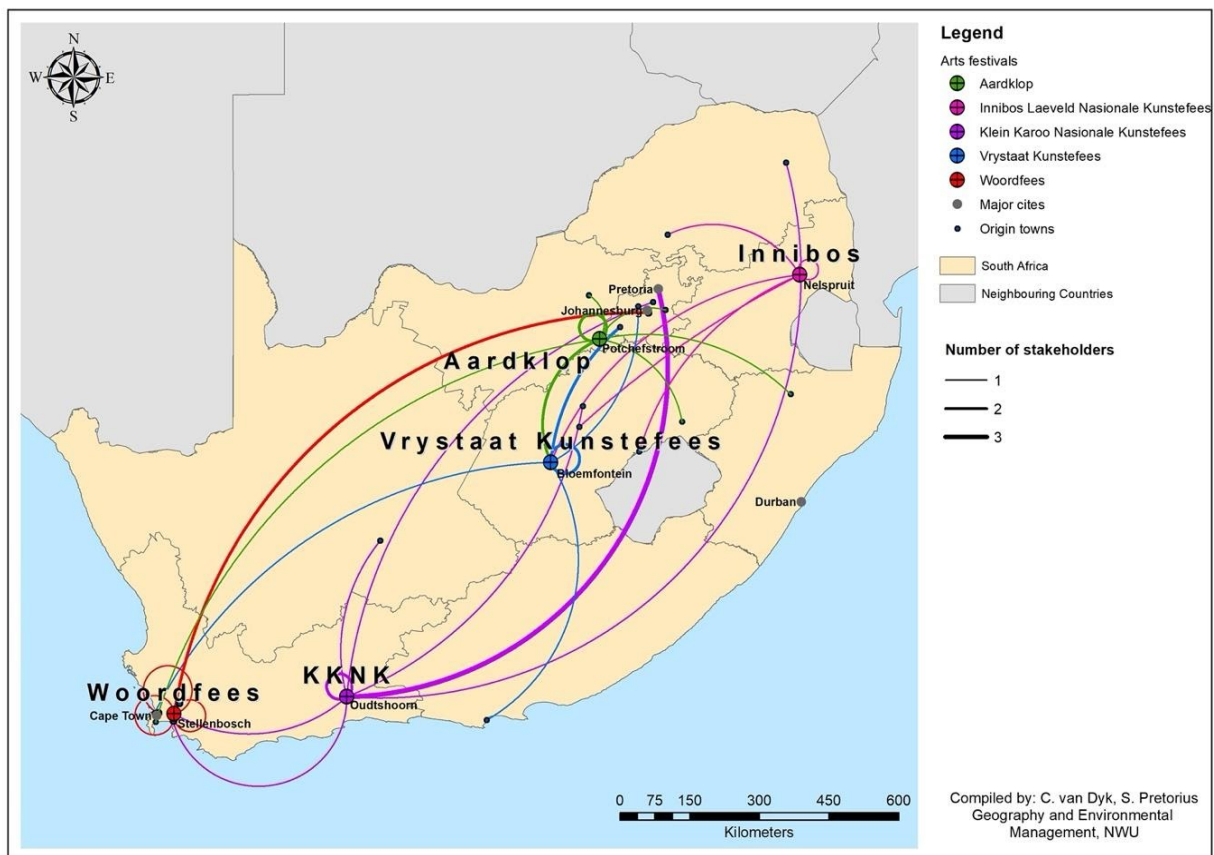


Figure 6-5: Origin and spatiality of contributing stakeholders

The circles around each arts festival represent the local stakeholders residing in or around the town where the festival takes place and the thickness of the lines denote the number of stakeholders travelling from a particular town to the relevant festivals. From the map it is observed that KKNK and Woordfees draw more stakeholders from Gauteng than from their immediate vicinity. The opposite is true for Innibos, Aardklop and Vrystaat Arts Festival where more local support is generated. This shows a reluctance with those from the Western Cape Province to travel to the northern parts of the country. This behaviour was also observed with the festival attendees and will be discussed in the next chapter (section 7.3.3).

When taking into account the travelling habits of stakeholders, it was found that stakeholders preferred unique routes to get to arts festivals and back home. Starting with vendors / stall owners, based on their travel behaviour, individuals might be classified into three main categories: *the local entrepreneur, the retailer and the traveling artist / manufacturer*. The latter two could again be grouped into those following trading routes anchored by a major event such as an arts festival and those who travel to an event and then go straight back home after the event was completed. These groupings will now be explored.

The *local entrepreneur* was found to be either an individual who saw the arts festival as an opportunity to benefit by either trading in their own art and crafts, in durable goods or in different foodstuffs. The latter could take the shape of a coffee cart, a stall selling pancakes for example or a local restaurant deciding to participate in the festival. The restaurant would then have a presence on the festival space, thereby capitalising on passers-by who visit the festival space but who would normally not have popped in at their restaurant. The local entrepreneur could also be a public organisation or a non-profit entity like a local school or church who would use the arts festival as their annual fund raising opportunity. In the case of Aardklop, one can find churches from the greater Potchefstroom district or as far as Koster or Viljoenskroon who have used this local event for fund raising. These stalls usually took the form of food stalls specialising in local delicacies such as venison burgers, 'skilpadjies' which is a liver meatball wrapped in a thin layer of fat, or 'pap-en-kaiings' which is fried chunky bacon on a bed of stiff porridge. These dishes are seen as traditional Afrikaans cuisine, which is fitting given the Afrikaans theme of the arts festivals visited. Befitting a fundraising initiative, the content of the food stalls was often sponsored by a member of the congregation thereby explaining the presence of a dedicated 'Kudu stall' where all the meat content derived from this indigenous antelope. Such food stalls would often be manned by volunteers. If it was an initiative by a local school, then the volunteers would be teachers and parents and if the stall belonged to a church, then it would be volunteers from the congregation. In the latter case, helping out at a fund raising event can be seen as community service and almost a moral obligation to offer one's help. Depending on the organisation doing the fund raising, the yield could be spent in various essential ways. In the case of the Reformed Church, Potchefstroom – Die Bult, all proceeds from the annual fund raising at Aardklop is dedicated to missionary work / Bible distribution.

The retailers are those individuals who traded in either durable or popular goods. This could vary from high end imported hunting / farming paraphernalia to clothing, hair products, jewellery and home decor, to name but a few. The retailer would typically trade in trendy or sought-after products which they either buy locally or import from overseas. Arts festivals are however quite sensitive to imported products as this can very easily create a market where traders just sell 'more of the same', in other words, duplication of content. For this reason, arts festival market spaces are highly curated

with vendors needing to submit portfolios of their merchandise months in advance. If the merchandise is found to be of high standard, then it would be allowed. Curating the merchandise at festival markets is important to ensure a tasteful selection, but it also has the potential to be a sensitive issue. By not allowing imported low quality products may lead to the exclusion of some local / indigenous vendors which in turn may lead to resentment towards the festival. The advantage, on the other hand, is that vendors need to be creative and original in selecting the products which they would like to sell and this in turn keeps the festival markets vibrant and interesting.

The traveling artist / manufacturer has displayed varying spatial habits. Travelling costs are of great concern to these retailers / vendors as any travel related expenses add to their overheads, which in turn influence profitability. Costs tend to influence travel behaviour and it was found that some retailers / vendors tend to take the shortest route possible and they keep the time spent on the road to the absolute minimum. Some opted to use their home as base and then travel to a festival a day or two in advance (to set up shop) and then travel straight back home after the festival. Others again opted to optimise the time spent away from home by attending various smaller events *en route*, usually anchored by a large event and then some smaller events on their way home. These vendors designed their itineraries around the availability of these events and sometimes filled in the days between events by visiting friends, family or tourist destinations. One particular vendor (KKNK S2), who is also an outdoor enthusiast, included a holiday visit to Augrabies National Park when travelling to the now extinct Gariiep Kunstefees in Kimberley and also a Kruger National Park visit before or after trading at Innibos in Mbombela. This is a good example of how the local economy (in a broader sense) is stimulated by these arts festivals, not only by visiting attendees, but also by travelling vendors. This particular individual has included smaller events in Olifantshoek and Kathu before or after visiting the Gariiep arts festival, but since this arts festival no longer exists, this individual can no longer afford to visit the smaller events. This is a prime example of how the demise of a larger event can have a ripple effect on smaller events in the region signalling a greater interdependence than generally expected. This sentiment was echoed by another stall holder interviewed at Aardklop (Aardklop S5):

“Jy weet kom ek gee jou 'n voorbeeld, ons het al die jare Gariiep gedoen en na dit het jy altyd Kuruman gedoen want Kuruman was altyd 'n ongelooflike skou met ongelooflike mense, regtig daardie Kathu en Kuruman area, man dit is hartsmense. Omdat Gariiep toegemaak het, die ouens het Gariiep skou gedoen en dan Kuruman en dan huis toe

gegaan, maar nou is Gariep af en nou is dit nie meer vir my koste-effektief om Kuruman toe te gaan nie.”²⁶

(Translation:) “You know, let me give you an example, we always did Gariep and after that we did Kuruman (agricultural show) because Kuruman used to be an incredible show with incredible people, really, the Kuruman and Kathu area has hearty, upright people. Because Gariep (arts festival) closed down, we (stall owners) did Gariep and then Kuruman and then went home, but now Gariep has closed down and now it is no longer cost effective to go to Kuruman alone.”

This from a totally unrelated stall owner interviewed at a different arts festival. This exact same example was repeated by three (3) different stall holders. This stall owner went further to speculate that this may happen to more small agricultural shows in the future and that the agricultural show in De Aar may even be the next to suffer the same fate. This just emphasizes the fact that large arts festivals not only boost and support the economy in the town in which they are held, they in fact support a far larger region and events with varying themes and focuses. Arts festivals are no longer just about promoting the arts but have become the economic foundation on which many other events are built and should they come to an end for whatever reason, the greater region feel the ripple effect.

6.4 Stakeholder travel behaviour

All stakeholders have exhibited unique travel behaviour based on their own individual needs and event diaries, but two broad trends could be identified (Figure 6-6).

Some individuals preferred to travel to a festival and travel straight back home directly after, a so called ‘touch base merchant’. Others opted to plan dedicated trading tours anchored by one or two major events and filled in with smaller events, or the so called ‘travelling merchant’.

²⁶ Since most of the interviews were conducted in Afrikaans, the original Afrikaans quote as well as the English translation is given here. In order to preserve the authenticity and texture of the quotes, the Afrikaans text will hence forth be included as footnotes.

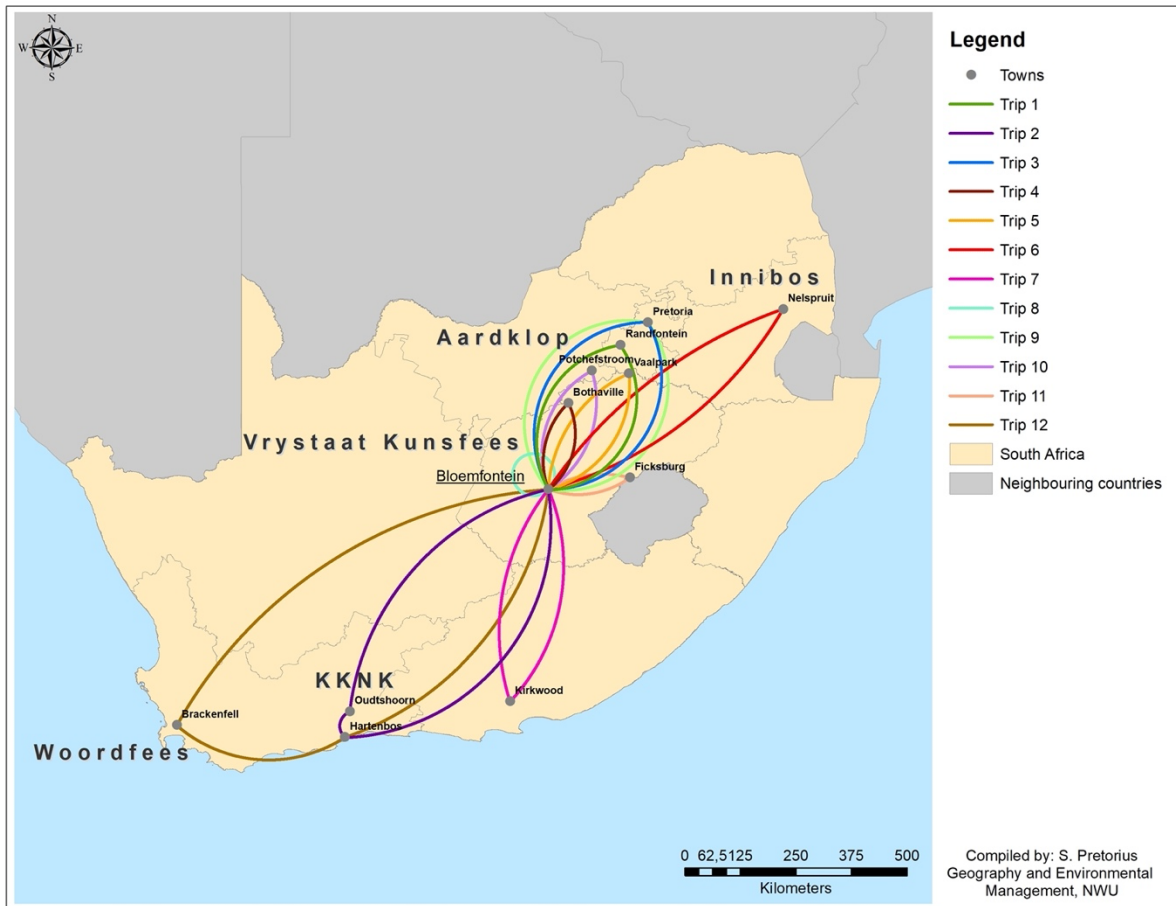


Figure 6-6: Travelling routes of a 'touch base' merchant

The travelling behaviour displayed by the 'touch base' merchant was usually anchored by their home town (Figure 6-6). They would typically operate from their homes or from their dedicated business premises. These individuals would usually have a business or a family to get back to and would then limit the time they spend away from their home town. They would visit and trade at one event per trip and in rare cases two events per trip. Figure 6-6 shows an example of an individual living in Bloemfontein in the Free State Province who typically does 12 trips per year. These events would need to be large enough to make it worth the effort and she would typically not include smaller events in her itinerary, as these would not warrant the effort, time or cost to trade at these smaller events, unless these events were close enough to home to limit the expense of travelling. This implies that the larger the distance from home, the larger the event needs to be to warrant the effort. This person has mentioned that the central geographical position that Bloemfontein has in South Africa, fits well into her business model and complements her travel behaviour (Innibos S4).

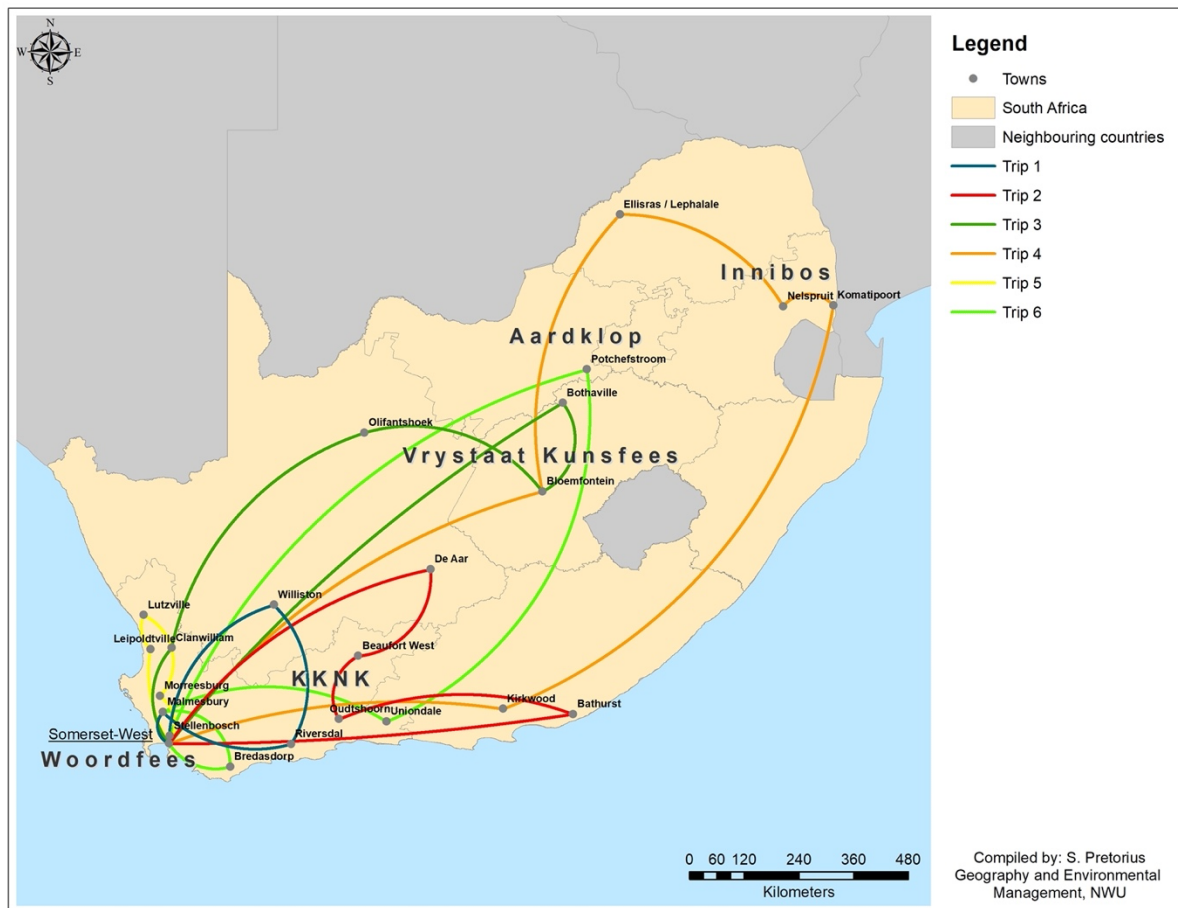


Figure 6-7: Travelling routes of a travelling merchant

The travel behaviour displayed by the ‘travelling merchant’ is depicted in Figure 6-7. This individual resides in Somerset-West in the Western Cape and chooses to plan trading routes anchored by larger events and filled in with smaller events to make his trips more efficient and cost effective. Because their children have grown up and left home, he can afford to be away from home for longer periods of time and sometimes joined by his wife, as was the case at KKNK when she had her own dedicated stall at the arts festival (KKNK S2).

The type of product sold by the merchant would also play a role in deciding which events or festivals to visit and therefore which routes to take. This individual trades in durable outdoor wear which appeals to the likes of farmers, horse riding enthusiasts and adventurers alike. For this reason, it would make sense for him to include agricultural shows and outdoor focused events in his itinerary. Someone trading in high end goose down products for example, would again include interior and decor events in their itinerary (KKNK S2). This simply means that the type of product would also influence stakeholders’ travel behaviour.

Most artists and stallholders have pointed out that they used to attend a lot of festivals and events in their early careers, but now that their careers have taken off, they only attend established arts

festivals and significant events. According to the information gathered during the interviews, the stall owners and artists constitute a crucial link connecting national arts festivals and agricultural activities.

6.5 Lifestyle – personal history and motivations

Every contributing artist or trader was asked to elaborate on their reasons for choosing to participate as vendors at the various arts festivals and similar events. Varied responses have been received ranging from voluntary / adventure; to forced / no other choice. A considerable number of the participants have pointed out that they were voluntarily retrenched or were medically boarded and as a result then being in possession of some capital with which they could start over. These individuals chose to invest their capital in trading at arts festivals and similar events.

One couple interviewed at Innibos, have identified themselves as lifetime vendors who make their living trading at most open air events, including markets at arts festivals (Innibos S1). Both have worked in the public sector for sixteen (16) years and ten years respectively but both found it to be unfulfilling and lacking in adventure. They started out by selling dried fruit at a community market in Dullstroom and after having made a success thereof, they decided to expand from there. Their first festival was at Christiana and both attest to the hospitality of other vendors and through word of mouth they were introduced to other festivals and events. Both indicate that they enjoy the travelling lifestyle tremendously and both express regret that they had not started this lifestyle earlier, as illustrated in the following quote (Innibos S1):

“And so it had fallen into place and every festival found its place and we decided this is for us and we will never let it go. We will never let it go. We regret that we hadn’t, before we started working for someone, already started doing this, but one usually doesn’t know any better. But thankfully we now have the opportunity to do it and we embrace it fully.”²⁷

It is striking that they have chosen to repeat the phrase, “we will never let it go”. This emphasizes the satisfaction that they derive from their current lifestyle choice and there is also a hint of regret in this emphasis, also expressed later. Most of the stakeholders interviewed have hinted towards this sentiment but no one had expressed it as clearly as this couple. Also of note is the independence that they find in this lifestyle.

An (English speaking) artist couple, selling their own art at Aardklop, mentioned something significant (Aardklop S1):

²⁷ “En so het dit begin in plek val en elke fees het sy plek gekry en ons het net besluit dit is vir ons en ons sal dit nooit los nie. Ons sal dit nooit los nie. Ons is so spyt ons het (nie) al van die begin van die jare voor ons al begin werk het vir iemand, dit al reeds toe gedoen nie, maar ‘n ou weet mos nou nie van beter nie. Maar gelukkig kry ons nou ‘n geleentheid om dit te kan doen en ons doen dit voluit.”

“...and I told her to hop onto the bandwagon with me, to stop her job. She wasn't getting raises every year and things were uncomfortable, so we decided we could be poor working for a boss or we could be poor and work for ourselves.”

The husband has always been a fulltime artist and started out by selling his work through various art galleries. As the economic circumstances changed, so did the market for art. He has decided to start selling his art privately and found it to be lucrative. Following this he persuaded his wife to join him full time. Rather than working for employers, this couple decided to go private and trade at arts festivals and other markets. They also would not trade this lifestyle for anything else.

Similar sentiments were expressed by a vendor trading in cacti and succulents. He had been an ambitious policeman with a very promising career when democracy dawned in South Africa. He soon found himself in a position where he was regularly bypassed for promotion which prompted him to trade his career in law enforcement for a life on the road. He already had had a passion for cultivating succulents and was well positioned to expand this business into a full time endeavour. This development coincided with the establishment of the first major Afrikaans arts festivals which presented the opportunity to trade in the flea markets associated with these festivals. In his own words (Aardklop S5):

“Succulents and cacti was a hobby of my mother-in-law's and myself and I had a large collection. This led to me producing a few more and I started supplying local nurseries, the local Pick-n-Pay and Spar and it grew bigger and bigger. This was about twenty-three (23) years ago and for twenty-one (21) years it has been my bread and butter. I've been on the road for twenty-one (21) years now.”²⁸

At this stage this vendor uses arts festivals and fairs for general sales but also with an emphasis on marketing his product. His main business is supplying nurseries and private functions, but the festivals and fairs are vital in expanding his business.

The phrase, “I've been on the road”, is encountered throughout many of the interviews with vendors and stakeholders. It speaks of a freedom that these stakeholders experience and this may also link to a certain personality type which finds comfort in freedom. These souls are also more adventurous than most, which explains their affinity to this lifestyle.

Another stakeholder took a more people-centred approach (KKNK S3):

“So you don't only live for your own small factory and small house in Pretoria, you live for society and you believe that you have a purpose in this world. When we started out it wasn't

²⁸ “Vetplante en kaktusse was maar my stokperdjie en ek het 'n redelike groot versameling gehad met my skoonma en dit het toe maar gelei tot kweek 'n bietjie meer, voorsien in die plaaslike kwekerye, plaaslike Pick-n-Pay en Spar en groter en groter en dit was so drie en twintig (23) jaar terug en dit is nou al vir een en twintig (21) jaar my brood en botter en ek is nou al vir een en twintig (21) jaar op die pad.”

easy. People were very frustrated. We had people of a very low socio-economic class who traded (at festivals), who became very angry when they were not successful in these circumstances. They resorted to physical violence for example. That culture was removed and people realised that this (being a vendor) is a profession. You have to make a success of it or you have nothing.”²⁹

This stakeholder is a trained nurse who was forced to go on early medical pension due to a workplace injury. Considering her training, this people-orientated approach is explained. She still acts as a caring mother figure at festivals and fairs, with other vendors approaching her for medical assistance when needed. She has shared an experience which happened one December at Hartenbos where a member of the public had a heart attack and because she had the necessary experience and training, she could intervene and get the patient to a hospital in time to save his life. This imparts meaning to the involvement in the events. It is no longer a cold business venture, it becomes a calling of sorts.

Also worth noting from this quote is the transition or growth that is mentioned. She points out that the average trader at festivals used to be of a lower social class and that this had changed in the time that she has been involved at festivals. It can be gathered from this quote that the people trading at agricultural shows in the times before arts festivals, was of a lower social standing and treated as such, but with the advent of Afrikaans arts festivals, combined with many professional people opting for voluntary retrenchments in the early years of the new South Africa, the social standing of stakeholders, or traders, at arts festivals improved to a higher standing (KKNK S3). This however did not necessarily result in a change in attitude from management towards traders as some stakeholders have recalled from experiences at the ‘old’ Aardklop where vendors were openly labelled as ‘trailer trash’. This is elaborated upon elsewhere in the text.

On the topic of the sense of community experienced among vendors, one stakeholder chose the following words (KKNK S2):

“It is enjoyable and you meet many people and you have all your regular clients that return to buy stuff and who always come to hear how you are. You are almost like a small

²⁹ “So jy lewe nie net vir jouself met jou klein fabriekie en klein huisie in Pretoria nie, jy lewe vir die wêreld ook en ek glo jy het ‘n doel in die wêreld. Toe ons begin het, was dit nie baie maklik gewees nie. Mense was baie gefrustreerd gewees. Ons het ‘n baie lae sosio-ekonomiese klas mense gehad wat bedryf het, wat baie kwaad geword het dat hulle nie suksesvol was in hulle omstandighede nie en wat handgemeen geraak het op skoue byvoorbeeld. Daardie kultuur is uitgevoer. Die mense het besef hierdie is ‘n professie. Jy moet ‘n sukses daarvan maak of jy het niks nie.”

community, the 'fair' people. It is very, very nice. I think they care more for one another than when you are purely a business.”³⁰

This stakeholder clearly refers to a sense of community that they as vendors experience at festivals and similar events. It speaks of a sense of belonging driven by shared experiences which contributes to motivating vendors to keep doing what they enjoy most. These (shared) experiences also bind vendors together as a family, as stated by the following stakeholder (KKNK S3):

“Like when it rained that day and our clients got wet, I erected an awning for my neighbours. Now we know each other and now we are family.”³¹

Other stakeholders see their involvement in arts festivals as a career necessity. Were it not for their careers in the arts, then they would not be involved. This sentiment was strongest among career actors and visual artists. One actor aptly explained it as follows (Woordfees S3):

“I am a freelance actor, I have to go where my job takes me, it is my job. I don't do it for, ... if I win the lottery then I wouldn't do it, I will sit on my backside and do nothing, perhaps I'll make some music. It is my job, it's what I've been doing for the past thirty-five (35) years, so that is where it is now, and it is rather nice too.”³²

It is likely that this sentiment will be distinguishable among most people nearing retirement and shouldn't be seen as a common occurrence. It is however still worth mentioning, but possibly a sentiment displayed in most careers where the work the people are doing is not their true passion.

6.6 Stakeholder feedback

Stakeholders, and in this case specifically stall holders and artists, have a unique perspective on how festivals operate. This may include views on management, on strengths and weaknesses as well as general commentary on the day to day operation or application of arts festivals. They experience festivals differently from the general public, because they are in essence the cogs in the machine that is Afrikaans arts festivals. They have an 'insider view' as many of them have years of experience trading and working at arts festivals.

³⁰ “Nee dis lekker en jy ontmoet baie mense en jy het al jou gereelde kliënte wat terugkom en wat weer kom koop en altyd kom hoor hoe gaan dit. Jy is amper half soos 'n klein gemeenskap, die skou mense. Dis baie, baie lekker. Ek dink hulle gee meer om vir mekaar as wat jy net 'n besigheid is.”

³¹ “As jy langs mekaar uitgestal het. Soos toe dit gereën het daardie dag en die kliënte natgereën het, het ek 'n dakkie opgeslaan (vir die bure) en ons ken mekaar nou en nou is ons familie.”

³² “Ek is 'n vryskut-akteur, ek moet gaan waar daar werk is, dit is my werk. Ek doen dit nie vir, ... as ek die Lotto wen dan sal ek dit nie doen nie, dan sal ek op my gat sit en fo**ol doen, dan sal ek bietjie musiek maak. Dit is my werk, dit is wat ek nou al doen vir die laaste vyf en dertig (35) jaar en dit is nou maar waar dit nou is en dit is nogal *nice* ook.”

All stakeholders have been asked to elaborate on the perceived strengths and weaknesses of the festival at which they were interviewed. Inevitably the conversation would drift to their experiences at other arts festivals and events in general. This was welcomed, as it had provided rich insights into the industry. Some stakeholders were more vocal than others when voicing their opinions and others were meekly stating that they had nothing to add.

A frequently mentioned strength of arts festivals is the opportunity to network and to showcase one's work. This ties in neatly with the motives of the travelling artist and those using arts festivals as a shop window for their business at home or for their online shop. Showcasing work, according to some participants, is also very important when trying to establish their work in a market and arts festivals is an ideal opportunity to do so. Some stall owners and artists have also mentioned the excellent organisation at arts festivals as a strength, especially at Innibos. It was important to them that management had taken interest in the content of the stalls and that there was control over who stocked which items. In their view this eliminated the risk of duplication between stalls and that this ensured that public interest stayed high. Most stall owners who included Innibos in their itinerary, were very impressed by the personal interest that management had taken in every stall owner, whether it was that they remembered individual birthdays, to the interest in the personalia of stall owners. This was taken as a sign that management actually cared about them as a group, which is truly unique to Innibos.

Another strength mentioned, was the excellent security at the arts festivals and the resultant inflow of visitors and potential customers. Safety is a very important factor for both attendees and stall owners. One stall owner explained that they would much rather trade at a festival that has excellent security than at a festival without, especially when trading in high value goods. The loss of a single high value item, such as rare art for example, can wipe out the profits of a whole week's worth of trading. Other stall owners mentioned a time at KKNK when the theft of ladies' purses and handbags were rife, which resulted in a bad reputation and a possible drop in visitor numbers. This problem and perceived danger was addressed by management, introducing controlled access and visible security. The stall owner had pointed out that the criminal elements were not necessarily local but were attracted to the festival space by the large crowds and the relaxed and consequently vulnerable attendees (KKNK S2). Today most arts festivals have at least visible security if not controlled access, aimed directly at addressing these issues.

Excellent marketing was singled out as a strength of Afrikaans arts festivals. The arts festivals in question spend generously on advertisement in various forms of media, ranging from local to national newspapers; social media to television. The advertisements, articles and programmes are published in Afrikaans newspapers (Die Beeld, Die Volksblad, Die Burger and Rapport to name a few) and television channels (KykNET). These media outlets are mostly owned by Naspers, who incidentally had played a significant role in the establishment of most of the major Afrikaans arts

festivals in existence today. The excellent marketing on these major national platforms, inevitably generated healthy interest in these arts festivals, which has in turn resulted in great attendance and the better attended a festival is, the better the chances are of making a success as a trader or merchant at a festival.

A weakness that had been mentioned by many stall holders was the presence of dust. Dust is an inevitable irritation at arts festivals as the market space of most arts festivals is to be found outdoors. Some festivals try to combat dust by wetting exposed surfaces several times a day, by laying hay, gravel or tree bark on walk ways and by putting up marquee tents. These attempts are however only partially effective. The stall owners are fully aware that it is a difficult problem to solve and have indicated that they would still attend, regardless of the presence of dust.

Sanitary facilities have also been singled out as a potential weakness, with one Aardklop stall owner pointing out that he as a disabled person, had had trouble using the portable facilities available closest to their stall. He did however mention that the facilities that were available had been kept clean by on-site cleaners. The toilet facilities at Innibos and KKNK were also portrayed in a positive sense.

One Aardklop stall holder mentioned a worrying occurrence. She remembered that a particular stall owner had come up with a brilliant idea for a dessert food stall which she operated very successfully for several years. However, at the 2018 Aardklop, she encountered the same person trading in a totally different product. When asked what had happened, this person said that someone else tendered successfully to trade in the desserts that she was famous for and that she was prohibited from trading in 'her' dessert (Aardklop S4). This means that management effectively took ownership of the intellectual property of stall owners and this says something about the lack of loyalty of management to their stall holders, something 'old' Aardklop was famous for. It would appear that current management had not taken enough care to do due diligence and in the process the relationship between this particular stall owner and management was probably permanently damaged. This is not an isolated incident, as it is not uncommon for Aardklop to capture a specific food stall idea, *Snoek & Patats* is another example, the trademark of a local religious grouping, and then management put it out to tender to the highest bidder. The traditional 'owner' of this idea was then inevitably outbid by a stronger player and in the process relationships were damaged and the stall lost its authentic character. Management loyalty, especially to local stall owners and role players, should be considered carefully by future festival management, so as to not erode local goodwill towards a particular festival. The deterioration of relationships with local role players have undoubtedly played a part in the closure of the 'original' or 'old' Aardklop in 2016 and future management needs to be careful not to repeat past mistakes. This capturing of ideas (intellectual property) may also have legal implications which will not be elaborated on here as it is not within the ambit of this study.

In terms of the KKNK's strengths and weaknesses, all stall owners have expressed dissatisfaction with the perceived high cost of renting stall space, which has been worsened by the fact that the arts festival was shortened for 2018, essentially raising the leasing cost each day. They have pointed out that because the cost of the marquee tents and all services involved are effectively funded by them, the entrance fees to the festival space may be deemed too high. As a result, festival attendees are left with less money to spend at the stalls leading them to largely becoming spectators rather than active shoppers. Despite the evident benefit of increased security provided by the enclosed environment, this was clearly viewed as a disadvantage.

6.7 Festival ranking

Stakeholders were asked to evaluate the Afrikaans arts festivals by means of sharing their perceived value derived from these festivals. This was done by asking each stakeholder to choose a favourite arts festival and to rank them based on how lucrative the festivals were. When asked to choose their favourite arts festival and to rank them according to profitability, most stall owners and artists who included Innibos in their schedule said that it was without a doubt their favourite and most profitable arts festival in South Africa. The reasons given were that, as stall owners, they were properly cared after by Innibos management, and that the large number of attendees to the event insured strong revenues.

Interestingly one Aardklop stakeholder has pointed out that Vrystaat Arts Festival was his most lucrative festival mentioning that even though they were accommodated in a spot that was not supposed to be a trading space, this festival turned out to be very lucrative for them. He ranked Aardklop in a close second place after Vrystaat Arts Festival (Aardklop S1). This stakeholder, although English speaking, has mentioned that they never attend the National Arts Festival in Makhanda (formerly Grahamstown). He didn't furnish a reason for his choice. This seemed to be a common trend among stall owners at Afrikaans arts festivals, as most did not mention attending the National Arts Festival. This could be because most of the stakeholders interviewed had underlying, yet not necessarily valid, negative perceptions towards the National Arts Festival. Although one may speculate, the source of these perceptions is unknown.

Some stall owners travel extensively to trade at arts festivals and others opt to only make use of their local arts festival. The stall owners exhibiting only at their local arts festival had inevitably chosen the local arts festival as their favourite and most lucrative. These consisted mostly of local community organisations like churches and schools which used the local arts festival as a space or opportunity to have their annual fund raising event. These stalls typically took the form of food stalls where members of the congregation or parents of the school children would volunteer their time and resources towards fund raising. This is discussed in length in Section 6.6.

An English speaking stall owner at Aardklop mentioned the following (Aardklop S2):

“If I rank them, excluding Hartenbos, I can say Aardklop on number one, Innibos I cannot get a place there but I heard that it was good. I've been trying for eight (8) years but that's the only festival I can't get in. Aardklop is followed by Vrystaat Kunstefees in Bloemfontein and then by Kimberley but that is closed now and then Cherry Festival in Ficksburg, then Grahamstown and Kirkwood also have good festivals. 1. Aardklop, 2. Vrystaat Kunstefees, 3. Gariep Kunstefees, 4. Cherry Festival, 5. Kirkwood. Grahamstown is expensive and not good for me.”

This participant stated that he does include Hartenbos³³ in his annual itinerary and the ranking supplied, points out that he does well financially at Hartenbos, placing Aardklop second overall. If he considered arts festivals only, then he would rank the festivals as in the quote above. Interestingly he puts the Ficksburg Cherry Festival in fourth place and Kirkwood festival in fifth place. These are, as with Hartenbos, essentially not arts festivals. It was quite common among career stall owners to include other major events in their itinerary and it was difficult to convince them to exclude these when ranking festivals. Many stall owners also mention Nampo (NAMPO Agricultural Trade Show) hereby usually referring to the opportunistic Oesfees which is a pop-up crafts market a short distance from the official Nampo terrain and only functions for the duration of Nampo. Also of note is the last comment that Grahamstown (National Arts Festival) is considered too expensive.

The stall owner trading in succulents had mentioned that a situation developed where he had to choose between trading at KKNK and Hartenbos during the April school holidays (Aardklop S5). KKNK is usually held during the April school holidays, which also coincides with the Easter weekend. This is also a popular time for holiday makers to visit Hartenbos, which means that Hartenbos inevitably also has a crafts market to cater for these holiday makers, same as in December. This stall owner does better financially at the latter than at KKNK and has chosen to rather trade there than at the arts festival. This situation may be true for more stall owners, but it would be difficult to ascertain from the data, as the data were gathered at KKNK during this particular timeslot and not at Hartenbos. This particular participant was interviewed at Aardklop which takes place later in the year. Also of note is that this stakeholder has stated that he finds Aardklop a much more attractive arts festival since it moved back to its original venue on the Bult in Potchefstroom. He has stated that the lower entrance fees associated with the 'new' Aardklop, is also good for business as the festival attendee has more money in hand to spend in the crafts market.

³³ Hartenbos refers to the annual 5-week long market held over the summer holidays in the coastal town of Hartenbos.

Stall owners rank different arts festivals and choose their favourite based on individual taste. From the interviews it was apparent that exhibitors could be quite sensitive due to previous bad experiences at festivals. A stall owner couple interviewed at Vrystaat Arts Festival have said that they would never again set foot at Aardklop after they were offended by previous management (Vrystaat S4). Others would cite reasons such as bad retail space layout or a lack of year-on-year consistency in the layout of the terrain as reasons for not attending future arts festivals. The latter reason specifically referred to the marquee tents that were labelled in one manner for a specific year and then labelled differently the next. This seemingly insignificant change has resulted in an exhibitor being placed at the opposite side of the terrain than what he requested for, which led to bad sales and a bad experience. It would appear that management should take care not to alienate stall holders and in general consider them in a much higher esteem than is currently the case at most arts festivals.

6.8 Cultural expression

All stall owners interviewed at the Afrikaans arts festivals have been asked to express their view on cultural meaning, in other words what the festival meant to them personally in terms of their culture. Some have expressed a deep appreciation and insight into the role of Afrikaans arts festivals in preserving and promoting Afrikaans culture³⁴, while others were neutral on the subject and the minority expressing utter disdain. The different arts festivals all had Afrikaans as their main focus, yet different festivals had taken slightly different approaches and therefore also had different characters and varying composition of cultures participating.

An interesting aspect about the Free State arts festival is that although it has an Afrikaans language focus, one participant who is of Nigerian origin, stated that this festival was his favourite arts festival and that it allows him an opportunity to express his culture. Granted, this individual does not necessarily carry the moral baggage of times gone by, but saw his way open to capitalise on this opportunity to create and exhibit art and gain economic benefit from the festival. In this sense this arts festival is a vehicle for cultural reconciliation and as such it gets no credit from the local government. Interestingly, as was the case with most of the Afrikaans arts festivals studied, the arts and crafts market seemed to be a space where most non-Afrikaans cultures make use of the opportunity to expose others to their culture and in this sense also partake in the unification of post-democracy South Africa. This valuable phenomenon is something which the Woordfees seems to be missing out on as this festival does not have a formal closed off festival space or arts and crafts market. The closest it comes to this mixing of cultures in this sense, is the crafts studios found in

³⁴ The conclusion that Afrikaans arts festivals contributes towards preserving Afrikaans culture was drawn from the data. It is based on evidence from the interviews with attendees, stakeholders and management.

Church Street in Stellenbosch which is mostly aimed at the international tourist market and which the Woordfees cannot take any credit for.

In response to the question of cultural meaning, a (black) artist at Aardklop had the following to say (Aardklop S2):

“In that perspective, in terms of culture, I can say that I can learn something because when I walk around, I see different views of people. It is so interesting for example, some people are even more creative than I am and I can learn from that and that can motivate me to even become bigger on my business.”

This is a very balanced and level headed view taken by this artist considering that this artist is not Afrikaans speaking and does not associate with the Afrikaans culture. This view is possibly exactly what festival management has in mind when organising a festival in the first place. The exposure to new cultures and different points of view is exactly one of the greatest advantages of arts festivals and this participant has the insight to realise it for himself. The level at which this artist experiences this festival could be the benchmark that all stakeholders should aspire to. This view contrasts with his answer to the following question (Aardklop S2):

Interviewer: “And speaking of culture is this an expression of your culture or is this commercial art, something you make because it sells or does it have meaning?”

Participant: “This has no meaning at all, it is just art and craft without any meaning. I just make it to earn a living.”

The discrepancy between the art he creates and sells and the level at which he experiences the festival is telling of the society’s level of appreciation for higher forms of art. This view corresponds with data from another artist (white, English speaking) at the same festival (Aardklop S1):

“I can't just live off inspiration; I've got to live off what other people are going to buy. Before I can live off inspiration I first have to pay my bills and then I can be inspired and do whatever I want. Sometimes I do what I want to do and sometimes I do what I have to do.”

This statement demonstrates the trade-off that many artists have to make. They have to choose between creating something mediocre that will sell (low or popular art) and something personal, creative and ground breaking (higher art) that may not sell. This approach was encountered several times at the different Afrikaans arts festivals. This artist did however include high art in their stall content, items that could be ten times the value of the average painting in their stall, but it would be greatly outnumbered by the popular art. This trade-off is comparable to actors having to choose between focusing on theatre productions and soap operas.

This same artist took the following approach towards the Afrikaans culture encountered at these festivals (Aardklop S1):

“I've been learning through this how to speak Afrikaans and (have) become bilingual, so culturally I've learnt a lot about the Afrikaans culture and how to be part of it. I always try to engage them as fellow Afrikaans speakers.”

This is a good sales approach by assimilating with the culture so as to make the prospective buyer at ease and more inclined to consider buying the art. This artist would also produce artworks which he would collectively refer to as 'nostalgia'. This would include landscapes of South Africa, paintings of smaller places and reproductions of photographs that people ask him to paint. These items / themes would appeal to the average festival attendee as it might remind of times gone by like spending time on their grandparent's farm for example.

Several stall owners have expressed that they enjoyed the Afrikaans theme of the festivals. They felt that they were able to freely express themselves in Afrikaans and they also found comfort in the idea that most festival goers were like minded and of the same culture. This means that the stall owners felt at home, but it does not mean that Afrikaans culture was the deciding factor to trade at these festivals. When expressing their appreciation for the Afrikaans culture, it was of note that many participants have found it necessary to add a disclaimer that they did not see themselves as racist whenever they expressed cultural pride. This could be attributed to the very complex role that the Afrikaans culture played in the history of race and language in South Africa.

Other Afrikaans speaking stall owners have mentioned that although they appreciated the sense of community and shared culture, it was not a motivating factor for trading at the festivals. Business was their main motivator. To emphasize this view, one stall owner at Innibos has expressed a deep dislike in the Afrikaans culture and that he had not been at the festival for culture's sake but purely to market his product to those who were there for their culture (Innibos S3). Most stall owners have also mentioned that they would normally not attend any theatre or music productions at the festival as this would add to their overheads which would be bad for business. Some arts festivals, like Innibos for example, expect the stall owners to trade into the night, which means that by the time the stall space closes to the public, the stall owners still need to prepare for the next day so there also simply isn't time to support the cultural offering at the arts festivals. Another aspect to keep in mind is that the stall owners inevitably attend the same arts events as the artists so they are already familiar with the artist's work or repertoire so they would not see any need to attend their shows. Stall owners should for this reason not be seen as festival attendees but rather as crew working at or contributing towards the success of the festival.

6.9 Conclusion

Contributors (stakeholders) to Afrikaans arts festivals have escaped research attention for many years, yet they offer rich insights into the greater Afrikaans arts festival phenomenon. Many veteran stall owners, actors and technical staff have been involved since the conception and establishment of the first KKNK in Oudtshoorn and therefore are an invaluable source of information and institutional memory. A selection of these stakeholders have been interviewed at five of the prominent Afrikaans arts festivals, the interviews transcribed and analysed and the major themes discussed in this chapter.

Stakeholders interviewed were mostly in the age group of forty-one to seventy (41 to 70) with an almost equal gender representation. They were also found to be well educated with most of them indicating that they either had a diploma or bachelor's university degree. Stakeholders have mentioned that there was a shift in cultural standing among stall holders specifically and that it was of a much higher standard than what was the case just two decades ago. Stakeholders have also proved to be loyal with fifteen (15) stating that they were trading at the festival where they were interviewed for the tenth (10th) time or more. A healthy renewal of interest was also observed with younger and fledgling traders also joining the ranks.

Stakeholders have shown very interesting travel behaviour and were arguably the most mobile of all participants in Afrikaans arts festivals. Stall owners, artists and actors have displayed unique itineraries based on their own personal circumstances and career needs. Some have opted to only trade at their local festival, others have travelled home after each event and some have chosen to spend most of their time on the road travelling from one event to the next. The latter chose to take several trading tours per annum anchored by larger events with the time in between filled out with smaller events or leisure time. The travelling traders were essentially a travelling economy which was designed around Afrikaans arts festivals. At the time of writing, South Africa is in the throes of the Covid-19 pandemic, with no large public gathering being allowed. This unique economy was brought to a standstill and possibly erased as a result.

Although arts festivals each want to exhibit a unique character fuelled by a unique arts offering, they have still welcomed these loyal traders at their festivals. With the arts content being highly curated, renewal and vibrancy was encouraged by allowing new traders and new ideas to bloom at festivals. This was, however, countered by the presence of the loyal travelling artists and traders which could arguably erode local sense of place and local character. It was found that these loyal traders and artists have bound the Afrikaans arts festivals together in content, in their unique experience based community, and in their shared travelling habits and resulting geographies on a national scale. Research Objective 5 was satisfied by this chapter. Chapter 7 considers festival attendees, their demographics and various themes that emerge from the data.

7 Chapter 7 - Festival attendees – Perspectives and insights

7.1 Introduction

Getz (2013) emphasises that event tourism literature is of direct importance to festival administrators, particularly in terms of participant motives and festival assessments. These results may also be of interest to festival managers, especially with regard to strategic planning and alignment of festival theming to the needs of attendees.

Without attendees, arts festivals would be redundant. They are, after all, the audiences for whom the art is created and who keep these arts festivals alive. In light of this, attendees have formed an integral part of this study. Altogether 42 attendees were interviewed across the five Afrikaans arts festivals. These interviews took place mostly at the relevant arts festivals but some have also been conducted after the festivals via video conferencing or by personal appointment.

These interviews have been guided by a questionnaire which consisted of four sections. Sections A and D were relevant to attendees and is presented here in condensed form. An in depth discussion of the questionnaire can be found in Section 3.4 and a complete version in Section 11.2.

Although these interviews have been guided by the questions in section A of the questionnaire, the interviewees were given much leeway to engage and elaborate on themes they deemed relevant and personally important. During the interviews attendees were occasionally prompted to elaborate whenever they ventured on a tangent which may have been relevant to the study. All attendees have been asked to complete section D of the questionnaire which was made available online and completed in the presence of the researcher.

The objective of this chapter is to explore the perceptions of attendees on various themes emerging from the interviews conducted across five Afrikaans arts festivals. The data were grouped together and analysed as a whole. The results are presented below, starting with the demographics and concluding with a critical discussion of the themes that have emerged.

Table 7-1: Abbreviated questionnaire relevant to attendees³⁵

Section A: General festival attendee	
No.	Theme
1	Establish role
2	Itinerary
3	Festival content
4	Cultural meaning / significance
5	Historic significance
6	Community development and civic pride
7	Perceived economic impact
8	Reason for festival existence
9	Festival ranking
10	Festival evaluation
11	Festival attendance
Section D: Demographics / background	
33	Status at festival
34	Age
35	Nationality
36	Gender
37	Languages
38	Highest qualification
39	Employment sector
40	Household income
41	Province of origin
42	Town of permanent residence
43	Distance travelled to festival
44	Route followed
45	Number of times visiting festival
46	Probability of repeat visit

7.2 Demographics

Some demographics of the attendees, including, age and gender, qualifications, attendance and household income will now be explored.

Age and gender

The age and gender of the attendees are presented in the following graph so as to better understand the sample of attendees interviewed.

³⁵ The missing questions relate to participants other than attendees.

Referring to the graph below (Figure 7-1), the age group fifty-one to sixty (51-60) dominates the sample followed by the group seventy-one to eighty (71-80). Most likely these age groups have the financial means and the time to travel to visit arts festivals, which is perceived as a luxury entertainment activity by many. Younger age groups either do not have the means to visit arts festivals or they are committed to other priorities such as studies or a career. When talking to festival managers, they point out that this age profile is normal and it has been the case since the Afrikaans arts festivals came into existence. This does not necessarily mean that the average attendee is aging but rather that they may start attending when they reach a certain life stage when they may have more freedom either financially or time wise, to attend arts festivals. It takes time, money and commitment to visit arts festivals and support the arts content available and this is a luxury few can afford. This may be the reason why the age group thirty-one to forty (31- 40) was absent from this sample. This age group is also most likely to have small children to consider.

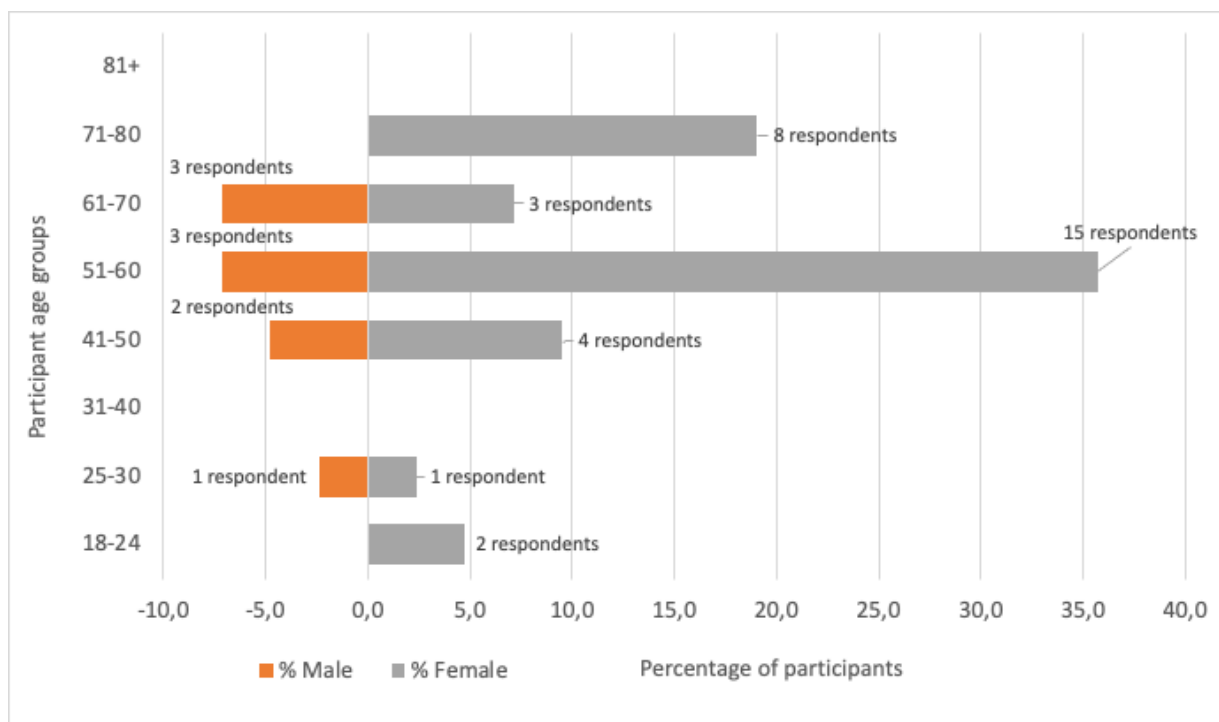


Figure 7-1: Age and gender of attendees interviewed across

Female participants represented 79% of the sample with male participants making up the rest. These female attendees would usually be found either alone or in groups of two or three. Smaller groups were more approachable and if found in groups of two, then the participants have been interviewed together rather than individually. The significant presence of women is the result of a high household income allowing the women to either be housewives or to be retired. When men do attend arts festivals along with their spouses, from observation they do not necessarily attend

the theatre component, but prefer to rather do people watching or to while away their time at the beer tents or open stages where entertainment is free and the general atmosphere is light and relaxing.

Most of the Afrikaans arts festivals take place during school and university holidays with the Woordfees in Stellenbosch as the exception. If and when the youth do visit arts festivals, they tend to be found in groups or in (loud) public areas at these festivals, making them particularly difficult to interview. It was also apparent that these youths are generally not found in theatre audiences but rather in the main festival space. The reason for this may be financial, but can also be attributed to how they prefer to associate and spend their leisure time. The generally low representation by youths may also be explained by their ability (or inability) to travel. If a festival is held in a university town (Aardklop, Vrystaat Kunstefees and Woordfees) then student representation could be expected to be better than when a festival is held in a non-university town (Innibos and KKNK) as students (usually) have limited budgets at their disposal.

Highest qualification obtained

When interpreting the graph above (Figure 7-2) it is evident that by far the majority of attendees have obtained tertiary qualifications. The minority (11% when added together) have obtained Grade 11 or 12 as their highest qualification and 89% of the participants have obtained some tertiary qualification. Of those interviewed, 29% have obtained a post-graduate qualification and of these 7% have obtained doctorate degrees. This may also explain the relatively high income that these participants have indicated and it therefore also justifies their ability to attend and appreciate arts festivals and by implication support the arts. A higher level of education therefore brings with it a higher likelihood of an appreciation for anything cultural and for the higher forms of art.

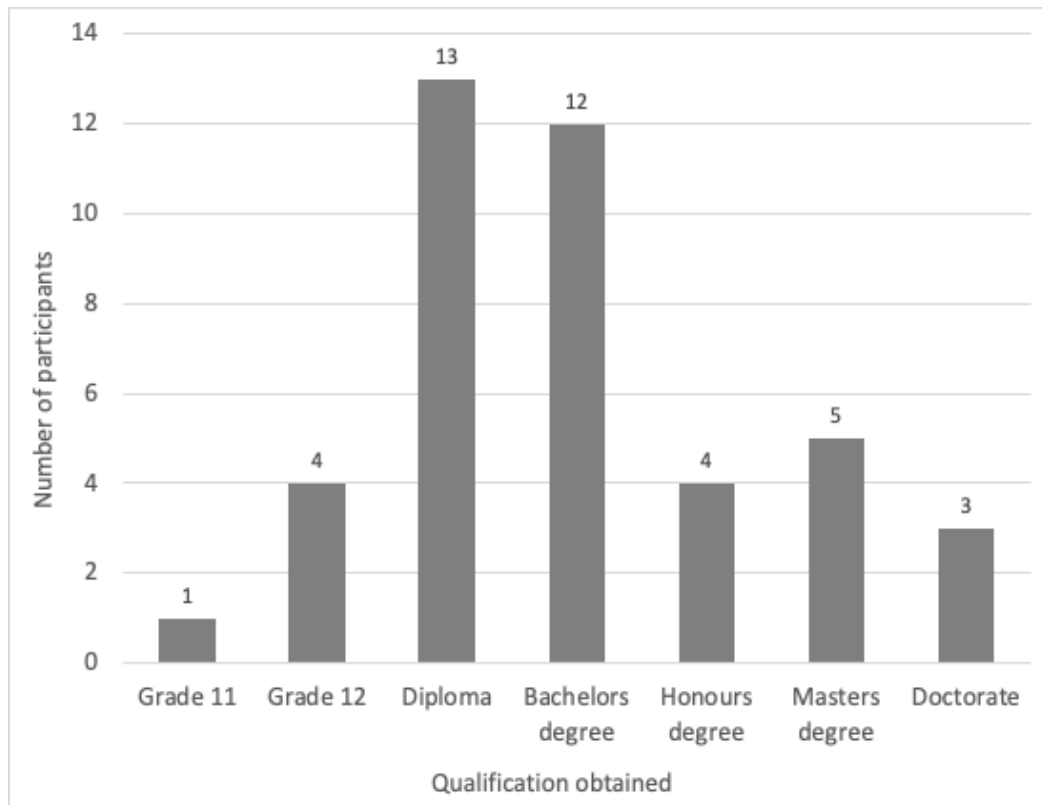


Figure 7-2: Attendees - Highest qualification obtained

Attendance

The majority of interviewees indicated that they had attended the particular arts festival two to three times, including the time when the interview took place. Adding together those that have attended for the first time and those that have attended two to three times, they then represent 41% of the attendees interviewed. This points to a renewal of an interest in Afrikaans arts festivals. This contrasts with the general perception that the attendees of these festivals are ageing and have grown stagnant. Of course festivals do rely on the loyal support of their veteran attendees and it is vitally important to constantly renew the interest in the arts and in this case, the Afrikaans arts, in order to ensure sustainability of the Afrikaans arts festivals. The sustainability of these festivals was discussed in Chapter 5.

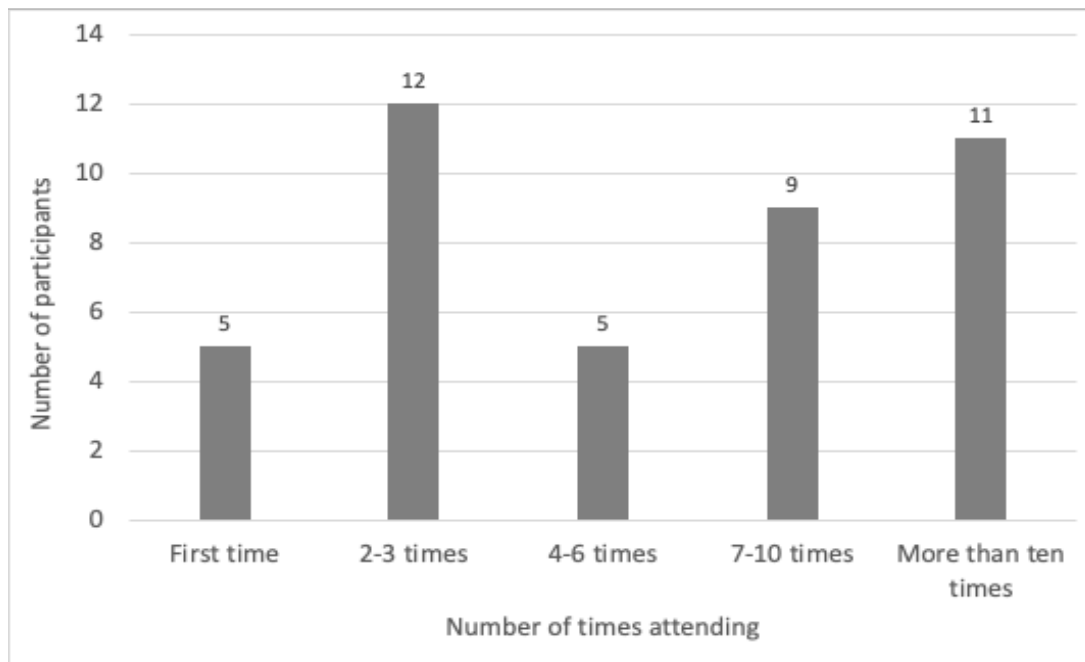


Figure 7-3: Attendees - Number of times attending particular arts festival

When asked whether they would consider attending the relevant arts festivals again in future, most indicated that they would definitely attend again, indicating their loyalty to the particular festivals. Attendee loyalty and the revival of audiences are vital to the future sustainability of Afrikaans arts festivals.

Household income

From the graph above (Figure 7-4) it is evident that 17% of those interviewed have preferred not to disclose their income. This sometimes happened when attendees were interviewed in the presence of others and they have felt that it would be inappropriate to share their financial position. A total of 15% of the individuals that have been interviewed earned an annual household income of less than R250,000 and 28% earned more than R850,001 per annum. The rest (40%) earned between R250,001 and R850,000 annually. Those that have earned less than R250,000 were typically students, pensioners or local residents. These individuals were generally not inclined to travel to festivals and only visited their local arts festival because it was convenient and immediately available. Those that did travel to visit arts festivals, tended to be more affluent and better educated than those only visiting local festivals.

The findings on the demographics of attendees confirm the findings of other researchers (Kruger & Saayman, 2012; Labuschagne, 2014; Saayman *et al.*, 2012).

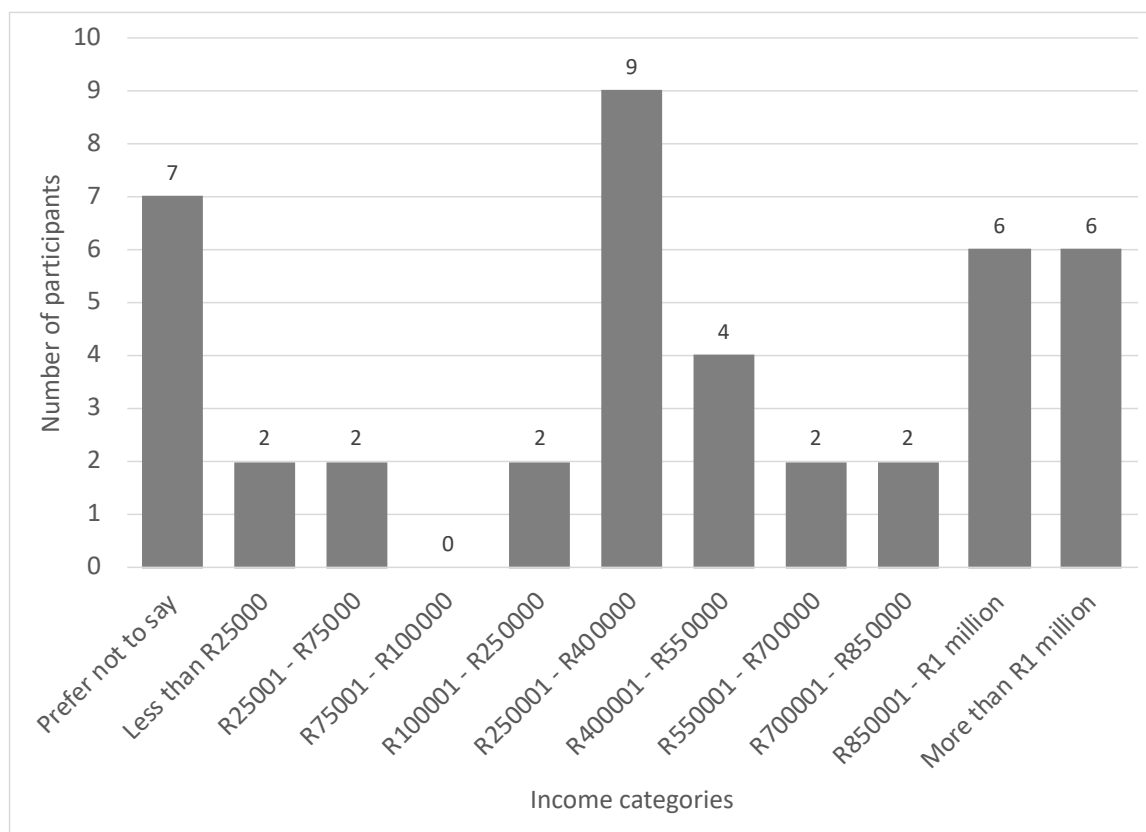


Figure 7-4: Attendees - Annual household income

7.3 Emerging themes

During the interviews a relaxed and safe space was created in order for the interviewee to feel relaxed and at ease. Interviewees have been encouraged to elaborate on themes they considered important and worthwhile. When participants were at ease it was found that they have been more likely to elaborate on certain issues that they deemed important and this led to certain themes that have emerged organically. Although the interviews have been structured according to the questionnaire (discussed in Section 3.4), some themes emerged while coding the transcripts. These include the type of attendee, motives, mobility, feedback, and spaces of exclusivity. These themes will now be discussed in detail.

7.3.1 Typifying attendees

Attendees come in different guises, depending on what type of art they tend to consume at arts festivals. Different types of attendees will now be explored.

The purist

When typifying festival attendees, it is important to consider the concept of serious leisure. For those attendees who are more likely to be found in theatres than on a festival terrain, this concept applies. These serious leisure seekers busy themselves with the higher forms of art and often attend public talks or so called insider sessions at arts festivals (Du Cros & Jolliffe, 2014). The data also show that these serious attendees do not venture onto the main festival space where most of the festivity takes place. They choose to rather avoid the busy centre of the festival and invest their time in attending several theatre productions each day and fill the gaps in between with dining at fine local restaurants and spending quality time with friends. One interviewee described it as follows (Pers. Comm. 3):

“But for us the KKNK is *kuier* (joyful socialising). For many years we book the same rooms in the Queens (hotel) and they don't question it, they just send us the bill. And we always take guests ...”³⁶

This particular participant views the KKNK as an opportunity to spend quality time with family and friends, while also supporting Afrikaans theatre and arts. This festival is pivotal in their annual planning and is so integrated into their routine that they see it almost as tradition to visit. Their children are so invested in this tradition that they also make it part of their annual calendar much in the same way that a family might almost religiously visit a family farm or holiday home each and every year, not questioning the reasoning behind such a decision, but doing it because that is what they do. This is arguably the kind of loyalty that a festival strives to achieve.

The Browser

In contrast to the serious arts consumer, a different kind of attendee is also found at Afrikaans arts festivals; the browser. This is the kind of attendee who is very excited to visit the retail space at festivals and is found at four of the Afrikaans arts festivals which form part of this research, all except the Woordfees which does not have a dedicated retail space. The browser gets excited by trinkets, hand made goods, authentic art and creative products available in the stall space which usually makes up part of the main festival space along with open access music stages. The vast assortment of goods available in these retail spaces, as well as the levels of creativity and entrepreneurship displayed here, possibly contributes to the attraction of these spaces. Also part of this group of attendees is the food consumer who relishes the creative (and also sometimes predictable foods) available and those who might only visit the festival space to purchase lunch or

³⁶ “Maar die KKNK is vir ons *kuier*. Ons bespreek dit nou al elke jaar vir (die) afgelope (baie jare) dieselfde kamers in die Queens (hotel) en hulle vra ons nie, hulle stuur net vir ons die rekening. En ons sê altyd, ons neem altyd ook gaste...”

dinner for the whole family. The latter is mostly to support the festival or to escape the responsibility of cooking dinner when arriving home.

The Festivalite

The main supporters of the food stalls aren't only the locals supporting festival cuisine, but also dedicated festival attendees who need sustenance in between attending different paid events whether it be comedy, music or serious theatre productions. One might describe this type of attendee as the mixed interest festivalite. This is the person who has an appreciation for the arts and who has a passion for supporting it, but who also wants to experience the festival space and its accompanying buzz and festive atmosphere. This person is either local or a visiting attendee and visit as an individual or (more commonly) in groups of two or more. They identify a spot, restaurant or seating area close to, or as part of the festival space, to serve as a base while exploring and enjoying a festival. Some choose to while away most of their leisure time at this spot or slip away to explore the retail space, fetch some food and drinks or leave this space all together only to reconvene at the same spot at a later stage.

This illustrates the value of the festival space as an anchor for a festival (Kruger, 2020). It has emerged from the interviews that some (mostly high income, serious arts consumers) disregard the festival space as only fit for a certain type of attendee (of lower social standing), but most regard it as an essential social space serving as a buffer space to spend time between events, socialise and reconvene. It is fairly common that all friends or couples do not share the same enthusiasm for the arts and this festival space, and the essential open entrance music stages (mostly part of a beer garden) then serve as a waiting space for individuals or groups to spend time while their spouses or friends attend shows or events which they were not inclined to join. Creating and maintaining a festival space allows the festival to occupy these individuals, giving them something to do and thereby enabling those that are serious arts supporters to visit and support an arts festival.

The Socialite

Another type of festival attendee is the socialite who attends solely for the social aspects of the festival. They tend to be younger and they tend to be found in groups walking around and exploring the festival space either in the beer gardens or at the open air music stages. They usually appear towards late afternoon and may also stay until the music stops or last rounds are called. Towards the evening they appear in large numbers at the arenas or large open stages, something Innibos is known for. The other Afrikaans arts festivals also cater for this type of attendee, but perhaps to a lesser degree with a limited number of dedicated large open air popular music concerts. KKNK famously branded their version as '*Kaktus op die vlaktes*' (Cactus on the plains) staying faithful to

the Karoo (semi-desert) surroundings of the festival surroundings. Aardklop responded with 'Aardpops', their version of a mega-concert. Woordfees annually presents the Homecoming series of concerts (including a carnival) at the Coetzenburg venue to cater for this market segment. These mega-concerts, although very popular two decades ago, have diminished in prominence at the Afrikaans arts festivals largely due to the emergence of the Huisgenoot Skouspel and Afrikaans is Groot concerts which were immensely popular in the 2010s. It is only Innibos which still focusses on this format of concert, to such an extent that it characterises this festival.

Attendee's motivations to visit arts festivals is a theme that had also emerged from the data. Depending on the type of attendee, they express different motives for visiting arts festivals. These motives will now be elaborated upon.

7.3.2 Motivation to visit arts festivals

Although the participants have not been directly asked to share why they attend festivals, they deemed it necessary to express why they visit festivals.

People watching

The desire to do people watching was a strong motivating factor enticing participants to visit. One particular quote is of significance (Aardklop A8):

"I also attend to watch people, and I have to be honest, our nation never ceases to impress me. The outfits, the hairdos, everything I witness there is just fabulous. One just wants to write a book about it."³⁷

This particular participant is almost lyrical about how fascinating the regular crowd at festivals is and states that she almost wants to write a book on how the Afrikaans attendees dress, cut their hair, and behave at arts festivals. This is interesting and related to the behaviour people may exhibit in any public space, but more interesting and entertaining as festivals endeavour to create safe spaces where people can express themselves freely without fear of judgement. In this sense the attendees become part of the festival attraction as they immerse themselves in the festivity of it all. This is comparable with events such as Burning Man or Africa Burn where the attendee becomes part of the festival and the festival becomes them. Six participants in total have indicated that people watching was a reason for them to visit arts festivals.

³⁷ "Ek gaan ook om vir die mense te kyk, ek moet dit eerlik vir jou sê, want ons volk hou nie op om my te beïndruk nie. Die uitrustings, die kapsels, alles wat ek daar sien is net *fabulous*. Mens, wil eintlik net 'n boek skryf daaroor."

Entertainment

The sheer entertainment value of arts festivals also serves as a motivator to attend. One participant has indicated that attending a festival to counter sadness and loneliness is the main reason for attending whereas another cited a change of scenery as reason to attend, the latter also pointing to the entertainment value of arts festivals.

Several of the arts festivals visited included content aimed at children, and in most cases also included a children's play area. This resulted in seven (7) participants indicating that they attend because of their children, regardless of whether the children attended theatre or play areas. Another family has stated that because they have an eight-year-old, this dictates which choices they make regarding which shows to attend as not all content is appropriate for the son's age. Others cite quality family time as a reason to attend. Aardklop in particular had a sizeable children's play area filled with attractions such as jumping castles and air-filled rides designed on the same principle as jumping castles. This proved to be an attraction for children who dragged their parents to the festival space as attested by one participant. She confessed that she did not attend on her own accord, but rather because her children badgered her to attend for their sake so they could spend time in this play area.

Climate

Climate plays a significant role when attendees decide whether to attend a specific festival and if they do, for how long and at what time of day they would attend. Several participants have pointed out that the favourable Lowveld climate of Mbombela played a role in their decision to attend Innibos instead of Vrystaat Kunstefees which is held annually during the harsh winter in Bloemfontein. Mbombela's climate is much more temperate and therefore ideally suited to the Innibos festival model which is tied to large music stages in the main festival space. The daily programme at Innibos usually culminates in an anchor music show which takes place on this open main stage, which by design is vulnerable to weather. The moderate climate allows festival attendees to stay out much later, therefore ensuring the viability of these music shows, as pointed out by some participants. Bloemfontein on the other hand is on the South African Highveld and suffers from much harsher winters than Mbombela. Bloemfontein experiences freezing temperatures at night and early morning, which limits the activities that can be held outdoors during these hours. Nevertheless, some attendees have indicated that they rather enjoy the crisp winter air experienced in Bloemfontein, and that they see this as a positive attribute of the festival.

Location and safety

Some attendees specifically have cited convenient location in choosing which festivals to attend. Some have admitted that they only attend the arts festival because it is happening close to their

homes and that it is something to do. These individuals were locals and travelled less than 10 kilometres to the festival. Local attendees are not inclined to travel far in order to visit an arts festival.

Several attendees have indicated that they prefer to attend arts festivals because of safety reasons. One female attendee has specifically stated that she would much rather attend an arts festival where the arts are concentrated both in time and proximity, than venturing into a city centre after dusk to attend the occasional theatre production. This is a particularly valid motivation, as South Africa is plagued by violence and crime. Arts festival spaces, with the exception of Woordfees in Stellenbosch, are mostly fenced off and take place in a secure and controlled environment where attendees can feel safe and let their guard down. This is comparable to the considerable growth in gated communities (Landman, 2017) which are popular for the same reasons of safety and security.

Escape

A reason related to the one above, is using festivals as an escape from reality. This is a well-documented (Kruger & Saayman, 2019) reason for people to visit festivals, but in a South African context, it is especially accurate as the average Afrikaans attendee views it as an escape from the harsh realities of normal everyday life in South Africa. These realities may be crime, ever tougher economic circumstances, or just the sometimes mundane daily routine of the average attendee. Some have stated that they attend because they escape from the perceived unsafe city environment, and others view it as a reprieve from city traffic. One attendee in particular views it as an escape from his personal day to day life and goes as far as to embody a different identity when visiting Aardklop in particular (Aardklop A2):

“I always say, when I visit Aardklop then I am no longer Jasper³⁸, I am a different bloke. I come to sit here, I drink a glass of wine and take a couple of pictures, watch a show and I go crazy. I do not care who knows me, I don't care about who may be here, I am a different person when I'm here.”³⁹

This participant views a festival as a space in which to shed the restraints and social conventions of everyday life. It affords him the opportunity to behave differently than what society dictates, to let his hair down in a way. This is one of the fundamental and oldest reasons for the existence of festivals. What is interesting, is that this participant deemed it important to mention that he enjoys having a glass of wine, watching some shows and taking pictures at the festival space. Just before

³⁸ Name changed to protect privacy.

³⁹ “Ek sê altyd as ek Aardklop toe kom dan is ek nie meer Jasper nie, ek is 'n ander ou. Ek kom sit hier en drink 'n glasie wyn en neem 'n paar foto's en geniet 'n *show* en ek gaan te kere. Ek bekommer nie oor wie my ken nie, ek bekommer nie oor wie is hier nie, ek is hier 'n ander ou.”

the interview, he was observed taking pictures of passers-by which is very much a public setting; this leads the researcher to wonder about the ethical considerations surrounding this behaviour. He states that he is not his normal self at festivals, he is someone else, using this as a justification for this behaviour. Whom and what he took pictures of, remains unknown.

Celebrity interaction

A major motivator to visit arts festivals is the possibility or likelihood to interact with artists and performers. Festivals are used to tear down boundaries between the general public and the creative community, whether these obstacles are real or imagined. At arts festivals it is likely to run into a personal idol while they too enjoy the festivities taking place as one participant describes (Aardklop A1):

“Do you know what I find fantastic? If you come across any celebrities, I remember Richard van der Westhuizen last year, he and I walked down yonder and he talked to me as if we were best friends and it wasn't as if he was pretentious, he talked to me like a normal person. And it was not only him, there are so many artists with whom I converse and that is what I enjoy.”⁴⁰

The accessibility of artists and their apparent approachability is what draws this attendee to arts festivals. The fact that the artist had made time to strike up a conversation with this attendee is telling of but one of the effects of arts festivals, it makes the artists more human and breaks down perceived barriers between public and the artistic community. Depending on the social standing of the attendee, the access to artists may vary. As one influential attendee put it (Pers. Comm. 3),

“So my children grew up amongst the arts and when they were little, when the other children were queueing for a picture with Dozi or Koos Kombuis (Afrikaans celebrity singers), or whatever, they knew them, they weren't fazed. Anyway, I think it was a great privilege my children had.”⁴¹

As seen from the quote above, this person was quite familiar with artists and her children were accustomed to being in contact with them. Others point out that apart from the fact that they could dine on festival cuisine, they were able to converse with singers on a personal level. This typically

⁴⁰ “Weet jy wat vir my fantasties is? As jy enige van hierdie *celebrities* raakloop, ek onthou Richard van der Westhuizen laasjaar, toe stap ek en hy van hier af daar onder toe en toe praat (hy met) met my asof hy my beste pel is hy is nie aanstellerig nie en is nie asof hy nou byvoorbeeld vir (op) jou neer praat nie, hy praat net baie soos 'n normale mens. Dit is nie net hy nie, daar is soveel kunstenaars met wie ek 'n gesprek voer en dit is wat vir my lekker is.”

⁴¹ “So my kinders het absoluut in die kunste groot geword en jy weet, toe hulle klein was en Dozi, jy weet, en al die kinders staan in 'n tou vir 'n foto met Dozi of Koos Kombuis of wat ook al, hulle het hulle geken, hulle was nie ge-faze gewees nie. *Anyway*, dis 'n groot guns ek dink wat my kinders kon beleef.”

happened after shows or in the form of a chance encounter. An Aardklop attendee stated the following (Aardklop A1):

“This morning we talked to people from *Binnelanders* (an Afrikaans soap opera) at KykNet’s (an Afrikaans TV channel) tent and I just went there to chat and I didn’t want to take a picture with them, I didn’t even think of taking a photo, I just said hi, and I talked to the one guy who acted in a show *Fynskrif* (an Afrikaans TV drama) and then I asked him if there would be a sequel and he confirmed that there will be a sequel, so he had a chance to talk to me.”⁴²

It is common practice for a sponsor like KykNet or Huisgenoot to require their actors to be present at arts festivals, either for promotional purposes or because these artists are already part of productions taking place at the arts festivals. This attendee mentions that she had encountered and conversed with actors at the KykNet tent and the TV shows mentioned are part of KykNet’s TV line-up. In this instance the TV channel uses the idol-status of their actors as bait to lure attendees to their tent and hereby capitalising on the promotional value of being present and sponsoring arts festivals. Of course the public also appreciates the presence of artists and the fact that artists make time for the public, as stated by the attendee above.

An attendee at Vrystaat Kunstefees has stated that she valued the opportunity to network with new people and when asked to point out a single highlight she mentioned (Vrystaat A2):

“That story about us meeting Ruda Landman here. I don’t think I can top that. For me what’s nice is that you meet lots of friends and people, you know, and you can share your experiences and you can network for people and they can say, you must go and see that movie!”

This attendee had met Ruda Landman, a prominent TV personality, and went on to invite her to address a local charity in Bloemfontein. Without the arts festival, the attendee would not have had the opportunity to meet her let alone ask her to participate in a local initiative.

Nostalgia

Apart from hosting prominent arts festivals, Bloemfontein, Potchefstroom and Stellenbosch are also university towns, meaning that many of the attendees have attended university in these towns. For these reasons many attendees mention a sense of nostalgia when visiting the arts festivals in these towns. This is a very powerful tool at the disposal of Afrikaans arts festivals which they undoubtedly

⁴² “En ons het vanoggend gesels met die mense van *Binnelanders* by KykNet se tent en ek het maar bietjie gaan gesels en ek wou nie 'n foto van hulle neem nie, ek het nie eers gedink aan 'n foto nie, ek het net gesê, hallo, en ek het gesels met die een ou wat opgetree het in die een program van *Fynskrif* en toe vra ek vir hom is daar 'n opvolg van *Fynskrif* toe sê hy hulle is besig met die opvolg, so hy het kans gehad om met my te praat.”

capitalise on. The university alumni are a vital resource which the festivals tap into and the universities also realise this when deciding to support and sponsor these arts festivals. Others use nostalgia as motivator in the same sense as when reminiscing fond memories with family and friends (Yeh & Lin, 2017). Some long for the days when they had attended arts festivals as students and now use this longing as a motive when bringing their own student-aged children to experience these arts festivals. Eight (8) participants mentioned nostalgia as a reason for visiting arts festivals. One participant (Aardklop A5) recounted a story about their first visit to an arts festival, in their case the National Arts Festival in Makhanda. They bought second class train tickets from Kroonstad to Makhanda, lodged at a monastery and lived on coffee and rusks. The coffee and rusks were taken along from home to save on costs as they were still students at the time. Now when visiting arts festivals this participant recalls these fond memories of days gone by.

Bloemfontein, Potchefstroom and Oudtshoorn also have links with the South African National Defence Force which will undoubtedly bring back (not necessarily fond) memories for many middle-aged attendees because many of them have spent time in these towns receiving compulsory military training pre-1994.

Quality time

Several participants have cited meeting new and friendly people as a strong motivator to attend arts festivals. This ties in closely with the general enjoyment people experience when visiting arts festivals, making it a strong contender when people decide on what to spend their leisure time on. The possibility of meeting people you would never have associated with, seems to also be a drawing card for festivals. Spending quality time with family is also a great motivator as the following participant points out (Woordfees A1):

“We can just enjoy it, that’s all, it is not a tale, in reality it is just festive, and it is just fantastic to be there with my children and grandchildren. One is not more special than the other, it is just joyous. We walk in the rain at the KKNK and it pours and everyone removes his / her shoes and we don’t care because it is a festival and it is fun!”⁴³

What is significant about this response, is the relaxed atmosphere described here. First of all, the KKNK is held in the Little Karoo, a drought prone semi-desert area, and here the participant describes a rainfall event at this festival. “To be able to walk in the rain at the KKNK and it is pouring and everybody removes his / her shoes and we don’t care because it is a festival and it is fun!” This

⁴³ “Ons kan dit net geniet dit is al, dit is nie stories nie, dit is die werklikheid dit is net 'n fees, dit is net fantasties om met my kinders en kleinkinders daar te kan wees. Daar is nie een spesialer as die ander nie, dit is net lekker. Ons loop in die reën by die KKNK en dit sous en almal trek hulle skoene uit en ons gee nie om nie want dit is 'n fees en dit is lekker!”

is telling of the relaxed mood attendees experience at arts festivals and is undoubtedly a major reason and motivator for attending. The festival is an equaliser where people of all social classes are grouped together and share the same space for the duration of the festival which is a means to promote reconciliation across cultural divides.

A very interesting insight is that displayed by the following participant (KKNK A1):

“We enjoy the festival tremendously and not only where you have to pay entry fees but also at the RSG (an Afrikaans radio station) tent where many ..., and for us to multi-racial, there’s so much wrong between white, brown and black. The art is there to bring us closer together. That’s it.”⁴⁴

This participant realises the potential of the arts and here specifically, Afrikaans arts festivals, to serve as means to build bridges across racial divides and go some distance in mending the wrongs of the past. Afrikaans as a language is burdened with the baggage of oppression and it is a burden of which this language desperately wants to rid itself. Few people realise or accept that Afrikaans is in fact a multi-racial language which is spoken not only by white people, but to a great extent by brown and black people. In Oudtshoorn and Stellenbosch a large component of Afrikaans speakers is brown or black. For this reason, the KKNK and Woordfees have a tremendous responsibility to involve all races and all Afrikaans speakers in order to start addressing the misconceptions people have towards this language.

7.3.3 Mobility

Figure 7-5 displays the spatiality of attendees at the various Afrikaans arts festivals.

The thickness of the circles around each arts festival represents the number of local attendees residing in or around the town where the festival takes place. The so-called northern festivals⁴⁵ seem to have significant local support with Innibos and Aardklop drawing from the local population as well as receiving a number of visitors from Gauteng. Aardklop also draws support from the Vaal Triangle as well as from the northern Free State and the Eastern parts of the North West province. The Vrystaat Arts Festival in Bloemfontein (Free State Province) seems to have the support of local residents and people in the Northern Cape Province which is also the traditional circulation area of the Volksblad newspaper, which was also the founder of this arts festival, as well as the now extinct Gariëp Kunstefees (Kimberley).

⁴⁴ “Ons geniet die fees baie want ons is nie net by dié wat jy moet betaal om in te kom nie, ons is ook by RSG (tent) waar baie ..., en vir ons om multi-racial, daar’s soveel dinge wat verkeerd is tussen wit, bruin en die swart. Die kuns is eintlik hier om ons almal nader aan mekaar toe te bring. Dis al.”

⁴⁵ Aardklop, Innibos and Vrystaat Arts Festival

These Northern festivals appear to be much more regional in their reach as opposed to the southern arts festivals which draw support from Gauteng as well as from the Western Cape and Eastern Cape provinces. Of course these festivals also have local support but in relation to the national support, it is much less prominent than with the northern festivals. Perhaps the latter can partially be attributed to the general reluctance of people residing in the Western Cape to travel to the North.

The local sense of place and the local culture in Oudtshoorn (KKNK) with its Klein Karoo charm and in Stellenbosch (Woordfees) and its sprawling vineyards, might also explain why people residing in the Northern part of the country find it worthwhile to travel long distances in order to get their cultural fix. The KKNK has the advantage that it lies on one of the main routes from Gauteng to the Garden Route and it also takes place in the autumn school holidays when holiday-makers flood through the town of Oudtshoorn on their way to popular holiday destinations on the Garden Route. The KKNK also draws day visitors from the nearby coastal towns especially on days when the weather is less than ideal for sunbathing and typical seaside activities.

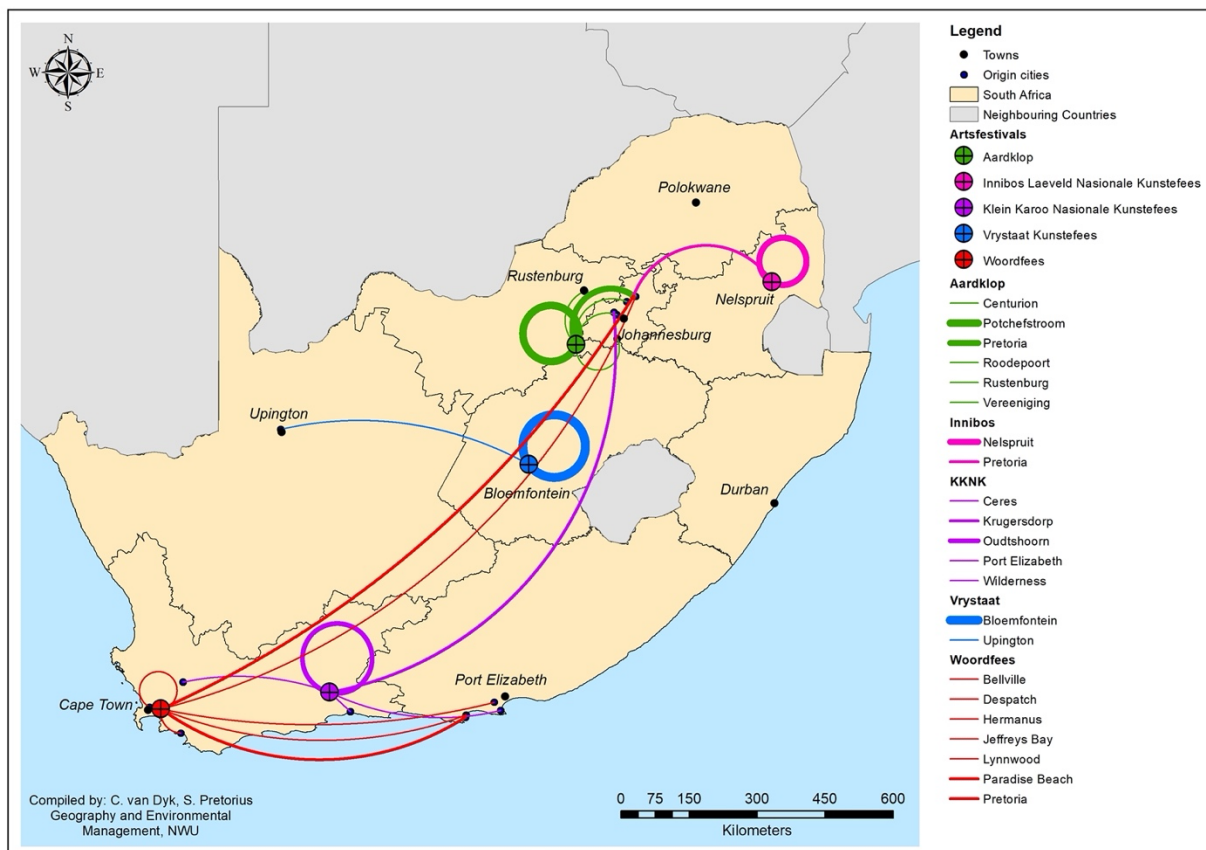


Figure 7-5: Origin and spatiality of attendees

Stellenbosch on the other hand, has the advantage of its prominent pioneer heritage, as well as the fact that it has developed into a world-class tourist destination due to the prolific wine industry,

and it's picturesque mountain surroundings. Another aspect that might explain the national reach of Woordfees, is the sheer number of high quality high arts productions it has to offer. This festival also has the advantage that it can draw on the relative high-density affluent upper-middle-class Afrikaans speaking population in the Greater Cape Town region and its close proximity to an international airport.

Further to the spatial habits of attendees, they were asked to provide insights on their experiences at the Afrikaans arts festivals. This feedback will be presented in the following section.

7.3.4 Attendee experiences

"The main aim and purpose of events is to create positive economic, social and environmental outcomes which would affect development of the destination and the quality of life of local people" (Golob & Jakulin, 2014:67). It is however expected that the average festival attendee does not consciously engage with these. The results suggest that most attendees simply visit arts festivals for their own enjoyment and escape from everyday life and in this disengagement with reality they do not bother to contemplate a festival's existence. Some attendees did however engage with some criticism and general feedback which will now be discussed.

Attendees at the Vrystaat Arts Festival have pointed out that some venues are poorly signposted and that this leads to them missing out on shows already paid for. Critique levelled at the Woordfees mostly had to do with scheduling and programming issues. A particular Woordfees attendee had mentioned that she found the programme completely overwhelming and that this made it very difficult to choose the content she would like to see and attend. This participant had alleged that there were two versions of the festival programme in circulation in 2019 which led to considerable confusion. When visiting the ticket office, the programming was found to be arranged alphabetically as opposed to chronologically which would have made much more sense, as attendees typically want to look for something worthwhile to see on a particular day or in a particular timeslot.

Attendees also elaborated on the strengths and weaknesses experienced at the different Afrikaans arts festivals. A participant at Aardklop had mentioned that he / she used to stay in the university hostels during the arts festivals but that this option was no longer available and that this was seen as a weakness. One Aardklop attendee had mentioned that she found the festival space to be cramped and another had mentioned that there could be more seating space made available to accommodate the senior citizens visiting the festival space. This is valid criticism but the logic behind the limited space and seating is understandable. If a festival space is made too big, then the concentration of people in the particular space will decrease to a level where it would be difficult to achieve a cosy festive atmosphere. Providing too much seating could lead to people sitting around all day and not doing any shopping in the retail space. It might be ideal to provide just

enough seating to satisfy those who are really tired, but just too little to avoid the crowd becoming static.

Some attendees had felt that the content of the stalls in the retail space seemed to duplicate to some degree. Duplication is inevitable, but it is something that can be managed. Innibos for example, goes to great lengths to ensure authenticity and avoid duplication between stalls. Vendors at Vrystaat Arts Festival have however mentioned that management could do much more to ensure that content duplication does not happen during the festival and that vendors sell what they promised as part of their original application.

When asked to point out strengths of arts festivals, attendees have mentioned that they were impressed with the excellent quality of the festival content. Innibos attendees have highlighted the big music concerts in which the daily programme culminates and others at this festival have complimented the layout of the festival space and the excellent access control. KKNK attendees have felt that the festival was excellently organised and well-advertised.

On the subject of the festival's historical relevance and why it was founded in the first place, most guests agreed that the KKNK plays an important role in promoting the arts, particularly in an Afrikaans setting. Some further said that the festival was founded in order to preserve and promote Afrikaans arts and culture, while others stated that they had never given it much attention but were delighted it did exist. When questioned about the festival's economic impact on the host town, 100% of the participants agreed that it has a beneficial influence and contributes to community growth and pride in a favourable way. With the exception of one attendee, all attendees would indicate that their favourite Afrikaans arts festival was the one that they were attending, signalling visitor loyalty. Interestingly, the one attendee who had indicated otherwise, was interviewed at the Woordfees and he indicated that the KKNK was his favourite because he loves the Karoo and the open spaces. From this it can be gathered that the physical environment plays a role in the character of the festival and how the festival is perceived. Those that had indicated that Woordfees was their favourite, also said that they enjoy the character of the town. Some of those who said Vrystaat Arts Festival was their favourite, said so because they enjoyed the cold crisp weather of Bloemfontein that time of year, with one participant in particular saying that as she is from Upington which is already quite warm, she chose Bloemfontein because of the chilly time of the year during which it is held.

Most attendees only had positive opinions about the festivals that they had visited, but this could be expected because if the attendees did not find what was offered to be attractive or stimulating, then they would express this by not attending these festivals in the first place. Attendees were therefore found to be rather biased towards the festival that they were attending.

7.3.5 Culture and cultural meaning

Culture has different meanings for different people as illustrated by the following (Aardklop A4):

“It is important to me to be part of being an Afrikaner and everything it encompasses, and I find it easier to communicate at such events than if I were to seek to approach others and communicate with others, that is what it is about.”⁴⁶

This Aardklop attendee exhibits a very natural need to associate with likeminded people, and the higher concentration of Afrikaans speaking people at an Afrikaans arts festival makes it much easier to communicate and relate to others. This participant, like many others, also emphasises the importance of this aspect of these festivals. Many also point out that they feel safe and at home at an Afrikaans arts festival. This may be due to a number of reasons; being surrounded by fellow Afrikaans speakers bringing with it a sense of security. South Africa, and the world in general, has changed much over the last few decades from a place where children could roam the streets in relative safety to a place where children are guarded to protect them from potential harm. With this in mind, an Aardklop attendee had pointed out that she found it heartening that the main festival space was safe enough for children to run around barefoot and that parents could use this safe environment to also relax for a moment with the assurance that their children are safe. For this reason, there are few families with young children attending the Woordfees in Stellenbosch as this festival lacks a main enclosed festival space. For this same reason families are encountered at other festivals such as Vrystaat Arts Festival, KKNK, Aardklop and Innibos as they have well managed, safe and fenced off main festival spaces.

Also dear to the hearts of attendees are the traditional foods available at arts festivals, something which could definitely be classified as culture. Keeping in mind that some festival organisers disregard the festival space and all it contains as a lesser function of festivals, much of this potential ‘art’ is also disregarded. This may be short sighted, as many attendees relish the art (as well as crafts and foods) available in these festival spaces.

Attendees attach a great sense of pride to the festivals having an Afrikaans language focus as illustrated by the following attendee at Aardklop (Aardklop A5):

“Another strength is that it is Afrikaans, unashamedly Afrikaans, we don’t apologise for it, you know.”⁴⁷

⁴⁶ “Dit is vir my belangrik om deel te wees van Afrikaner-wees en als wat daarmee gepaard gaan en, jy weet, ek vind dat dit makliker is om te kommunikeer op sulke geleenthede as wat (ek) andersins sou toenadering gesoek het of gekommunikeer het met ander mense, dit is maar waarom dit gaan.”

⁴⁷ “Nog 'n sterk punt is dat dit Afrikaans is, onbeskroomd Afrikaans, jy weet ons maak nie verskoning daarvoor nie.”

There is a strong sense of cultural pride displayed here in saying that 'we don't apologize' for the fact that the festival is in Afrikaans. This strong sense of cultural pride is a characteristic that was observed at all the Afrikaans arts festivals that were visited.

There is a sense of rebellion also displayed by this comment which is further exhibited in the following quote, also from an Aardklop attendee (Aardklop A6):

"You know, perhaps I am a bit of a culture terrorist, culture as such came to have a connotation as something that one has to protect against others. I enjoy being at the festival because I can speak Afrikaans and the content I see is mostly Afrikaans but the music is sometimes in English, but it is stuff that I like. I do it because it is my language and it is what I understand and it is what I like."⁴⁸

This participant views culture as something that needs to be protected. This is particularly significant in a South African context as Afrikaans used to be the language of preference and of government, but since 1994 the role of Afrikaans in government and society has changed significantly. And this change in focus is an ongoing process which Afrikaans speakers and festival attendees continually perceive as a threat. This perceived threat may also be a motivator for these festivals to continue, or at least a motivator for attendees to attend as clearly illustrated here. This is however, a rather negative outlook which will have to be managed carefully in the future, as it can easily be viewed as an uncooperative stance towards reconciliation between culture groups.

Although the preservation and promotion of Afrikaans culture is very important, it is equally important to have a very open view as to what Afrikaans culture actually is. Culture is potentially a very personal thing and how it is defined and viewed probably differs from person to person. Keeping this in mind, the following quote from a KKNK attendee is of interest (KKNK A3):

"Here you again establish a bond with your people, your language and your art and it is wonderful. You gather here like you wouldn't in other places and you again experience your culture's art, your own language and it is actually wonderful to hear it and to me it is very important in the upliftment of the Afrikaans community. It is not only for Afrikaans, it is for everyone, I mean everybody comes here, it is not only Afrikaners that come here. I mean it is very important for the community."⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Weet jy miskien is ek bietjie van 'n kultuur terrorist; kultuur as sulks het vir my bietjie 'n konnotasie gekry as iets wat jy teen iemand moet beskerm. Dit is vir my lekker om in (die fees) te wees want ek praat Afrikaans en die goed wat ek sien is meestal Afrikaans maar die musiek is partykeer bietjie Engels, maar dit is die goed waarvan ek hou. Ek (...) doen dit omdat dit my taal is en dis wat ek verstaan en dit is waarvan ek hou.

⁴⁹ "Jy bou hier weer gemeenskap op met jou mense en jou taal en jou kuns en dis goed en dis wonderlik en jy kom hier bymekaar soos jy nie op ander plekke bymekaarkom nie en jy beleef weer jou eie kuns en jou eie taal en dit is eintlik wonderlik om dit te hoor en dit is vir my baie belangrik in die (opheffing) van jou Afrikaanse gemeenskap. Dit is nie net Afrikaans nie, dit is vir almal, ek bedoel almal kom hierheen, dit is nie net Afrikaners wat hierheen kom nie. Ek bedoel dit is baie belangrik vir die gemeenskap.

This attendee has an open mind on cultural preservation by referring to the greater Afrikaans community. She points out that it is not only for Afrikaans as language, but that everybody attends the festival and that it is very important for the community. This may refer either to the Afrikaans community or the local community, but as it is Oudtshoorn where the dominant language by far is Afrikaans, it may refer to the same thing.

An attendee at Vrystaat Arts Festival said that most of the Afrikaans speakers in Bloemfontein look forward to the arts festival as an opportunity to get into contact with fellow Afrikaans speakers and to be able to experience Afrikaans arts. Afrikaans speaking people in Bloemfontein, similar to Mbombela and Potchefstroom, are in the minority and this festival may only appeal to a limited number of inhabitants. This is in contrast to Stellenbosch and Oudtshoorn where Afrikaans is much more common, if not the dominant language.

A KKNK attendee relished the opportunity to immerse herself in Afrikaans culture as stated in the following quote (KKNK A8):

“To me it is fantastic to watch productions that are predominantly Afrikaans whenever I am afforded the opportunity. It grounds me again, it anchors me and it tells me, right, you’re still on track, this is who you are. So it means a lot to me. I think that is all I can tell you about it.”⁵⁰

Others, at KKNK in this instance, point out that the Afrikaans festivals keep the language alive and these explore and exhibit the various different forms that the language can take on. Afrikaans is spoken by a myriad of different people coming from diverse historical backgrounds and as these KKNK attendees have pointed out; the festival provides a platform for these nuances to be explored. Attendees at KKNK confess to hearing expressions and sayings used on stage that they would probably not have come across elsewhere and that they found this to be very stimulating, especially in a society where in most of modern South Africa, English is the *lingua franca*.

Several Woordfees attendees have shown some insight into the current threat that Afrikaans experiences as a language of instruction. This was especially relevant as these interviews took place in Stellenbosch with attendees attending the Woordfees, which is held on the Stellenbosch University campus. In fact, it is an initiative by this university. This threat to the Afrikaans language is also experienced at all the traditional Afrikaans universities countrywide. Two student attendees interviewed at Innibos were relishing the idea that they could speak Afrikaans freely at the festival, without fear of being targeted or judged. These students were at the time enrolled at the University of Pretoria, a traditionally Afrikaans university and they have relayed stories of Afrikaans students being harassed and reported for daring to publicly address a lecturer in Afrikaans, their home

⁵⁰ “So wanneer ek kans kry om sulke produksies te sien en dis oorwegend Afrikaans, is dit vir my fantasties. Dit bring my weer grond toe en dit anker my weer en dit sê weer vir my, right, jy is nog op dreef, dis wie jy is. So vir my beteken dit baie. Dis al wat ek dink wat ek vir jou kan sê daaroor.”

language. It can be argued that this level of hatred and opposition that Afrikaans speakers experience, is one of the main forces driving festivals to create safe and friendly spaces in which attendees can express themselves freely. This should however also be done with care. Two attendees at the KKNK have felt that it was imperative that in the light of the current threat to Afrikaans at schools and tertiary institutions, Afrikaans be allowed to flourish at Afrikaans arts festivals in order for the language to continue to function and develop at a high level.

An intriguing aspect that came to light is the interest that the Afrikaner diaspora still has in Afrikaans arts. In two instances attendees have mentioned that friends of theirs dedicated an international trip to come and experience Afrikaans culture at Afrikaans arts festivals, in one case from Canada and in the other from Australia. In both cases the international attendees have been deprived of Afrikaans culture and dedicated several days of their visit to South Africa to visiting an arts festival, in one case the Aardklop National Arts Festival, and in the other, the KKNK. Despite the fact that Afrikaans artists do travel to countries known for large Afrikaans populations like Australia, New Zealand, UK and Canada, some attendees have still felt the need to be immersed in the Afrikaans culture, something that is lacking in the destination countries popular for Afrikaans emigration.

Several attendees across the five Afrikaans arts festivals have mentioned cultural preservation as something which is important to them. A sense of belonging was also a theme that had emerged and some have expressed their appreciation for the festivals in that the festivals serve as a pathway for cultural rejuvenation, which was in turn important to ensure the sustainability of both the Afrikaans arts festivals and the Afrikaans language.

7.3.6 Spaces of exclusivity

Equally important to what is being said is also what is not being said. What is definitely not being said is that there is a longing by the general attendee for all culture groups to be present at Afrikaans festivals. It was observed that many of the attendees relished that fact that the festivals were mostly white and that attendees tended to identify as 'us' Afrikaans speakers against an imagined 'them' who may be people of other ethnicity or other language groups.

As discussed earlier, one of the main motivators to attend Afrikaans arts festivals is the opportunity to relate and interact with other likeminded Afrikaans speaking people. Many participants have indicated that they enjoyed being able to express themselves freely and that they did not have to watch their words when speaking. This may however have different meanings for different cultural groups or ethnicities. One "coloured" attendee who was interviewed at the KKNK had hinted towards concealed racism which he observed at the main stage in the main festival space in Oudtshoorn. He said that if the arts festival's focus is Afrikaans, then skin colour should not be an issue. He described a situation where everybody (all races) would stay to watch white Afrikaans

artists performing on the main stage, but as soon as a person of colour performed on stage then the (older) white audience had packed up and left. It should not be about the person performing, but about the music (art) which is performed. He said that he, as a person of colour, expected people to be more tolerant and open-minded. This highlights the unseen racial tension that still exists today. A different (white) festival attendee at KKNK felt the need to point out that she does not have a problem with a multi-cultural festival. In contrast to this, a couple attending the KKNK had the following to say on this topic (KKNK A4):

“I think we also learn with an Afrikaans arts festival, it is how it has come into existence initially, with time we also get to know others, our fellow-population, we get to know them. And they also attend the festivals.”⁵¹

They inadvertently expose their prejudice by stating that the festival has started as an ‘Afrikaans’ arts festival, hinting that Afrikaans was perceived to be the property of the white population, but that it was now changing and that they (the couple) are now getting to know a different type of Afrikaans speaker because ‘they’ are now also attending Afrikaans arts festivals. This shows how important these Afrikaans arts festivals are in breaking down barriers and addressing archaic and inherently racist perceptions that white Afrikaans speakers might have. This forward thinking couple, as avid theatre supporters, have noticed that people of all backgrounds and ethnicity are employed as actors in theatre productions and mentioned that this can go a long way towards reconciliation.

It is however true that different culture groups have different interests, as a pair of Vrystaat Arts Festival attendees pointed out. They mentioned that during the years that they have been attending they have seen an increase in black attendees in the main festival space, but interestingly, they do not see any black attendees at the film festival which is part of the festival content. They enjoy the film festival tremendously and attend most airings and can therefore make this observation with confidence. They ascribe this lack of interest to cultural differences and point out that they hope that this would change over time as interest in different forms of art will expand.

A significant drawback of the enclosed access controlled festival spaces is the exclusion of certain income groups, as it can be expensive to gain entry to a festival space. For a person from a low income group, it can be expensive to pay for entrance to a festival space and this may be seen as a way to exclude certain races. South Africa’s exclusive past must be kept in mind in this regard as the reality is that those who have been discriminated against in the past are still marginalised by exclusive spaces such as this, although the intention of the enclosed space is for general safety and crowd control. An attendee at the KKNK noted that he was concerned about the discriminative

⁵¹ “Ek dink ons leer ook met ‘n Afrikaanse kunstefees, want dis soos hy aanvanklik ontstaan het, leer ons nou ook met die tyd ook ander, ons mede-bevolking, ons leer hulle ken. En hulle woon ook die feeste by.”

behaviour of predominantly black security guards at the KKNK where these guards visibly treated people of different races in different ways. This may be ascribed to lack of proper training or to an abuse of newfound power.

The opposite is also evident in the observations of a Woordfees attendee. She pointed out that the Woordfees has venues and productions and therefore a definite presence in Kayamandi and Cloetesville which she finds very encouraging. The Woordfees, along with other Afrikaans arts festivals, tries to encourage cross cultural awareness and participation by hosting certain theatre productions in previously disadvantaged areas, thereby drawing in attendees who would otherwise never have set foot there. This is a tangible effort to reconcile, but a lot still needs to be done to rid attendees and local communities of entrenched prejudices. At least the attendees interviewed recognise the need for growth towards cultural reconciliation.

Summary of emerging themes

The interviews were guided by a questionnaire; participants have been encouraged to elaborate on topics they deemed important, which resulted in themes emerging while coding the transcripts. These include the type of attendee, motives, mobility, feedback, and spaces of exclusivity.

Attendees were found to include various types including *the purist, the browser, the festivalite and the socialite*. Further to these different types of attendee's motivations to visit festivals, these were also found to have common themes including *people watching, entertainment, climate, location and safety, escape, celebrity interaction, nostalgia and quality time spent with loved ones*. Attendees have also displayed varying travel habits which was discussed as *mobility*, where attendees from the northern parts of the country were found to be more inclined to travel than their southern counterparts. As attendees experience the products of arts festivals first hand, it was thought important to include their experiences, as these may guide future festival management in their festival planning.

As language is so closely related to culture, attendees have deemed it necessary to express views on culture and what culture means to them. The meaning of culture is a very personal experience and differs among individuals, depending on various factors including background and ethnicity. Cultural perspectives also lead to festival spaces being perceived by some as 'exclusive' spaces. Afrikaans is the home language of several ethnic groups and as such could lead to cultural tensions emerging at arts festivals. With Afrikaans having such a complex history, this was expected.

Festival attendees voiced perceptions on how festivals have changed over time and this contributed to insights on festival life cycles. These temporal perspectives will now be discussed.

7.4 Temporal perspective

Although the attendees are the group with the highest turnover with regard to festivals attendance, they can still provide valuable insight into the temporal aspects of festivals by providing a living history of Afrikaans arts festivals. It is expected that attendees will experience the festivals differently over time than would contributing stakeholders or management.

One participant pointed out that ten (10) years ago, around 2010, she had had the view that Aardklop specifically contributed substantially to the local community and that this was evident from the number of churches that had food stalls in the main festival space and around Potchefstroom. She had also observed that this phenomenon seemed to be declining and that she hoped it would make its appearance again (Aardklop A5):

“Yes, I think it is a good (economic) injection and I hope it only gets better and I think at some stage, and I am referring to about ten (10) years ago, it was a tremendous economic injection for the town and I remember that numerous churches did fund raising and wherever you went in town, and as I said, I continuously compare, it started declining and I hope that it will now again take hold, but I think it already is (doing so).”⁵²

By allowing churches (and schools) to participate in fundraising during arts festivals, the community becomes directly engaged in the financial benefit of the festival. This is a tangible benefit that a community can see and experience in the long run and it is crucial not to alienate local entities such as schools and churches. These institutions typically get the congregation (and parents of school children) directly involved in its fund raising activities and this is therefore an indirect way in which a festival can mobilize a community to do good in the broader sense of the word.

Many of the attendees were of the opinion that the festivals have grown in size. This, in reality, is not entirely true, as many of the arts festivals have been shrinking in recent years with the exception of Innibos and Woordfees. It may be that these attendees discover new dimensions of the arts festivals every year that lead them to believe that the festivals are growing. Two attendees interviewed at Vrystaat Kunstefees have mused about the attendance of black people and mentioned that in their perception it was steadily increasing, (keeping in mind that they have been attending for less than 6 years) (Vrystaat A2):

“I think previously one has noticed a lack of, or fewer numbers of black people and I think, well not I think, I have noticed over the years that I've been attending, that the numbers have risen, at art exhibitions, I can't talk for productions but I find they are better, the festival is

⁵² “Ja, ek dink dit is 'n goeie inspuiting en ek hoop dit raak net beter en ek dink op 'n stadium, en ek praat nou weer van so 10 jaar terug, was dit 'n geweldige ekonomiese inspuiting in die dorp, want ek onthou al wat 'n kerk is het sy eie dingetjie gedoen en as jy iewers in die dorp ry en soos ek sê ek vergelyk het nou die healtyd, toe het dit nogal afgeneem vir my en ek hoop dat dit nou weer begin posvat, maar ek dink dit doen tog.”

better attended but I think there is still a lack at the films, where at the foreign films we don't see black people there and I think maybe in time maybe their interests will expand, I don't know how one would achieve that. And maybe that is just a cultural thing.”

They mention that it perhaps is a cultural thing. And it may be a matter of perception as well, especially with the Vrystaat Kunstefees, a festival that has only fairly recently started to become more inclusive. It may be fair to assume that black people view the Vrystaat Kunstefees as an exclusively 'white' festival, especially as it was initiated by the Volksblad, an Afrikaans newspaper, and because it is held on the main campus of the Free State University, a once predominantly Afrikaans university. So it is fair to assume that it had been an exclusive festival. But this is slowly changing and the public is starting to notice this, as illustrated in the quote above.

One Vrystaat Kunstefees attendee, who had previously (fifteen years prior) worked at the Volksblad, mentioned that the festival is currently much bigger than in the mid-2000s and that the content at the Vrystaat Kunstefees today is much more comprehensive than it once was. Previously the festival's content included mostly popular art such as comedies whereas today it is much more comprehensive with a greater focus on higher arts. For example, the literary component is much larger today than a decade ago. This participant too highlights the fact that this festival is steadily transforming into a more representative festival, as opposed to the 'white' festival it once was. Inevitably some traditional attendees will be alienated by making the festival more inclusive, but for the sake of creating good art and to ensure sustainability, it was inevitable that the festival had to shift its focus. This attendee also mentions that in her experience the Vrystaat Arts Festival is constantly working on improving its scheduling, the terrain layout, as well as the arts content. This festival caters for a wide audience and it is becoming more and more international in its design and focus, borrowing concepts like a fringe festival, which was pioneered by the Edinburgh Arts Festival in Scotland, was locally first introduced by the National Arts Festival in Grahamstown, but can now be found at most local arts festivals.

As the general attendance at arts festivals in 2018 / 2019 was much lower than it had been more than a decade ago, several attendees noted that the general quality of arts and productions seemed to be improving. Some also noted that the venues and theatres seemed to be full while the streets appeared to be empty. This is a valuable insight, as festival management deliberately endeavour to keep attendees occupied, thereby removing them from public spaces. Management are of opinion that when people are left to their own devices, they may be up to mischief and also, they are not spending money. That is why an access controlled festival space was conceived, among other reasons as was discussed earlier.

7.5 Conclusion

The objective of this chapter has been to explore the perceptions of attendees on various themes emerging from the interviews conducted across five Afrikaans arts festivals. A total of forty-two (42) attendees were interviewed across five (5) Afrikaans arts festivals and the data were grouped together and analysed as a whole. The attendees varied in age and gender but the bulk of the sample were older than fifty (50) years of age. Attendees were mostly interviewed on the main festival space or in a location close by to capitalise on the festival atmosphere.

After transcription, coding and analysis, a number of themes have emerged from the data including a typification of attendees, their motivations to visit festivals, visitor mobility, general feedback such as strengths and weaknesses, spaces of exclusivity, and temporal perspectives. Three main types of attendees were identified; the serious attendee who attends to experience theatre and high art; the browser whose aim is to explore the retail area; and lastly the socialite who visits to have a good time with friends and who is usually found at free entrance stages and beer gardens. Attendees have also expressed diverse reasons to visit arts festivals, from people watching to having a good time to supporting the Afrikaans arts, and while doing so enjoy a safe setting in which to freely express themselves.

Despite the efforts of management to create diverse and welcoming spaces, some racism still exists as observed by the researcher as well as the attendees themselves. Regarding mobility, the data showed that attendees have been more willing to travel to visit arts festivals in the south of the country as opposed to attendees in the north, who were reluctant to travel to the northern festivals. All the Afrikaans arts festivals were found to have healthy local support. Despite the fact that attendees had the highest turnover of all participants in arts festivals, they nonetheless provided vital information on the evolution of the festivals and the changes that they had undergone over time.

A major reason why Afrikaans arts festivals exist in the first place, apart from the higher and more novel motivations of development of Afrikaans culture, artistic development and expression and creating a platform for intellectual debate, is to entertain the Afrikaans speaking population of South Africa (and those abroad). It was observed that there had been only a limited portion of attendees who engage and support the higher functions of these festivals and that the majority of the attendees visit to only have a good time and support the retail component in the main festival space. Cross-subsidisation between these many levels of art is the only method to finance the production of new art, thus all forms of support are required to assure the survival of Afrikaans arts festivals. Attendees therefore play a vital role in the continued existence of Afrikaans arts festivals and their loyalty is key to the survival of this local cultural phenomenon.

Regarding the uniqueness of attendees, it was found that it differs among festivals. In the case of the Woordfees, the average attendee tends to be a high arts consumer and in the case of Innibos the average attendee leans towards more popular arts and light entertainment. In general, most attendees had Afrikaans as language in common and they were proud to express it and they relished in its existence and the joy of celebrating it in the form of Afrikaans arts festivals.

Three broad categories of participants in Afrikaans arts festivals have been discussed this far; management, contributing stakeholders, and festivals attendees. The participants all contribute to arts festivals in different ways and therefore also experience these festivals in unique ways. This chapter addressed Research Objectives 3 and 4. The next chapter will conclude these findings.

8 Chapter 8 - Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out with a short rationalisation to position this investigation in festival literature. Hereafter it will be demonstrated how the research objectives were met, followed by a summary of the original contribution to knowledge and an overview of possible limitations to the investigation. The chapter will be concluded by recommendations and possible future research pathways.

Pre-democracy South Africa's tourism products were limited and had only one major arts festival, the National Arts Festival held annually in Makhanda since 1974 (Snowball & Webb, 2008). Since 1994 South Africa's tourism sector has experienced considerable development both in terms of domestic and foreign visitors (Scholtz *et al.*, 2019). In addition, in recent years, arts festivals have become more prevalent in South Africa (Saayman & Rossouw, 2011; Snowball *et al.*, 2016). It is estimated that more than one thousand (1000) festivals are held yearly (Donaldson, 2018, 2021). This opened up a considerable number of possible research niches.

A review of tourism geography literature, however, revealed a paucity of research into the geographies of Afrikaans arts festivals in South Africa. Most of the local festival research focused on the economic aspects of arts festivals, among others. This paucity led to the following main goal for this study: ***To investigate, analyse and describe the various geographies of Afrikaans arts festivals in South Africa.*** The following research objectives and how they were met are discussed below.

8.2 Key findings

This investigation was qualitative in design as opposed to most festival tourism research in South Africa following a quantitative approach. After conducting extensive field work at five major Afrikaans arts festivals, while adhering to strict ethical principles, the interviews with participants were transcribed, coded and analysed. Themes emerging from the data were identified and discussed in Chapters 4 – 7.

The key findings of this investigation are now presented.

Objective 1

The first objective of this investigation was *to provide a review of relevant research regarding arts festivals, including their history, nature, recent changes, and in particular, their spatialities and Geographical contexts.* This was achieved by conducting a thorough review on festival literature. It

was found that the nature of tourism, including the accompanying research, changed in line with a cultural turn in the 1980s (Aitken & Valentine, 2009; Barnett, 1998; Crang, 2010; Donaldson, 2018; Hall, 2013; Van Hoven, 2011), resulting in the cultural aspects of tourism receiving greater research attention (World Tourism Organisation, 1985).

It was also clear that scholars engaged with the roles played by festivals in place making and the rejuvenation of under-used spaces (Jarman, 2018; Landman, 2016, 2017; Richards, 2017). Festivals were found to equip communities with the tools to change their surroundings and foster a sense of place. Festival networks were found to exist at various scales (Jarman, 2018), while others interpreted festival networks as the social networks that exist between volunteers and locals (Mair & Duffy, 2019). Stakeholder theories in festival management also received much research attention with scholars advocating successful stakeholder identification and engagement. These are pivotal to festival success and sustainability (Rust, 2020; Sautter & Leisen, 1999; Wallace & Michopoulou, 2019).

The South African tourism system was found to have been extensively researched by several scholars focusing on economic impacts, cultural value, visitor loyalty, attendee motivations etc. (Erasmus, 2012; Kruger, 2020; Kruger & Saayman, 2012; Kruger *et al.*, 2011; Saayman, 2011; Saayman & Saayman, 2015; Saayman *et al.*, 2011; Slabbert & Saayman, 2011; Visser, 2016, 2005; Visser & Hoogendoorn, 2011; Viviers *et al.*, 2013; Van Zyl, 2012). Much has also been published on the effects of COVID-19 on the South African tourism sector and how it has reacted to the impacts of the pandemic (Bama & Nyikana, 2021; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2021a, 2020a,b; Rogerson & Baum, 2020).

This research objective was addressed in Chapter 2.

Objective 2

The Afrikaans arts festivals started out with the establishment of the KKNK in Oudtshoorn in 1995 followed by Aardklop in Potchefstroom in 1998. In 1999 the Woordfees came into being in Stellenbosch, starting out as a small literary and poetry festival. The Northern Cape Province saw the establishment of the Gariiep Kunstefees in Kimberley in 2000 which was in 2001 closely followed by the *Volksblad Kunstefees* in Bloemfontein, today known as the Vrystaat Arts Festival. Inspired by the success of the other Afrikaans arts festivals, Innibos was created in Mbombela in 2004. Following the disbanding of the governmental district arts councils in the early to mid-1990s, these festivals in effect commodified Afrikaans arts and language. Spatially these arts festivals first commenced in the southern part of the country where the Afrikaans language is more widely spoken, and later progressed to the north.

The initial seed funding for the establishment of the KKNK, Aardklop, Vrystaat Arts Festivals and the now extinct Gariep Kunstefees was provided by Naspers. This placed Naspers at the centre of the promotion of Afrikaans culture in the 1990s and early 2000s. Interviews with previous festival management revealed that this was driven by business interests as the regional Afrikaans newspapers⁵³ flourished as a result. Funding was also forthcoming from other sources in the private sector, and in some cases from local government, which became increasingly difficult to attain and if granted, it then came with strings attached. This practice led to the demise of the Gariep Kunstefees in Kimberley in 2018. The Afrikaans festival landscape revealed an interplay of political, socio-cultural and geographical factors in the post-apartheid period.

The second research objective was *to provide an overview of the spatial context, spatial connections and history of major South African arts festivals*. This research objective was satisfied in Chapter 4.

Objective 3

A further research objective of this investigation was *to determine the character of Afrikaans arts festivals with regard to language, ethnicity and gender*.

Interviews with management demonstrated that most members of management were white and Afrikaans speaking. Contributing stakeholders however exhibited more texture regarding race and ethnicity, mostly so for stall owners where participants from Venda (Limpopo Province) and even artists of Nigerian descent felt at home at Afrikaans arts festivals. Stakeholders were generally well educated with more than half having obtained tertiary education. More than half of the stakeholders were male and over 41 years in age. They also proved to be very loyal with a third having attended a particular arts festival more than ten (10) times.

Attendees were generally white, female and older than forty-one (41), well-educated and affluent displaying varying levels of loyalty. Eleven attendees (26%) indicated that they had attended a particular festival more than ten times i.e. considerable loyalty, in contrast to a healthy renewal of interest in arts festivals with five attendees (12%) attending for the very first time boding well for the sustainability of future arts festivals. This confirms the findings of other researchers (Kruger & Saayman, 2012; Labuschagne, 2014; Saayman *et al.*, 2012).

The linguistic, ethnic and gender character of the festivals are revealed as fairly typical of middle- / upper class Afrikaans, but with a limited presence of lower income / previously disadvantaged attendees and stall owners. This third objective was met in Chapters 6 and 7.

⁵³ Die Burger (Western Cape Province), Die Volksblad (Free State and Northern Cape Provinces) and Beeld (North West, Gauteng and Mpumalanga Provinces), all owned by parent company Naspers.

Objective 4

The socio-economic impacts of festivals have been researched extensively and this investigation therefore only focused on the perceived economic impacts and local community upliftment of these festivals. The fourth research objective of this investigation was *to explore the perceptions of various stakeholders on the socio-economic impacts of Afrikaans arts festivals.*

Attendees (non-locals) in general indicated that they perceived the arts festival to have a positive economic impact in the destination towns, a perception mirrored by management. Festival management indicated that local businesses typically do not contribute towards financing or creating the festival and therefore needed to get involved by hiring stall space, as some locals promptly did. Across all arts festivals the perception persisted that the hospitality sector benefited considerably from attendees needing overnight accommodation when visiting host towns. An aspect not mentioned by many was the reality that Afrikaans arts festivals did not necessarily benefit the broader and mostly disadvantaged local population.

Predatory festivals and events were mentioned as a negative factor by festival management. This phenomenon occurs during the official festival programme where local venues or restaurants host their own events and entice festival attendees to attend their events by creating the impression that they were part of the official programme. This practice typically does not benefit the festival nor the local population.

The varied perceptions of stakeholders on socio-economic aspects proved to be a valuable source of information, generally under-valued by other researchers. The findings confirmed previous research by local scholars (Snowball *et al.*, 2010; Stylidis *et al.*, 2014). This objective was addressed in Chapter 5.

Objective 5

A further research objective was *to investigate the personal histories, gather individual feedback and cultural perceptions and explore the mobilities of participants.*

The data revealed that many stall owners experienced some significant upheaval in their personal lives ranging from retrenchment to workplace injuries and were effectively forced to rethink their career choice. They decided to become entrepreneurs and most mentioned that they would not have it any other way. The phrase, 'the open road called out to me' was mentioned by many interviewees signalling an inclination to live a nomadic life. This is inherently geographical in nature.

Attendees as well as contributing stakeholders provided general feedback on the different arts festivals including perceptions of strengths and weaknesses and general commentary. A common theme shared by attendees and contributing stakeholders is the expression and appreciation of

culture. Some expressed a deep appreciation for the role of Afrikaans arts festivals in preserving and enhancing Afrikaans culture while others were neutral on the subject and a few expressed disdain. Many participants found it necessary to add a disclaimer that they were not racist, an indicator of how Afrikaans culture is viewed by others as intricately woven into the fabric of South Africa's apartheid past.

Arts festivals draw participants from all over South Africa and in some cases from other Southern African countries. It is the places of origin and the routes that the participants follow (the spatialities) to and from arts festivals make up the various geographies of the Afrikaans arts festivals. KKNK and Woordfees draw more stakeholders from Gauteng than from their immediate vicinity, confirming the research of Saayman and Saayman (2006). The opposite is true for Innibos, Aardklop and Vrystaat Arts Festival where more local support is generated. This suggests a reluctance from those residing in the Western Cape Province to travel to the northern parts of the country. The contributing stakeholders (stall owners, artists) exhibited the most interesting travel behaviour of all participants with some opting to return home between festivals (touch-base merchant) and others preferring to plan trading routes (travelling merchant) tying festivals and events together on a national scale.

The mapping of the nomadic behaviour of stall holders provides new understanding of the spatialities of arts festivals and herein lies the most significant contribution of this investigation. This was achieved in Chapters 6 and 7.

Objective 6

The stall owners and artists displayed a wide range of mobility, each with their own set of itineraries depending on their own personal circumstances and professional requirements. Some participants trade exclusively at their local festival, while others return home after each one. Others opt to spend most of their time on the road, travelling from one event to the next, and typically taking numerous trading tours per year, with larger festivals as the anchors. Some traders prefer to spend their free time between events as leisure time visiting family and friends or at national parks.

Afrikaans arts festivals are bound together on a national scale by the shared travelling habits and resulting geographies of travelling participants and also by their content exhibited and traded in at festivals. This travel behaviour evolved into a unique travelling economy designed around Afrikaans arts festivals and created a communal identity linking the arts festivals in the pre-COVID-19 era. The COVID-19 epidemic, which caused all big public meetings to be outlawed, brought this phenomenon to a halt in 2020. The epidemic completely shattered the lifestyle that these participants had established around the festival landscape. Whether these linkages are to be

restored after COVID-19, only time will tell. This promises to be a definite future research avenue as also pointed out by other scholars (Rogerson & Baum, 2020; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2020a).

Afrikaans arts festivals were also found to share a sizeable portion of their theatre and live music productions. The data showed that in order for theatre productions to be more cost effective and to ensure greater possibilities of success, arts festivals have come to collaborate in staging new theatre productions. Much of this collaboration occurs out of necessity and is also encouraged by NATi⁵⁴, a significant role-player in the Afrikaans arts. This duplication among festivals, although necessary, may erode the unique festival character that is a vital component of a festival's attraction. Adding to this erosion is the duplication resulting from traders trading in the same goods at the various festivals. This duplication results in a loss of appeal and may be detrimental to the long term sustainability of arts festivals.

The connections between Afrikaans arts festivals proved to be more intricate than anticipated with festivals displaying significant interdependence especially by relying on the same stall holders and artists. This satisfied the final research objective which was *to make visible the unexplored connections between Afrikaans arts festivals*. This research objective was addressed in Chapter 6.

Our attention now turns toward the original contribution of this investigation.

8.3 Original contribution

The original contribution to knowledge is the illustration of the various geographies and spatialities of stakeholders contributing to Afrikaans arts festivals in South Africa. To date most research has followed a case study approach by only investigating and comparing one or two festivals at a time. No study has investigated the major Afrikaans arts festivals to this extent. Five of the six Afrikaans arts festivals were investigated as part of this research providing comprehensive insights into the Afrikaans arts festival scape, from a geographical perspective.

The geographies of the arts festivals are most prominent in the travelling behaviour of artists and stall owners. These individuals design their itineraries to suit their individual needs with two broad categories i.e.; the travelling merchant / artist and the touch-base merchant / artist. The former travels from one festival or event to another and 'anchors' the tours by including at least one major profitable event per trip. The touch-base merchant / artist always returns home between events and only visits events he / she deems profitable.

Valuable insights were gained by exploring the origins and travel behaviour of attendees. It was found that arts festivals drew attendees from their home province as well as from the Gauteng province, confirming existing knowledge (Saayman & Saayman, 2006), but with the new

⁵⁴ Nasionale Afrikaanse Teater-inisiatief

observation that attendees and participants from the south were less inclined to travel to the north than those from the north who were easily persuaded to travel south to visit arts festivals.

Interesting findings were also made regarding management, stakeholder and attendee perceptions on various topics including festival spaces, festival impacts, cultural dimensions, audience development, attendee experiences, spaces of exclusivity and festival ranking, etc. By providing findings on the topics mentioned here, this investigation contributes an improved understanding of the Afrikaans arts festival phenomenon in South Africa and provides a valuable pre-COVID-19 baseline for future research, in particular the life of these festivals after COVID-19.

The focus now turns towards the (inevitable) limitations of this study.

8.4 Summary of limitations

Research positionality was considered throughout as this may lead to bias in selecting participants. This was actively managed by seeking out attendees representative of the average festival attendee. Stall owners were selected using snowball sampling techniques.

Friendly and approachable attendees were identified and approached in the festival space. When people were found in groups of more than two then they tended to be less approachable and therefore excluded. When people were found in groups of two or on their own, they tended to be more approachable and were included. Single participants were easier to approach as they had no social obligations to adhere to. It was then observed that the festival attendee who was most approachable was generally older than forty (40) years of age and female. Couples were also very approachable in general. These factors may have introduced some bias.

Other research teams were also present at most of the arts festivals. Their research was mostly quantitative in nature and relied on extensive questionnaires as means of data collection. Attendees already surveyed were mostly rendered unapproachable. This was very apparent at KKNK as well as at the Vrystaat Arts Festival.

Few interviews were conducted after sunset because the atmosphere at the festival tended to change as the day progressed. People tended to be less approachable later during the day either due to fatigue or time constraints. Evenings were usually characterized by a younger audience, who tended to be found in groups rendering them less approachable. Families with young children were present during the late afternoon and as family time was the focus, it made them less likely to participate.

Noisy spaces were avoided as excessive background noise makes it difficult to record an interview (and transcribe afterwards). Festival attendees who avoided noisy spaces tend to be older and

more mature, and they would typically seek refuge in quieter spaces which made them ideal candidates for interviews which could bias the research.

To avoid possible bias when interviewing stall owners, the researcher did not rely exclusively on personal recommendations from already interviewed participants. Another method of avoiding bias was to select exhibitors that traded in a variety of different themes of goods. This practice also served to maintain texture and variety in the data.

Regarding participants involved in the management of the festivals, all incumbent festival directors were approached and where possible, former directors or festival managers were also interviewed. Former managers were selected according to availability and willingness to participate. In order to obtain an institutional or community opinion of the different festivals, the current festival directors were asked for recommendations on whom to approach.

The researcher was aware of these possible limitations and tried to manage them as best he could throughout the research project.

8.5 Recommendations

Based on the results of this investigation, the following recommendations are presented:

- From the general feedback obtained from traders at the arts festivals it was concluded that festivals stall spaces are becoming increasingly expensive. Festival management need to consider that by disproportionately raising the rent in the festival space, prospective as well as veteran traders may be alienated. It is in the stall space that the local community can reap an economic benefit and is therefore an easy avenue for improving the relationships with the community.
- Various stall holders mentioned that they had at times felt mistreated at particular arts festivals. This may be attributed to past perceptions held towards stall owners, yet discrimination is never acceptable. Stall owners should be valued more as they are the institutional memory of Afrikaans arts festivals and can provide valuable insights into successful festival planning and operation. They are after all the invisible link tying arts festivals and smaller events together on a national scale. Innibos must be singled out as the most favourite arts festival among stall owners and artists and this can be attributed to their unique approach to building relationships with these participants.
- Although the arts festivals make great efforts in involving the local community, from the interviews it was evident that more can be done to embed the arts festival in the minds of

locals. Relationships with the local population should be managed carefully as local goodwill goes a long way towards ensuring the future sustainability of arts festivals.

- While some functions may be duplicated among arts festivals it should be done with caution. Local culture contributes to the local sense of place; the character of a host own which plays a major part in the attraction of a festival. Care should be taken not to erode the unique character of an arts festival as this may negatively influence sustainability.
- From interviews with past and current management as well as with stakeholders involved in technical support, it was evident that many management functions are duplicated among arts festivals. Festival management tend to be very territorial in their approach resulting in unnecessary spending. Festival management may consider sharing some functions e.g. stage managers, technical advisors, media liaison officers, artistic design to name a few. Technical inventory can also be shared e.g. ladders, lighting equipment, black drapes.
- The current scheduling of Afrikaans arts festivals is problematic and may lead to one festival cannibalizing the other. New scheduling must be considered to ensure the survival of these festivals.

Following these recommendations, these future research avenues are proposed.

8.6 Future research pathways

The following research pathways may be considered for future research:

- It can safely be assumed that the arts economy will be considerably different post-COVID-19 to what it was before. As Afrikaans arts festivals make up a sizeable portion of this economy it would be prudent to investigate the geographies of participants in future arts festivals. Which of the arts festivals investigated here will survive the current turmoil needs to be seen.
- The management dynamic between Afrikaans arts festivals will inevitably be different in a post-COVID-19 world and budgets will undoubtedly be slimmer. In order to ensure the survival of these festivals it must be investigated which functions are duplicated and can consequently be shared among festivals.

- The stall holders and artists who contributed towards the Afrikaans arts festivals were forced to pursue different career paths in order to survive the pandemic, as was found in informal follow-up discussions with some participants. Career stall holders suddenly had nowhere to trade and were abruptly left without income. Researching their adaptation strategies during and after the pandemic will provide insight into their resilience as well as the changing geographies exhibited by these individuals.
- The connections / linkages between festivals and events in general may be considered for future research on the premise that this may illustrate new ways in which festival and event management can collaborate.

8.7 Postscript

In conclusion I would like to leave the reader with these words by Jans Rautenbach as published in the book celebrating the 20-year existence of the KKNK:

They who are tasked to write the history of the past 20 years will in the files not find the tears and the sweat of those who worked the barren earth, who sowed handfuls of seeds made up of dreams and who waited on bent knees on the first sign of life to emerge and that the earth will be fertile and that the arts will flourish under the sun of Africa (Rautenbach, 2014).⁵⁵

This illustrates the blind hope shown by those who dared to stage the first Afrikaans arts festival. From these hopes sprung the vibrant Afrikaans arts that this country is blessed with today. The question begs if the Afrikaans arts will survive for the decades to follow, especially in light of the devastation left by COVID-19? With dedicated individuals like this and those willing to support the arts, and especially arts presented in their home language then the answer will always be yes, there is still a place for the Afrikaans arts.

⁵⁵ “Hulle wat die geskiedenis van die 20 jaar moet aanteken sal nêrens in lêers die sweet en die moeg kan opdiep van die wat dié braakland geploeg en gedolwe het, handevol saad uit sakke vol drome oor akkers gesaai het en op hulle knieë gewag het vir die eerste spriet om oop te vou dat die aarde vrugbaar sal wees en die kunste sal gedy in die son van Afrika.”

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10 List of interviews and personal communications

Code	Interview date	Festival	Role of participant
Aardklop A1	2018/10/04	Aardklop	Attendee
Aardklop A2	2018/10/04	Aardklop	Attendee
Aardklop A3	2018/10/04	Aardklop	Attendee
Aardklop A4	2018/10/05	Aardklop	Attendee
Aardklop A5	2018/10/05	Aardklop	Attendee
Aardklop A6	2018/10/05	Aardklop	Attendee
Aardklop A7	2018/10/06	Aardklop	Attendee
Aardklop A8	2018/10/06	Aardklop	Attendee
Aardklop A9	2018/10/06	Aardklop	Attendee
Aardklop A10	2019/03/07	Aardklop	Attendee
Aardklop A11	2019/06/12	Aardklop	Attendee
Aardklop A12	2019/06/12	Aardklop	Attendee
Aardklop M1	2018/11/21	Aardklop	Management
Aardklop M2	2019/08/02	Aardklop	Management
Aardklop S1	2018/10/03	Aardklop	Stakeholder
Aardklop S2	2018/10/04	Aardklop	Stakeholder
Aardklop S3	2018/10/05	Aardklop	Stakeholder
Aardklop S4	2018/10/05	Aardklop	Stakeholder
Aardklop S5	2018/10/05	Aardklop	Stakeholder
Aardklop S6	2018/10/06	Aardklop	Stakeholder
Aardklop S7	2018/10/06	Aardklop	Stakeholder
Aardklop S8	2018/10/31	Aardklop	Stakeholder
Aardklop S9	2018/10/31	Aardklop	Stakeholder
Gariëp M1	2019/11/08	Gariëp Kunstefees	Management
Innibos A1	2018/06/28	Innibos	Attendee
Innibos A2	2018/06/28	Innibos	Attendee
Innibos A3	2018/06/28	Innibos	Attendee
Innibos A4	2018/06/28	Innibos	Attendee
Innibos A5	2018/06/28	Innibos	Attendee
Innibos A6	2018/06/28	Innibos	Attendee
Innibos M1	2018/11/20	Innibos	Management
Innibos M2	2018/11/20	Innibos	Management
Innibos M3	2019/04/01	Innibos	Management
Innibos S1	2018/06/25	Innibos	Stakeholder
Innibos S2	2018/06/25	Innibos	Stakeholder
Innibos S3	2018/06/27	Innibos	Stakeholder
Innibos S4	2018/06/27	Innibos	Stakeholder
Innibos S5	2018/06/28	Innibos	Stakeholder
KKNK A1	2018/04/02	KKNK	Attendee
KKNK A2	2018/04/02	KKNK	Attendee

KKNK A3	2018/04/02	KKNK	Attendee
KKNK A4	2018/04/03	KKNK	Attendee
KKNK A5	2018/04/03	KKNK	Attendee
KKNK A6	2018/04/04	KKNK	Attendee
KKNK A7	2018/04/04	KKNK	Attendee
KKNK A8	2018/04/05	KKNK	Attendee
KKNK M1	2018/04/01	KKNK	Management
KKNK M2	2018/06/25	KKNK	Management
KKNK M3	2019/03/11	KKNK	Management
KKNK S1	2018/03/31	KKNK	Stakeholder
KKNK S2	2018/04/01	KKNK	Stakeholder
KKNK S3	2018/04/01	KKNK	Stakeholder
KKNK S4	2018/04/02	KKNK	Stakeholder
KKNK S5	2018/04/02	KKNK	Stakeholder
KKNK S6	2018/04/04	KKNK	Stakeholder
KKNK S7	2018/04/01	KKNK	Stakeholder
KKNK S8	2018/04/01	KKNK	Stakeholder
KKNK S9	2018/04/03	KKNK	Stakeholder
KKNK S10	2018/04/02	KKNK	Stakeholder
KKNK S11	2018/04/02	KKNK	Stakeholder
Vrystaat A1	2019/07/03	Vrystaat Arts Festival	Attendee
Vrystaat A2	2019/07/04	Vrystaat Arts Festival	Attendee
Vrystaat A3	2019/07/04	Vrystaat Arts Festival	Attendee
Vrystaat A4	2019/07/05	Vrystaat Arts Festival	Attendee
Vrystaat A5	2019/07/05	Vrystaat Arts Festival	Attendee
Vrystaat A6	2019/07/06	Vrystaat Arts Festival	Attendee
Vrystaat A7	2019/07/06	Vrystaat Arts Festival	Attendee
Vrystaat M1	2019/07/04	Vrystaat Arts Festival	Management
Vrystaat M2	2019/07/17	Vrystaat Arts Festival	Management
Vrystaat M3	2019/07/18	Vrystaat Arts Festival	Management
Vrystaat S1	2019/07/01	Vrystaat Arts Festival	Stakeholder
Vrystaat S2	2019/07/03	Vrystaat Arts Festival	Stakeholder
Vrystaat S3	2019/07/03	Vrystaat Arts Festival	Stakeholder
Vrystaat S4	2019/07/03	Vrystaat Arts Festival	Stakeholder
Vrystaat S5	2019/07/05	Vrystaat Arts Festival	Stakeholder
Vrystaat S6	2019/07/06	Vrystaat Arts Festival	Stakeholder
Vrystaat S7	2019/07/06	Vrystaat Arts Festival	Stakeholder
Woordfees A1	2019/03/02	Woordfees	Attendee
Woordfees A2	2019/03/02	Woordfees	Attendee
Woordfees A3	2019/03/04	Woordfees	Attendee
Woordfees A4	2019/03/04	Woordfees	Attendee
Woordfees A5	2019/03/04	Woordfees	Attendee
Woordfees A6	2019/03/04	Woordfees	Attendee
Woordfees A7	2019/03/04	Woordfees	Attendee

Woordfees A8	2019/03/02	Woordfees	Attendee
Woordfees A9	2019/03/06	Woordfees	Attendee
Woordfees M1	2019/03/08	Woordfees	Management
Woordfees M2	2019/03/08	Woordfees	Management
Woordfees M3	2019/07/12	Woordfees	Management
Woordfees S1	2019/03/05	Woordfees	Stakeholder
Woordfees S2	2019/03/07	Woordfees	Stakeholder
Woordfees S3	2019/03/07	Woordfees	Stakeholder
Woordfees S4	2019/03/08	Woordfees	Stakeholder
Woordfees S5	2019/03/09	Woordfees	Stakeholder
Pers. Comm. 1	2019/03/08	Woordfees	Management
Pers. Comm. 2	2018/08/16	Innibos	Stakeholder
Pers. Comm. 4	2019/07/28	KKNK	Management
Pers. Comm. 3	2019/10/08	KKNK	Management

11 Annexures

11.1 Informed consent form



PhD-studie / PhD study: Mnr. / Mr. JH Stander (12691607)

Ingeligte toestemmingsbrief – Informed Consent

Hiermee verklaar ek die ondergetekende, dat ek volledig ingelig is oor die doel van Mnr. JH Stander se navorsingsprojek getiteld: / I the undersigned hereby declare that I was properly informed about the purpose Mr. JH Stander's research project titled:

A critical analysis of the socio-historical geographies of arts festivals in South Africa.

Ek verklaar verder dat ek volledig ingelig is oor die volgende etiese riglyne waarvolgens die projek uitgevoer sal word, naamlik: / I further declare that I was properly informed about the following ethical guidelines by which the research will be conducted:

- Dat my deelname vrywillig is / My participation is completely voluntary
- Dat ek te enige tyd, sonder enige vorm van benadeling, myself van die navorsing kan onttrek / That I may at any time, without any undue disadvantage, withdraw from the research
- Dat alle inligting wat ek verstrek vertroulik hanteer sal word / That all information will be regarded as confidential
- Dat my identiteit, of die identiteit van 'n ander persoon of instelling, nie deur die navorsing openbaar gemaak sal word nie / That my identity or that of any organisation will not be made public by the research
- Dat ek op versoek, terugvoering oor die navorsingsbevindinge van Mnr. JH Stander sal ontvang. / That feedback regarding the research may be made available to me on request.

Ek verklaar verder dat ek teen die agtergrond van bogenoemde instem om vrywillig aan die projek deel te neem en dat ek bereid is om 'n individuele onderhoud aan Mnr. JH Stander toe te staan, wat met my toestemming op band opgeneem sal word. / I also declare that I agree to participate in the research, taking into account the guidelines above, by granting an interview to Mr. JH Stander and I provide permission for the interview to be recorded.

Deelnemer se voorletters en van:.....
Initials and surname of participant:

Deelnemer se handtekening:.....
Signature of participant:

Datum: / Date..... Verlang terugvoer? / Requires feedback?

11.2 The questionnaire



Arts Festival Questionnaire

Dear participants: Thank you very much for participating in this interview. Please provide your most candid and thorough response to the questions below. Please answer the sections relevant to you / your status.

Rest assured that the information you share here is confidential.

The interview / questionnaire is divided into the following sections:

- A. General festival attendees
- B. Stall owners / Artists / Service providers
- C. Management: Festival or Institutional (Municipal) management
- D. Demographics / Personal background

Interview Questions

I would like to ask you a few questions about your experience at *this* arts festival and with arts festivals *in general*. Kindly note that this interview will be recorded (with your permission) and that it will be transcribed verbatim. Your identity will be kept confidential at all times.

Section A: General festival attendee

1. Establish role – Please tell me a bit about yourself and why you are here at this arts festival?
2. Itinerary - Please tell me about your typical itinerary, which festivals do you visit each year?
3. Festival content – What do you think about the content (arts and merchandise) available at this arts festival?
4. Cultural meaning / significance – Please share with me what this festival means to you personally in terms of your culture? (Probe: expression of culture, discovery of culture etc.)
5. Historic significance – Please tell me about your perception of the historic significance of this festival. Do you think that this festival has or will have historic significance?
6. Community development and civic pride – Please share with me your perception of this festival's role and impact on community development and pride.
7. Perceived economic impact – Please share with me your perception of this festival's economic impact on the local community.
8. Why do you think this festival came into existence and to serve what purpose?
9. Festival ranking - Which arts festival would be your favourite? Why do you say that?
10. Festival evaluation – What do you experience as the strengths and weaknesses of this arts festival?
11. Festival attendance - Please share an interesting story about your experience at arts festivals? What story would stand out for you?

Section B: Stall owner / Artist / Service provider

12. Establish role - Let's start with why you are here at this festival and what you do here.
13. Merchandise - Please tell me about what you are selling / offering? Did you make this / these items yourself or is it mostly supplied by another party / artist?
14. Itinerary - Please tell me about your typical itinerary, which festivals do you visit each year?
15. Itinerary - What route do you follow? Do you typically travel from festival to festival or do you touch base between every festival?
16. Origin - Where is home? (Probe: Do you have a permanent home or do you live on the road?)
17. Lifestyle - What led to your current job as a merchant at this festival? (Probe: Do you enjoy your current lifestyle? How long have you been doing this?)
18. Festival ranking - Which festivals are the most lucrative for you? (Probe: rank)
19. Festival ranking - Which arts festival would be your favourite? Why do you say that?
20. Festival evaluation – What do you experience as the strengths and weaknesses of this arts festival?
21. Festival attendance – How would you describe the people's response to your merchandise / your shows / your services? (Probe: How do they react?)
22. Festival attendance - Please share an interesting story about your experiences at arts festivals? What story would stand out for you?
23. Time perspective – For how long have you been doing this and why?
24. Time perspective - In your experience, how has this festival changed over time?

Section C: Management / Institutional

25. Can you tell me about the management structure at this arts festival. (Probe: Who makes the decisions?)
26. Festival content – How do you go about selecting the content to include in the arts festival? (Probe: Response may include arts content as well as stall merchandise)
27. Festival growth – Please elaborate on how the festival developed over time. (Probes: How did you sustain the growth? Difficult and successful years? Why?)
28. Audience development – How would you describe the audience at this festival? In what way would you say did the audience change / develop over time?
29. Destination development – In what ways does this festival contribute to the economic (or general) development of the town / city in which it is located?
30. National / local pride – please elaborate on the influence you think this arts festival has on local as well as national pride.
31. Social impact – Please share your opinion on the influence of this arts festival on cultural diversity and community cohesion.
32. Social impact – In what way does this arts festival impact on the well-being and quality of life of the local residents?

Would you mind at this stage sharing some personal details which may help me understand your background? Please answer the following questions to the best of your ability.

Section D: Demographic / background

33. What is your status at this festival? (You may choose more than one)

Festival attendee	Stall owner	Artist / Service provider	Management (Festival or Municipal)	Other (please specify)	
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34. How old are you?

Specify:								
Or choose:	18-24	25-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71-80	81+

35. May I ask about your nationality? From which country are you?

South African	Other (please specify)	
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36. With which gender do you identify?

Male	Female	Other
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37. What is your home language?

English	Afrikaans	Ndebele	Xhosa	Zulu	Northern (Sepedi)	Sotho	Southern Sotho
Tswana	Swati	Venda	Tsonga	Other (please specify)			

38. What is the highest qualification you obtained?

Gr. 10	Gr.12 (Matric)	Diploma	Bachelors	Honours	Masters	PhD
Other (please specify)						

39. In which of the following sectors are you employed / do you specialise?

Protective Service Occupations	
Architecture and Engineering Occupations	
Management Occupations	
Office and Administrative Support Occupations	
Construction and Extraction Occupations	
Farming, Fishing, and Forestry Occupations	
Computer and Mathematical Occupations	
Healthcare Practitioners and Technical Occupations	
Production Occupations	
Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports, and Media Occupations	
Installation, Maintenance, and Repair Occupations	
Education, Training, and Library Occupations	
Life, Physical, and Social Science Occupations	
Building and Grounds Cleaning and Maintenance Occupations	
Sales and Related Occupations	

Community and Social Service Occupations	
Legal Occupations	
Business and Financial Operations Occupations	
Food Preparation and Serving Related Occupations	
Healthcare Support Occupations	
Personal Care and Service Occupations	
Transportation and Materials Moving Occupations	

40. Do you mind sharing your approximate household income level (per annum)?

Less than R25k	R26k – R75k	R76k - R100k	R101k – R250k	R251k – R400k
R401k – R550k	R551k – R700k	R701k – R850k	R851k – R1m	More than R1m

41. In which province is your permanent home?

Limpopo	Gauteng	Mpumalanga
North West	Free State	Kwa-Zulu Natal
Western Cape	Northern Cape	Eastern Cape

42. Please specify your town of permanent residence:

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43. How far did you travel to attend this festival?

Less than 10km	11km - 50km	51km – 100km	101km – 300km
301km – 500km	501km – 1000km	1001km – 1500km	More than 1501km

44. From where did you travel to attend this festival, if different from your town of permanent residence? (Perhaps from another festival / event?)

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45. How many times have you visited this festival?

This is my first time	2 – 3 times	4 – 6 times	6 -10 times	More than 10 times
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46. Repeat visit – Would you visit this festival again in the future?

Yes definitely	Maybe	No, probably not	Never again
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Thank you very much for your participation in this study. Your contribution is very valuable and much appreciated.