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Master Thesis

BREXIT AND THE ARTS - AUGMENTING BARRIERS OR BRIDGING DIVIDES?

Potential impacts of Brexit on efforts to promote social inclusion at UK
literature festivals

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Statutory Declaration

I hereby declare the following:

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This thesis contains **31,315** words.

Berlin, 29.09.2017

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "M. Mittelhaus". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial "M" and a period after the first name.

Mari Mittelhaus

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List of Abbreviations

AC - Arts Council

ACE - Arts Council England

ACGB - Arts Council of Great Britain

ALP - Arm's length principle

BAME - Black Asian Minority Ethnic

CE - Creative Europe

CED - Creative Europe Desk

CEDUK - Creative Europe Desk UK

CEMA - Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts

DCMS - Department for Culture, Media and Sports

EEC - European Economic Community

EFTA - European Free Trade Association

EP - European Parliament

ERDF - European Regional Development Fund

ESF - European Social Fund

EU - European Union

TFEU - Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union

1. Introduction

"All across the country, people felt it was the wrong thing. All across the country, people felt it was the right thing. All across the country, people felt they'd really lost. All across the country, people felt they'd really won." Autumn, Ali Smith 59

The Brexit¹ vote was a huge disappointment for people in the arts and the creative industries, because 95% of them wanted to remain in the European Union (Jankowicz). They might easily represent one of the most unified industries in the whole country. Consequently, numerous surveys, interviews and newspaper articles published after the referendum focused on the potential negative impacts Brexit could have. Despite the continuing uncertainty about what Brexit will actually mean, a lot of articles claimed the arts will be hit especially hard (Brill, Collier, Dege, Linehan). An Arts Council England survey separated the economic concerns into four different categories: funding, ease of movement, trade and economic environment and legal and regulatory framework.

Moreover, the survey also revealed fears of what Brexit could mean for artistic quality with concerns being raised about the sharing of skills, ideas and practice, a lack of international students who often bring a lot of talent with themselves and a "less convivial environment for artistic risk" (ACE, 'Exit' 10). In an introduction to the survey, Darren Henley, Chief Executive of the ACE at the time, pointed out that the arts can play a role in helping everyone "articulate and explore our hopes, fears and ideas as we move forward and redefine ourselves as a nation outside the EU" (ibid 2). In order for this to happen however, he acknowledges that "art and culture² must reflect the interests of everyone, not just a privileged few" (ibid). That this is currently not the case reveals a study by Neelands et al., which found that "the wealthiest, better educated and least ethnically diverse 8% of the population forms the most culturally active segment of all" (33). Evidently, cultural participation statistics reveal an even deeper division in society than the Brexit vote, as alluded to by Ali Smith in the quote above. Analyses of the referendum found that there are deep divides along class, education and generational lines as well as geography (Goodwin & Heath 324, Hobolt 1273). Mostly disadvantaged, less educated older white citizens voted to leave (ibid). In reaction to this, shortly after the referendum Minister for Culture Ed Vaizey called for

¹ In this thesis, "Brexit" is defined as not just the act of leaving the EU and the economic and political consequences that might entail, but also the divide in society Brexit is causing, because they are hard to separate from each other: "Brexit, a crude term that has become the shorthand for the referendum campaign, the result, and the subsequent set of international relations issues" (McAndrew et al. 38).

² This paper will not attempt to define "culture" or "the arts" because it is not fundamental to the argument. Instead, it follows Kawashima in regarding culture as "the 'legitimate' culture of a specific community. More often, however, culture in this paper is similar to 'the arts', referring to some tangible fruits of intellectual or artistic endeavour" (56). However, the term "the arts" is often perceived as exclusive, describing high arts that are only for the elite in the public whereas "art" is an integral part of day-to-day life (ACE, 'Arts' 9).

the arts "to heal the divisions in society caused by the Brexit debate," seemingly ignoring that not even a majority of the population participates in the arts (Jankowicz). Despite a lack of participation, this kind of instrumentalism³ has long been attributed to the arts, leading Alexander to observe that "we are witnessing the interpenetration of the autonomous pole of 'pure' art not just by the commercial sector, but also by the state" (197) and the emergence of "new tensions that are not intrinsic to the art world - e.g. the assumption that the arts should be an instrument of social inclusiveness. These requirements contribute to broader political agendas, but not to the goals of artists or art lovers" (198). In fact, the two concerns for artistic quality and social inclusion represent the two poles of the artistic field as described by Bourdieu: the autonomous and the heteronomous.

In contrast, some argue that artistic quality can only be improved if works of art are produced by and for everyone, meaning it is in the interests of "artists and art lovers" after all (Henley 2). Moreover, the aforementioned statistics show a "problematic use of public funds to subsidise the cultural life of the already privileged" because they are funded by taxes that are paid by everyone (NCK 17). Not only is this socially unjust, cultural participation is also a human right (UN Article 27). In addition to this, as Bourdieu's Theory of Distinction shows, culture and cultural capital can also be used by elites to entrench inequalities. It is a "two-edged sword" that can foster solidarity while also emphasising difference on the other" (NCK et al. 6). However, these are not the only reasons. As Neelands et al. state (21):

It is a mistake to think that the under-representation of Black and Minority Ethnic (BAME) individuals, women, deaf and disabled people and low-income groups in the Cultural and Creative Industries is purely a social justice issue. It is also very bad for business, diminishing the breadth and depth of creative perspectives, audiences and consumers. (...) A lack of diversity and under-representation also damages our international reputation and trust in the UK as a diverse and tolerant society.

Since the Brexit vote, it is especially important for the UK to uphold its international reputation. Due to these reasons, which are alleviated by the divisions Brexit revealed, it is vital that the arts are for the many, not the few. Consequently, Neelands et al.'s study calls for a cultural policy approach that guarantees "equal access for everyone to a rich cultural education and the opportunity to live a creative life" (8). Equal access is represented by the concept of social inclusion, which will be presented in the following.

A definition of how social inclusion will be understood in this thesis is necessary because it is an ambiguous term (Kawashima 58). Social inclusion is often defined as "combating social exclusion," which is the exclusion from

³ Since politicians have stopped regarding the arts as an end in itself and have attributed to them the ability to bring positive change in a variety of areas in order to justify public support, many have voiced their concern about the arts becoming fully instrumentalised (Belfiore, 'Alleviating' 94, Littoz-Monnet 513).

"economic, social and political systems" as a result of a combination of problems such as unemployment, poor skills and low incomes (Kawashima 58, West & Smith 276). In addition, individuals can also be excluded from cultural systems (Kawashima 58). Consequently, arts organisation's efforts to be socially inclusive aim to "engag[e] specific audiences who have explicit, definable problems" by reducing barriers that prevent them from participating (ibid 277). These barriers are twofold. First, reasons for non-attendance can be time/cost (travel, ticket price), access/transport and distance/proximity, with these "spatial-access" factors higher for some groups such as minority ethnic and older people (Evans, 'Participation' 6). They often result from the aforementioned "explicit, definable problems" such as poverty. Second, Pasikowska-Schnass found that lack of interest is the most-quoted reason for non-attendance (14). Similarly, Evans states that "the quality of the programme and its relevance to particular cultural groups are also important" (6). Thus, these groups are only interested in engaging with the arts if they feel represented by what is being offered to them. In the UK however, the "deficit model" is dominating which has the aim "to widen access to a particular cultural offering that is publicly funded and thereby identified [by elites] as the good stuff" (Wilson et al. 6). Thus, it tries to attract a more diverse audience without changing what is on offer. Kawashima refers to this as a product-led approach, which starts with a product and then tries to find an audience that is interested in it (67). According to him, organisations tend to take the product-led approach in order to maintain artistic autonomy, but when "more concern is given to the diversity of the customer base (...) and to wider societal issues (i.e., social inclusion), it is imperative that [they] turn[] to the target-led approach" because otherwise the product "overshadows the cultures of the under-represented groups" (ibid 68). Thus, social inclusion can only be achieved when the offer is adapted to what the target audience would like to see. Additionally, inviting all groups of society to create is another part of what Wilson et al. advertise as "cultural democracy"⁴ instead of a "democratisation of culture" which follows the deficit model of "taking great art to the people." They argue that cultural democracy "holds significant potential for building bigger, more diverse, and more committed audiences – as well as enabling a more widely-engaged and diverse community of artists – and a UK cultural ecology that is not only more equitable but also more creative" (Wilson et al. 6). Thus, a large part of the analysis will be to examine whether the interviewed organisations employ a cultural democracy approach in their efforts to reduce barriers and attract a more diverse⁵ audience.

⁴ Cultural democracy "is when everyone has the power (whether or not they choose to exercise it) to pursue and realise cultural creativity" (Wilson et al. 23). It "goes beyond a focus on access to cultural works, and incorporates access to the means of cultural production and distribution" (NCK 51).

⁵ "Protected characteristics [under the premise of diversity], as defined by the Equality Act 2010, are: age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion and belief, sex, and sexual orientation. As well as this list, we also recognise class and socio-economic status" (ACE, 'Equality' 12).

While some argue that removal of barriers is only part of the democratisation paradigm (NCK 51), the thesis will show that it is also important in a democracy approach, because lack of representation is not the only issue that prevents people from participating.

In UK policy terms, social inclusion is often referred to as "access" and is juxtaposed with "excellence", meaning artistic quality. Although (Henley 2) asserted that access is a prerequisite for excellence, the latter is the primary policy aim in the UK and usually favoured when funding is distributed. However, different governments have prioritised one or the other, so the referendum outcome might have given policies of access a new momentum. At the same time, Brexit could make such a policy goal harder to achieve, e.g. in case of a recession which would lead to a further reduction in funding. Therefore, this thesis will examine how Brexit might impact the social inclusion efforts of literature festivals in the UK. The analysis will be based on interviews with literature festival directors across the country. The art form of literature festivals was chosen because they are an interesting case: since the late 80s, they have become increasingly popular and numerous, so that there are now 365 literature festivals in the UK, a lot more than in most other EU countries (Giorgi 12, Schaff 280). Additionally, they are one of the art forms with the highest international activity and could as such be especially hit by Brexit (tbr 5).

Moreover, one could assume that as promoters of literature, which Hicks calls "the art form of the majority" (19), they should be able to address a large and diverse audience. Indeed, this is what Schaff concludes in her study of British literature festivals:

Literature festivals stand for an open culture of discussion and the belief in the power of literature to bring together people from different countries as well as changing the world through ideas and knowledge. (Schaff 279, my translation).

Certainly, in the last decades festivals have changed from being purely concerned with literature to becoming a platform of political, economical and sociological discussion through the inclusion of such topics (Giorgi 14). Schaff compares this development to the structural change Habermas observed in British society in the late 17th century, where the "impetus of literature" led to the establishment of a politically interested public (278).⁶ Something she does not mention however is that for Habermas, the conditions for being a member of the public sphere were both economic independence and a certain level of education (Wu 20). As a result, she does not observe that the audience of literature festivals is usually comprised of a small elite that is white, educated, and middle class and therefore part of the 8% who participate most in the arts (Giorgi 20). Consequently, they are not

⁶ This belongs to the tradition that researches festivals as being part of a cultural public sphere, drawing on Habermas's notion of the public sphere. Dealing with this topic is outside the scope of this thesis, but Giorgi et al.'s *Festivals and the Cultural Public Sphere* provides a comprehensive overview.

representative of UK society and do not manage “to bring together people from different countries” or cultures, at least not in the audience (Giorgi 19). But as a recent controversy at Chalke Valley History Festival showed, not only the audience, but also the programming is often not representative. Out of 148 speakers, only 32 were women, there was just one person of colour and the programme was heavily weighted towards two historical periods (Kean).

So why is there such a discrepancy between theory and the reality? The organisers of Chalke Valley History Festival used several arguments to their defence. This thesis argues that although these can all be seen as barriers on the road to social inclusion and are as such valid arguments, they can still be circumvented by festivals. Chapters 2 and 3 will take a closer look at them: First, a path dependency operating in British state funding of the arts causes funding to be directed at organisations that promote excellence rather than social inclusion. Confirming this, Chalke Valley argued that their programming had to reflect popular demand because they were operating on “a shoestring” (Kean). Thus, chapter 2.1 will look at the UK system of public arts funding, how the path dependency evolved (2.1.1) and what effects it had on New Labour’s social inclusion policies (2.1.2), which was the only government so far to prioritise access over excellence. In addition, since most literature festivals are charities, many also rely on private sector support. While Chalke Valley were adamant that their sponsor (the Daily Mail) did not influence their programme (Kean), many argue that private sponsoring should not be more than an addition to state funding because sponsors can influence the organisation’s artistic output in many ways which would hinder social inclusion efforts. This will be explored in chapter 2.2. Although Chalke Valley made no mention of EU funding, its potential contribution to social inclusion efforts will be examined in chapter 2.3. It completes the funding available to festivals and it is of significance in terms of Brexit. Chapter 3 assesses Chalke Valley’s suggestion that their lack of diversity among the speakers was to be blamed on the publishing industry for not publishing enough diverse books and on diverse authors for not writing those books. Using a study by Kean and Larsen on BAME authors as an example, the chapter explores in which ways the publishing industry can and does produce a body of literature that is not representative of UK society. As such, it represents a further barrier that literature festivals have to overcome in order to be socially inclusive.

Having examined these barriers and presented the methodology (chapter 4), one research question then is whether Brexit presents a new, additional barrier or whether it “just” exacerbates the existing ones, because it is expected that leaving the EU will have an impact on the state and thus state funding, the economy and the publishing industry. In order to answer this, the analysis will first look at the perceived impact of Brexit on the daily work of the interviewed literature festivals, as well as whether the respondents could think of any opportunities that might arise. In

a second step, the question in how far social inclusion is an issue for literature festivals and what the respondents do to be socially inclusive will be answered. For the latter, the interviewees' different approaches to social inclusion will be examined by looking at whether they are employing a democratisation or a cultural democracy approach. Since international work plays a big role for literature festivals and it could be particularly affected by Brexit, chapter 5.4 examines how programming international authors can contribute to social inclusion. Then (chapter 5.5), in order to answer the main research question of how Brexit might impact social inclusion efforts by literature festivals, the analysis will look at problems respondents have encountered in their attempts to be socially inclusive and assess what potential impact Brexit could have on these, drawing on the findings from chapters 5.1 and 5.2. To end the analysis, chapter 5.6. examines how respondents see the role of their festivals in a post-Brexit British society. The conclusion confirms the thesis that although Brexit might make the funding and cultural policy environment for social inclusion more challenging, it also offers opportunities for recognising the need for social inclusion efforts in times of rising isolationism and nationalism and result in increased activism in attracting diverse audiences, something which might not have happened without the referendum. Maybe it is not "worst of times" (Smith 59) after all.

Due to its interdisciplinary nature, this thesis draws on works from several disciplines such as sociology and cultural studies, which is essential in studies of the arts in order to "achieve a rounded appreciation of this area" (Quinn, 'Public Policy' 61). It can be seen as being part of arts sociology, the "odd couple" as stated by Bourdieu, a discipline which has occupied a "marginalised position" because it is relatively new and has not always been taken seriously (Alexander & Bowler 3ff). While topics such as the British system of funding the arts have been analysed many times (e.g. Alexander and Hewison), literature on festivals in general is scarce, and on literature festivals in particular is almost non-existent (Giorgi et al. 1, Waterman 59). This is an area of research that needs to be extended, because examining festivals in general without distinguishing between the different art forms only works to a certain extent. Therefore, the thesis draws mostly on the interviews for information on literature festivals in the UK.

2. Funding the Arts

2.1 State funding of the arts in the UK: Between excellence and access

As Alexander and Rueschemeyer point out in their study on state funding of the arts, actions of the state greatly impact cultural industries, artists and artworks (IX). Cultural policies affect which art forms become known, which artists receive support, the level of access to the arts for the people and the relationship between high and popular art forms (ibid X). Moreover, they also influence indirectly what art is produced, if artists need to take into account what kind of art is more likely to receive support: "the line between repression and selective support can be a thin one" (ibid 9). It all depends on the amount and type of support and the degree of control they attempt to exert, but all type of support systems represent some sort of constraint (ibid 5). Consequently, they point out that "even in free societies, issues of censorship and control of the arts cannot be separated from the issue of monetary support" (ibid 3). Alexander and Rueschemeyer conclude that cultural policies essentially depend on whether the state is leaning towards the autonomous or the heteronomous pole within Bourdieu's artistic field (ibid 13). As will be shown, in the UK this translates to policies of excellence vs access. One distinct feature of UK cultural policy is however that it is highly influenced by the arts establishment, a small elite which uses its cultural capital in order to shape policies to favour themselves (Bourdieu in Alexander, 'Sociology' 229). Resulting from this is a path dependency in British cultural policy which has the effect of distributing the majority of funding to the same arts organisations over the years, and for the same policy objective, namely excellence (Jancovich, 'Participation' 116). Consequently, it is almost exclusively the high arts that receive funding, implying that the state is leaning heavily towards the autonomous pole by favouring excellence over access.⁷ The following chapter will look at state funding of the arts at two points in time, after WWII and during the New Labour years⁸ and examine if and how elites are using their cultural capital to uphold the path dependency and what results from this. Beforehand, there will be a brief explanation how the system is set up in order to make it more comprehensible.

One of the reasons 1945 and 1997 are important points in time is because they use two different justifications for arts funding (Vuyk 173). As Vuyk states, for a long time after WWII, public support for the arts required hardly any defence (ibid). The dominant notion was the autonomy of the arts, that they could stand on their own and had an intrinsic value (ibid 174). New arguments were more instrumental, focusing on the concrete advantages that the arts allegedly offer society, both

⁷ This constitutes the interpenetration of the autonomous field, as argued by Alexander in the introduction.

⁸ These were selected because they represent periods of significant change of state funding of the arts in the UK.

economically (contribution to economic success) and socially (social inclusion as explained in the introduction), although these effects are highly contested (Belfiore & Bennett 9). This was the opposite of the arts for art's sake argument because it meant that the arts themselves did not matter, only their outcomes were important (Vuyk 174). However, Vuyk argues that this actually means that the arts do matter (ibid). Moreover, he emphasises that the arts have always been an instrument, e.g. they were used as propaganda against Communist culture during the Cold War - at the end of which this cultural policy came under attack which is the reason why a new justification emerged (ibid 176). To him, it does not matter that they are used, but how, for which purposes (ibid 174). He states that a lot of discontent with instrumental cultural policies has come from these ethical considerations: "the artistic resistance to art being used instrumentally is, to a large degree, resisting to the kind of society that governments want to achieve using the arts instrumentally" (178).⁹ As chapter 2.1.2 will show, New Labour used the art's social value - social inclusion - as their main argument for public support, a development which Hewison describes as "the covert instrumentalism of propaganda [of the Cold War period becoming] the overt instrumentalism of social and economic regeneration" ('Cultural Capital' 21). Before examining the two periods however, the different actors within British cultural policy will be introduced.

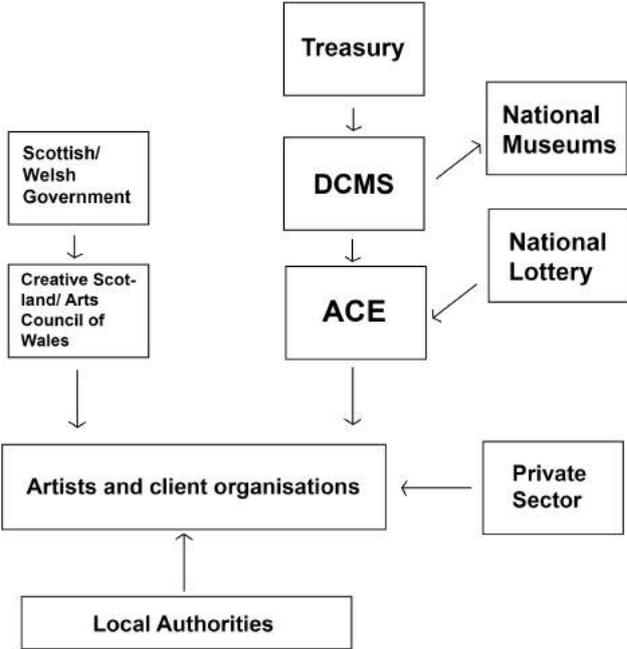
In its current form, the system of state support has four main actors: the Department for Culture, Media and Sports DCMS, the Arts Councils for England, Scotland and Wales¹⁰, the National Lottery and the local authorities. Once a year, the DCMS negotiates its budget with the Treasury, most of which it then passes on to the respective ACs to distribute as grants to arts organisations in England, Scotland and Wales (Alexander & Rueschemeyer 92). The ACE is essentially a Quango which operates at an arm's length from the DCMS (Gray 41), which will be explained in more detail in the later course of the text. Funding from the National Lottery is also distributed by the Arts Councils (ibid 119).¹¹ Another source of funding are the local authorities, which distribute their resources directly to organisations and the private sector. While the latter is the topic of chapter 2.2, the former will not be a part of this thesis. Local authorities do not play a role for the path dependency

⁹ Depending on the discipline, there are many more justifications, for example economic arguments such as "market failure" (Galloway & Dunlop 26) or the notion of the arts being "merit goods" – public goods that the government sees some benefit in promoting, but for which there is no current demand from the public" (Pratt 37). See Pratt for a comprehensive overview.

¹⁰ These emerged out of the Arts Council of Great Britain after a restructure in 1994 (Alexander, 'State Support' 190).

¹¹ Set up in 1994, the lottery is a regressive funding mechanism, which means that those with lower incomes spend more money on the lottery than those with higher incomes (Alexander, 'State Support' 190). Although the arts are not the sole benefactor, there is an argument that a bigger proportion of the money should be spent on causes that interest the majority of those who play the lottery, rather than high arts which only interest a small elite (ibid).

argument because for them, funding is not a statutory function that must be fulfilled by law but a voluntary one, also called "discretionary" (Gray 43). Moreover, the amount of funding varies largely across the country and has decreased significantly since the Coalition government's spending cuts (Hesmondhalgh et al. 192). This graphic, adopted from Alexander ('State Support' 193), illustrates the system as it has just been described:



2.1.1 Few, but roses: the origins of the Arts Council

The Arts Council of Great Britain ACGB originated from the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts CEMA, a wartime institution established to preserve and promote culture during the Second World War (Hewison, 'Consensus' 29). Thanks to the success of CEMA, the post-war Labour government decided to accept permanent responsibility for the arts for the first time, by establishing the ACGB through a Royal Charter in 1946 (ibid). This was a turning point, because before WWII, there was de facto no state support for the arts. An exception were the national museums, the first ones being the British Museum and the National Gallery, which have received government support since being established in 1753 and 1824 respectively (ibid 31).¹² The memorandum setting up CEMA reflects the view that culture was essential to keep up morale and to preserve in wartime the "highest standards in the arts of music, drama and painting" (ibid 33). Moreover, CEMA was founded to provide opportunities for British citizens to hear "good music and the

¹² Gray attributes the late development of state patronage for the arts to Protestantism and the early adoption of capitalism, which also explains the heavy reliance on the private sector for arts funding in the UK in comparison to Germany or France (36).

enjoyment of the arts generally“ and to encourage people to make art themselves (ibid). While this does constitute a nod towards excellence, it is also a good example of an early democratisation of culture approach because culture was seen as a means of “civilising the masses” (Gray 39). Moreover, Hewison points out several underlying conflicts within these objectives which still exist in cultural policy (‘Consensus’ 34). First, there is a decision to be made whether to distribute money to the professional artist or the amateur, which is related to the second problem of how to define “the highest standards” (ibid). And last, there is a conflict between the interests of the artists and the audience for the work, as symbolised by the product- or target-led approach. Thus, what underlies these conflicts are differences between the two poles in the artistic field (Bourdieu in Alexander, ‘Sociology’ 285). Translated into excellence or access, “excellence” favours the professional artist and the high arts, which reflect the taste of a small elite - the same elite that is also influencing the making of cultural policy. They value art ‘for art’s sake’ and artists are rewarded through their peers rather than economic value, as common in the autonomous field (ibid 285). Here, state influence is relatively minimal (at the time) so art remains autonomous to a certain degree. On the contrary, “access” regards arts and culture as something that emerges from the people for the people - often called the popular arts by the elite to establish a boundary (Waterman 57). They which are open to influence by the commercial sector and the audiences, and artists are “judged by how well they meet audience demands, that is by how well they sell“ (Bourdieu in Alexander, ‘Sociology’ 285). However, as the different approaches of democratisation of culture and cultural democracy show, the degree to which art emerges from (all) people is often limited.

CEMA itself was constantly alternating between excellence and access, perhaps representing the struggles in Bourdieu’s field of power, and different scholars have attributed different biases. While Hewison states that “the exigencies of wartime drew CEMA inexorably into supporting professional artists and performers“ (‘Consensus’ 37), Alexander notes that CEMA was leaning more towards policies of access (‘State Support’ 186). For example, under the motto “The Best of the Most“, CEMA purchased works of art which were “not to show supreme examples of art, but rather to give illustrations of pleasing and competent contemporary work which might be bought by ordinary people and lived with in ordinary houses” for an exhibition called “Art for the People“ (Wu in Alexander, ‘State Support’ 186). Nevertheless, as the title “Art for the People” shows, CEMA employed a democratisation of culture approach.

This changed radically when John Maynard Keynes became chair of CEMA in 1942, during which time the ACGB started to emerge from CEMA (Alexander, ‘State Support’ 186). Although he did not live to see the establishment of the ACGB, he was “the one who turned the one into the other“ (Upchurch 204) and the one who established the preference for excellence.

The purpose of the ACGB as stated in the Royal Charter establishing it makes this very clear:

"developing a greater knowledge, understanding and practice of the fine arts exclusively, and in particular to increase the accessibility of the fine arts to the public throughout Our Realm, and to improve the standard of execution of the fine arts and to advise and co-operate with Our Government Departments, local authorities and other bodies on any matters concerned directly or indirectly with those objects." (Gray 43)

Most strikingly, the term "the fine arts exclusively" completely excludes the popular arts from state funding.¹³ In addition, "the standard of execution" establishes the preference for excellence. "To increase the accessibility" is the only mention of access, but it clearly is a democratisation of culture approach, particularly because only "the fine arts" are regarded as being worthy of participation.¹⁴ Thus, Keynes helped set up the path dependency of only funding the high arts and within that only supporting the same small amount of institutions. This was often described as a policy of supporting "few, but roses" (Alexander, 'State Support' 187). Despite the fact that Keynes was already dead by the time the Royal Charter was established in 1946, these changes are still attributed to him, leading his critics to constitute that he "ensured that the future Arts Council would be both élitist and metropolitan¹⁵ in bias" (Hewison, 'Consensus' 40). This is also due to a distinctive feature which he employed to set up the AC - the arm's length principle ALP.

After the arts elite with Keynes as their head (he had close ties to the Bloomsbury group, c.f. Upchurch 204), won the power struggle between excellence and access, Keynes established an institution which would facilitate maintaining the elite's power: the arm's length principle. The ALP describes the idea that the AC should exist and operate within relative autonomy from government so that it could not be influenced in its funding allocations (Quinn, 'Distance' 127). However, the following will show that instead, funding decisions were influenced from the inside, because the AC was largely populated with figures from the arts establishment. Moreover, links to government existed from the outset: the ACGB is funded by government and its grant is voted on by parliament, ACGB members are chosen and appointed by government¹⁶, ACGB staff appointments are approved by government and ACGB accounts have to be submitted to the Public Accounts Committee (Hewison, 'Consensus' 32). Consequently, the actual length of the arm has been subject to many speculations indicating that the ACGB is not as independent as the ALP suggests (Quinn, 'Distance' 128). Additionally, due to its

¹³ They were only included later.

¹⁴"The apparent resolution of the tensions between excellence and access by declaring that the state should support excellence and make it as widely acceptable as possible was going to be used many times in the coming years up until today." (Hewison, 'Consensus' 251).

¹⁵ This is another aspect of the "path", which is that most funded organisations are based in London. The analysis will come back to this in 2.1.2.

¹⁶ But they often come from the same elitist circles (Hutchison 55).

alleged independence, the ALP helped create a niche for the arts establishment to "define culture in its own terms and direct resources to its own interests" (Mulgan in Hewison, 'Cultural Capital' 22). For example, because the Royal Charter did not establish procedures that describe how funding applications would be decided on, these decisions were mostly subjective - which is how the path dependency was maintained (Quinn, 'Distance' 133). Thus, not only did cultural policy prioritise excellence, but a very small circle was to determine what was excellent and thus worth funding, which made it possible to fund the same organisations throughout the years. In line with Bourdieu's theory of distinction, it can then be argued that by setting excellence in the arts as the highest aim, the arts establishment sought to separate itself from audiences with less "acquired tastes" (i.e. cultural capital) (Bennett et al. 209).¹⁷ Consequently, this elite is using its "position of power" to structure an institution - CEMA and later the ACGB - to favour themselves and their interests, which is visible in the path dependency (Bourdieu in Alexander, 'Sociology' 229).

2.1.2 New Labour: Towards social inclusion?

After they were elected in 1997, New Labour's mission was to change cultural policy and bring it to the front line (Hewison, 'Cultural Capital' 16). Chris Smith, New Labour's first Secretary of State for Culture proposed that the newly named Department for Culture, Media and Sports DCMS would help in "bringing democracy to culture ... through a process generated from the bottom rather than imposed from the top" (Jancovich, 'Participation' 271). Although more reminiscent of a cultural democracy approach, the following will show that it was not. Central to New Labour's cultural policy was the promotion of social inclusion, on which funding was made conditional (West & Smith 275). This was part of the enterprise culture introduced by Thatcher and continued by Blair, which essentially meant that organisations across policy sectors had to "prove" their economic value in order to receive funding (Alexander, 'Crossroads' 8).

As the first government since the establishment of the AC, New Labour prioritised access. It was clearly formulated in its cultural policy programme "Creative Britain", whose four key themes were "access, excellence, education¹⁸ and economic value" (Alexander, 'State Support' 191). In what seems like an attempt to put audiences rather than the artist first, Chris Smith explained in 1998:

"All of these themes are interlinked around the focal point of the individual citizen, no matter how high or low their station, having the chance to share

¹⁷ As Bourdieu argues, differences in taste are based on social class (Bourdieu in Alexander, 'Sociology' 229).

¹⁸ Although the DCMS could not directly influence education policy, it tried by setting up its own education unit and launching a series of projects, most of which were successful at the time but none of which survived the Coalition government (Hewison, 'Cultural Capital' 75).

cultural experience. ... This is a profoundly democratic agenda, seeing cultural access as one of the egalitarian building blocks of society." (ibid)

In their aim to combat social exclusion, a Social Exclusion Unit was set up within the Cabinet Office in 1997 (Hesmondhalgh et al. 70). However, when first attempts did not bring the desired rise in new audiences, the notion came up that the poor, the uneducated and the ethnic minorities had excluded themselves by simply not being interested (ibid). An AC report called this "a lifestyle choice" and asked whether the state should still intervene (ibid). This shows that despite Smith's claim, New Labour were still focusing on the product, the artist, rather than the target, the audience. The explanation of "not being interested" reveals the disregard for one of the key conditions for participation, namely representation. Indeed, Hewison points out that instead of "fundamentally changing the way they worked", most arts organisations chose to extend their current programmes ('Cultural Capital' 74). Consequently, New Labour's cultural policy bears all signs of a democratisation of culture approach, despite Smith's claims. Moreover, Jancovich notes that funding was largely directed to the same institutions that had been in receipt of it before New Labour's tenure ('Art' 272). For example, in 2005, 85% of the money for regularly funded organisations went to the same organisations as before Labour came to power (ibid). This then shows how damaging the path dependency is: a change of policy which is not accompanied by a change in funding is doomed to fail (Jancovich, 'Participation' 117).

Even New Labour's most famous cultural policy achievement, the removal of entry charges to all national museums and galleries, was ultimately not successful (Hewison, 'Cultural Capital' 2). Although free admission resulted in an overall growth in visitors, it did not change the representation of particular groups within that overall number (Hesmondhalgh et al. 89) As Mulcahy states:

The problem (...) was that, fundamentally, it intended to create larger audiences for performances whose content was based on the experience of society's privileged groups. In sum, it has been taken for granted that the cultural needs of all society's members were alike. (324)

Thus, the mission to make Britain's flagship museums more inclusive failed because the government employed the deficit model instead of a democracy of culture approach as recommended in the introduction (Jancovich, 'Art' 272). Additionally, New Labour missed to address the imbalances across the regions (Hesmondhalgh et al. 142). An infamous report by Stark et al. found that public arts spending in London was 15 times greater than in the rest of the country and that this trend had increased since the 1980s (8). It is due to the path dependency protected by the elite then, that arts funding "replicates the inequalities of arts participation where 80% of the funding goes to 20% of ACE's clients" (Jancovich, 'Participation' 116). Thus, a redistribution of funding is required, both to reduce the power of the cultural elite and to widen the range of voices involved in the arts (ibid 119).

Another explanation Jancovich offers for both the failure to promote social inclusion and to address the funding imbalance is that the arts elite, which is still largely represented on a management level in the AC, disapproved of the governments policies of access and acted against it ('Art' 272). As an example, she uses the criticism of social inclusion policy as instrumentalisation and risking quality of arts (excellence) by the arts establishment ('Participation" 108). Furthermore, the criticism proved successful: in 2007, the McMaster report, which was commissioned by the government, recommended a return to policies of excellence which was "very much what the powerful UK arts establishment wanted to hear" (Hesmondhalgh et al. 97). It was written by Brian McMaster, a former director of Edinburgh International Festival who is as such part of the arts establishment himself. This is how New Labour's unsuccessful policies of access came to an end. So far, consecutive governments have not changed the priorities within cultural policy (Hewison, 'Cultural Capital' 231). In addition, the AC's current strategic framework, "Great Art and Culture for Everyone 2010-2020" shows that the democratisation of culture approach is still in place, as well as the alleged solution of the excellence vs access debate by the combination of the two as "audiences benefit from the access they are given to excellent art" (Doeser 300, Street 386).

Thus, the main conclusion from this chapter is that without a redirection of funding, changes in policy are unsuccessful. While there is no adequate funding, it is no surprise that organisation like Chalke Valley History Festival fail to be inclusive. Moreover, the chapter showed that the arts elite is still effectively using their cultural capital to prevent changes from happening (Waterman 69). In how far Theresa May's government is going to influence state funding of the arts remains to be seen. The 2016 Culture White Paper - only the second one since 1965 - puts an emphasis on both social value of culture and its funding through the private sector (DCMS in Schlesinger 85). Referring to Brexit, Schlesinger notes that it is "no accident" that in the current times, the government acknowledges the social value of culture in terms of social inclusion, diversity and integration of minorities (85). Whether this will result in genuine change and success is doubtful, because the white paper sees the solution to the apparent ambiguity of valuing culture on the one hand and reducing public support on the other in the private sector (ibid).¹⁹ Thus, it also depends on how Brexit will impact both the public and the private sector. Nevertheless, culture currently does not play a role in the Brexit negotiations, because there is no DCMS representative at the negotiating table (Bano). Whether the private sector is a valid alternative to state support of the arts will be examined in the next chapter.

¹⁹ The findings of the Tailored Review of ACE by the DCMS underline this further - the main recommendation was that ACE should focus on building the "financial resilience" of the sector (Romer).

2.2 Corporate funding of the arts

Public funding for the arts has been decreasing since the New Labour government and as a result, company sponsorship is advertised as an alternative (Alexander & Rueschemeyer 85). Margaret Thatcher laid the foundation for corporate sponsorship of the arts in 1984 when her government passed a scheme that used financial incentives to boost private arts sponsorship. Underpinning these actions was her belief in enterprise culture, "a concept that enshrines the values of liberal economics" (Alexander, 'Gift' 366) and privatisation. By encouraging the arts to seek alternative sources of funding, i.e. a mixed-economy approach, she wanted to take responsibility for financing the arts away from the government as part of her agenda to privatise the arts and to empower the private sector in return (Quinn, 'Public Policy' 140). The words of arts minister Richard Luce capture the attitude of the time: "There are still too many in the arts world yet to be weaned from the welfare state mentality - the attitude that the taxpayer owes them a living. Many have not yet accepted the challenge of developing plural sources of funding" (Hewison, 'Consensus' 259). Consecutive governments did not do anything to change this view, and therefore it still has an influence today (Wu 303). For example, Naidoo writes that since the spending cuts introduced by the Coalition government, the view that arts organisations must address the private sector to meet their budgets as gained momentum once again (62).

However, many argue against arts sponsorship because it is detrimental for the arts in various respects and many of these arguments show that sponsorship is unsuitable for socially inclusive events (Evans, 'Artwash' 26, Hesmondhalgh et al. 81, Wu 131). First, sponsorship entails that the company expects something in return for its money, mostly advertising exposure, brand recognition or a positive effect on the company's image (Hesmondhalgh et al. 81). In order to increase the return on their investment, companies make their choice based on certain criteria, such as the audience size of the sponsored event but also the audience itself - they are interested in "opinion leaders", meaning a rich, well-educated elite, not seldom high ranking government officials (Wu 131). Access to these audiences is the real purpose of sponsorship because if the company can reach those, they can pass on the message to a wider audience (Evans, 'Artwash' 69). Consequently, companies are highly unlikely to choose social inclusion strands for sponsorship. Not only are they less likely to attract a large audience, they also often carry a certain amount of risk, they can be experimental and challenge the status quo. Such new work "finds it almost impossible to secure sponsorship" (Hewison in Alexander & Rueschemeyer 94). Hewison sees this as the first point of many at which interference with artistic expression occurs, namely "the sponsor's choice of what, and what not, to sponsor" (ibid). Mostly, the arts which attract sponsorship are "the most prestigious,

the most conventional and the most secure” - not those which promote social inclusion (ibid).

Secondly, some argue that as a result, arts organisations are tempted to adapt their content to make it better at attracting sponsorship, producing art that is “less experimental, but safe for a company to be associated with” in an act of self-censorship (Quinn, ‘Public Policy’ 144). Additionally, whether or not sponsors have an impact on the content once a sponsorship has been agreed on is a matter of frequent debate. Evans for example states that there are “several examples of [sponsors] either silencing or censoring artists, curators (...) and events” (‘Artwash’ 115). Nevertheless, in a study of art museum exhibitions Alexander found no indications that sponsors had a direct influence on what was being exhibited (‘Museums’ 29). However, she showed an indirect influence in the sense that since companies fund exhibitions that are popular, accessible and draw a large audience, the proportion of such “blockbuster exhibitions” (Wu 135) has increased across the country (ibid 30).

However, it is not always safe for an arts organisation to be associated with a sponsor. Alexander writes that “arts sponsorship can help to burnish a tarnished image” and therefore it is no coincidence that top corporate donors in the UK include oil, gas and banking companies (‘Gift’ 368). In her book *Artwash*, Evans describes how BP’s relationship with Tate, which has now ended (Khomami), was fundamental to the companies’ survival of the Gulf of Mexico oil spill disaster (6). She states that through sponsorship, controversial companies like BP or shell purchase a “social license to operate”, which is the “acceptability of a company and its local operations” (ibid 82). Thus, companies try to (re-)build trust in their operations within a community through arts sponsorship. That this can reflect negatively onto the sponsored organisation is shown by protest groups such as Liberate Tate, which eventually led to an end of the relationship between Tate and BP in 2016.²⁰ Therefore, despite claims to the opposite, arts sponsorship is always self-serving, it is in the companies’ interest rather than the arts because “the relationship acts as a bank account in which small deposits enable the withdrawal of vast amounts of cultural capital” (ibid 89).

Thirdly, for reasons described above, companies choose the most prestigious art organisations for their cause, which in the UK are almost all London based. The ACE’s most recent “Private Investment in Culture” survey shows that London based organisation account for 66% of total private investment (MTM London 5). As a result, corporate sponsorship reinforces the metropolitan funding bias that was addressed in the last chapter (Hesmondhalgh et al. 83). Moreover, companies “also tend to privilege metropolitan notions of ‘excellence’ over local and grassroots ideas of quality” (ibid). This comes back to the argument of the previous

²⁰ However, BP blamed a “challenging business environment” rather than protests for the decision.

chapter and the democratisation of culture approach. Hence, rather than helping in the promotion of social inclusion, private sponsorship can reinforce the AC's path dependency. In addition to this, CEOs are often highly involved in sponsorship decisions (Wu 126), using them in order to stay in touch with the political elite and to enhance their own cultural capital (Wu 127). As Wu states: "by participating in arts sponsorship, the elites are using their corporate positions to advance their personal interest and social status", which is similar to the use of cultural capital to advance their own interests (ibid). Therefore, arts sponsorship can serve to reinforce class inequalities according to Hesmondhalgh et al. who write that "cultural spending in general tends to favour the tastes and practices of 'higher' classes [as established in chapter 2.1], but arguably sponsorship (...) especially favour[s] privileged sections of the upper middle class, with high levels of both economic and cultural capital" (83). As such, arts sponsorship can never serve social inclusion because it entrenches those divisions that social inclusion is trying to do away with. Moreover, in the grand scheme of things sponsorship money is minimal (BP contributed only 0.5% to Tate's annual turnover, Dickson) and literature organisations receive the smallest amounts in the arts, amounting up to 1% (£15m) of their total income whereas visual arts 17% (£154m) (MTM London 15). In addition, private investment levels are presumed to decline post-Brexit and it is suggested that organisations adapt fundraising strategies (Wright 7), which already stretched literature festivals are presumably unable to do. Therefore, companies can buy a lot of influence with a very small amount of money but, as Gardner states, the arts should not take all offers without considering how the money was made (Gardner). She suggests that the following question must always be asked:

Although it may bring benefits to our theatre and audience, is there a price for this sponsorship that is being paid by someone else, somewhere else? It can't be a trade-off between educational work with disadvantaged UK-based young people and their opportunity to access the arts, and the impact, environmental or otherwise, on the lives of those who live out of sight and therefore out of mind. (ibid)

Especially in terms of social inclusion, sponsorship by companies like BP would be unthinkable. Moreover, as this chapter has shown, despite Chalke Valley's assurance that the Daily Mail's sponsorship did not influence their programming, it is entirely possible that they did, either directly or indirectly. Since sponsorship is not an option and neither is income generated by the organisation itself (because it would not be very wise to spend it on risk-laden events), state funding is the only option left (O'Hagan 253).²¹ It is the state's responsibility to support social inclusion initiatives because, as DiMaggio (in Wu 46) has pointed out, the "government is in a potentially strong position to 'take fuller responsibility for the pursuit of those purposes that neither the market nor private philanthropy can be expected to

²¹ Philanthropy is not being considered here because contrary to America, it does not play a big role in the arts in the UK (Wu 23).

support.” Whether the European Union can or does contribute to this will be examined in the next chapter.

2.3 Arts funding through the European Union: Promoting social inclusion?

Before the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, there was no institution coordinating the work of the European Union as it affected culture (Gray 184). To this day, culture remains a controversial issue within the European Community, because the ideas of a shared European history and common heritage and the protection of cultural diversity of people living in Europe need to be balanced carefully (Karaca 127). As a result, there still is no official EU common cultural policy (Isar 494, Karaca 125).²² Instead, the EU defines its work as “supplementing” the cultural policies of the different member states, which is phrased in Article 6 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU): “the EU’s competences in the field of culture are to ‘carry out actions to support, coordinate or supplement the actions of the Member States’.” (Franke 1). This follows the principle of subsidiarity, which means that primary responsibility for cultural policy remains at the level of individual member states (Barnett 410). Moreover, there is no harmonisation of the laws and regulations of the member states in terms of cultural policy (Karaca 125). However, the existence of these principles, which are often also referred to as “l’exception culturelle”²³, can also be used to argue that they are constituting a “de facto” or unofficial European cultural policy, even if it is not labelled as one (ibid 126).²⁴

Up until 1992, the EU’s impact on culture existed mostly as a “by-product” of other policies such as the freedom of movement of goods and people or legislation on copyright, as well as funding schemes which the arts could benefit from indirectly, like the European Social Fund ESF or the European Regional Development Fund ERDF (Gray 182f).²⁵ This is a logical consequence of the EU’s and the EEC’s primary concern with security and economic management (Gray 182), which meant that the arts took second place. It was not until the 1970s that culture was put on the agenda, when the European Commission began investigating the benefits of cultural activities and the importance that a trans-national cultural policy could have for the development of a European identity within member states (Gray 183, Sassatelli 30). As a result, the City of Culture programme was established in 1985 and the

²² The most recent step towards this was taken on 13 December 2016, when the European Parliament adopted a resolution on a coherent EU policy for cultural and creative industries, which the EC now has to develop (EP).

²³ “The exemption of the realm of culture from the general rules of other sectors in the EU” (Karaca 125).

²⁴ This would be in line with Bell and Oakley’s definition of cultural policy as “what governments at various scales choose to do or not to do in relation to culture” (47).

²⁵ The ERDF is one of the main EU structural funds, introduced to “address economic imbalances in disadvantaged areas of the EU and to help close the gap between the advanced and less developed regions” (Brown in Selwood 76).

importance of culture and the arts was recognised in the Maastricht Treaty 1992 (Barnett 406, Gray 183).

For the arts, the most important article of the Maastricht Treaty is Article 128, which now is Article 167 of the Lisbon Treaty (Gordon 119f). The article formulates the rule that in all aspects of work, the EU should "include a consideration of how the arts and culture (...) were affected by the decisions that were to be taken" (Gray 184). Thus, instead of policy sectors being considered in isolation from each other, culture was starting to be seen as an "integrating mechanism to bring together the disparate activities of the EU" because the potential impact of a policy on culture always had to be considered (Gray 184). Despite conflicting views (Kaufmann & Raunig 9, Smiers 10) on the actual significance of the article for the arts, it is important because it constitutes the EU's legal basis for subsequent engagement in the arts (Barnett 410), thus providing "the legal cover that had until then been missing" (Gordon 105). As a result, the EU introduced their first generation of cultural support programmes, Kaléidoscope²⁶, Ariane²⁷ and Raphaël²⁸, between 1996 and 1999 (Obuljen 35). Since then, follow up programmes have been Culture 2000²⁹, Culture (2007-2013)³⁰ and the current one, Creative Europe CE (Bruell 12). Such funding programmes are the EU's main form of action in relation to culture, which is a consequence of the subsidiarity principle. According to the ACE's Brexit survey (ACE 2), the two main EU schemes under which UK cultural organisations receive funding are Creative Europe (9.3%) and the European Regional Development Fund (5.4%). However, the sole focus of this thesis will be on Creative Europe and its contribution to social inclusion efforts. This is because the ERDF proved insignificant for every interview participant and there is very little research on its cultural impact because "structural fund allocations to 'cultural projects' are hard to disentangle from generic categories" (Evans & Foord 55).

Creative Europe, the EU's current financial support programme for the creative, cultural and audiovisual sectors in Europe, has a budget of EUR 1.46 billion for the programming period 2014-2020, which is 9% higher than the combined budget of the previous programmes (Franke 2). Bringing together earlier EU funding programmes, it has both a media and a culture as well as a cross-sector strand. Since the media strand, which receives 56% of the budget, is aimed at supporting the development and distribution of audiovisual works such as films, only the culture

²⁶ For funding artistic creativity and cultural exchange (Barnett 413).

²⁷ For the promotion of books and reading (Barnett 413).

²⁸ For the protection and promotion of cultural heritage (Barnett 413).

²⁹ "Launched in 2000, the programme ran until 2006, with a budget of €236.4 million dedicated to promoting a common cultural area, characterised by its cultural diversity and shared cultural heritage" (EC).

³⁰ "The Culture programme was an initiative that ran from 2007-2013 with a budget of €400 million to support projects and activities designed to protect and promote cultural diversity and heritage" (EC).

sub-programme, receiving 31% of the budget and promoting creative and cultural sectors, is relevant for this thesis (CEDUK, 'CE'). The remaining 13% of the budget are invested in the cross-sector strand, which consists of a financial guarantee and the "EU Culture Contact Points to assist application and to encourage high levels of involvement" in each country, the so-called Creative Europe Desks (Gordon 109).

Social inclusion gained importance in EU cultural policy several years before the development of Creative Europe (Littoz-Monnet 510), partly due to the the recognition that culture plays an important role in European integration (Sassatelli 32).³¹ However, it only recently became the prime objective: the "Work Plan for Culture" (2015-18) lists as its first priority "accessible and inclusive culture, and the promotion of cultural diversity" (Pasikowska-Schnass 8). Moreover, the document points out that "the culture sector is (...) an excellent conduit for promoting social inclusion and supporting cultural diversity." Bearing in mind this thesis's definition of social inclusion as removing barriers in order to attract a more diverse audience, the following will examine how the Creative Europe programme "promotes social inclusion".

That CE focuses more on social inclusion than previous programmes is evident in its two main goals, which are: "To safeguard, develop and promote European cultural and linguistic diversity and to promote Europe's cultural heritage" and "To strengthen the competitiveness of the European cultural and creative sectors (...) with a view to promoting smart, sustainable and inclusive growth." (CEDUK, 'submission' 2). This is achieved by four different funding strands, who have the potential to contribute to social inclusion efforts to varying degrees. The first one, "Cooperation Projects", is the main funding opportunity, allocating 70% of the budget (CEDUK, 'UK' 8). It is designed to encourage organisations across Europe to work on transnational collaborative projects (ibid) and can as such foster cultural understanding by bringing different European cultures together to fight prejudice and isolationism. It also makes a significant contribution to a more diverse representation of people in culture. Moreover, the strand offers funding for cooperation between EU and non-EU artists and cultural organisations, thus promoting a cultural dialogue and diversity which is not confined to European countries (Pasikowska-Schnass 28). Similar to this, the "European Networks" strand aims to support professional exchange among participants and encourage "linguistic and cultural diversity, strengthen competitiveness, and promote skill-sharing and good practice" (CEDUK, 'UK' 20). Diversity and collaboration are stressed to emphasise that the former is hard to reach without the latter. Moreover, the

³¹ While this is an important aspect of EU cultural policy it is not a subject in this chapter. It is important to note however that the Creative Europe programme has been criticised by politicians and academics alike for instrumentalising culture to construct a European identity (Kaufmann & Raunig 13, Staiger 12). Other criticisms entail the emphasis on culture as fulfilling economic objectives, similar to objections to UK cultural policy (Delgado Moreira 450).

"European Platforms" strand supports the distributions of new works and emerging artists and can therefore contribute to making new and diverse voices heard (ibid 18). Last but not least, CE also supports literary translation which helps reducing linguistic barriers and bringing literature from different culture across the borders by promoting "the transnational circulation of high quality literary works, as well as to improve access to these literary works so that they can reach new audiences" (ibid 24).

All four strands then aim to invite arts organisations to engage in projects that focus on international collaboration and diversity in order to be socially inclusive. However, whether or not CE is based on a cultural democracy approach to social inclusion does not emerge from this. Although Street argues that the EU's "concern is not with whether a work of art makes particular demands upon its public, but rather whether it represents that public" because (381) of the emphasis on diversity, and although encouraging creation is also part of CE (especially through the literary translation strand) the approach ultimately depends on the funded project. In addition, in how far CE contributes to the reduction of barriers in terms of cost, access and distance also depends on the individual project and is therefore difficult to evaluate. Pasikowska-Schnass did however come across several examples in her study where Creative Europe supported cultural initiatives that improved access to culture for people with disabilities, people living in remote areas and people who are in hospital or prison (22). In addition to this, ERDF money that is allocated to cultural projects is often used for the building of new infrastructure for the arts in rural area and refurbishment of historical monuments or buildings (IRS et al. 58). Therefore it can be said that in theory, both CE and the ERDF make significant contributions to the EU's policy goal of social inclusion.

In contrast to this, a survey among Creative Europe Desks CEDs about the implementation of CE's culture sub-programme revealed a more mixed picture in reality: while survey respondents thought that the programme was overall implemented well, it seems to have achieved relatively little in reaching new audiences (Lazarro 21). A great majority of participants (65.6%) found that so far funded projects have been moderately successful, and only a few (18.8%) thought that the success is high (ibid).³² Moreover, the majority (53.1%) considered projects funded under the scheme of Literary Translation "support[ed] the circulation, promotion and translation of European literature to a moderate extent" (ibid 25). The main barriers to supporting European literature under this scheme were "commercial risk associated with publishing a foreign author", other costs such as promotion and "EU grant insufficient to cover cost of translation" (ibid). In connection to this, the majority said that in order to have a larger impact, CE's budget needs to be increased (ibid 32), especially since it only represents 0.1% of the overall EU budget

³² This could for example be caused by a democratisation of culture approach rather than something caused by CE itself.

(Bruell 31). As a result, the application success rate is not very high due to the "considerable amount of bids" - a similar survey by Dossi (17) mentions success rates of 22% (2014) and 19% (2015).

Nevertheless, CE is of particular significance for the UK and its international reputation. As a transnational fund, all funding applications require organisations to partner with institutions from other countries (Evans & Foord 64). Due to the success rate of the UK's funding applications, which is higher than the average, the UK is one of the most popular partners in the CE programme (CEDUK, 'Submission' 4). Moreover, Brown points out that "while some countries focus on their neighbours, or other specific countries or regions, almost all seem keen to involve a UK partner. Evidence suggests that this is due to a combination of [the UK's] artistic and creative status and [its] reputation for good management ('EU' 42). Consequently, participation in the Creative Europe programme is not just beneficial in terms of funding, but also for a country's international reputation. A survey³³ that was conducted for Creative Desk UK after the referendum revealed that 84% believed that the cultural sector would benefit from continued participation in the programme (Bigger Picture Research 11), although only 26% of the respondents had received funding through CE (ibid 9). Since the list of eligible countries includes EFTA members such as Norway and Iceland, remaining in the CE programme would in theory be possible for the UK. However, free movement of people is one condition for participation (CEDUK, 'Submission' 7). Therefore, whether or not continued participation in the programme is possible or not for the UK depends on its position on the Single Market.³⁴

Summing up, it can be said that while Creative Europe is not (yet) particularly successful in supporting social inclusion efforts, which can also be due to the nature of the funded project rather than CE, it nevertheless makes a significant contribution to the promotion of social inclusion by adding an internationalist voice to the UK's debate of access vs. excellence.³⁵ After Brexit, this is especially important, which is why 84% in the survey above believed in continued participation despite never having received funding from CE. Its significance lies in its status as a symbol for internationalism: despite their criticism of the programme, respondents to Lazzaro's survey also underlined that CE is "a very important programme promoting and enabling international cooperation" (32). Thus, throughout this chapter it becomes clear that although not explicitly part of the definition, international collaboration and inviting international authors to arts events can make a big contribution to diversity and social inclusion. Consequently, while

³³ The survey was conducted specifically for the Culture sub-programme.

³⁴ After the referendum, the European Commission published a statement that the UK will be eligible for CE funding until they leave the EU, so at least until 2018, and the Treasury confirmed that it will underwrite the payment of these awards, even where the projects will continue beyond the UK's departure from the EU (Russell).

³⁵ And there is not much more that can be done while obeying the subsidiarity principle.

both state and private funding can act as barriers for social inclusion projects, Creative Europe can, under specific circumstances, help in the promotion of social inclusion. In how far the British publishing industry acts as an additional barrier in the particular case of social inclusion efforts of literature festivals will be the topic of the next chapter.

3. The cultural bias of the UK publishing industry

"Literature matters." Under this slogan, the Royal Society for Literature conducted a survey of the state of literature in the UK in 2017, and the main finding is that 75% of the respondents had read something in the last 6 months which they consider to be literature (RSL 10). However, they also found that readers of literature are significantly more likely to be white, female, have higher levels of education and come from higher socio-economic groups (ibid 13). 11% of the respondents do not read at all and the most common reasons they gave were not having enough time, not liking reading and being too busy (ibid 21). This matches the reasons for non-participation mentioned in the introduction and shows that despite a large amount of people who read books, the societal division in arts participation is visible. As established in the introduction, even fewer people would consider going to a literature festival because they think it is "not for people like me" (Creative Research 48). Apart from Evans's "spatial-access" factors, this is attributed to the feeling of not being represented which is connected to the absence of a cultural democracy approach in the arts. Thus, the following will use the example of BAME representation in the UK publishing sector in order to examine whether it poses another barrier that makes social inclusion difficult to achieve for literature festivals.³⁶

Hawthorne, while drawing on others, developed an indicator to measure the health of a country's publishing industry - bibliodiversity (2):

Bibliodiversity is a complex self-sustaining system of storytelling, writing, publishing and other kinds of production of orature and literature. The writers and producers are comparable to the inhabitants of an ecosystem. Bibliodiversity contributes to a thriving life of culture and a healthy eco-social system. (ibid)

As a concept that is based on the notion of biodiversity, it follows that the system is only in balance when "a variation of voices can be heard and one species is not overrunning and dominating others" (ibid 3). The balance can be affected on several levels, for example through the rise of big publishing companies and the subsequent downfall of independent publishers. Using Peterson's concept of "gatekeepers" to explain why BAME voices are heard less loudly than others, this chapter shows how and why British bibliodiversity is out of balance. Peterson but also Becker look at the publishing industry as a distributor of books in the sense that "the distribution of art involves the activities that get art to its public" (Becker in Alexander, 'Sociology' 74). Moreover, the distribution system affects what kind of art gets distributed "widely, narrowly, or not at all" (ibid 62). In his study of how systems filter objects along the line of distribution, Peterson applies the concept of "gatekeepers", building on Bourdieu and Hirsch, to publishers (ibid 76). He identifies several points in the line

³⁶ Naturally, this is only one example of a group that does not feel represented, but it can stand as a symbol for the general issues evident in the publishing sector. Moreover, representation of minorities seems particularly relevant in times of Brexit.

where people act as gatekeepers: commissioning editors who reject or accept manuscripts, marketing personnel who decide which books get advertised, newspaper critics, bookstores etc. Moreover, according to Bourdieu, gatekeepers are part of a small elite with a large amount of cultural capital (ibid). Accordingly, studies have singled out the publishing industry as being extremely socially exclusive and dominated by children of professionals and managers (O'Brien et al. 117). Thus, similar to arts funding, a (white) elite is dominating an entire sector.³⁷ This is significant because Oakley & O'Brien have shown that inequalities in consumption and production are connected - thus, if the workforce is not diverse, neither is the output, which then reproduces inequalities (482). This confirms the Royal Society of Literature's findings above.

To start with, it is already more difficult for BAME writers to become part of the publishing distribution line by getting into contact with publishers. In a survey conducted by Kean and Larsen, they were less likely to have an agent - acting as a gatekeeper while also facilitating access to the distribution line - than white authors (8). Literary agents themselves named finding BAME authors (32%) as the most significant challenge they face in improving the cultural diversity of their client list, while 27% said they hadn't thought about it before (ibid 24). There are two simple explanations for these results. Firstly, in terms of finding BAME authors, personal contacts and recommendations still matter a lot in publishing (ibid 15). A lot of these are made in Creative Writing degrees and at elite universities, at which ethnic minorities are underrepresented (ibid 22). Thus, if agents solely rely on their contacts, they will not be able to "find" BAME authors and BAME authors in return cannot get into contact with them. Secondly, the ignorance for the problem itself can be explained by O'Brien et al.'s findings that the whole industry remains dominated by white, public school educated, 'Oxbridge' graduates, who act as gatekeepers with an unconscious cultural bias that is based on their background (ibid 16). Despite various efforts over the last ten years to address the lack of diversity, there has been no significant change (ibid 2). Quite the contrary, because the deficits caused by the emergence of Amazon, the recession and changes resulting from the rise of ebooks have led to the introduction of unpaid internships as an entrance into the trade (ibid). This affects people who cannot afford to live in London (where most publishing houses are located) without earning money. Moreover, the industry is clearly dominated by an elite with a lot of cultural capital and no interest in inviting other into their small circle. From this "mono-culture" in British publishing it follows that gatekeepers all have the same way of looking at manuscripts - that is, though unconsciously, with pre-conceived ideas of Blackness or Asian-ness that affects

³⁷ It needs to be noted that the AC is working on its diversity. A recent report put BAME representation within the AC workforce at 17%, while only 4% of the workforce are disabled (Brown, 'Report'). There are no statistics for literature festivals.

their judgment (ibid 16). A lot of respondents to the survey have said this would be less of a problem if the workforce itself was more diverse.

Not only does the cultural bias affect which manuscript will be chosen both by the agent and the publisher (and naturally the pool of manuscripts that will be published is a lot smaller than the unpublished one), it also affects the editing process. A lot of survey respondents complained about misconceptions of authenticity resulting from the bias, meaning that their work is accused of "not [being] authentic when it reflects an aspect of non-white culture unfamiliar to mainstream white editors" (ibid 8), which one respondent said was often used as "an excuse to deny opportunities for people outside the cliché" (ibid 14). Another aspect of this is that often the criterion is an editor's assumption about what white readers (the main target group) would not accept, such as all-Black casts and foreign settings (ibid 8). This might also be caused by misconceptions about what the target groups are and what they like to read - as one respondent said "I don't think that black people read black books and white people read white books in the same way that black women use black hair products." (ibid 4). As a consequence, authors are asked to change their work, which most of them did because they did not want to create barriers to publication (ibid 8). This is reflected by Becker's theory that distribution systems constrain artists in that art needs to fit into the system in order to reach the audience (Becker in Alexander, 'Sociology' 69) and it is similar to the way art organisations "streamline" their art in order to attract sponsors. However, Becker does not see this as censorship or control, but as something inherent to the system in which resources are scarce (ibid). Nevertheless, he admits that it might affect the content indirectly, when artists create their work with the preferences of the distribution system in mind (ibid 90). As the example has just shown, in terms of BAME writing, the content is directly affected because it does not get published without being changed. Moreover, content is controlled through the "genre filter". 42% of BAME authors are published in literary fiction, which disadvantages them on several levels because it is harder to get literary fiction published than e.g. crime novels and it excludes them from the mass market that is dominated by popular fiction (Kean & Larsen 8). As a result, "authors called David [are] more likely to be on bestseller lists than BAME writers" (Flood). Thus, it is a "genre that not only earns little but sells little too" (Kean & Larsen 9), acting as another gatekeeper because additionally, only few can afford to publish a second novel: the average income for authors in the UK was £11,000 in 2013, which is £5,000 less than the living wage (Hudson). Going back to Becker, it can be argued that BAME authors might easily be inclined to write about topics that are expected of them (e.g. race), to be "authentic" but not too exotic, to adhere to stereotypes and to write literary fiction in order to increase their chances of getting published. In short, this can amount to self-censorship. Consequently, the cultural bias in the publishing industry results in a

body of literature that is very uniform and does not reflect an increasingly growing part of British society (ibid 20).

This then shows that Chalke Valley History Festival's suggestion that BAME authors "need to get on and write those bestselling books" in order to make the bestselling list is a very dangerous one (Kean). It is not the fault of BAME authors that they are underrepresented, bibliodiversity in the UK is imbalanced. As Neelands et al. note, "participation in the creation of culture is as much a concern [in a cultural democracy approach] as the question of access to its consumption" (35). Currently, gatekeepers that are part of a small, white elite with a cultural bias prevent BAME authors from being published and their books from being as likely to be successful as those of white authors. They are prevented from participating in the creation of culture. This confirms O'Brien et al.'s findings that the diversity of a workforce influences the diversity of the output. Brexit could further deteriorate the situation, because many EU citizens work in the British publishing industry and as such increase diversity of the workforce (The Publishers Association). Additionally, describing all steps within the distribution line such as discussion by newspapers or the placement in book shops is outside the scope of this thesis. However, literature festivals can be seen as one of the last steps in the line, similar to book shops. Whether they also act as gatekeepers in their treatment of BAME authors will become visible in the analysis. Beforehand, the next chapter details the methodology of the interview process and subsequent analysis.

4. Methodology

Due to the many uncertainties surrounding Brexit and lack of impact surveys that focus on a single art form, let alone refer to literature festivals, interviews were chosen in order to circumvent the inadequacy of information and scientific material. Through the interviews, the aim was to gain information on the topic of social inclusion and what has been done so far, as well as the interviewee's opinions on the potential impact of Brexit, both in terms of social inclusion and the daily work of literature festivals. Thus, preference was given to qualitative rather than quantitative interviews, in order to obtain a more nuanced overview of the respondent's work and be more flexible in the questioning (Altheide & Johnson 583). As Kaiser (29) states, qualitative interviews whose concern is the accumulation of information on a current topic, on which there is neither research, nor theories or empirical data available, can be called "explorative research interviews"³⁸. In this case, there is no option other than interviewing in order to gain knowledge and he recommends structured or semi-structured interviews with experts for this kind of research (ibid). It was decided that the interviews should be semi-structured for reasons of comparison but also because it allows for further, spontaneous questions which are thought of in the moment. Moreover, it was more fitting for the the purpose of gathering opinions, plans, worries and viewpoints.

Since Brexit is a topic that affects long-term strategic decisions, it was decided that the best results could be achieved by contacting literature festival directors or others on a management level. Moreover, these are people that can be regarded as experts according to Kaiser's criteria - they occupy positions that carry a lot of responsibility and decision-making, and they can be assumed to have the relevant knowledge for the research topic (41). As mentioned earlier, Kaiser recommends interviewing experts if the research has the purpose of obtaining information and opinions on a new topic. Gläser & Laudel make similar recommendations (11). Expert interviews are special because respondents are more used to being asked questions and there is always a danger that they only represent the official position of their company, which the researcher needs to keep in mind (Kvale 70).

Someone who knows the industry well and who the author has worked with previously agreed to assist the recruitment of interview partners. A comprehensive list of literature festivals in the UK was compiled and sent to that person, on which she then marked the ones she had a good relationship with. She further suggested several other organisations that were concerned with literature and events as well as literature development agencies. Moreover, she assured the author that the list represented a good overview of the British literature festival scene. She then

³⁸ He distinguishes this from narrative and ethnographic interviews, which are concerned with experiences and values, respectively (ibid 2).

contacted the organisations she knew well via email, and at the same time the author emailed some smaller and more local festivals from the list in order to increase diversity, since a lot of the ones she wrote to were rather large organisations. Thus, there was no strategic sampling employed. However, Kaiser writes that this is not a necessity for explorative research interviews, and that a technique described as "snowballing" is much more effective (Bryman 415, Kaiser 30). In snowballing, a sample is reached by contacting an expert, who then suggests another expert who he/she thinks suits the topic, and so on. This is a good description of what happened during the recruitment period, in which people who were contacted either agreed to participate because they felt they had something to say or referred the author to someone else who they deemed more fit for purpose.

When contacted for the first time, the interviewees were also supplied with a document that contained further information on the research topic and the researcher and what participation would entail. This was done according to the principle of "informed consent" (Kaiser 48), which entails informing the interview participants about the purpose and content of the research, gaining their explicit consent for using the data generated by the interview and informing them that this consent can be withdrawn at any time up until transcription. Moreover, the document indicates that the interviews would be recorded, but the researcher also stated this again at the beginning of each interview. Furthermore, the participant had to sign the sheet and tick whether he/she wanted to be fully or partially identified. All except one person agreed to full identification. Complete anonymity could not be offered because it is important for the analysis of the interviews to be able to state the size of the festival and the region where it is based. The complete information and consent sheet can be found in appendix 7.2.

It was estimated that the sample size should be between six and ten people. As Kaiser states, expert interviews typically have a small sample size because they do not aim to take into account every available expert but rather to thoroughly analyse a select few (4).³⁹ Hence the goal is not generalisation but a thorough understanding of the chosen cases in order to develop or modify theories (ibid). The method employed is abductive, because the starting point are the respondents and their world views, from which the researcher then "come[s] to a social scientific account of the social world as seen from those perspectives" (Bryman 392). After hearing back from most of the contacted directors, the researcher was satisfied with the amount (seven) and the variety of those who agreed to participate and did not try to attract more participants. The seven people who agreed to be interviewed are: Jonathan Davidson, Chief Executive of Writing West Midlands and Birmingham Literature Festival (I1), Cathy Moore, Director of Cambridge Literary Festival (I2), Nick Barley, Director of Edinburgh International Book Festival (I3), Rosalind Green,

³⁹ Moreover, this goes well with the limited scope of a masters thesis.

Director of Essex Book Festival (I4), someone who did not want to be named but is the director of a small, Midlands-based literature festival and who will be referred to as Participant I5, Chris Gribble, Chief Executive of Writers Centre Norwich (I6) and Lyndsey Fineran, Programme Manager of Cheltenham Literature Festival (I7). Short descriptions of the participating organisations can be found in appendix 7.1.⁴⁰

According to Kaiser, in an expert interview the interviewer's role is to actively lead the dialogue in order to obtain the desired information (2). For this purpose, an interview guide was created (see appendix 7.4). It contains all questions that were thought of before the interviewing process as well as possible follow-up questions in case the answer was not satisfactory. The author arrived at these questions by developing three broad areas of research which were derived from the research question and research that had been done before. These were 1) Brexit's perceived impact on the literature festival's daily work, 2) potential chances that might arise from Brexit and 3) the festival's approach to social inclusion. Out of these areas the author then developed questions that could deliver the necessary answers, which Kaiser describes as a translation of the research question into specific interview questions (52). Different guides for interviewing (e.g. Kvale 60) were used for the wording of the questions. For example, the first question was kept deliberately broad in order to see whether the respondent would list negative or positive impacts first and to gently introduce the topic. Moreover, the questions were ranked from being relatively general about Brexit and the arts to being very specifically related to literature festivals. This was done in order to follow a line of argument as recommended by Kaiser (53). Additionally, the interview guide contains a quick introduction into the topic and the rights of the interviewee, another recommendation by Kaiser (54).

The interviews were conducted in June and early July 2017 via Skype and recorded with a software called "Call Recorder for Skype". As Kaiser notes, in situations where interviews generate information and opinions that cannot be obtained in other ways, recordings are absolutely necessary (85). Some were a lot shorter than others (the shortest being 15 minutes, the longest 1:10 hours) which is attributed to the different styles of speaking of the interviewees. When possible, the interviews were transcribed immediately afterwards, using the software F5 for Mac.⁴¹ Since the aim is to get information and opinions, a very minimal transcription style was employed so the focus lies solely on what is being said, as recommended by Kuckartz et al. for this interview style (27). Only laughing and hesitation were

⁴⁰ This does not include biographical data, which is not relevant for the analysis of information (Kaiser 2). It might have been interesting for the analysis of the opinions, but as participants spoke very freely and did not give the impression of representing an official position, the researcher decided against it. Naturally, their replies are still shaped by their background, but it was not fundamental to the findings and also impossible to include such an analysis within this thesis.

⁴¹ Downloaded from <https://www.audiotranskription.de>.

transcribed (as (laughs) and (pause)) - without differentiation of lengths - because they were regarded as important for the analysis. When it was impossible to understand a word or a sequence of words, it was substituted with (unclear). Filler words such as "you know" or "sort of" were not transcribed. For reasons of eloquence, "haven't", "can't" etc. were transcribed as "have not" and "cannot" (Froschauer & Lueger 111). Additionally, when words were repeated they were left out⁴² so that one clear sentence emerges rather than a confusing collection of words that were uttered before the actual sentence was said. Naturally, by choosing to eliminate words this is already an analysis in itself. Brinkmann and Kvale note that it is up to the researcher to make these decisions because "the question what is the correct, valid transcription cannot be answered" (213). Moreover, only the audio was recorded and most interviews took place without video, so the researcher could not take body language into account. It is therefore important to bear in mind that "transcriptions are translations from an oral language to a written language" (Kvale & Brinkmann 204).

The method of analysis which was employed is derived from Mayring's qualitative content analysis and based on Kaiser. Qualitative content analysis is recommended by both Kaiser and Gläser & Laudel for analysis of expert interviews (14). Called "themenanalytische Inhaltsanalyse", Kaiser developed a less complex version of Mayring's method which was very useful in order to structure the interview data in a comparatively short amount of time. First, categories deduced from the research question and the three areas of research were developed and applied to the interviews (Kaiser 111). Kaiser recommends that unlike codes, they do not contain a specific feature and they can vary in length from single sentences to whole paragraphs (103). Moreover, more categories can be induced from the data itself and paragraphs can be left out when they prove irrelevant. Categories were kept neutral, meaning that instead of using "negative approach to social inclusion" the category employed was "approach to social inclusion". Nevertheless, they are already an interpretation in themselves (Miles et al. 72). In the end, the following categories were used: Brexit impact, opportunities, Brexit response, artistic quality, Creative Europe, impact on/ barriers to/ approach to international programming, personal reaction to Vaizey quote, role of arts in society, approach/barriers to social inclusion, inclusive programming and role of literature festivals post-Brexit.

First, paragraphs of the same category within one interview and then across interviews were put together while keeping the line numbers. Similarities and differences were noted and key sentences summarised in order to reduce the amount of text (Froschauer & Lueger 111, Kaiser 108). Moreover, it was important for the analysis when a certain topic was mentioned and whether it happened with or without prompt by the researcher (Froschauer & Lueger 111). Furthermore,

⁴² Unless they were used as stylistic devices.

Kuckartz et al. also recommend indicating how many people shared a similar opinion, despite it not being a quantitative analysis (47). All in all, qualitative content analysis proved to be very useful to condense the data enough so it could be interpreted.

5. Analysis

5.1 Perceived impact of Brexit on literature festivals

So far, this thesis has established several barriers faced by literature festivals in their efforts to be socially inclusive. In order to establish whether Brexit constitutes a whole new barrier or merely augments existing ones, the analysis will first look at the perceived impact of Brexit on the daily work of literature festivals, then turn to the question of whether social inclusion is an issue for literature festivals and what they do to achieve it, before combining the two topics in order to examine how Brexit might impact social inclusion efforts by literature festivals. Additionally, to draw a conclusion the perceived role of art and literature festivals in society in general and post-Brexit in particular will be examined.

As mentioned before, the impact of Brexit on the respective organisation was the introductory question in every interview. It was meant to facilitate entry into the interview situation for both the researcher and the interviewee and to gain a first impression of the respondent's attitude to Brexit. This subchapter includes everything that was said in reply to this question apart from potential opportunities that might arise from Brexit, which are explored in subchapter 5.2. The participant's reactions to the question were different in that it sometimes provoked relatively short answers and sometimes respondents gave it more thought and foreshadowed several of the topics that the researcher was going to ask about later in the interview. Before examining what the different issues are, it is important to point out how striking it was that three out of seven interviewees mentioned potential opportunities arising from Brexit either in their very first sentence or after listing one or two negative impacts, without being asked about positives. This will be further explored in the respective section. However, the most immediate reaction to the question was "We do not know (yet)" (I1, I3, I4, I7). Four interviewees gave this as their very first reply before elaborating on possible impacts such as barriers to movement and funding. They attributed this uncertainty to the government being vague and not explaining what is meant by Brexit as well as the recent general election having "thrown it all into confusion" because there might now be the potential for a softer Brexit (I1 311).⁴³ At the same time, interviewees also mentioned a fear of the political consequences as well as anger and frustration with the responsible politicians. For example, two participants (I3 117-123, I4 64-78) commented on a possible geopolitical instability as a result of Brexit and the fear of war. For Ros Green (I4) it even was "the most significant part" (72) which she is "very alarmed" about (77). Furthermore, Jonathan Davidson expressed his embarrassment about having "such an inept government" (I1 313) and Gribble his frustration: "[Brexit] is just an increase of crap" (I6 12). In terms of the cultural sector,

⁴³ The assessment of the general election's impact differs among the respondents because some took place with more distance to the election result than others.

the overall emotional response was negative. For instance, Cathy Moore felt that Brexit is "a sadness to the artistic community, a terrible blow" (I2 9ff) and Green stated that feels like a set-back (I4 1-13). Moreover, it was remarked that it seems to "shrink our world somehow" (I2 9ff) and it could be devastating if the worst case scenario happens - that it "completely breaks the cultural relations" (I3 30).

In contrast to this, some interviewees also implied that they are not convinced Brexit will actually happen, or that what is going to happen might not be as bad as many people fear it is (I1 127, I4 27). It remains difficult to say whether this is out of a hope which they know is not realistic but they cannot let go of or an actual belief in the potential of Brexit not taking place at all. In any way, the further course of the interviews revealed that almost all of the respondents had given the possible impacts a lot of thought, so it can be argued that they accept that the exit from the EU is more likely to happen than not. Coming back to the issue of uncertainty, it remains to be pointed out that while one respondent named it at a later point in his answer, the two who did not mention it at all did so because they were convinced that Brexit would not have an impact on their organisation (I2, I5). The reasons for this belief, which was only expressed by Moore and Participant I5, will become apparent in the later course of the text.

5.1.1 Perceived impact on freedom of movement

In relation to what Brexit could mean for the work of cultural organisations such as literature festivals, the general view was that one of the most dangerous things about Brexit is that it "breaks links, relationships and makes communication between countries more difficult" (I3 35-38). Thus, the fear that it could add to already existing isolationism is reflected in the concern about increased barriers to freedom of movement after Brexit. Chris Gribble and Lyndsey Fineran explicitly stated that freedom of movement was going to be they "key thing" (I7 3). Although it remains uncertain whether or not festival speakers coming from EU countries might require visas in the future it was considered by almost all interviewees (I1, I3, I4, I5, I6, I7). Several compared it to the existing difficulties they already face with visas for artists coming from outside the EU (e.g. I1 130f) which requires more time, money and effort on the part of the festival. Recounting an incident where two artists invited by a large, professional organisation were denied their visas at the last minute, Fineran (I7) voiced the fear that increased barriers to movement might result in a negative impact on programming and thus artistic quality (45-67). According to her, there might be a temptation to choose UK-based writers over international ones because it costs less time and money to invite them. She concluded that if that is the case, "we all lose out" (66). This could be especially true for smaller festivals who have neither the experience nor the resources and might therefore be less likely to be successful at obtaining visas. Davidson (I1 136-138) expressed the same

apprehension. Apart from this particular effect, a recent incident at Edinburgh International Book Festival shows that not only could there be a negative impact on artistic quality because festivals choose to invite fewer international authors, but also because visas are already difficult to obtain for people from certain countries. This could deteriorate after the exit of the EU, if visas are required. In this particular case, an Iranian children's book illustrator was denied a visa on "technicalities" for the third year in a row and only after protest by various arts organisations was the decision revoked (Dehghan). Nick Barley warned in a tweet: "British culture will be damaged if ambitious publishers (...) can't bring their international authors to book festivals" (Barley). Edinburgh managed to revoke the decision through a social media campaign, which was made possible because they are a large, well-known festival. Smaller festivals would presumably be less successful.

However, there are also other assessments of the threat of increased barriers to freedom of movement. The respondent in interview I5, who was of the opinion that Brexit is not going to affect his/her literature festival because he/she "mostly work[s] with British writers and therefore British publishers" (1-11), explains that obtaining visas would be the responsibility of the publisher (35-37) and therefore "not [his/her] problem".⁴⁴ Thus, he/she acknowledged that this is an area where Brexit could cause problems, but not for his/her particular festival. Nevertheless, when asked about artistic quality, he/she admitted that barriers to freedom of movement could be detrimental if "I found that I was not being able to programme things that I really wanted to" (38-47). In a similar fashion, Moore did not expect Brexit to "have a massive impact on us" because "we are a tiny organisation and we tend to programme mainstream people who are UK based" (I2 1-4, 18-21). Thus, it can be argued that they also regard barriers to freedom of movement as the biggest area of Brexit impact because it is their chosen category to evaluate whether Brexit could have an effect on their organisation or not. To summarise, increased barriers to freedom of movement could result in increased costs and effort for the festival and might lead smaller festivals to invite fewer international authors, thus exacerbating existing isolationism and the societal effects of Brexit.

5.1.2 Perceived impact on funding

In terms of funding, one needs to distinguish between the impact of Brexit on national funding from the UK and funding through the EU. Only Davidson (I1) regarded funding as the biggest problem area post Brexit (235-266), but he did

⁴⁴ This reflects a wider practice of only inviting international authors when they are already coming over on a tour organised by the publisher. It will be further addressed in chapter 5.4. From what all other respondents have said and from personal experience of the researcher, it is usually the festival's responsibility to organise visas for its authors. That it is different in this particular case might be because participant I5's festival is quite small and as mentioned, international authors are only invited to the festival once a tour has already been organised by a third party.

specify that he means funding for international programming, i.e. inviting writers from abroad to the book festival. His reasoning is that as a result of the ideology behind Brexit, the government might put pressure on the ACE not to fund organisations that are "too overtly pro-EU" (242). If this happens, it would be a further example of how short the arm in the ALP actually is, however chapter 2.1.2 has also shown how successful the arts establishment can be in fighting DCMS decision they do not agree with. Therefore it is uncertain, whether this would actually have an effect. Moreover, Davidson points out that at the moment, literature in translation (and therefore indirectly international programming) is one of the key funding areas of the AC because "they know that without some public support lots of literature in translation simply would not happen" (237f). Thus, despite the fact that there is very little AC funding available for the literature sector, which was emphasised by Gribble (16 88), it can still have a significant impact. Similar to findings from chapter 2.1, the impact is most significant when the funding is cut, even if the amount is small. Especially in combination with potential visa costs, a decrease in funding could make international programming a luxury only few literature festivals would be able to afford. Additionally, Green pointed out that if the country enters a period of financial instability as a result of Brexit, which she thinks is quite likely to happen, then "funding the arts will not be a priority" (14 105-8). In fact, as noted in chapter 2.1.2, the arts are already missing from the Brexit negotiations. Green talks about arts funding in general, for any kind of purpose. In contrast to this, Moore, who emphasised that Cambridge Literary Festival almost does not receive any funding apart from "tiny amounts of sponsorship and local authority funding" admitted that she had not thought about what impact Brexit could have on her sponsors and therefore on her festival when asked by the researcher (12 28-34). Moreover, she then mostly considered what impact Brexit could have on her sponsors in terms of trading, but not through an effect on the economy in general and thus maintained that Brexit is not going to impact neither her sponsorship income nor her work. This lack of consideration clashes somewhat with her repeated emphasis on how funding or the lack thereof impacts her work (9-11, 14-17, 48-54), but it might be to do with the fact that the sponsorship money she receives is not a large amount, as is usually the case. Barley and Gribble mentioned funding as an area of impact but did not specify whether they mean national or EU funding. Additionally, they seemed to regard a potential loss of funding more as a nuisance rather than a crisis because they hardly mentioned it. Especially for Edinburgh this can be explained by the fact that the festival does not rely on state funding but generates most of its income itself through book and ticket sales (13 244-249). Barley explained this in the interview, saying that only 15% of Edinburgh's funding is from public grants (245ff). Moreover, he pointed out that a reduction in state funding would rather affect smaller festivals with less diverse funding streams (ibid).

Furthermore, every participant was asked whether they had received funding from Creative Europe or the predecessor programmes at any point. Out of all seven participants, one was currently receiving support for a project (I6 14-24) and one had received some in the past (I3 197-114). Both of them expressed that CE funding for them is not significant in terms of the overall financing, but it is key for the programmes it was received for. This naturally follows from the fact that CE funding is project funding. Moreover, Green had not received CE funding herself but benefited indirectly from it through a partner organisation which was being supported (I4 45-51). She was also of the opinion that Brexit would impact on certain projects if EU funding was lost (51). Moreover, Gribble emphasised that all projects he had received CE funding for were collaborations with European partners (as is required). In addition to this, he underlined twice that Brexit could lead to fewer partnership requests from other countries because it would damage the UK's reputation. Therefore, although CE funding might not be existential for a festival, it is significant for the realisation of collaborative projects across borders that play an important role in fostering cultural understanding, especially since the referendum. This confirms the findings of chapter 2.3. Additionally, Barley stressed that core funding is usually provided by national or regional governments rather than the EU, highlighting the importance of AC and local authorities funding and the question of how and whether Brexit will impact on it (I3 114f). He also remarked that "in terms of funding, there may be a problem for literary festivals (...) overall. But I do not think it is going to be an existential crisis for literary festivals" (111f). Echoing this, Gribble explained that "if there are more barriers towards participating in European funding bids then that just makes life difficult for the future" (I6 22f). However, he did not seem to expect that EU funding might be completely unavailable to the UK, which is a possibility. Additionally, Fineran was not sure but she stated that Cheltenham had received funding from single European countries for specific events (I7 14-20) and pointed out that in her view, a lot of arts organisations relied on international funding (10-11). Thus, there could be another effect if this funding was not available any more as a result of Brexit, which again would make it more difficult to programme international authors.

In contrast to this, Birmingham and Cambridge had not received any EU funding and there seemed to be a misconception to a certain degree as to how CE funding works. For instance, Davidson stated his festival had not received any because they do not publish books (I1 79-83) which seems to indicate a belief that only publishers can apply for CE. Additionally, Moore's reason is that Cambridge Literary Festival is a "tiny organisation and we tend to programme mainstream people who are UK based" (I2 18-21). In addition, Green also spoke of "larger" organisations who have received CE funding (45), but she seems better informed about CE itself. Thus, it seems to be the case that larger organisations are more equipped to apply and compete for Creative Europe funding and that it does play a

role in facilitating and encouraging the programming of international authors as well as collaboration across the borders. However, no one mentioned social inclusion in relation to the question about Creative Europe, which is presumably because it was not part of the interview at that point. This will be further addressed in chapter 5.4.

5.1.3 Perceived impact on artistic quality

The question about artistic quality was asked in order to get a more detailed understanding of the perceived impact of Brexit and how it is evaluated by the respondents. There were several different reactions to the question of whether Brexit might cause a threat to artistic quality or not. They can be divided into quality of the programme of literature festivals and quality of writing itself. In general, initial replies ranged from "absolutely" (I6) and "possibly" (I1, I2, I7) to "difficult to say" (I3, I4) and "absolutely not" (I5). Gribble, who is the only one who was convinced of a negative impact despite not seeming overtly pessimistic about Brexit beforehand explained that restriction in movements could hinder exchange and the willingness of partners to engage and thus damage the work of his organisation (I6 25-30). This does not solely concern international programming though, because "any restriction leads to some sort of diminution in quality or the opportunity for high quality work to emerge" (29-30). Others such as Fineran (I7 68-81), Participant I5 (38-47), Moore (I2 38-44) and Davidson (I1 150-203) expressed similar opinions. For example, a threat for Moore would be the discouragement of organisations like English PEN in funding the translation of unknown writers. Participant I5 is an interesting case because the first reaction was to regard it in terms of the quality of the festival programme (it will not be a threat because their work is mostly focused on the UK) which was later limited by saying "only if I found that I was not being able to programme things that I really wanted to because of visas then yes" (38-47). Moreover, the participant found it important to emphasise that "I would not give a platform to a racist" and therefore "our artistic integrity is as it ever was" which might be due to misunderstanding the question "how about in terms of literary content" (42-47). Therefore, Participant I5's answer needs to be set aside due to a different understanding of the question. Most of the other respondents were more moderate in their reply, possibly because of the uncertainty related to Brexit, which was again expressed by some in the answer to this question (I3, I4). Barley did however state that "emotionally, I want to say yes" (134) but that he feels the need to try and remain as objective as possible and "trust in human resilience". Fineran, in referring to the defiance currently apparent in the arts community, offered a similar view (68-81).⁴⁵

⁴⁵ This is something she mentioned a lot and it will be addressed in more detail in the next chapter.

Davidson (I1 195-202) also saw a potential negative impact of barriers to freedom of movement on artistic quality of literature itself: Writers benefit from the exchange with other writers of different nationalities that they experience on artist residencies (he was on one himself at the time of the interview which possibly influenced his answer) which usually improves quality in the long run. Furthermore, Barley and Green agreed that it could "go either way" (I4, 95) because it might also stimulate thinking and "creative people can come up with creative solutions" (I4 97). Barley acknowledged that some people believe that writing improves in times of political crisis, but he believed while that is not always the case, political turmoil does not make writing worse either. Thus, some authors will respond to the situation better than others. Moreover, Green said she had not thought about it before so it does not seem to be an issue for her. Consequently, while artistic quality does not appear to be a significant concern, there is no enthusiasm about the artistic response that Brexit might evoke. The researcher expected answers to mention Ali Smith's *Autumn* or Carol Ann Duffy's theatre piece *My Country*, but the only work of art that is a response to Brexit that was mentioned were Grayson Perry's ceramics, in reply to a different question (I5). Thus, the general consensus seems to be that Brexit makes the work of literature festivals more expensive and more complicated, and artistic quality, at least of the programme, harder to achieve.

5.2 Perceived Opportunities arising from Brexit

Despite the negative views so far, many respondents articulated potential positive effects that could arise from Brexit, either in direct response to the question or at a different point of the interview. The answers to the question "Can you think of any opportunities for your organisation that might come from Brexit?" were very mixed, ranging between "absolutely not" (I2 47) to more positive answers. Three times the topic was brought up very early on in the interview, before the question was posed (I1, I3, I4). When this was the case, the general view was that "ironically" and "strangely" there are potential positive effects of Brexit for the sector (I1 1; 31, I7 160). However, the analysis will look at the participants who could not imagine opportunities first.

Along with her view that Brexit is not going to impact her work at all, Moore replied she could not think of any opportunities whatsoever (I2 47). Gribble, who was of the opinion that Brexit is just going to make his work more difficult, but not impossible, could not think of any benefits either. His explanation was that Writers Centre Norwich already have good relationships abroad and Brexit would not give them more time to explore new ones - indeed, it rather takes time from them if his earlier answers are taken into account (I6 31-36). Thus, he evaluated Brexit based on the opportunity that it might open up businesses and organisations to partnerships outside Europe. Participant I5 had informed the researcher before the

interview that he/she did not want to talk much about Brexit, so the question was not asked. However, it can be assumed that he/she would have shared Moore's opinion because he/she also believes in no Brexit impact for her festival. Thus, Gribble displayed a rather practical, moderate view of Brexit in the sense that it will not have a catastrophic impact on his work but does not generate any opportunities either. Participant I5, who is also the only one that did not mention an emotional response to Brexit, believed it was nothing more than a protest vote (152-4) and as such does not have a greater impact: "we are not as insular as people like us to believe" (ibid). Moore's approach to Brexit was that emotionally, it is very sad but essentially, it is a difficult time for the UK in general that they will get through and that does not affect her festival.

In contrast to this, the potential opportunities mentioned revolved around the following topics: the current emotion in the artistic community, increased interest in international programming⁴⁶ on both the side of the audience and the literature festivals, and overall a boost to the importance and the perceived role of literature festivals in society. Moreover, it is important to add that although the researcher was careful only to use the word "opportunity", Fineran and Barley spoke of potential "benefits" (I3 59ff; 189f, I7 90; 97). This is significant because "benefit" has a stronger connotation. According to the OED, an opportunity is a "favourable circumstance" whereas a benefit is a clear "advantage". Consequently it can be argued that respondents who use "benefit" believe in it more strongly.

"Defiance" seems to be a fitting word to sum up the current atmosphere in the artistic community. Indeed, Fineran employed it several times to describe how she and others are trying to fight against the effects of Brexit (I7 24; 42). Many respondents used words stemming from a battle rhetoric, just like defiance itself which means "the act of (...) challenging to fight; a challenge or summons to a combat or contest; a challenge to make good or maintain a cause" (OED). For example, Davidson remarked "in so many ways, things are now kind of strangely bright because we now have a fight on our hands" (I1 303f) and Barley said "Brexit (unclear) makes certain people want to be more international. Or it (...) makes us more into activists. We have to fight now to be international. Now there is something to resist against." (I3 191-4). Thus, they are very similar in their outlook, they feel like Brexit created a sense of urgency, activism and that it is a "weirdly (...) unifying, engrossing thing (I7 160f). Or as Green put it: "It has definitely changed my programming, my way of working. It is creating urgency. It is focusing the mind." (I4 306f). As suggested by Barley, one way of fighting can be to develop a positivity around Europe to reverse isolationism (I3 43f) and to remind society that the EU was established to keep the peace in Europe and is as such still needed (ibid). This

⁴⁶ International programming means inviting authors that are not based in the UK.

"wake up call that reminds us we do want peace" is one of the "benefits" Barley named without having been prompted (59ff).

This is connected to the next positive, which is an increased interest in international programming on both the sides of the audience and the literature festivals. For literature festivals, putting an emphasis on international authors is a way of fighting and reminding people of the importance of the EU, and thus an act of defiance. Hence, many respondents spoke about their resolve to increase their efforts in programming writers from outside the EU and "particularly" EU nations in order not to become insular (I1 6). It was mentioned by three out of the four participants who agreed there were potential opportunities, but Davidson and Green were the most elaborate (I1 1-7, I4 28, I7 26f). Moreover, it was of particular significance for Davidson because it was the first thing he said in the whole interview - as he later explained "Certainly I feel, you know, when I am programming European writers, I feel this is a little additional bit of resistance to what I am told is what is going to happen to Brexit." (I1 308-310). Similarly, Green explained several times that it made her "double my efforts to maintain links" (I4 28, 84), which she also mentioned without prompt. However, when directly asked she seemed a bit more hesitant but stated that she "would really like to see it as an opportunity for the festival to increase its focus on translation and communication and building bridges" because the country will be "in serious need of building bridges" after Brexit (54ff). Thus, programming more authors in translation is not just done as an act of "resistance", but also to foster cultural understanding and links. While acknowledging the uncertainty of what will actually happen and that Brexit could equally make international programming more difficult, she is also alluding to a self-understanding of literature festivals as being able to build bridges.⁴⁷ This will be further explored in chapter 5.6.

At the same time, Green hoped that Brexit will lead to an increased interest of British people in other languages and translated fiction so that there will be an audience for the international events she is programming (I4 38-44). Like Davidson, she remarked that her countrymen are quite bad at learning other languages, which might be due to the underlying feeling of being an insular nation, partly reflected in the referendum result (ibid, I1 109ff). Moreover, there already is an increase of books published in translation (I1 51ff). Thus, a circle could be created by which there are more books in translation which can be taken up by literature festivals and the audience becomes stimulated on both sides. Nevertheless, Brexit could also create barriers for publishing translations, as chapter 5.5. will show. Davidson and Barley have both already felt a rise in interest as well as a feeling of defiance in their audiences (I1 24f, I3 73ff). Particularly Davidson pointed out that his festival has seen larger audiences for international events since the referendum which led him to

⁴⁷As requested by Ed Vaizey in his quote that was introduced in the introduction.

see Brexit as an opportunity to "build up an audience that trusts us with writers whose names they do not recognise or cannot pronounce" (278f). As a consequence, international programming efforts could benefit and new relationships with literary festivals and publishers abroad could be built or existing ones could be further developed (283-315).

In addition to this, Fineran commented on the willingness to collaborate more on both national and international levels which she experienced at a conference she attended prior to the interview (I7 21-33; 82-114). Increased collaboration among UK festivals was something the researcher had expected as a potential answer to the question of opportunities, but it was only mentioned by Fineran. Since festivals often partner with other festivals or organisations to cover the costs of an intercontinental flight for a speaker who then appears at an event for each of the participating organisations, it was expected that this potential could be further developed because the difficulties caused by Brexit would make it necessary to do so. Fineran shared this view:

So my hope, my real hope actually, a benefit of Brexit - I never thought I would say that word - is obviously funding is going to be trickier and it is going to be a lot more involved to bring an international author to the UK, so what I think will happen is that we are going to see a bit more collaboration between arts organisations within the UK. (...) We could then sort of club together and combine to cover someone's flight and their visa costs. So one of the benefits might see a bit more collaboration between UK based organisations and further afield. (90-98)

When the researcher mentioned that she had expected this answer but no one so far had talked about it, Fineran explained the credit belonged to the conference she had attended (organised by Writers Centre Norwich), which facilitated these conversations. Thus, another opportunity, or even a benefit as she chose to call it, could be collaboration between UK festivals on a larger scale, especially in terms of international programming. Fineran remarked herself that "it is a bit of a no brainer" but somehow it is not really happening thus far. In a way then, Brexit could also function as a wake up call in terms of how literature festivals work.

The last area of impact was again mentioned by three respondents, namely Davidson, Barley and Fineran. They all reasoned that because the audiences have an increased interest in Brexit based events and political talks in general since the referendum, the perception of literature festivals is changing (I3 178-201). First, Brexit often inadvertently becomes a topic of discussion in many literature festival events, whether it is about politics or not, because the speakers give their views or are being asked for them (I1 57ff). And secondly, most respondents stated that they see the general role that literature festivals occupy within society as "at their heart places for grassroots democratic discussion" (I3 105ff). Therefore, literature festivals are good places for debates about Brexit, fitting the audiences' urge to do exactly that. The result is summed up by Barley, he calls it another benefit (I3 183-190):

And so Brexit is a political earthquake I suppose you could call it, which makes book festivals matter more. Or which shows how much book festivals matter. So people can kind of come along and they can think about it (...) in public, in front of other people, and they can ask questions and they can admit that they are anxious or have doubts, and they can help formulate their own opinion about the way the world could be. So book festivals will benefit from the fact that people want to talk about what we are doing after Brexit.

Davidson agreed with this⁴⁸, saying that "we did not know what we had until we were about to lose it so now we are fighting for it, which makes us feel more useful" (I1 305ff). Thus, by being able to provide a platform for discussion and changing their programming in reaction to Brexit, literature festivals have assumed more significance not only for their audiences but also for themselves. In addition, some respondents had already made use of this by programming events which were a direct response to Brexit.

5.2.1 Programming events as a response to Brexit

While one respondent said that the key impact of Brexit was that it has "given us something to discuss at the festival" (I2 6ff) other interviewees mentioned whole Brexit-related event strands that they had organised after the referendum (I1, I3, I4 and I7). Moreover, it has influenced several programme headings such as Edinburgh's "Brave New Words" and Cheltenham's "Who do we think we are?", which both underline the belief that literature festivals are places for debate and discussion. In Edinburgh, this year's and last year's theme ("Imagine better") were not solely a response to Brexit but also to other political events such as the American election and the continuing crisis in the Middle East, according to Barley (I3 85-99). This has partly to do with the fact that these themes are chosen quite early on, which is also a reason for why Green plans a Brexit-related festival theme not until 2019 (I4 90f). Single events are quicker to plan, which is what she did as a direct response to the rise in hate crime after Brexit and the murder of a Polish man in Harlow (I4 261-305). Having stated that her festival is very good at building bridges because they are very agile and quick in their reactions (57ff), Green demonstrated how they made use of that in organising a "Meet the Neighbours Day" in order to celebrate the Polish community in Harlow. It was meant to be a meeting between the Polish and the British community in the town, but she also engaged Muslim and homeless communities, among others. Every event was what she calls a "twinning", meaning she programmed both a Polish and a British author for each event, for which she received funding from the Polish Cultural Institute and the AC. It was shown on local TV and had an impact on the community, therefore showing how literature festivals can "matter".

⁴⁸ Although this slightly foreshadows the role of books festivals post-Brexit discussed in 5.6, it is important to mention at this point.

Similarly, Davidson recounts his reaction to the vote, which was establishing a "European Writing Day" in the festival to further underline how international the programme was: "Something which we probably would not have felt the need to be overt about had the referendum not come along and shocked us so deeply" (I1 16f). For him, that was easy to do because the international authors were already invited, he just needed to give it that name in order to emphasise the function. The fact that none of the interviewees were asked about their response to Brexit shows how passionate they are to include reactions to Brexit in their programming. Moreover, it is important to point out that both examples, the "Meet the Neighbours Day" and the "European Writing Day" can be seen as socially inclusive events, which the analysis is turning to in the next chapter. For now, it can be summarised that the fact that opportunities were mentioned early on, without being asked for, shows an attempt at trying to see positives of the vote, despite the many negative impacts mentioned. Although the respondents did not see positives in terms of artistic quality, they did mention ways in which their programming could benefit, which would essentially improve the artistic quality of the programme. Therefore, the way the question about artistic quality was asked ("Do you think Brexit might cause a threat to artistic quality?") might have influenced them to come up with negative replies. However, since most interviewees mentioned opportunities without being prompted, these replies were not influenced.

5.3 Literature festivals and social inclusion

In order to understand what the respective literature festivals have done so far in terms of social inclusion and how Brexit might impact on this, the different festivals' approaches to social inclusion need to be examined. Thus, the following will look at whether social inclusion is an issue for the respondents and if so, what it entails for them. This will be done in three parts. First, this chapter looks at whether festivals employ a democratisation of culture or a cultural democracy approach in order to evaluate how much the festivals are committed to promoting social inclusion. Secondly, as programming international authors is an area where Brexit could potentially have a large impact, it will be looked at whether the interviews confirm the assumption from chapter 2.3. that international programming can contribute to social inclusion. This will be done in chapter 5.4. In the next step the problems that respondents are facing in their efforts to be socially inclusive will be analysed in terms of the potential impact Brexit could have on them, drawing on the findings of the analysis up until this point. Lastly, the role of art in society in general and of literature festivals in particular, now as well as post-Brexit, will be examined as it was perceived by the respondents. It will be followed by a short discussion of the findings.

The topic of social inclusion was not addressed by any participant without being prompted. The Ed Vaizey quote, which was used in a question intended to stimulate discussion of social inclusion, did not have the desired effect. Responses will instead be discussed in chapter 5.6. Nevertheless, when directly asked about it, none of the respondents expressed reservations about social inclusion along the lines of the instrumentalisation debate that was introduced in earlier chapters. They all accepted that literature festivals can and should promote social inclusion, as expressed by this quote: "Literature festivals if they are careful, they can be inclusive. And we all should be. Our aim is to get people reading" (I5 102-3).

However, while all respondents agreed that social inclusion is a relevant topic for literature festivals, they varied in their approaches to inclusion. The majority (I1, I2, I3, I5) said it was difficult to achieve - using the same word - and there is a connection between their approach and their self-evaluation of their festival's ability to reach social inclusion aims, as one would expect from the assumption that only a cultural democracy approach will be successful in attracting a diverse audience (Kawashima 67). Consequently, Essex Book Festival, which specifically brands itself as an inclusive festival, "as reaching the parts other festivals do not reach" (I4 19), manages to attract a broad range of communities through a cultural democracy approach and Ros Green had no doubts about her festival's inclusive ability. As a result, out of all respondents she was the most outspoken in terms of inclusivity: "social inclusion is at the heart of everything I do. It is possibly the single most important thing of the Essex Book Festival." (394f). Seeing as social inclusion is part of the festival's brand, it can be assumed that out of all respondents, her festival is the prime example for a successful implementation of a cultural democracy approach. Consequently, her advice to literature festivals struggling with inclusion was essentially to employ this approach: "You have to really know why you are doing it and who your audience is." (313) and "You have to really think about what people want to go to. You cannot force people to go. If you want a legitimate audience you just have to put something on that they want." (238-241). This was a learning experience from a specific event she had organised. It was with Kimberly Chambers, who is a Sunday Times bestselling but "a very untypical book festival writer who writes very trashy chick gangster stuff" (213). The event took place in a library in one of the most deprived areas of Essex, and Green was afraid nobody would come because on her way there, four locals she asked failed to show her the way to the library. However, there was a large audience and a lot of them were from the Roma community, which surprised her despite having worked for that community for years. They had come because Roma were featured in the book, which Green did not know because she had not read it, which she was "ashamed" to admit (337). Consequently, the community was genuinely interested in the event and ready to pay the entrance fee of £7 while "all events I have done in the past I almost had to pay [them] to turn up" (229f). The fact that the Roma community readily attended an

event which was not even advertised to them, a community who are the most hidden, hardest to engage and most marginalised in terms of housing, health, education and where literacy is low (208ff), shows that it is possible to engage certain hard to reach audiences. According to Green, there are two learnings from this event: Firstly, programmers should not refrain from authors who do not write literary fiction. This seems to be rare however, because Chambers said herself that she had never been invited to a literature festival before because "they are so posh and elitist" (235). Secondly, the event showed that people must feel represented in order to come along: "I programmed something that they wanted to come to legitimately" (14 233), which confirms that target-led programming (which is synonymous with cultural democracy) is more inclusive.

As a contrast, Davidson specifically pointed out that "all of the writers we work with are literary writers, they are not writers which are writing to entertain" (11 68f). Thus, he can be seen as leaning more towards a product-led/democratisation of culture approach to programming, because only a certain group of people is interested in literary fiction.⁴⁹ However, he added later that the reasons was that "we get funded to work with that part of literature. Having said that, it is those writers who will perhaps open the way for a broader range of readers to engage with them" (455-458). Here a connection between funding and inclusion is clearly established. Because he is reliant on funding, and the funding is for excellence, it is not possible for him to employ a cultural democracy approach (although it is not clear whether he would want to). Moreover, this approach was also visible when he talked about an event he had organised, which was about the Roma community, too (11 394-401). He stressed that although some from that community attended the event, it was "more important" that people who knew nothing about that culture came along in order to learn more about it: "they left feeling they had a better understanding, which is all part of inclusivity I think" (399ff). Therefore, the two Roma events by Essex and Birmingham served different functions. The latter focussed on creating cultural understanding, whereas the former led members of the Roma community to attend a book festival for the first time in their lives and take advantage of the public library as a space (although it did so unintentionally). These are two different understandings of what social inclusion means: for Green, it is about making a usually excluded community take part in cultural activities, which is also how it was defined in this thesis, whereas for Davidson it is more about creating cultural understanding and bringing different groups of people together. As long as this still result in the attraction of new audiences, even if to a lesser degree, this is still part of promoting social inclusion. Nevertheless, Davidson also said "So many of our events (pause) are based on issues which we want to discuss and then finding writers who are appropriate to discuss those issues, rather than here is a well-

⁴⁹ He did however also mention an event with two screenplay writers, so maybe there is a certain amount of entertainment-related events.

known writer, let's come and hear what they have got to say" (381ff). This would be more indicative of a target-led approach. As an example he used a series of events around mental health, for which he invited writers who had written about the topic (385-393). It was very successful in attracting both regular festival-goers as well as users of the mental health system (who would not normally attend). According to him, they came because "they felt that their world was going to be represented by a writer and they wanted in a way challenge the writers how well they were doing" (389ff), echoing what Green said about representation. Thus, he is in between both approaches, as this is a target-led approach, but always with the caveat that he only invites writers of literary fiction. Moreover, he did say that social inclusion is difficult to achieve, but that it is easier for his festival because Birmingham is such a diverse city in itself.

Similarly to Green, Gribble stated that "the challenge is to understand which audiences we are trying to engage with and why, and work with them and not on their behalf" (I6 109-121). This indicates a readiness to adapt the programme in order to attract new audiences. However, he also stated "Sometimes it works better than others (laughs). Especially if you do not want to fall prey to being really dull (laughs). Which is the worst thing." (132ff). This alludes to the fear of "dumbing down" content for specific audiences which has often been cited by cultural organisation as a reason against social inclusion (Garnham 455).⁵⁰ Thus, Gribble would only adapt the programme to a certain point, unlike Green, which is why the programming is not always successful. Consequently, although he is employing a cultural democracy approach, he is not fully committed to it - artistic quality is his priority.⁵¹ In general, there is a certain danger to lose sight of some audiences when focusing too much on attracting a specific community. This is something Green was also aware of: "I am doing my best to include everyone. Because I do not want to do diversity and then exclude the other people because that serves no function whatsoever." (I4 250ff). As a result, she organises events both in local libraries and in "an incredibly posh wonderful Tudor building" (246ff) which do not differ in pricing, but the latter will only attract "a highly educated, white privileged audience" because the space that the event is taking place in can be a significant barrier to attendance. Literature festivals are often perceived as elitist, which Green and Participant I5 addressed. One reason for this is in the word itself - "literature" or "literary" festivals imply that you need to be literate, need to be able to read in order to be "allowed" to attend. This was mentioned by Green (I4 185-188) and Participant I5 (88-90). Both

⁵⁰ Garnham defines dumbing down as "when arts favour broad audience over artistic quality" (ibid).

⁵¹ This is related to the "dumbing down" debate because there is a general question whether social inclusion can sometimes also require compromising artistic quality. Many would argue that by inviting a writer such as Kimberley Chambers, Ros Green did so. It is outside the scope to discuss this issue within this thesis, but it would have made for an interesting interview question.

said that it can be intimidating but Green stressed that "I have done everything to reverse that trend in my festival and we have pulled it off" (ibid). Participant I5 does not seem to have a similar confidence because he/she said "we are located in the best known literary town in the world and still plenty of residents do not care (...) they say it is not for me talking about snooty writers" (94ff). This confirms that literature festivals are perceived as very elitist, to which the fact that the typical festival audience is often white, retired and university educated further contributes. Moreover, Fineran talked about how the structures of literature festivals themselves can be intimidating, because not everyone enjoys sitting in a tent and listening to an author speak and spend their money on that (I7 178-182). For her, it is important to remember that literature can be accessed in a variety of different ways, which is why she started organising lit crawl, in which, similar to a pub crawl, literary events take place in pubs and other communal spaces within a city centre on one evening. Participation is free.

One example of an audience that is easily identifiable but that some respondents struggled in reaching are young people. Some respondents (I3, I7) were very confident about reaching that audience, whereas others admitted "I still do not know how to get that right" (I5 145). When asked about events aimed at inclusivity, Barley said that "there are a lot of different ways and a lot of different audiences that are worth trying to reach" (I3 277ff). One way he mentioned is Edinburgh's strand of spoken word events called "Babble On", which has proved very popular and has built some of the artists it has featured into international names (299-308). However, the addition "that are worth trying to reach" also implies that he has a differentiated approach to social inclusion. Indeed, he said so himself: "My emotional urge is to say yeah! Really important! We can! Social inclusion can be part of what we do! But the reality of course is that social inclusion is a very important ideal for us and aspiration, but it is also very very difficult to achieve" (233-236). Moreover, he points out that literature festivals cannot achieve a socially inclusive society on their own (256-276). If it were to change society on a fundamental level, then this would be a political question that can be influenced through elections and that literature festivals can engage in, but not on their own change. Thus, he is realistic and approaches inclusion in a strategic way in that he has singled out certain audiences that we would like to reach using a cultural democracy approach, assuming that it is impossible to reach everyone. As a result, it can be said that he knows it is important to employ this approach in order to be effective, but he does not believe that inclusive programming is always successful.

As already mentioned, Participant I5 admitted that he/she struggles with addressing young audience groups. For example, he/she had organised an event around the computer game Tomb Raider aimed at young people but which they then had to cancel because they did not sell enough tickets (I5 140-146). It was blamed on the town for not being "edgy" enough. However, it could also be argued that

maybe the festival failed to make enough young people aware of this event. Moreover, the fact that he/she struggles with reaching young people while others are very confident in their methods indicates that there might not be enough effort on the side of the festival to understand who their audience is and what they want. Consequently, the respondent is of the opinion that social inclusion is very difficult (72ff). This indicates a democratisation of culture approach, but there is not enough evidence for a final conclusion.⁵² At the same time, he/she stressed the importance of engaging children "to get inclusion" because they will be the future adult audiences if they can be kept engaged throughout their teenage years (91f). In that case, it is vital that the festival understands how to attract them - but maybe in the participant's case they do not have the budget, because the festival is rather small.

Additionally, ambassador schemes like the one Cheltenham are currently establishing could be useful for festivals that struggle with addressing young people: Sometimes, it is difficult to know what a particular community would like to see, either like in the Kimberley Chambers example or because it is almost impossible for festivals (and the small amount of staff they usually have) to keep up with trends. As a result, Cheltenham have established a new ambassador scheme which consists of young people between the age of 18-25 who will be advising the programmers for a year (I7 197-216). Fineran explained that "it is impossible for festivals" to keep up with what this group is interested in and that it is "another effort by us to try and ensure that we are appealing to lots of people and that we are developing and audience for the future" (207ff). In addition, Fineran underlined that they are making a special effort to create a diverse group and encourage people to apply with a less advantaged background and less confidence because usually, the people who come forward are the ones who are already really engaged with the arts. Cheltenham is then another example of a cultural democracy approach to social inclusion. Moreover, Fineran seemed to be optimistic that inclusion can work. For her, "inclusion is across the board" (I7 194ff), meaning that it has to include both young and old people and that the events at Cheltenham range from neighbours Shakespeare to grime or spoken word or YouTubers (165-172), which also shows an awareness for the problematic of excluding audiences by inclusive programming. She summed up her approach to inclusion like this: "Something we are really passionate about at Cheltenham is ensuring we have something for everybody in the programme" (167f).

Finally, out of all respondents Moore can be regarded as the "exemplary case" for a democratisation of culture approach. To the question what had to change in order to make literature more socially engaging, she replied: "I do not think it is literature that has to change, it is the audience development that has to change" (I1 83-84). While audience development also includes attempting to address new

⁵² In hindsight, the researcher should have asked further questions to obtain a more detailed impression of participant I5's approach.

audiences, she does seem to put the focus on marketing⁵³ rather than changing the programming to make it more appealing to different groups. She further admitted that inclusion is "an ongoing frustration and difficulty for us" and that it is hard to predict outcomes of inclusion efforts ("sometimes it works, sometimes it monumentally fails"), especially because they do not have the funding for it (I2 89f). Moreover, she stated that reaching specific audiences like leave voters was "impossible" which she later retracted to say "it is a challenge I have not cracked" (70-78). A reason she gave was that Cambridge is a very remain city and they do not attract many visitors from the outside (77ff).

Consequently, most participants use a cultural democracy approach to certain degrees, despite the fact that it is not promoted by cultural policy. The two facing the most problems with attracting a diverse audience showed evidence of a democratisation of culture approach. Green and Fineran, whose festivals seemed most committed to cultural democracy, also mentioned "outreach activities" which essentially have the aim of inviting more people to create art, as is requested by the approach.⁵⁴ Green talked about creative writing classes in prisons (I4 104-207) and hospitals and Fineran about education projects in schools, which is generally the most common form of outreach (I7). Moreover, Fineran mentioned a scheme that pairs established writers with emerging ones in order to help them get a book published. However, participants were not asked about whether or not they are engaged in outreach activities, so conclusions should not be drawn from the fact that not everyone talked about the topic.

Additionally, the interviews revealed that apart from general barriers such as lack of money and time, there are also issues specific to literature festivals that prevent people from participating. The most notable one is the perception of literature festivals as elitist. Thus, as stated in the introduction, doing away with those barriers also needs to be part of a cultural democracy approach. However, generating interest is still the main priority (Pasikowska-Schnass 18). As Green's Roma event showed, people who would not usually spend money on attending literary events are more inclined to do so when they are genuinely interested in the topic. Nevertheless, despite a clear connection between the two issues, if people cannot afford to attend a literature festival, they will not come, no matter how interested they are in the offer. While some respondents mentioned free or discounted tickets for specific events (I2, I7), it is not enough to conduct a comprehensive analysis, similar to outreach activities. As such, both topics need to be the subject of another research project. The next chapter looks at whether international programming can contribute to attracting diverse audiences.

⁵³ She stressed that they lack the marketing budget to address new audiences (63ff).

⁵⁴ "Outreach refers to various projects to take the arts from their usual venues to places where those with little or no access to the arts live" (Kawashima 57).

5.4 International Programming as an part of social inclusion?

“International programming” is a category that was mentioned by five out of seven participants although it did not have a question relating to it (I1, I2, I4, I5 and I7). Since it entails the programming of authors from other EU countries and continents and is therefore potentially affected by Brexit, it is not a surprise that it came up often. Moreover, as Henley states, such programming is “designed to connect with and grow more diverse audiences” (36), and it can also be seen as part of inclusive programming efforts, as suggested in chapter 2.3. Nevertheless, no one explicitly talked about international programming in connection with social inclusion. It was solely mentioned in relation to Brexit because it was regarded as significant for the fostering of cultural understanding, as well as fighting other issues that resurfaced in the Brexit campaign: “I think translation is going to be fundamental to stop isolationism in this country. We have got to get people reading books from other countries” (I4 388ff).

There were very different approaches to the programming of international authors: Both Moore and Participant I5 stressed that they only programmed international authors that were offered to them by the publisher, and sometimes the British Council (I2 22-27, I5 16-23). If the partner is a publisher, the event is part of the promotional activities for that author and the travel costs are paid for. This is a way for smaller festivals who cannot afford to cover the costs of international flights to have non-UK authors attend their festival. However, it implies a degree of dependence on the publisher because the festival can only choose from a small group of authors which have been selected by the publisher for a promotional tour.⁵⁵ This is problematic as Kean and Larsen’s study on BAME representation in the publishing industry has shown that there is an underlying bias when publishers choose which author gets promoted. Thus, in some cases, the publishers can have a big influence on a festival’s programme. For instance, to the question of how Europe can become a topic in literature festivals, Participant I5 replied that it is the publishers who would have to answer that question because “they are the ones who deliver us the authors” (163ff), indicating that the literature festival is simply on the receiving end of the distribution line. Additionally, another point of influence is that many respondents said that they only invite an author once he/she has been published in the UK, which also narrows their choices. This is also problematic because research shows that although the proportion of translated fiction published remains extremely low at 1.5% overall, it represents 3.5% of literary fiction (Nielsen Book). Thus, if most authors invited from abroad are literary authors, this will not necessarily succeed in attracting a more diverse audience.

⁵⁵ While it was said that collaboration is often used to cover flight costs, this is different because in this case, the collaboration happens after the author is chosen by the party which is not the literature festival. Usually, one festival programmer decides to invite the author and then contacts other festivals and organisations for collaboration.

While both Moore and participant I5 have said "I would not go to a country to try and find [an author]" (I5 164ff), Davidson and others are doing exactly this. He stated that his festival has become more international over the years because he has made more of an effort to travel to discover writers (I1 105-115). To become more international was an active decision made by the festival team: "Up to (unclear) years ago, we had relatively few writers from outside the Anglosphere and from outside the UK, and then four or five years ago we decided that we should be more open to writers that our readers are not aware of, writers in translation or not in translation." (8-11). Not only does this imply an educative role of literature festivals but also that they do not have to be authors who are published in the UK. Indeed, he later recounted an event with three unknown, unpublished in the UK writers from Ukraine which was successful (381-415). He emphasised that these kind of events are particularly important for making people "realise how much they share [with other cultures] and how similar they are in many ways in their outlooks" (402-5). This is another example where he implied that cultural understanding is part of being socially inclusive and thus international programming can be part of a festival's efforts to achieve social inclusion, if these events manage to attract new audiences rather than regulars who just happen to be interested in the topic.

However, it is also a balancing act. If a festival relies too much on international authors for diversity, then "homegrown diverse authors" such as BAME writers are disadvantaged and the festival acts as a gatekeeper. This is why Green emphasised "We do homegrown diversity" (I4 374). Especially when the definition of social inclusion is seen as also containing inviting diverse authors to create, i.e. write (as it is in cultural democracy), then ignoring homegrown authors by focusing on international writers becomes the opposite of social inclusion. At the same time, as many respondents have stressed, festivals also have a role to play in terms of international relations, so it is important to find a balance between the two. Barley was most explicit about this: "Yes, book festivals should think about social inclusion. But let's not forget that it is difficult and that it costs money and we also have to be bringing great authors from around the world and so on." (I3 256ff).

It was striking that although BAME authors were occasionally mentioned (e.g. Nikesh Shukla and Akala), it was mostly the same two names and no one explicitly stated the importance of having them in the programme.⁵⁶ While this might be because the participants already regarded it as a natural thing to do, the findings of Kean and Larsen's report show the importance of making a conscious effort to represent BAME authors at festivals. Although Davidson clearly had a knowledge of the report because he recounted the findings in the interview, he did not mention explicitly that it was about BAME authors (I1 486-534). He did however point out that "the mechanism that exists in order to bring literature to the public needs to

⁵⁶ In hindsight, a question specifically relating to the representation of BAME authors at literature festivals would have been beneficial.

change" (486ff). Davidson's assessment of the report is that it has triggered publishers into action and he believes that most of them "are doing that fairly genuinely that they really want to find writers who represent other voices and if they can find those writers I think the theory is that the readers will follow" (513ff). Nevertheless, these remarks by Participant 15 underline that representation of BAME authors is still an issue:

We all are very very conscious about making sure we programme a really broad reach of writers of all backgrounds, you know BAME or whatever they might be. But I have to say that those writers are thin on the ground. There are not enough BAME writers in this country and I am not pitched very many. That is not to say I have not tried. (83-87)

This then confirms the findings of Dean's study: there are enough BAME writers but they are not published, and those who are are less likely to be picked for promotion than white authors, which is why the respondent "is not pitched very many". However, the respondent's dependence on the publishers for his/her programming is related to this, because it leads to a lack in proactively looking for these writers himself/herself. In any way, it shows that there are still many misconceptions about the "lack" of BAME writers, as was also revealed by the Chalke Valley History Festival incident.

Thus, although international programming can be part of a festival's social inclusion efforts, it should not be the only part. It is especially problematic for programmers whose festivals cannot afford to look for international authors themselves, because they are at risk of adopting the publishers' cultural bias. Moreover, if the focus is too much on writers of literary fiction, the events are unlikely to attract a diverse audience. Interestingly, Creative Europe was never mentioned in this respect - it seems as if none of the respondents knew that social inclusion is the primary goal of the EU's cultural policy. Whether this has to do with the subsidiarity principle or the general lack of knowledge surrounding CE is unclear. Moreover, Creative Europe can be significant here because it could counteract the tendency to only translate literary fiction - it supports the translation of fiction, poetry and drama. Since both international programming (e.g. 17 45-60) and social inclusion activities are expensive, there is a certain rivalry between the two. This will be explored further in the following.

5.5 The potential impact of Brexit on social inclusion efforts

Having examined how finding inclusivity difficult to achieve is related to having a democratisation of culture as opposed to a cultural democracy approach, the following will look closer at other problems literature festivals face in terms of inclusion and whether the Brexit impacts examined in chapters 5.1 and 5.2 will exacerbate these or not.

As chapter 5.1.2 has shown, in case of a recession there a likely to be cuts to arts funding and in that case, the little funding there is for social inclusion could be one of the first things to be affected because excellence is the priority. Moreover, if funding in general is cut, festivals are likely to cut their social inclusion budgets first, because it is still seen by many as an additional activity. Three out of the seven participants stated that funding plays a role in the literature festival's ability to be inclusive (I2, I3, I4). For Moore, it was the largest barrier to reaching new audiences because her festival lacks the marketing budget and overall budget (I2 63-67) and therefore it is "a constant struggle" (85ff). Barley had the same opinion. He gave as an example that they are bringing 80 refugees, most of them Syrian, to the festival and "the amount of work, persuasion and money, transport costs etc. is 100 times greater than the cost of inviting somebody from a wealthy, middle-class background" (I3 237-255). In addition, Moore (I2 68f) and Fineran (I7 173ff) both mentioned reduced or free tickets as a way of making it easier for some audiences to attend, which is also connected to funding. While Barley explained that Edinburgh was fortunate that "we have the will, the resources and the political clout" (I3 242ff) to programme inclusive events, he also said that smaller festivals are more likely to struggle with this.⁵⁷ Indeed, as this analysis has shown, both Cambridge and participant I5's festival, which are the smallest ones among the respondents, find social inclusion the hardest to achieve.

In addition, programming socially inclusive events is also a financial risk, "because literature festival audiences in festivals in the UK are generally speaking with a small C extremely conservative and driven by what they are told is popular and fashionable" (I1 281f) and because reaching new audiences is not always successful, as chapter 5.3 has shown. It can be very damaging if an event is not successful in attracting enough people, as Moore stated: "It does not pay us to have 50 people in an auditorium which seats 150 or in that case I think it was 190. So in order to keep going because we are not funded we have to balance all of that." (I2 126ff). Thus, state funding is needed to support the risk that inclusive programming poses. As stated in chapter 2.2, sponsoring cannot account for this. This makes the path dependency established in chapter 2.1 ever more relevant for social inclusion, because especially for smaller festivals, it essentially depends on whether they have additional funding to promote social inclusion or not. This again underlines the impact Brexit could have on social inclusion through a reduction in funding or an increase of costs.

Furthermore, funding that is explicitly aimed at diversity and social inclusion is extremely important. By having this kind of funding, Green was able to change the average audience member from being "[a] 65, white, degree educated woman" (I4 173ff) to being a lot more inclusive within a year. Additionally, because she receives

⁵⁷ Moreover, as explained earlier Edinburgh is not too dependent on funding because they generate a lot of their income themselves.

a lot of funding specifically for inclusion projects, it makes her feel responsible to "make sure that the public funding I am given is well used. That for me is probably the most important thing" (92-94). The injection "for me" could imply that she knows it is not as important for every arts organisations, and that to many delivering excellent art might be the primary objective. Thus, this example shows that it is possible to change the audiences of literature festivals, but also that funding outside the path dependency plays a significant role in this. Green emphasised that she is completely dependent on funding for her programming (92). While it is not clear who provided the funding, this confirms Jancovich's thesis that without a diversion of funds, social inclusion is not feasible. Thus, if this is cut as a result of Brexit, fewer festivals will be able to promote social inclusion. Moreover, if Brexit leads to an end of freedom of movement and thus an increase in visa costs, a reduction in funding would be twice as damaging. This leads over to the second point, international programming.

As stated by Davidson, funding could have an impact on international programming if the Arts Council was forced to reduce funding for international projects. Additionally, barriers to freedom of movement and the loss of Creative Europe funding would mean that there are fewer incentives and less money available for international collaborations. If this is the case, fighting isolationism which resurfaced during the Brexit campaign could be made more difficult. However, as stated in chapter 5.2., the referendum result has created a feeling of defiance among literature festivals and a resolve to continue international programming and put an even greater emphasis on it, against all odds. But Brexit might add another level of problems for international programming apart from the ones already mentioned, through its potential effects on the publishing sector.

Most respondents said they felt that there was an increased appetite for translated fiction, both among readers and in the publishing industry. However, Barley believed that Brexit could reverse the increase in translated fiction (I3 124-133). Green agreed with this, stating that knock-on effects of Brexit impact on universities and the Erasmus programme, which could lead to a generation of publishers who are not interested in European and international literature because they did not have the stimulating experience of a semester abroad (I4 133f). Davidson (I1 150-203) expressed a similar fear. He illustrated another way of how Brexit could discourage publishers from publishing translation: since publishers make their decision on who to publish with the ability of the writer to promote himself/herself in mind, barriers to freedom of movement could make publishing translated fiction less attractive (I1 139-149). Furthermore, he added at a later point in relation to the question of artistic quality (190-203) that if publishers have less money available (he did not specify but he presumably meant as a general Brexit impact on the economy) then they are less likely to take risks when it comes to translation (and literature in general) and focus on books with an "immediate return."

Thus, it becomes even harder for emerging writers to be published because Brexit makes publishers take fewer risks. Barley stated that if there is a decrease in translation, it would be harder for literature festivals to justify inviting international authors and that could sever cultural relationships. Thus, he asserts a lot of importance of translation and literature festivals for cultural relationships. Consequently, to fight a decrease in translation, literature festivals would have to strengthen their efforts of going abroad to find authors to invite, especially ones that are not yet published in the UK. Not only have many respondents said that they are not doing that for various reasons, barriers to freedom of movement could also make it harder for directors to travel to different countries to look for them.

In addition, Davidson and Fineran pointed out the important effects an increase in translation had, indicating how damaging a decrease would be. Davidson (I1 84-104) talked of an attitude change in the industry: "this is something that ten years ago it was hardly mentioned. There was a general sense that it was a shame we did not translate very much in the UK, but there was not any sort of feeling that it is really important we do that. Now, there is a much greater sense that we should set out and do that" (98-92). If the atmosphere went back to feeling that translation is not important, this would add to isolationism. Moreover, while Davidson did indicate that EU translation money helped forward this increase, he also stated that "the key thing is having the appetite to reach this new work and then to sell the new work into the British market, that is the change I think that there is a greater appetite." (102ff). Thus, a reversal in appetite could be much more damaging than a loss of funding because it is harder to generate in the first place. Nevertheless, the study findings in chapter 2.3 showed how important funding from both CE and other sources are for translation. One of the main barriers was "commercial risk associated with publishing a foreign author," showing that there needs to be an appetite to take this risk but also the money to be able to do it. Additionally, Fineran indicated that the rise in translation also led festival programmers to the realisation that although they read a lot, they do not read a lot of translated fiction and should step outside their "literary comfort zone" more often (I7 41). This could then inspire them to make an effort to invite more diverse speakers.

As stated, international programming can contribute to the promotion of social inclusion and if translation is restricted, this also damages social inclusion efforts. However, at the same time it has been said that both areas of programming compete for funding and that focusing too much on international authors also leads to fewer invites for homegrown diverse talent. Thus, the resolve to fight Brexit effects through international programming could lead to an "overemphasis" on authors from abroad which could compromise homegrown diversity and make it even harder for BAME and other authors to get invited. In addition, many respondents expressed the fear that artistic quality could be compromised if festivals invite British authors instead of international ones as a result of increased visa costs.

However, this could also be an opportunity if programmers instead focused on diverse British-based authors such as BAME writers, which would directly contribute to social inclusion. This is especially a chance for smaller festivals who struggle both with funding and social inclusion. As such, Brexit could also be seen as a wake up call to be more socially inclusive and proactive, a feeling that might have taken a longer time to develop without the referendum. Moreover, a stronger commitment to social inclusion could also make more programmers adopt a cultural democracy approach, despite no change in funding patterns. Some efforts have already been made, such as the events programmed in response to Brexit, which all had social inclusion elements.

Thus, the overall Brexit impact is that on the one hand, Brexit has made literature festivals more determined to promote social inclusion, but on the other hand, economic realities such as funding and increased visa costs might also make it more difficult to do so. Consequently, in reality it will most likely depend on the individual literature festival how this plays out. At the same time, since Brexit literature festivals are more valued by their audiences as places for debate, which could further the festival's resolve reach new audiences. The societal role literature festivals can play after the exit from the EU will be examined in the next chapter.

5.6 Role of literature festivals post-Brexit

"In times of uncertainty and division it's the arts that bring us together" Ed Vaizey quoted in *The Bookseller* (Campbell).

As already mentioned, this quote was originally used to try and prompt interviewees to talk about social inclusion without explicitly saying so, but no one did. Instead, they chose to talk about the role of arts and literature festivals in society, which will be summarised briefly before presenting the different views on the role of literature festivals after Brexit.

First of all, the personal reaction to this quote was quite mixed. The most extreme response came from Gribble who said "Well on a personal level he can screw himself quite frankly. I would not trust a word he says" (I6 47f). Davidson (I1 319) and Moore (I2 48-54) shared this view. She also pointed out that it is "a bit of a joke" to ask this from the "underfunded" arts, which was echoed by Green: "I would like to see the funding to enable the arts organisations to do it" (I4 15). This shows again how funding influences the work of arts organisations and what they are able to do. Like most respondents, Green agreed with Vaizey's statement in general, but also remarked that it is slightly ironic because the arts were more or less unanimously against Brexit.

Moreover, Green stated that the arts will inevitably play a role in relation to Brexit, whether they want to or not. In general, all respondents mentioned the arts for art's sake argument that art should be valuable in itself but also agreed that art

exists in a "political context" and therefore plays a role (I3 202-214). However, this is understood in the sense that the arts are looked at to "respond" to disasters and turbulence (I7 120-132) because they can bring "communities together [as well as providing] a levelling factor and an opening of minds" (I2 55-59). As Davidson put it, "writers interpret the way the world is changing and guide readers through it" (I1 61f). In contrast, the arts should not be used for political purposes because that is not good for art. This autonomous view of the arts was emphasised by Davidson ("you can never tell the arts what to do" I1 342ff), Barley (quoting "freedom of speech as the greatest value") and Gribble. In contrast to this, Fineran expressed the view that the arts can get involved in politics, quoting the example when Akala supported Jeremy Corbyn. Nevertheless, the analysis has shown that many respondents have changed their programming because of Brexit, that they have organised events in response and that they are determined to focus more on international programming. Therefore, they are inadvertently playing a role in "bringing society together", whether they want to or not - as indicated by Green. Having established that for the respondents, art always exists in a political context, the following will look at the roles they attributed to literature festivals.

Some functions of literature festivals have been underlying in this analysis. For example, they have an educative role (Davidson), they can build bridges and fight the effects of Brexit on society (essentially doing what Vaizey wanted) and they can offer a forum for "grassroots political discussion" and as such be an essential part of democracy (I3 331). In relation to the question of literature festivals' role post-Brexit, a lot of respondents repeated this idea: "the most important role of a literature festival is to allow people to communicate (pause) obviously by books but also physically being in the same space as other people" (I1 540ff). Thus, as stated by Barley, "book festivals play an important role in public democracy" (I3 331). He mentioned as an example how during the Scottish independence referendum, his festival was a place where people could think through their ideas and they emerged from the festival with a much more complicated and nuanced understanding of what independence might be (333-342). Therefore, he suggested that literature festivals can encourage complex thinking, and they are a place where people go to obtain information - in audience surveys of his festival, the most quoted reason for attendance is "to feel better informed" (354). As a result, he thinks that his responsibility is "not only to bring entertainment but also to bring intellectually challenging, (...) stimulating, sometimes intellectually troubling ideas to the festival" (356ff). Fineran added to this that book festivals facilitate conversation among people which are not likely to happen in day to day life (I7 217-236). To her, it is also a literature festival's task to identify a diverse range of important voices in society and to give them a platform. Thus, the most important role of literature

festivals is to contribute to public democracy by facilitating debate and discussing.⁵⁸ Therefore, it is not surprising that a lot of the interviewees said that their role would not change much after Brexit.

Since they think that literature festival already occupy an important role in society, most respondents said it would remain the same, that they would simply "carry on" (I1, I2, I3, I6). Nevertheless, they all emphasised the importance of "[keeping] writing coming across the borders" (I1 537), "[keeping] conversations going so we do not lose contact" (I4 386) and "[keeping] peoples' minds open" (I5 147). Thus, despite the fact that they emphasised the need not to be too political, they are "campaigning" to keep the European values in people's minds and remain open to other cultures. Similarly, Participant I5 stated the need to "keep Europe in all our arts activities" (I5 156) and Fineran added that they have a responsibility to "put some good foundations for the next generation" (I7 235), alluding to an educative role. As described in chapter 5.2 most respondents regarded Brexit as an opportunity, or a stimulation, to be more proactive in this area, to put extra emphasis on European literature and to make statements against Brexit policies like anti-immigration, which at the same time makes literature festivals more important: "So (pause) if in a very strange way or unexpected way, we find literature festivals on the edge of this political discussion, where we have not been ten years ago" (I1 55f).

However, Gribble, providing an outsider perspective, seemed a bit more sceptical about this resolve: "It seems to have motivated some people to think seriously about (unclear) nationalism, internationalism and our cultural, linguistic and social connections to the continent. So we will see if there is interesting programming that comes out of it." (I6 103ff). Consequently, he points out that whether they have actually pursued this role will only be up for evaluation in a few years. However, as chapter 5.2.1 has shown, some already have programmed events in response to Brexit. Moreover, if Brexit is taken up as a topic in novels, this will be another way for festivals to address it.

Nevertheless, it is important that festivals do not forget another responsibility over this, namely to promote social inclusion: as Davidson pointed out, stimulating discussion "is only valid if [it] is socially inclusive" (I1 379f), highlighting the fact that literature festivals need to be a platform for everyone. Furthermore, only if they address a diverse group can literature festivals truly contribute to "bring society together," as asked for by Vaizey. The challenge is going to be addressing the working classes and other groups who voted to leave. As Bennett et al. pointed out, class still matters (52) and Green stressed that the working classes are often forgotten in social inclusion efforts (I4 182). This is part of the biggest limitation of the findings of this analysis, which will be dealt with in the following.

⁵⁸ However, many also pointed out that they cannot be too overtly political as in leaning towards one side, because they are a charity (I1, I3, I5).

5.7 Discussion: Preaching to the choir?

Several of the respondents stressed that both their sector and their audiences are overwhelmingly "remainers." Davidson even added that his friend, who runs the largest Waterstones book shop in Birmingham is convinced that most of his shoppers are remainers (I1 474). Thus, the urge to be more internationalist both within the festival organisers and the audience is happening among people who already had a positive attitude towards the EU before the referendum. Additionally, if the events have the effect of convincing some people within the audience that being international is important, it will most likely be people who were not too sceptical of that attitude in the first place. However, the problem of "preaching to the converted" (I2 67) could be reduced if audiences became more diverse. This then shows the importance of social inclusion.

While it could be argued that for some topics it would have been helpful to interview some more people (especially for reasons of triangulation), in general the fact that the sector's attitude is so pro-EU shows that it would not have changed anything about the general outcome. Nevertheless, as alluded to at various points in the analysis, additional questions on topics such as outreach, programming of UK BAME writers and spatial-access factors would have been useful. Moreover, in terms of the theory that diversity is reached when both the workforce of the organisation and the invited speakers are diverse, it would have been interesting to ask the participants (who are all white) about this - but it is also a sensitive topic that many might not have answered.

In addition, as Silverman writes, "things that people say in interviews are neither true nor false but socially constructed narratives" (47). This is a topic that could not be addressed within the scope of the thesis. However, several things were striking that the researcher would like to point out nonetheless. First, one of the reasons that Green is so successful at reaching a diverse audience is that she is a diversity audience development consultant, which she acknowledged halfway through the interview. Secondly, a certain rivalry and tendency towards self-promotion between the festival directors was apparent. For example, Green stated that in terms of social inclusion, her festival is "slightly ahead of the game than more traditional festivals" (I4 58ff) and Davidson described Cheltenham and Hay-on-Wye as "monocultural (...) despite their best efforts" (I1 370f). Nevertheless, almost all interviewees acknowledged that festivals are perceived as elitist and were also self-critical instead of just pointing at others. For example, many admitted that "we should be doing more" for social inclusion. And last but not least, the general impression of the researcher is that all respondents uttered their opinions freely and did not repeat official positions (often indicated by saying "personally, I think..."), which is why social construction (although it naturally plays a role) of the replies is not part of the interpretation of the interviews.

6. Conclusion: Not the worst of times for social inclusion?

This thesis claimed that there are several barriers literature festivals need to overcome in order to be able to contribute to social inclusion and that Brexit exacerbates all of them. The analysis clearly showed that the interviewed literature festivals see it as their responsibility to promote social inclusion, but also that it is not easy to achieve. Funding is a very large barrier. It is especially significant when there is a lack thereof, for example at Cambridge Literary Festival or Chalke Valley History Festival. Since inclusive programming poses a financial risk and it is expensive, funding is needed to enable festivals to take the risk. Although it was hardly a topic in the interviews, chapter 2.2 showed that sponsorship cannot support inclusive programming because sponsors support events where a large audience is guaranteed. State funding is also problematic because excellence is prioritised over access - but many of the festivals examined in this thesis engaged in social inclusion nonetheless. However, most respondents agreed that if Brexit lead to a decrease in state funding, it would be very damaging, especially for smaller festivals.⁵⁹ Interestingly, both interviewees that were the heads of small festivals did not think Brexit would impact their work at all, because they purely evaluated it in terms of freedom of movement. Visas for authors would not affect them because they do not programme many authors from abroad or the publisher pays for travel. However, the analysis has shown that many believe a reduction of funding (which those respondents did not take into consideration) would harm small festivals the most because they have less diversified funding streams.

Moreover, the analysis has shown how funding can influence programming: some interviewees engaged in specific areas of programming because they received funding directed at it - in one instance, this was about excellence, in the other, it was about social inclusion. Thus, social inclusion is clearly dependent on the availability of funding. Furthermore, the path dependency in state funding has clear effects, so that a strategic shift in distribution of ACE funds and more funding for literature sector are needed. Although festivals engage in social inclusion despite excellence being a priority in funding, the analysis has also shown the significant impact specific funding directed at social inclusion can have - for example for the transformation of Essex Book Festival's audience. Nevertheless, it also became clear that a lack of funding cannot be an excuse to not even try to promote social inclusion even on a small scale, as in the Chalke Valley History example. Literature festivals have a responsibility to be a platform for debate for the many, not just the few.

⁵⁹ The ACE survey on Brexit had the same finding. However, a comparison of the findings of this thesis and the ACE survey would produce limited results, because the latter was not art form specific.

Chapter 3 has shown how the publishing industry poses another barrier, by acting as a gatekeeper with a cultural bias. As a result, there is an imbalance in British bibliodiversity because white voices are heard more loudly than others. Brexit could be the impetus to finally create change. One significant aspect of reform is to create a diverse workforce, because a diverse workforce delivers a diverse output. This also needs to be altered within literature festivals, because the analysis has shown that diversity among the authors that are invited is still an issue, especially for the example of BAME writers. Some festivals do act as gatekeepers here, either because they do not actively engage in programming and choose authors out of a pool suggested to them by publishers, or because they focus on inviting international authors to an extent where they lose sight of homegrown diverse talent.⁶⁰ Literature festivals need to be more proactive in order to not reproduce the injustices created by the publishing industry and it is important that festival programmers are made aware of this bias. Furthermore, it needs to be pointed out that the situation of BAME writers and publishing employees is just one example. Women, disabled and the LGBTQ community face the same gatekeepers, and their situation both in the workforce and among the books published can be even worse. Nevertheless, international programming is a significant part of cultural understanding and social inclusion. If Creative Europe funding is lost, this can have an impact on international collaborations and the amount of translated fiction published in the UK. Although EU cultural policy can be significant in flying the flag for social inclusion, it needs to promote this goal more, so that it is heard among the arts organisations in the respective countries. Moreover, the CE budget needs to be increased so that more organisations can profit from funding. However, the amount of international programming and events aimed at social inclusion need to be balanced. Since both are expensive, there is a certain rivalry. There is also the possibility that smaller festivals could focus on inviting British-based diverse authors if they cannot afford to bring international ones across. Rather than feared as a danger to artistic quality, this should be seen as an opportunity: because if programmers lose sight of homegrown diversity, there is even less of an incentive for publishers to publish diverse authors. The onus here is on literature festivals and not on BAME authors, as suggested by Chalke Valley History Festival.

In the interviews, many respondents spoke of a resolve to fight Brexit effects such as isolationism and hate crime through fostering cultural understanding and offering a platform for debate. They spoke of making sure that Europe remains a topic of literature festival events and bringing together different communities within the festival. Many mentioned an atmosphere of defiance and perceiving Brexit as a wake-up call to start fighting for what Britain is about to lose. There is a potential that

⁶⁰ However, one needs to be careful with generalisations here. Some festivals might have a specific mission to bring international literature into the country and thus almost exclusively focus on those.

Brexit can also act as a wake-up call to be more socially inclusive, because it has made the divisions in society so clearly visible. If that is the case, the upcoming years would be a good time for social inclusion. If there is more collaboration among the festivals as suggested by Fineran, programmers might advise each other on inclusive programming so that some more might adopt a cultural democracy approach. This is important because the respondents offered many examples in which new audiences attended events because they were represented by the topic and/or the author on stage. However, critical analysis of the various topics addressed by the interviewees also revealed that Brexit could impact negatively on the existing barriers and thus create a funding and cultural policy environment that is hostile towards the promotion of social inclusion. How this will affect the determination of literature festivals to put more effort into reaching diverse audiences remains to be seen. Consequently, Brexit is not an additional barrier but it augments existing ones. At the same time, the referendum result has also shown how important it is that the arts play a role in bridging the divides instead of further entrenching inequalities. Uncertainty around what exiting the EU will entail and whether it will actually happen does not impact on this because remaining will not reverse the division. As such, the Brexit impact can be understood both as a result of the referendum campaign and the actual act of leaving. Literature festivals can be of particular significance for building bridges because as a platform for grassroots democratic debate, they represent a bottom-up promotion of social inclusion. However, it is important that new audiences are reached, especially among the leave voters. Education and digitalisation can be of huge help, which needs to be subject of further research.

96% of the cultural sector voted remain. If they are as united on the issue of social inclusion, there is a real chance for change. In order to have a lasting affect in fighting the division caused by Brexit, the arts need to be representative of society. As stated by Hewison, "Moments of crisis are also moments of transition, and therefore also of opportunity" ('Consensus', 21). If the wake-up call of Brexit is used in the right way, maybe times are not so bad after all.

7. Appendix

7.1 Short descriptions of the interviewed organisations

1) Jonathan Davidson, Chief Executive of Writing West Midlands and Birmingham Literature Festival

Established as a tiny series of events in 1998, the Birmingham Literature Festival has developed into the biggest literature event in the area, taking place annually. The festival is a project of Writing West Midlands, the literature development agency for the region. Additionally, BLF are a registered charity and an ACE National Portfolio Organisation. Nevertheless, they also rely on corporate as well as individual support in organising their annual event. Writing West Midlands regard themselves as having a special responsibility because they are located within a region that is home to 5.2 million people and consists of a broad range of communities - "many marginalised by location, education, race or class." As a result, they focus on providing "equal access to good writing, and equal opportunities to create it" for everyone.

Sources:

www.birminghamliteraturefestival.org/about-us

www.writingwestmidlands.org/about-us/

2) Cathy Moore, Director of Cambridge Literary Festival

Cambridge Literary Festival is the foremost literary festival in the Eastern region. Established in 2003, it delivers two festivals a year plus one-off events and presents a dynamic range of high-profile participants across the worlds of literature, media, science, history, politics, poetry, philosophy and children's authors. In 2013 the festival became a registered charity with its objects being the advancement of education for the benefit of the public by the promotion of literature, language and the arts through a literary festival in Cambridge.

Source:

<http://www.cambridgeliteraryfestival.com/about-the-festival/>

3) Nick Barley, Director of Edinburgh International Book Festival

The Edinburgh International Book Festival has grown from 30 events since its induction in 1983 to over 800 today. An important feature of the Book Festival's programme is a high profile debates and discussions series. Each year writers from all over the world gather to become part of this unique forum in which audience and author meet to exchange thoughts and opinions on some of the world's most

pressing issues. As a charity, it raises 80% of its own funds, mostly by running its own independent festival bookshop.

Source:

www.edbookfest.co.uk/about-us

4) Rosalind Green, Director of Essex Book Festival

Essex Book Festival is a county-wide festival hosting 60+ events in over 30 venues including theatres, libraries, schools, universities, cafes and art galleries every year. It was established by Essex County Council in 1999 to "celebrate the book in all its forms with the widest possible audience in Essex" and has since then grown into one of the leading festivals in the Eastern Region. It became an independent charity in 2011 and is based within the Centre for Creative Writing at the University of Essex's Colchester campus.

Source:

<http://essexbookfestival.org.uk/about-us/>

5) Participant I5

Someone who did not want to be named but is the director of a small, Midlands-based literature festival.

6) Chris Gribble, Chief Executive of Writers Centre Norwich

Writers Centre Norwich, located in England's first UNESCO City of Literature, is England's leading literature development body. Their vision is to "be a centre for national and international literary exchange" with the aim of exploring "the artistic and social power of creative writing and literary translation" through "pioneering and collaborative projects". WCN focus on talent development, education and public events. They offer a range of programmes for emerging writers as well as working with schools to support reading at a young age. Apart from running its own events strand, the registered charity organises events for and in partnership with Norfolk & Norwich Festival and Norwich Crime Writing Festival. In collaboration with ACE, they are currently working on establishing the National Centre for Writing, a new national body for literature, in 2018. The centre's development will enable literature in the UK "to have a space to explore its role in the modern world, champion writers and translators as well as readers, bring the literature world together and promote the export and exchange in the best of new work and new talent."

Source:

<http://www.writerscentrenorwich.org.uk/about-us/>

7) Lyndsey Fineran, Programme Manager of Cheltenham Literature Festival

Established in 1949, Cheltenham Literature Festival is the oldest literature festival in the UK and one of the oldest literary events in the world. It takes place for 10 days every autumn in the Cotswolds town of Cheltenham and has around 500 events. It is part of Cheltenham Festivals, an umbrella organisation which also houses a Jazz, a Music and a Science festival. As a charity, it relies on box office sales as well as sponsorship, grants and charitable giving.

Source:

<http://www.cheltenhamfestivals.com/about/>

7.2 Information and Consent Sheet Example

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Centre for British Studies

Mari Mittelhaus

Brexit and the Arts

Type of study: Qualitative interview series with arts directors from the UK in frame of thesis “Brexit and the Arts“ for qualification Master of Arts in British Studies.

What is the purpose of the study?

Almost a year after the Brexit referendum, this study will try to provide an overview of the current state of the arts in the UK, in particular literature festivals and other organisations with a literary subject. By conducting interviews to gather information about how arts organisations are preparing for the exit of the EU and its consequences, the study will try to obtain nuanced and differentiated expert views on what Brexit means for the arts. Thanks to several surveys conducted by the Arts Council England and the Creative Industries Federation as well as the House of Commons DCMS inquiry, there already is quite a lot of information on the economic impacts and challenges the art industries are confronted with. Interviews will be helpful in order to understand how the respective organisations are coping with these issues and for the attempt to uncover potential artistic impacts as well as potential chances and benefits that might result from the Brexit vote, however small they might be.

Information on the researcher

As a student of the Master of British Studies programme at the Centre for British Studies at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, I have a strong interest in the current political developments in the UK. My focus subjects during my M.A. were British Law, Business and Politics and I also hold a B.A. in Business and English Literature from Universität Duisburg-Essen. Therefore, this study gives me the opportunity to combine my various points of interest with my passion for the arts. Having interned at a German opera house and the Goethe-Institut Boston during my B.A., the idea for this study was born while I was working for the Cheltenham Literature Festival 2016. By being able to observe from a first-hand perspective how incredibly important funding and freedom of movement of people and goods (among other factors) are, my interest in the topic has increased even more, as well as the hope of being able to contribute to solving some of the issues.

Why have I been invited to take part?

You have been invited to participate in this study because you are occupying a leading role in the organisation you work for and it fits the parameters the study is trying to look at. These are a) your location (a comparison between organisations all over the country, both urban and rural will be attempted) and b) your field (the study will focus on organisations concerned with literature).

What will happen to me if I take part?

Participation would involve a one-off, semi-structured interview via Skype, lasting approximately 45 minutes to an hour. For purposes of the analysis, the interview will

be recorded but you will have the opportunity to see the transcript if you like. The study will be conducted in May and June 2017, but the exact date and time of the interview would be completely up to you.

Will my taking part be kept confidential?

Since it is important for the analysis to include your position and the name of the organisation you are working for, I cannot offer anonymous participation. Ideally, you would allow me to fully identify you (including your name), but partially identified participation is also possible (e.g. not revealing your name and identifying you as someone in “an executive position in a small Yorkshire-based literature festival”).

What will happen to the results of the study?

The study will be part of my Master thesis and as such copies will be given to my two supervisors for marking. I can send you the file if you like.

Who should I contact for further information?

Please contact me :

Mari Mittelhaus

+49 151 227 88 101

mari.mittelhaus@t-online.de

What if I have further questions or something goes wrong?

In this case, please contact my supervisor:

Johanna Zinecker, MA

johanna.zinecker@hu-berlin.de

Thank you for reading this information sheet and considering taking part in my study.

Dear Participant,

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organising the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Information Sheet to keep and refer to at any time.

I confirm that I understand that by signing below, I am consenting to this element of the study. I understand that my participation in the study is voluntary and that I can withdraw my participation at any time during the study, up to the process of transcription. I consent to my interview being audio-recorded and transcribed.

For the purposes explained to me, I agree to be fully identified

OR/ AND

I agree to be partially identified.

NAME OF PARTICIPANT
SIGNATURE

DATE

7.3 Interview Guide

Again, many thanks for participating in this, if you have any questions at any time during the interview, please let me know. I'm just going quickly run through what this interview is for - it is going to be used in my master thesis at the Centre for British Studies at Humboldt University Berlin. As you already know, the topic of the thesis is the potential impact of Brexit on the arts, and I am focussing on literature festivals to narrow it down a bit.

The legal bit - as you have read in the information document, your participation in the study is voluntary and you can withdraw your participation at any time during the study, up to the process of transcription. Just so you are aware, I am recording this interview so I am able to transcribe and analyse it later. For research purposes, it would be good if I could mention your name in the thesis, is that okay for you?

It's not going to be published anywhere, but I can send you a copy of both the thesis and the transcript if you like.

Any questions?

Interview Questions

On the economic impact:

How do you think is Brexit going to impact the work of your organisation?

Have you had projects that were dependent on EU funding? or

Have you received funding through Creative Europe or its predecessor?

or Is the potential loss of EU funding a problem?

On the aesthetic impact:

Do you think Brexit might cause a threat to artistic quality?

Can you think of any chances for your organisation that might come from Brexit?

On social inclusion:

After the referendum, Ed Vaizey called for the arts to play a role in ending the "uncertainty and division" of Brexit. What do you think of that?

What do you think the role of Literature Festivals could be in social inclusion?

Follow-up: What has to change for literature to be more socially engaging?

What do you think could be the role of literature festivals in a post-Brexit society?

7.4 Interview transcripts

I1) Interview with Jonathan Davidson, Birmingham Literature Festival, 15 June 2017

1 Introduction #00:02:25-4#

2 Researcher: How do you think is Brexit going to impact the work of Birmingham

3 Literature Festival and Writing West Midlands? #00:02:37-7#

4 Interviewee: Okay, well (pause) I can tell you it has impacted the work so far and how
5 it might impact it in the future. So (pause) ironically, it has if anything increased our
6 resolve to welcome writers from outside the UK and particularly from EU nations who
7 are obviously closest.

8 Up to (unclear) years ago, we had relatively few writers from outside the anglosphere
9 and from outside the UK, and then four or five years ago we decided that we should
10 be more open to writers that our readers are not aware of, writers in translation or
11 not in translation. And we started to invite more writers and that reached a peak last
12 October at our festival, where prior to the vote (pause) we had already arranged for I
13 think around 14 different nationals to be represented at our festival.

14 And when the referendum vote came through, we were very adamant that this would
15 be a European writing day within our festival (pause) in fact for over a couple of days.
16 Something which we probably would not have felt the need to be overt about had the
17 referendum not come along and shocked us so deeply.

18 So, in the short-term, ironically, it has actually made us more open to writers from
19 outside the UK, and of course we are still in the EU, so it will be very easy to access
20 writers from outside the UK. It just gets easier and easier if the years go on, more
21 writers who spend time in Britain who are from elsewhere, and writers who are very
22 happy to fly in and we are in the centre of the country, it is an easy place to get to.
23 (pause)

24 What we also noticed in October was that our audiences, who I think are mostly
25 people who would vote to remain, they responded (pause) I would say passionately
26 to the opportunity to meet writers from outside the UK. They certainly understood
27 that we were expressly indicating that a free exchange of ideas through writers is
28 absolutely vital, whatever the referendum vote may have suggested. (pause) So
29 we probably got greater audiences than we would have got, had we not had the
30 referendum vote.

31 So two positive things, strangely that came out of it. One is we have done more work
32 with non-UK writers, and two, our audiences have understood the (pause) not just
33 the pleasure of the opportunity to meet writers, but also the sociopolitical importance
34 of at this point in time making sure that we give time to these things, that we do have

35 conversations, that we do support these events. (pause)

36 I should say I'm talking about writers in the EU, but also writers outside we do work
37 with, Ukraine for instance, which obviously is not in the EU, and that seems, you
38 know, very distant to British people, but those projects have been successful.

39 In the longer term (pause) well (pause), there is now, as you will appreciate from the
40 election results, a growing sense that Brexit is in no way certain, but could simply
41 collapse under the weight of its own contradictions. That there is now revealed
42 among the Conservative party those people who wanted a very soft Brexit or even
43 no Brexit at all, mainly people who lent their vote to the Labour party (pause) slightly
44 uneasy that Labour was less anti-Brexit than wanted, but knowing that there were
45 plenty of anti-Brexit people within the Labour party and that there is, that these votes
46 are there to be bargained with, if the Labour party wants a second election and wants
47 an equally good result, they are going to have to make some concessions to the 48%
48 who voted to remain.

49 So (pause) in the next year, two years, I see if anything a greater exchange of writers
50 and a greater interest. (pause) I am in Latvia at the moment and I am spending four
51 weeks writing here, but for the first three days I was with publishers from Latvia and
52 a group of publishers from the UK, and there was a real appetite to translate work
53 and to bring those writers over to the UK. (pause) That's Latvia, the same is true of
54 other countries I feel.

55 So (pause) if in a very strange way or unexpected way, we find literature festivals on
56 the edge of this political discussion, where we have not been ten years ago. (pause)

57 And of course, to answer that, that the writers we bring over, the people who came
58 in October, for instance, inevitably the conversation moved towards the politics of the
59 EU. So we were having poets and story tellers and non-fiction writers and screenplay
60 writers giving their views of how Europe was changing and Britain's role in it.

61 Now, personally I feel that in many ways we can trust the writer, the story teller more
62 than we trust a politician or a pundit, because they have hopefully a hotline to human
63 nature and possibly writers would have anticipated the referendum result more
64 accurately and maybe fought against it if they were given the opportunity to do so.

65 But now, it is very useful and important for us to have writers helping us to interpret
66 the way our world is changing. Yes, they will be promoting their writing, their stories,
67 their poems, but also bringing to their sense of understanding of human nature.

68 All of the writers we work with are literary writers, they are not writers which are
69 writing to entertain, they are writing to challenge and to connect with people and to
70 expand their understanding of the world. So they are absolutely the right people to
71 help guide us through this chaotic place we find ourselves. I will pause there, as you

72 will appreciate if you press the go button I can talk for literally hours without pause.
73 (unclear) #00:08:57-5#
74 Researcher: (laughs) That was great. I have to say I am actually quite glad that I
75 scheduled my interviews for after the election #00:09:14-8#
76 Interviewee: Oh yes! #00:09:15-7#
77 Researcher: Because obviously, things have changed quite a bit now. #00:09:18-4#
78 Interviewee: Absolutely. #00:09:20-6#
79 Researcher: You mentioned translations, have you received funding through Creative
80 Europe or its predecessor at all? #00:09:25-4#
81 Interviewee: We have not. As an organisation, one of the things we do not do we do
82 not publish, because there are other publishers and because publishing is a very
83 specialist area of work and also full of risks and so on.
84 We support independent publishers in our region, in the West Midlands, and we
85 have found ways to encourage them to look at translation. Some of them I know
86 have received some funding either from the EU schemes or directly from individual
87 member nations to help translation happen. (pause) And there is amongst them a
88 greater appetite to translate work.
89 Again, this is something that ten years ago it was hardly mentioned. There was a
90 general sense that it was a shame we did not translate very much in the UK, but there
91 was not any sort of feeling that it is really important we do that. Now, there is a much
92 greater sense that we should set out and do that.
93 One of things we have just started in our region, we have various networks of
94 different aspects of literature, so we have our literature festivals network, we have a
95 network of universities who teach creative writing for instance, (unclear) and we just
96 set up a network of literary translators. I assumed there would be one or two literary
97 translators in the West Midlands, it turned out that there are dozens of them, they
98 are just suddenly appearing. They are either independent or they are associated with
99 universities. So that group has just met once, and they will meet again, and it may
100 well start to further encourage translation. (pause)
101 I do not think there is actually (pause) I mean it is nice to have funding, but funding
102 is not the key thing. The key thing is having the appetite to reach this new work and
103 then to sell the new work into the British market, that is the change I think that there
104 is a greater appetite.
105 And it is also because myself and my colleagues in the literature sector in the West
106 Midlands and across the UK, I think we have probably made more journeys, we have
107 flown more miles, into mainland Europe to meet people, in these last three or four
108 years than we have done in the previous period of time.

109 British as you may know are not terribly good travellers, we travel badly. We feel
110 uneasy. It takes a while for us to appreciate what an extraordinarily privileged position
111 we have with the language we have at our disposal, the fact that most people expect
112 to be able to communicate in English. So, when I arrive in Latvia, I do not need to
113 be too embarrassed about my lack of Latvian which is not terribly good at all. And
114 even in a country of a major language, Germany, France, Italy, the expectance is that
115 probably we will have to speak English and that is the world's language.

116 So, I see more translations will happen, small presses who would never have thought
117 of translating and now start to translate, and bigger presses that the mainstream
118 presses that there is a greater appetite for work in translation, partly because they
119 have realised in the last ten years that you can make an enormous amount of money
120 translating the right books, Nordic crime is an example.

121 But equally, I think that there are lots of passionate publishers, young publishers,
122 who want to connect with this wider world. Maybe they have grown up with a different
123 ethos from previous generations. They have been Erasmus students or they just
124 spent more time on the continent, and feel you know there must be stuff here that we
125 should be enjoying.

126 So, those are all positive changes. I am painting a very positive picture of Brexit.
127 Actually, of course the endgame is very negative and to go back to your original
128 question, what will happen in the future with Brexit. Well, if it happens, obviously we
129 do not know about terms and conditions, single market, how easy it will be to simply
130 arrive in our country and (unclear) as a writer. I do know from experience that bringing
131 people in from outside the EU countries it is just so much more complicated. Work
132 permits and issues about how long they are staying and are they definitely leaving
133 and all those kind of things, which for writers are you know, frankly, not permanent
134 and insulting, but the questions will still have to be asked. If we have to go to that type
135 of working, where every writer needs to demonstrate they are economically (unclear)
136 our country before we let them in, to talk about a new book - well, it will be so much
137 harder, and I can imagine lots of people just thinking I have not got the time and
138 energy to fight the red tape. So, that will be negative.

139 In terms of translation, obviously (pause) words do not need to go through passport
140 control in the same way, so literature is more than a performing art, literature has
141 got this opportunity to continue to exercise free flow across borders in a way that
142 other art forms do not have. And that was always the case. So I am not anticipating
143 that you will have to smuggle books in, we may have to smuggle writers in, but I am
144 anticipating that there will be actually a negative reaction to the fact that you can
145 publish books in translation but you cannot easily bring the writer over to promote and

146 to be part of that conversation. That will make publishing less attractive because we
147 know publishers, when they sign writers up, they are looking not just for the literary
148 quality, they are also looking for the ability of the writers to promote themselves
149 in person in a way that this is still very important, despite social media and so on.

150 #00:15:06-0# Researcher: Yes. I would like to follow up on that. So do you think
151 Brexit could also cause a threat to artistic quality, for example if it gets less attractive
152 for festivals to bring writers from different countries into the country? #00:15:21-4#

153 Interviewee: Yeah, I mean absolutely. I think it will be (pause) the people who are
154 currently bringing EU writers let's say into the UK, they fall into several categories.
155 Mainstream publishers inviting writers over, that may still happen, you know, in the
156 hope that writers will be able to pass through passport control easily enough.

157 The smaller scale of people who are doing this kind of work, the passionate individuals
158 who set up these programs, the universities who want to bring a writer in for a three-
159 week residency at the university, they may find that they have not got the resources
160 to make these things happen. (pause)

161 And in the longer term, I feel, you know, if we see the end of the UK's access to
162 the Erasmus programme for instance, we are going to find in a generation's time, a
163 generation of twenty, thirty-something publishers who have not had that semester in
164 Italy or Germany or somewhere and have not given themselves the opportunity to be
165 exposed to other literatures or just to feel excited about other writers. So it is a soft
166 threat, and I think the most insidious thing about Brexit for the arts is that those people
167 masterminding it, and I use the word reservedly, they will not be turning high-profile
168 individuals away at the borders. Absolutely, because that would be very bad PR.
169 (pause) They will be allowing the arts possibly to still operate reasonably effectively
170 despite what I have just said, and we may find ourselves accidentally covering up the
171 full impact of Brexit by giving a veneer of business as usual, everyone can still cross
172 borders, when in fact we know beyond that that will not be happening. So there are
173 lots of unknowns. I cannot remember whether I have answered your question or not
174 (laughs). Have I answered your question? #00:17:13-4#

175 Researcher: Yes, I think so. The question was just the threat to artistic quality.
176 #00:17:22-8#

177 Interviewee: Artistic quality, yes. Artistic quality, particularly of literature, (pause) I
178 spend a lot of time explaining to people that writers take decades to be developed.
179 Some do arrive in their twenties looking fully formed, but they can burn out in their
180 late twenties. But plenty take twenty or thirty years to develop, and their best books
181 may be their sixth novel. So we need to give time to develop that, and the same is
182 true of our relationships with writers from overseas. We need to give ourselves time

183 to get to know their work. (pause) There is a lovely quote which I think I have possibly
184 quoted in that article I sent you. Wordsworth quoting Coleridge, saying that you need
185 to create the taste by which your work will be enjoyed, and we need to continue
186 to create taste which allows people to enjoy work form different literary cultures.
187 That takes time to create that taste, particularly when we are talking about literary
188 work where it is not about a crime novel that is essentially a page turner, but about
189 understanding literary culture perhaps as you appreciate the novel.

190 So I feel certain that we will have fewer writers who are on the literary (fiction?) writing
191 being published, because publishers will feel with the little money I have got available
192 for overseas writers, I need to work only with those who I can get an immediate return
193 on. Brexit will not make that any easier, it will make it harder for them to take a chance
194 on an emerging writer (unclear). (pause)

195 So yes, I have no proof that literary quality will be compromised, but I cannot believe,
196 well, I can certainly point to the fact that British writers, as indeed all writers, benefit
197 from accessing the work of other writers, and benefit from being in the same company
198 as other writers, physically in the same spaces. That is why writers, as I am doing
199 now, spend four weeks in a house on the edge of the Baltic, not just to write but
200 also to have dinner with the Russians, the Latvians, the Belgians, the French who
201 happen to be gathered there, because it does change your outlook and you share
202 creativity, you feel better with the result, I suspect it does improve quality in the long
203 run. #00:19:41-4#

204 Researcher: And do you expect Brexit to become a topic that is being dealt with in
205 literature? #00:19:48-4#

206 Interviewee: Well that is interesting. I have not yet come across any works of fiction
207 which are Brexit-focused. You may have done. We have not been offered a Brexit-
208 focused novel, (pause) I have not seen very much poetry that responds to that. It
209 feels like, you know, a very unpoetic subject. Although I am sure poets can respond
210 to it.

211 And in fact, there is a pop-up newspaper, called the New European, which started
212 after the referendum result, which comes out weekly and it is a newspaper for people
213 like me, who are passionate about remaining. And it is a very good paper, extremely
214 partisan of course, and it does feature a poem every week. So, new poetry has to
215 be produced, I do not think these poems are necessarily wonderful, but certainly
216 poets are thinking I need to find some way of articulating my concern. (pause) So
217 we probably will get Brexit novels in the same way which reflected the decline in the
218 manufacturing industry in Britain, the miner's strike in '84 and so on. It takes a few
219 years to have these happen.

220 More quickly I suspect we will have stage plays, which have a feeling of greater
221 immediacy, I suspect they will come along more quickly. I think screenplay, television
222 films series, they will start to reflect. There must be already people sitting down to say
223 okay, let us imagine what happens in a year's, two years time when the borders start
224 to close, what are the dramas that that is going to throw up. And of course, you know,
225 it is going to be a great source for drama. Because it is laden with human interest
226 stories and jeopardy and risk and so on. I am hoping it will allow us to move on from
227 our obsession with the Second World War and the First World War to talk about a
228 more immediate (pause) sense of concern. #00:21:50-0#

229 Researcher: To come back to the literature festival itself a little maybe, (pause) we
230 have talked a bit about funding. What do you think is going to be the biggest challenge
231 in terms of economic impact for Birmingham Literature Festival? #00:22:10-8#

232 Interviewee: Well, (pause) bringing writers in from outside the UK is not something
233 we do in order to generate ticket income. Because they are harder to get an interest
234 in. We do it for kind of spiritual reasons, ideological reasons.

235 The support we get for our festival and our organisation from the Arts Council (pause)
236 at the moment, the Arts Council are still very committed to literature in translation.
237 That is one of their key areas, because they know that without some public support
238 lots of literature in translation simply would not happen. So alongside literary fiction
239 and poetry, literature in translation is an emphasis for them.

240 It is perfectly possible that government may, when it makes its settlements for the
241 Arts Council every few years, may say if you are going to get this money to disperse
242 across arts organisations, we now expect you not to be too overtly pro-EU, we expect
243 you to start investing this money in different ways. It would not surprise me if some
244 backbench Conservative MP starts to complain about money that might be spent
245 bringing writers over from other countries when we have perfectly good writers in the
246 UK, now utterly missing the point but you know, they are good at that.

247 So there may be (pause) you know, politics never fails to surprise us, and at (unclear)
248 point in time the short-termism and the cynicism and the viciousness of politics on
249 all sides to some extent has never been more obvious. So I would not be surprised
250 if there is low-level pressure put on organisations not to fund organisations that are
251 spending too much time concerning themselves with writers from outside the UK or
252 indeed arts from outside the UK.

253 Indeed, there will be clashes of course, to speak not about my art form, but about
254 music, if you think about the BBC Proms which is obviously the biggest classical
255 music festival in the worlds and it has been going for centuries. You know it is such
256 an internationalist occasion as classical music simply is, it would be ludicrous not to

257 have performances form all over Europe and all over the world. (pause) It is also in so
258 many ways an establishment occasion, beloved of probably quite a few Conservative
259 MPs. So how they are going to cope with that, I do not know. It is going to be a
260 problem for them. And actually this particular Proms, (pause) in August, it will be
261 really interesting to see if there is any evidence of politicisation of audiences. You
262 know, it is a fairly non-political arena, but (pause) I would not bet against the Jeremy
263 Corbyn chant, which has been heard across the country, to the tune of that White
264 Stripes song, that raising its head somewhere which would be just extraordinary
265 and worth writing about, actually. That would be a literary moment, if that happened.
266 #00:25:12-2#

267 Researcher: To come back to the more positive notes, can you think of any chances
268 for Birmingham Literature Festival arising from Brexit? #00:25:23-3#

269 Interviewee: Well (pause) in the next few years we are going to keep on travelling
270 and keep on meeting people and keep on inviting people. (pause) We tread a fine
271 line (unclear) myself and my staff and my board are probably united in our interest
272 in remaining. We are also a charity and we need to be careful that we do not look
273 to overtly political. (pause) I mean, it is a hard one to call, there are not very many
274 Brexit writers that I could call upon that would fit in our programme, so I think we will
275 do more with the time we have available to us and possibly even do more afterwards
276 and certainly keep on trying to do more.

277 I can see us building up an audience, we only have small audiences for non-UK
278 events, but building an audience who will be more trusting of us with writers whose
279 names they do not recognise or cannot pronounce.

280 And that will be an interesting thing for a literature festival, because literature
281 audiences in festivals in the UK are generally speaking with a small c extremely
282 conservative and often driven by what they are told is popular and fashionable.

283 So our particular approach is to say we are going to offer you people you never
284 heard of, so please trust us. And I think we are going to get more people coming with
285 us on that journey and saying look, I will come and see that German novelist who I
286 have never heard of talking about you know and aspect of German literary life I know
287 nothing about, because people do want to know. So that is a positive thing for us.

288 We have a relationship with a small festival in Frankfurt (unclear) which is not the
289 book fair but a separate literature festival and they are very similar to us in the way
290 they run and scale, and I think that relationship will continue and develop more. So
291 we programmed and event for them last year and last year they sent a writer for us,
292 and I think that relationship will continue and develop. We may find other literature
293 festivals in Europe outside the UK that we can partner in.

294 What I also want to do (pause) and this is the aspect of Brexit which perhaps (pause)
295 we have not thought about or we have not talked about so far is, I want to send more
296 UK writers outside of the UK. I mean we hope they will still be welcome, I think they
297 probably will be. And of course they will be the kind that are very easy to get back
298 in the country because are UK citizens. But I want to encourage more of them to go
299 to festivals to offer themselves, to come to writers houses like I am in now and to
300 have conversations with the wider world. So, ironically, I think we will be exporting
301 more writers or at least giving them the chance to be known to non-UK festivals and
302 publishers and so on. (pause)

303 I mean in so many ways, things are kind of strangely bright because we now have
304 a fight on our hands. And because we know that actually, what we have taken for
305 granted, could be taken away from us. And then that is a real, the underlying feeling
306 I think amongst people of my persuasion is that we did not know what we had, and
307 now we are about to lose it. And suddenly, we are realising that we need to actually
308 make sure this stays, which makes us feel more useful, I think. Certainly I feel, you
309 know, when I am programming European writers, I feel this is a little additional bit of
310 resistance to what I am told is what is going to happen to Brexit.

311 Although of course, you know, the election has thrown it all into confusion. So (pause)
312 God knows what is going to happen. You know (pause) it is just (pause) it is just
313 embarrassing really to have such an inept government (pause) you know (pause)
314 yes. I do feel (pause) embarrassed. There you go. I cannot do anything about it.
315 Well, I can, but not (pause) on my own. #00:29:52-5#

316 Researcher: Okay. I remember after the Brexit referendum I think Ed Vaizey called
317 for the arts to play a role in ending the uncertainty and division in society caused by
318 Brexit. What do you think of that? #00:30:07-0#

319 Interviewee: (pause) Well. An interesting soundbite, an interesting slogan completely
320 vacuous. I do not know if Ed Vaizey was a remainer, I suspect he probably was. I do
321 not know much about him, he represents the constituency where my parents live. He
322 is possibly on the civilized end of the spectrum of those MPs. (pause)

323 I mean is he asking that we make it look better than it is? Is he asking that we put
324 on plays showing the pleasure that awaits us when we start to say goodbye to our
325 European friends and neighbours and the EU citizens that work in our society, is he
326 asking for that? Well, he will not get any support for that. The artistic (pause) current
327 is towards (pause) remaining and firing against Brexit and being on the side of the
328 underdog, and now, you know, non UK EU citizens in my country are vulnerable,
329 and their vulnerability is visible and people who know them and like them and love
330 them feel upset on their behalf. And these are many of the people in the arts. So I

331 imagine a civil servant gave him that phrase to say (unclear) and it means absolutely
332 nothing. But you know, up until this election, so much of politics was negotiated
333 through phrases that had no clear meaning. They sounded inoffensive and slightly
334 menacing and that was it. And that is an inoffensive and slightly menacing at the
335 same time statement.

336 So, I did not hear him say that at the time or if I did I ignored it, because that certainly
337 was not the response I wanted to give after the referendum. The response I wanted
338 to give was (pause) to extend the hand of friendship and solidarity to EU workers
339 in the UK and a hand also to my friends who live in mainland Europe who also feel
340 vulnerable.

341 So (pause) he is (pause) well, I understand why he said it, but I do not think it has
342 any relevance to the situation. And also, the way the arts is you can never tell the
343 arts what to do. Artists just do not work that way. (pause) We see what happened
344 when Soviet artists were encouraged to celebrate realist art and so on, it just it is not
345 in the nature of any artist I think in any country to just knuckle down and say we will
346 make the party line look palatable. So yes, he is on a loser with that one I am afraid.
347 #00:33:00-9#

348 Researcher: What do you think what role can literature festivals play in terms of
349 social inclusion? #00:33:07-0#

350 Interviewee: Social inclusion (pause) it is difficult, that. We are in a (pause) post-
351 industrial city, we still have a big working-class population as well as lots of professional
352 people. (pause) For that reason, we get a broader demographical audience than
353 might be the case with festivals which are attractive rural locations on the fringes of
354 our country.

355 It is interesting to look at literature festivals from the distance, if you would plot them on
356 a map you would see there are a small number of urban-based festivals, Manchester,
357 Sheffield, a small one in Nottingham, (pause) Edinburgh is slightly different because
358 Edinburgh is a tourist destination. But beyond that, the big the powerful literature
359 festivals of the last twenty years have built up their influence by giving people an
360 opportunity to leave where they usually live and go to a nice place, to be with writers
361 and possibly to think themselves living the literary life. That is something actually we
362 (pause) fought against.

363 And certainly, you know, we (pause) expect people who come to our festival to come
364 from our city and (pause) our region. (pause) So we do get (unclear) (pause) younger
365 audiences, (unclear) a broad demographic in terms of race and socioeconomic
366 background, a broader area.

367 We have done a lot of work at the last festival and possibly this one coming up to look

368 at working-class writing and to look at what has happened to genuine working-class
369 voices. That is something we can do without any sense of irony.

370 It is so much harder for Hay-on-Wye to start promoting working-class literature,
371 because in many ways, they are part of the problem, because they create structures
372 that make it very hard for people on modest incomes to even attend their festivals. And
373 their festivals, you know, I have been to Hay and Cheltenham on many occasions,
374 and they are monocultural, despite their best efforts. It is always interesting to see
375 the photographs they choose when they promote themselves, they always use the
376 one photograph which features the young black person. And I am fairly certain that
377 is the only young black person in the whole of Hay at that time, so it is not really
378 representative of your festival. But yes, I mean I am being too hard on them, possibly.
379 So, we have a role to play in giving people places to debate ideas with writers (pause)
380 and that for us, that is only valid if that is socially inclusive.

381 So many of our events (pause) are based on issues which we want to discuss and
382 then finding writers who are appropriate to discuss those issues, rather than here is
383 a well-known writer, let's come and hear what they have got to say and then admire
384 the cut of their suit.

385 So as an example, a few years ago we had a couple of events about mental health,
386 we chose novelists who had written about mental health and about mental health
387 institutions. And some of the audience were regular festival goers and some of them
388 were mental health service users, an audience who would not have come at any
389 other time. They came because they felt that their world was going to be represented
390 by a writer and they wanted in a way challenge the writers how well they were
391 doing. (pause) And we got a really positive feedback from both the writers and the
392 audiences, that, you know, we had given them and their cause, their issues, their
393 concerns a platform.

394 We had a similar experience two years ago with an event about Roma literature, the
395 literature from a Gypsy and Roma background, and I think possibly we were the first
396 literature festival to ever have an event about Roma literature, because it is not a
397 very literary culture. Writing things down is not their way, so there are very few people
398 who can talk about Roma literature (unclear), but we found them. And (pause) we
399 felt we brought people in, some people from that culture, but more important, we
400 brought people who did not know about that culture, and left feeling they had a better
401 understanding, which is all part of inclusivity I think. (pause)

402 And the same to bring in writers from outside the UK, it is about (pause) putting
403 people in the same room together to realise how much they share and how similar
404 they are in many ways in their outlooks. (pause) That is the real beauty of events

405 with European writers, particularly if it is a very distant writing culture, like Ukrainian
406 literature. We had a small event last year, probably only thirty people came along, it
407 was a morning event. We had three Ukrainian writers, they were unknown, they were
408 unpublished in the UK, but in that space of an hour they talked about what it was to
409 be an Ukrainian writer, the issues of the fighting in Donetsk and Dombass and the
410 issue of Crimea being annexed by Russia, and the issue of language, and so many
411 things, which most British audiences have absolutely no idea how this little bit of
412 the world is operating in terms of writers. It is absolutely (pause) really inspirational
413 to come away and think I now have at least one version of an understanding of the
414 Ukrainian writing politics, which is not simple. So, yes, that is part of inclusivity I think.
415 #00:38:20-2#

416 Researcher: And how do you think literature festivals can reach people who might
417 have voted leave in the referendum but who do not usually participate in arts and
418 culture? #00:38:34-0#

419 Interviewee: That is (laughs) a very good question. (pause) Okay (pause) well,
420 (pause) if we, I mean I do not know exactly the demographic of the voting to leave
421 in Birmingham. I suspect, as across the country, it would be older, white working-
422 class people voting to leave and younger, more educated people from across ethnic
423 backgrounds voting to remain. (pause)

424 Getting for instance a white working-class, older audience to a literature festival is
425 extremely difficult, because they feel (pause) not comfortable in (pause) the current
426 literary culture that is often being offered to them. (pause) For us it is slightly easier,
427 we are in the middle of a city with a large working-class population, because the
428 centre of Birmingham is owned by every community. If you are there on a Saturday,
429 you will see every community using it. It is not just belonging to one community or
430 another. Different parts of the city are to some extent ghettoized, but the city centre
431 is universal.

432 And (pause) our main venue is the Library of Birmingham, and there probably is
433 not any other building in the city which is so open to so many people of so many
434 backgrounds. You will get those white working-class old communities coming to
435 use the library because they are interested in local history, or because they (pause)
436 just feel they should be able to use that space, people who are reading from that
437 background, as well as all the other communities.

438 So for having it as a main venue, that helps a lot, (pause) we are not putting our
439 events in places which feel intimidating. We do use quite a number of other venues,
440 some of them are very arts venues and I suspect they are not terribly welcoming to
441 the (pause) leave community. And some of them are broader venues, which would

442 be more welcoming. (pause)

443 What we have not done, and maybe I should start to think about this, we have not
444 started to set out to finding ways of bringing that audience in so that they can share
445 European literature and perhaps in the process appreciate some of the value which
446 might be lost. (pause)

447 One of the issues you have with literary translation is that so much of it that comes to
448 the UK is literary literature, as it were. And that is understandable, because you know,
449 structure of work in that way and if you are considered to be of literary significance,
450 you will be translated, if you are considered to be a popular writer, then you will have
451 to wait for the market to decide that you are worth of being translated, and that may
452 not happen. So, of the Latvian writers that I have met now, who are being translated,
453 they are literary novelists. I have not come across any Latvian crime writers or Latvian
454 romance writers, or (pause) true life, true crime writers, although they must be there.
455 So I am not enormously interested in bringing in (pause) non-literary writers because
456 we get funded to work with that part of literature. Having said that, it is those writers
457 who will perhaps open the way for a broader range of readers to engage with them.
458 (pause)

459 One of the biggest audiences we had last year was for two screenplay writers, one,
460 Hans Rosenfeld, who had done the screenplay for "The Bridge", which it is not a sort
461 of soap opera type of program, of course, but it probably had quite a broad viewer
462 base in the UK. (pause) And that brought in some people who maybe would not have
463 come to our festival at other times.

464 So (pause) a weakness of the arts generally is that (pause) we engage with a broad
465 range of our communities at a kind of entry-level participations points, so we run a
466 lot of young writers groups with people from the age of eight upwards and they are a
467 fairly broad demographic, including children from white working-class backgrounds
468 whose parents may very well be voting to leave. But once we get beyond that and
469 start to have look at our events and our adult audiences, they tend to inadvertently
470 exclude people who (pause) perhaps vote to leave or who do not share the kind of
471 general sense, the general range of beliefs that you have in the arts.

472 A friend of ours who runs the big Waterstones bookshop in Birmingham, (pause) is
473 just absolutely convinced that his readers and most of his shoppers are remain, and
474 that is just the kind of people they are.

475 That also reflects the fact that (pause) despite best efforts it has been very easy for
476 working-class communities to move away from reading as one of their chosen past-
477 times, because so much else is on offer, heavily promoted etcetera. (pause) There
478 are still lots of people reading from all backgrounds, some of those people perhaps

479 are not event attenders. They are just readers quietly and they feel uncomfortable
480 coming to events. But having rambled for a bit, all I can say is (pause) we are not
481 doing very much for that and we probably should do something. So thank you, I will
482 put that on my list of things to do. #00:43:49-0#

483 Researcher: (laughs) Just one last question in terms of that topic, what do you think
484 has to change for literature to be more socially engaging and reaching broader
485 audiences? #00:44:02-3#

486 Interviewee: The mechanism that exists in order to bring literature to the public
487 needs to change. Historically, it has been linked to (pause) high levels of educational
488 attainment, which is not a prerequisite for being a good writer or an interested reader.
489 It has been linked to London, which increasingly becomes a difficult place for people
490 with limited finances to operate in. It is being linked to (pause) a view of readers
491 which is being relatively narrow, based I suspect in case of some editors on their
492 own personal friendships and acquaintances groups. So for us to change how the
493 world engages with literature we need to change the structures that delivers literature
494 because that automatically places bias and (unclear) problems.

495 Things are changing slowly, there has been a number of reports in the last ten years,
496 for instance, highlighting the very limited cultural base of the publishing world, the fact
497 that a high percentage of those people have come from the quote top universities,
498 perhaps have been educated at private school, public schools. But they inevitably end
499 up gravitating towards London and are not therefore living in communities elsewhere
500 in the country, not privy to what those people are reading or thinking, despite having
501 come from those backgrounds sometimes.

502 So those reports start to trigger even very powerful publishers to ask themselves
503 are we doing enough in order to both provide literature for a broader audience and
504 writing for a broader audience, and are we doing enough in order to bring people in
505 as writers or as workers in the publishing industry form beyond the usual groups. So
506 Penguin Random House are in the second year of a programme called WriteNow,
507 which is explicitly about finding writers who are part of a whole range of what they
508 see as being minority groups. Some of that is about ethnicity, it is about sexuality,
509 and then most importantly perhaps it is about socioeconomic status. The fact that if
510 you do not have a degree, or you (pause) have a degree from a university (unclear)
511 polytechnic and is not considered to be prestigious and if you do not have finances
512 then it can be very hard to give yourself the confidence to approach a publisher as
513 a writer and to offer your work. So (pause) they are doing that I think fairly genuinely
514 that they really want to find writers who represent other voices and if they can find
515 those writers I think the theory is that the readers will follow, that people recognise

516 those writers and what they are writing about and that is to a certain extent.
517 Having said that, people who own publishers and people who manage publishers,
518 they will not give up their positions easily just as you know I as a white, middle-
519 aged arts manager am not going to just step aside for somebody else at this point
520 in time, when I retire (unclear) but at the moment I do not think I would give my job
521 to somebody else. However, (pause) uncomfortable I feel about the fact that I have
522 this opportunity and other people have not. So (pause) there remains that issue that
523 (pause) while so much of the publishing world is owned by international corporations
524 who have no interest or concern in (pause) access for literature and so on. While that
525 remains the case it is going to be very difficult to make major permanent change.
526 And it may be that these initiatives are (pause) you know, useful things to do, (pause)
527 make people feel good about things, make for perhaps some interesting writers, but
528 may not change the underlying issues which is structure and workforce. (pause)
529 I think the UK is unique in having such a centralised publishing industry, I know that
530 in Germany you have got various spaces, things are gravitating back towards Berlin,
531 but certainly in Italy it is not, well it is not just Rome, and it is not just Turin and it is
532 not just Milan, so I think (pause) we are really hampered by the fact that so much
533 decision-making feels like it has to happen in London. So (pause) yes, I will stop
534 there. #00:48:47-1#

535 Researcher: Last question. What do you think could be the role of literature festivals
536 in a post-Brexit society? #00:48:55-3#

537 Interviewee: Our role will be to keep (pause) writing coming across the borders
538 in various ways. And (unclear) crossing borders, allowing people to empathise, to
539 vicariously experience other people's lives through imaginative creative literature
540 and through non-fiction as well. That to my mind is the most important role of a
541 literature festival is to allow people to communicate (pause) obviously by books but
542 also physically being in the same space as other people.

543 So (pause) after whatever Brexit is, we will carry on doing that, we will carry on
544 bringing to the attention names that they would not have come across otherwise, and
545 we will carry on trying to convince them that there are good and interesting writers
546 scattered all over the world and also that their writing if they are writers might be of
547 interest to people all over the world as well. (pause) Things will not change in that
548 respect, but we do not know how difficult that will be. (pause) I mean I think we are
549 lucky in the sense that (pause) you know as I have said that most of our communities
550 are probably inclined towards liberal views and towards remaining. (pause)

552 Where Brexit will really hit will be is when professional football clubs are not allowed
553 to bring in overseas players, because their overwhelmingly working-class fanbase

554 suddenly gonna have something to say about the fact that (pause) when they play
555 in club competitions across Europe they are hampered by the fact that they only
556 have got English football players. No one would really want to have a football team
557 consisting only of English football players, that would be a recipe for disaster as you
558 in Germany know. (pause) Although a team of only German football players would
559 probably be quite good. So (pause) you know, that is where these things will really
560 hit.

561 And more seriously obviously the NHS, and public services which rely so much on
562 people from across Europe. For us in a literature festival, we are possibly going to
563 be (pause) with people who feel the same and we just need to be battling on quietly,
564 but (pause) we are not going to see any (pause) you know, major revolt, I think just a
565 general sense of disappointment that this has happened, if it does happen. (pause)
566 And it may not happen. I mean more now I feel like than I did two weeks ago. I really
567 feel (pause) you can never underestimate the incompetence of governments, thank
568 goodness. (unclear) This whole political period in our country's history (pause) my
569 goodness, you know, it is going to be the stuff of literature. It really is. (laughs) And I
570 think we should export that.

571 Researcher: Thank you!

I2) Interview with Cathy Moore, Cambridge Literary Festival, 23 June 2017

1 Introduction #00:00:38-1#

2 Researcher: How do you think is Brexit going to impact on Cambridge Literary

3 Festival? #00:00:38-1#

4 Interviewee: I do not think it is going to have a massive impact on us.

5 I mean I was thinking this through a little earlier on and I think that the key impact

6 really is that it gives us you know it has given us something to discuss because you

7 know we always discuss topical issues at the festival and we did a very good Brexit

8 event at our last spring festival. And I am sure there will be more as we move forward.

9 I mean I think it is really overall a sadness for the artistic community. A terrible blow for

10 that community in particular. It kind of seems to shrink our world somehow. (laughs)

11 And those are my wider concerns really because we are a non-funded festival.

12 We have some amounts of sponsorship and tiny amounts of local authority funding.

13 So we are not able to programme (unclear)

14 I suppose the key area that might be affected would be translated authors. European

15 translated authors and European visiting authors. And we do not host a lot of those

16 because we cannot afford to bring them across. So impact really is minimal there for

17 us. #00:02:03-8#

18 Researcher: Have you received any funding through Creative Europe? #00:02:08-1#

19 Interviewee: No, we have never tapped into any of those funds. We are a very tiny

20 organisation and you know we tend to basically programme I suppose (pause) sort

21 of more mainstream people who are UK based.

22 And if we have someone from overseas it generally tends to be (pause) I suppose

23 America, Canada (pause) we recently had Arundhati Roy from India. And that is when

24 they are over on a publisher tour. So we try you know we say come to Cambridge

25 Literary Festival we want to bring the best literary events to Cambridge. So we do

26 out-of-festival events as well, to coincide with these guys coming across. #00:02:52-

27 8#

28 Researcher: I have seen on your website that you have sponsors, do you think Brexit

29 could have an impact on your private funding? #00:03:00-2#

30 Interviewee: (pause) Possibly? That is a good question that I have not really taken

31 the time to consider. (laughs) But now that you have mentioned it (pause) I think

32 the technology partnership (pause) I have no idea I think a lot of their business is in

33 the UK but I may be wrong on that. But it is certainly something that I could check.

34 #00:03:26-5#

35 Researcher: Are doing any kind of preparations, are you talking to other people about

36 the whole issue or yeah. #00:03:42-9#

37 Interviewee: No, not at all, no. #00:03:42-1#

38 Researcher: Okay. Different topic. Do you think Brexit may cause a threat to artistic
39 quality? #00:03:48-4#

40 Interviewee: (pause) I think in the area that you are talking about (pause) I think if
41 we lost kind of the current vibrancy that we appear to have in the kind of European
42 Literature network for example and you know with the work of funding translated
43 unknown writers you know the work that English PEN do and other organisations. I
44 mean I think (pause) yes. Yeah. #00:04:18-1#

45 Researcher: And can you think of any chances for Cambridge Literary Festival that
46 might arise from Brexit? #00:04:25-2#

47 Interviewee: Absolutely not. (laughs) #00:04:34-8#

48 Researcher: After the referendum Ed Vaizey called for the arts to play a role in ending
49 the uncertainty and division in society caused by Brexit. What do you think of that?
50 #00:04:50-7#

51 Interviewee: (pause) I think (pause) sort of off the record I think it is a damn cheeky
52 thing to say (laughs). You now, to ask the underfunded parts of the art community to
53 try and broker a smooth Brexit and deal with its repercussions is (pause) a bit of a
54 joke.

55 However what we all know is that arts and culture is one of the most vital things
56 to exist in peoples' lives in times of turbulence. It brings communities together, it
57 provides a (pause) I do not know, a levelling factor, an opening of minds. And I guess
58 if many more politicians had indulged and took the best that there was to take from
59 culture we might not have Brexit (laughs). #00:05:44-1#

60 Researcher: And what do you think the role of literature festivals could be in social
61 inclusion? #00:05:52-5#

62 Interviewee: (pause) It is a difficult one without funding.

63 You know it should be a massive thing but as with many underfunded literature
64 festivals it is very hard to open our doors and to encourage in people who would not
65 normally attend. I mean we try, we make efforts but I think our efforts are hindered by
66 lack of marketing budget and lack of overall budget. And as with any literature festival
67 there is a case in which the artists are kind of preaching to the converted.

68 And we have small-scale attempts to open our doors via subsidized tickets, applying
69 for small pots of money from the council to give away free tickets. (pause)

70 Potentially we have a greater part to play but it is not always easy. #00:06:51-4#

71 Researcher: You have alluded to it a little bit, how do you think you could reach
72 people who might have voted leave but who do not usually participate in arts and
73 culture? #00:06:57-3#

74 Interviewee: (pause) Having a massive advertising budget to go to the rightwing
75 press would be a good start. (laughs) You know it is difficult, impossible I think. I
76 retract that it is not impossible but it is a challenge (unclear) that I have not cracked.
77 Cambridge is one of the highest remain cities it is a very difficult question to answer
78 really because we do not have any influence massively beyond that. #00:07:35-7#
79 Researcher: And what do you think has to change for literature to be more socially
80 engaging and to appeal to a broader audience? #00:07:39-1#
81 Interviewee: (pause) I do not think it is a case of literature changing I think it is the
82 way (pause) two years ago the absolutely wonderful Kate Tempest and Akala joined
83 our lineup. And we had a sold out event. So I do not think it is literature that needs to
84 change I think it is the audience development that needs to change. #00:08:09-7#
85 Researcher: What do you think could be done in terms of that? #00:08:15-7#
86 Interviewee: Again you know it is a constant struggle trying to reach a wider constituent
87 than we already do reach and again it comes back to the budget, it comes back to
88 resources (pause) it comes back to profile, it comes back to partnership working.
89 I think that is something which could certainly explored a little bit more. It is an ongoing
90 (pause) frustration and difficulty for us. #00:08:47-0#
91 Researcher: And do you programme any events that are aimed sort of more towards
92 people who would not usually come to your festival? #00:08:57-3#
93 Interviewee: Well I suppose certainly Kate Tempest and Akala were a move in
94 that direction. We programmed a Good Immigrant event this year. (pause) We try
95 and programme (pause) we had a young Slam poet last year who was actually a
96 triumph because he sold out and that was very different audience to us. Harry Baker,
97 a world slam champion. So yes, we do try and sometimes it works, sometimes it
98 monumentally fails. (laughs) #00:09:36-5#
99 Researcher: You mentioned that you do Brexit events, what kind of audience do you
100 get in those kind of events? #00:09:41-1#
101 Interviewee: Again, Cambridge have a huge appetite for issues based events. So we
102 partner with the New Statesman and I guess as a festival we are (pause) quite left
103 of centre. And you know we get the people who are interested in current affairs in
104 Cambridge. #00:10:04-1#
105 Researcher: What do you think could be the role of literature festivals in a post-Brexit
106 society? #00:10:09-7#
107 Interviewee: The same as now really. I suppose we keep on doing what we are doing
108 and providing the succour that we all might need in difficult times. But also to (pause)
109 fly the flag and I do not mean the Union Jack when I say flying the flag I mean you
110 know flying the flag for arts and culture and to carry on. Providing that necessary

111 internal hinterland that the arts and culture does so very well. #00:10:53-1#

112 Researcher: You mentioned literary translation, do you do a lot of events with
113 translated books? #00:11:03-2#

114 Interviewee: We do not do loads because the appetite is not massive. We had a
115 couple at this years festival, if there is somebody that is being brought over by one
116 of the organisations then we would happily if it is not going to cost us a lot we would
117 happily take him.

118 This year we had Vivek Shanbhag from India who Faber brought over. But he got a
119 small audience. He is a cool guy in India but unheard of here. And we programmed
120 him with Nadeem Aslam who is very well known here. But still I suppose we had an
121 audience of about 50. It was 50 people in a hall watching (pause) a translated writer
122 is not terrible but it is certainly (pause) one it is a missed opportunity because there
123 must be loads of people out there who would like to see him but it is how we persuade
124 them to come. And two, and this is where it is important for us and it is disappointing
125 not to get the audience for that reason and we would love more people to watch him
126 but also financially. It does not pay us to have 50 people in an auditorium which seats
127 150 or in that case I think it was 190. So in order to keep going because we are not
128 funded we have to balance all of that. #00:12:37-6#

129 Researcher: Thank you.

I3) Interview with Nick Barley, Edinburgh International Book Festival, 27 June 2017

1 Introduction #00:00:58-3#

2 Researcher: How do you think is Brexit going to impact the work of your organisation?

3 #00:01:03-8#

4 Interviewee: (pause) We do not know. (pause) (laughs) (unclear) to say, do you know

5 what Brexit is yet? (pause) One could point at (pause) one could divide the potential

6 risks into different areas. Such as, for example, the freedom of movement of workers,

7 the freedom of movement of writers, the freedom of movement of (unclear), the effect

8 on the publishing world and the ability to export and import books (pause) the effect

9 on European funding for cultural activities. And in all these areas, there is a risk that

10 we might have problems in the future.

11 But then equally, it has to be said that if the negotiations on Brexit go better than

12 we fear, that there might be new ways in which we can move, trade, have cultural

13 relationships and so on, which may make it not a problem.

14 So whilst obviously we are all anxious about Brexit, I certainly am very anxious and

15 I fear that it could be devastating, I think we also have to be realistic and say we

16 do not yet know what will happen, until we know the outcome of the negotiations.

17 #00:02:36-8#

18 Researcher: Could you elaborate a bit on what those new ways could be? #00:02:41-

19 0#

20 Interviewee: Well (pause) the new ways in which area? (pause) #00:02:55-2#

21 Researcher: (pause)

22 Interviewee: For example, if we think about freedom of movement or residency, this

23 is one part, one section of what Brexit will mean. What is needed is some kind of

24 agreement and Theresa May has put forward what I think is a very poor proposal at

25 the moment about the rights of the EU citizens living in the UK and vice versa. If what

26 emerges from this is a better proposal which allows EU citizens to live in Britain and

27 British citizens to live in the EU, then this could be a good outcome (unclear) be able

28 to continue to have excellent staff and workers across Europe. So in fact, it would be

29 no change to the current system which already works very well.

30 The worst case scenario is a Brexit which involves a complete breaking of the cultural

31 relations. Better than that would be some kind of compromise, which is part of the

32 Brexit deal. Does that make sense? #00:04:12-2#

33 Researcher: Yes, absolutely. What do you think what could the impact be in terms of

34 your programme? #00:04:23-1#

35 Interviewee: Well (pause) again (unclear) (...) How can I put this. I think it is a very

36 complicated scenario. The immediate problem is that Brexit breaks links. It breaks
37 relationships and it makes communication between our different countries more
38 difficult.

39 But I think it is complicated because (pause) I mean the fact that we are having this
40 conversation now is an example of a kind of urge on the parts of citizens across
41 Europe to resist the impact of Brexit. And to insist that actually, we will have relations
42 across the borders, whatever the political structures which are set up for us. So
43 there is a certain kind of I suppose activism that is developing around a positivity
44 about Europe, which is a kind of kick back against the Brexit vote. More people are
45 saying actually, no, we do want Europe to work.

46 And I think the interesting thing for me is that 70 years after the urge to bring Europe
47 together happened, 70 years after that time when in the ashes of the world wars, there
48 was this desire to have peace. Which I think is the fundamental emotional reason
49 for the European Union to come together, was that desire not to kill each other. 70
50 years later, we have got to the position where many people seem to have forgotten
51 that that was the original urge, and they seem to have come to the conclusion that
52 the European Union was primarily about trading relationships. And maybe they
53 were right, but as a trading organization, the European Union and the European
54 Commission were actually quite inefficient. And had problems that developed over
55 the years, you know, all this legislation and so on. If you think that Europe is only
56 about trade, then the European Union is inefficient and does not work very well and
57 need to be reformed. If you think Europe is about peace, then we still need it just as
58 much as we did 70 years ago and we need to remind ourselves perhaps.

59 So one of the benefits of Brexit is that we have suddenly had this wake-up call and
60 reminded ourselves that actually we did want peace. That it was pretty horrible, the
61 Europe 1936 lets say, was a really unpleasant Europe to be in. And we do not want to
62 go back there. One of the positive things to come out of this awful Brexit vote is that
63 we remembered we want to be in peaceful relationships. Germany, Britain, France,
64 Italy, etc. etc. and now there could be a positive kick against Brexit which is yes, let's
65 have peace.

66 So, I do not think it is all bad. So therefore I think, as a result of that urge, we will be
67 as citizens, and especially as writers and as publishers, who are always, tend to be
68 on the more liberal, radical, let's say on the whole left-leaning group of people. That
69 we will find ways in which we continue to (pause) have cultural links. Whether or not
70 there is a political union which is called the European Union. #00:08:23-8#

71 Researcher: Was this kick also could you feel it in your audiences at last year's
72 festival for example? Was there maybe a new interest in certain topics? #00:08:32-4#

73 Interviewee: Yes. Last year's festival was just after the Brexit vote and I think the
74 overriding emotion was shock. What came through from the audiences was oh, what
75 have we done. But we did not really know what we had done because there was
76 shock. Now I think there is the realisation about how much we want some kind of
77 European Union. Obviously we accept, I think most people in Britain accept that
78 there was a vote, a referendum, and that the majority of people voted to leave the
79 European Union. So nobody (pause) not very many people are trying to completely
80 reverse away from Brexit. But I think the majority of people want to try to create
81 something after Brexit which is a viable, workable relationship between Brits and the
82 rest of Europe. And I think that the urge for that to happen is getting stronger as time
83 goes on and as we realise just what a disastrous decision Brexit will be for Britain and
84 for Europe. #00:09:44-5#

85 Researcher: I saw that last year's programme heading was "Imagine better", was
86 that in some way influenced by the referendum? #00:09:52-6#

87 Interviewee: Yes (pause) I mean the idea of imagine better came about 12 months
88 before the referendum. But we knew that the world is facing some challenging
89 political situations. My festival is not taking sides politically, but we knew that the EU
90 referendum was coming up, we knew that political change was about to happen in
91 the US, whether or not Donald Trump won. But there was clearly this new sense of
92 isolationism in the US. And we knew of course that the situation in the Middle East
93 was getting worse rather than better. So "Imagine Better" was about dealing with the
94 fact that we are in turbulent political times, which in the end proved to be a very good
95 idea to have that in the programme, because the turbulence had just gotten more
96 and more. And really, the programme for this year's festival continues on that theme.
97 (unclear) questions about how we deal with these political earthquakes and how we
98 make sense of the change is of a scale we have not known since 1945. These are
99 the biggest changes of all.

100 So I think to come back to the original question - whilst many people would probably
101 feel in their hearts that Brexit looks like a bad situation for cultural relationships and
102 for literary festivals and for publishing, I think also the fact that Brexit has happened
103 somehow (pause) it makes me feel that literary festivals are a good place to think
104 about how we respond to political turbulence such as that. So actually, literary
105 festivals have become more and more important. Because literary festivals at their
106 heart are places for grassroots democratic discussion. #00:12:17-3#

107 Researcher: Just in terms of funding again, have you received funding through
108 Creative Europe or its predecessor programmes at any point? #00:12:29-6#

109 Interviewee: (pause) Yes, we have. (pause) It has never been a huge percentage of

110 our overall income. (pause)

111 In terms of funding, there may be a problem for literary festivals in Europe overall.

112 But I do not think this is going to be a sort of existential crisis for literary festivals. The

113 funding available from the European Community is not the kind of core, sustaining

114 funding for festivals.

115 Funding tends to come from national governments or local, regional governments

116 rather than Europe-wide.

117 So I think, if there are problems, they may well be much much longer term. So, for

118 example the absence of a meaningful European Union may well take us back to

119 conditions, if trading is the primary relationship we have with each other, then it strikes

120 me as a certain risk that comes along with that, that trading becomes competitive and

121 the competition makes enemies. And that enemies then are going to war with each

122 other again. So the long-term risk is that Europe no longer functions as (pause) an

123 entity which is at peace. (pause)

124 The other long-term risk is that Britain, as you know, because it has the English

125 language and the particular status of English language in the world, Britain has been

126 relatively poor at welcoming translated fiction. There is a very small market, or has

127 been a very small market for translated fiction. But in recent years it has been really

128 really set forward in developing an appetite for translated fiction and the market has

129 been growing.

130 It is possible, I think, that we could fall back again to a situation where there is less

131 and less translated fiction. And if that is the case, then it will be harder and harder for

132 literary festivals to justify inviting international authors and then cultural relationships

133 might get worse again as a long-term effect of this change. #00:15:32-1#

134 Researcher: Because we have just talked about translated fiction, do you think Brexit

135 could also cause in a way a threat to artistic quality in the long-term? #00:15:39-5#

136 Interviewee: (sighs) I think it is too difficult to draw that conclusion at this point. (pause)

137 In all honesty, emotionally when you ask that question, my emotion is to want to

138 agree with that, to say yes, Brexit could ruin the quality.

139 But I think that is an emotional reaction, and I think that maybe it is important that

140 we try to be as objective as we can about this and to think about the (pause) sort of

141 resilience of human beings and of human spirit and especially of writers and about

142 their urge to continue being creative, even when things get difficult. #00:16:37-9#

143 Researcher: And at the same time of course, Brexit can become a topic in books and

144 other pieces of art, right? #00:16:45-1#

145 Interviewee: Yeah. #00:16:45-1#

146 Researcher: So could that also be an opportunity? #00:16:52-8#

147 Interviewee: (pause) Yeah (pause) quite possibly. I think (pause) that some people
148 would argue that literature can sometimes thrive in situations of political difficulty. So
149 that sometimes the political difficulty can cause better writing. I am not sure whether
150 that is always the case. I do not think there is a kind of direct correlation. But I think
151 equally, it would be wrong to suggest that political difficulty always makes writing
152 worse. So if Brexit is a political difficulty, and it does not necessarily follow that writing
153 will get better or worse. I think it is a new condition for writers to respond to and some
154 of them no doubt will respond very well to it, and other will go off and become doctors
155 or football coaches instead. You know, this is the nature of cultural activity. (pause)
156 I think literary festivals (pause) there is another dynamic here which you may want
157 to be into your research. Which is that not just in the UK but across the world,
158 literature festivals have been going through this boom period. This period of growth,
159 and extraordinary explosion of literary festivals, if you go back to 1983, when the
160 Edinburgh Book Festival launched, in Europe there were only as far as I know,
161 two. There was Cheltenham and there was Edinburgh. Hay did not start until 1985.
162 French, the best French festival Étonnants Voyageurs did not start until 1994 I think
163 it was. So since the 1980s, there has been an explosion of festivals around he world.
164 Jaipur, Berlin, Toronto, Sydney, all of them started after the 1980s.
165 So this period, like with any growth phase, this period of growth will at some point
166 stop, slow and then presumably it will go down again. Some of the festivals will die
167 and some will reach some kind of stability and so on. So the question is, if Brexit
168 had not happened, what was the shape of growth going to be anyway for literature
169 festivals. And I think it will probably (pause) the growth would have slowed down and
170 maybe even go into a small decline.

171 So will Brexit change that? This is the question. How does Brexit hit this line for
172 growth and change the direction of the line. I do not know the answer to that. But my
173 suspicion is that the growth will slow down more quickly because of Brexit. Because
174 my suspicion is that Britain will go into some kind of recession, so the economic
175 strength go Britain will go down, there will be fewer people who will have money
176 available to spent (unclear) to go to book festivals. And so that could cause another
177 dynamic shift in the way literature festivals are run. #00:20:31-7#

178 Researcher: You have alluded to it a little bit, but what do you think could the chances
179 and opportunities be arising from Brexit for the festival? #00:20:45-9#

180 Interviewee: (pause) Well (pause) the first thing is that the festival is a democratic
181 forum. This is not just Edinburgh, but the good book festivals around the world are
182 grassroots democratic forums.

183 And so Brexit is a political earthquake I suppose you could call it, which makes book

184 festivals matter more. Or which shows how much book festivals matter. So people
185 can kind of come along and they can think about, they can have the kind of session
186 that we are having, in public, in front of other people, and they can ask questions and
187 they can admit that they are anxious or have doubts, and they can help formulate
188 their own opinion about the way the world could be. So book festivals will benefit
189 from the fact that people want to talk about what we are doing after Brexit. So Brexit
190 makes book festivals matter. (pause)

191 Brexit (unclear) makes certain people want to be more international. Or it reminds
192 us, people who are internationalist in their outlook, makes us more into activists. We
193 have to fight now to be international.

194 Now there is something to resist against. The worst kind of Brexit is a kind of wall
195 which comes between us and the rest of the world, and we will scale that wall. We
196 will make sure that our books, and our words and our ideas cross borders more than
197 ever before.

198 So Brexit is a kind of call to action for literary festivals and for writers which makes
199 us more active, it makes us more politically engaged. All of these things are good.
200 (pause) Of course, there are some bad things, too. (laughs) Potentially about Brexit,
201 about the challenges we have in communicating with each other. #00:23:02-0#

202 Researcher: So after the referendum I think Ed Vaizey called for the arts to play a
203 role in ending the uncertainty and division in society caused by Brexit. What do you
204 think of that? #00:23:16-3#

205 Interviewee: (pause) Well I think art always exists in a political context. But (pause)
206 art that has tried to do a political service risks being (unclear). So, most importantly,
207 the greatest value that we can bring to writing is freedom of speech. Which means
208 we do not constrain our writers, we do not tell them what they can or cannot or
209 should or should not write about. So Brexit could be a stimulant, as Ed Vaizey says,
210 to help writers cross those boundaries, but we cannot insist on that. And if writers
211 instead choose to write about cricket or the flavour of beer, then that is what writers
212 will write about. Art must not be used by politicians as a way of getting their (unclear)
213 political ideologies to a wider audience. It is not good for art. (unclear) many times
214 over the last centuries (unclear) use art for political purposes, it becomes bad art.
215 But I think the great think about literary festivals is that literary festivals bring together
216 artists and the people who use or consume or whatever, you know, uses of the art,
217 writers together with readers, in a situation where both have some kind of value.
218 Book festivals are not just valuing writers. They are also valuing readers and good
219 book festivals are good because the writers learn as much as the readers. So the
220 writers learn from the readers and the readers learn from the writers and the readers

221 learn from other readers and so on. So it is a proper democratic forum for discussion
222 in which everybody learns.

223 And so (pause) book festivals I think can contribute to this new understanding of
224 about we can play together. Which does not mean to say that the art, the writing has
225 to change, but the ways in which we can work with writers, to help the discussions
226 with readers, that is something that we as book festival organisers can do. And I
227 want to do. Which is to be very explicit, here we are in this difficult political situation,
228 let us talk about it. Let's think about what we can do to help. So it should empower
229 audiences, it should empower readers and writers to think of new ways to make
230 society better. #00:26:17-2#

231 Researcher: And what do you think what role could literature festivals play in social
232 inclusion? #00:26:25-1#

233 Interviewee: (pause) If (pause) how can I put this (pause) okay my emotional urge is
234 to say yeah! Really important! We can! Social inclusion can be part of what we do!
235 But the reality of course is that social inclusion is a very important ideal for us and
236 aspiration, but it is also very very difficult to achieve.

237 So for example, for us the amount of work and persuasion and money that it takes
238 to bring 80 refugees, most of them Syrian, all of them Muslim with their children to
239 Edinburgh this year, the cost of doing that with a number of people looking after
240 them, with transport cost and so on, is 100 times greater than the cost of inviting
241 somebody from a wealthy, middle-class background.

242 We are fortunate in Edinburgh we have the will and the resources and the political
243 clout to be able to divert some of our resources to bring in to social inclusion projects.
244 Smaller festivals or festivals that have less money may find it very very difficult. Some
245 festivals, different from Edinburgh - Edinburgh's funding is mainly from ticket sales
246 and book sales and private sponsorship and only 15% from public grant funding. But
247 some festivals who have a bigger proportion of their income from the state, if that
248 is going to reduce because (unclear) state funding is going down, then that is one
249 challenge for these festivals. Then if also the festival is being asked to divert a chunk
250 of that money to social inclusion, and it will have to be a big chunk because it is
251 expensive, then you are leaving a very small chunk left for the actual bringing authors
252 from abroad. If you are spending a big proportion bringing audience members from
253 hard to reach groups and (pause) policy situations, poverty and so on, there is a risk
254 that the programming can become more difficult. So I think we have to find a balance
255 here.

256 Yes. Book festivals should think about social inclusion. But let's not forget that that is
257 difficult and that it costs money and we also have to be bringing great authors from

258 around the world and so on. #00:29:26-6#

259 Researcher: And what do you think has to change maybe for literature to be more
260 socially engaging? #00:29:33-8#

261 Interviewee: Puh. (pause) What has to change. (pause) It is so hard to answer that
262 question because it is (pause) it is such a fundamental question about how society
263 is organised. (pause) I do not think (pause) that publishers or writers or literature
264 festivals for example are going to be able on their own to change the world. You
265 know, we have to want to change the world. So if we want greater social inclusion,
266 and if we want that social inclusion (unclear) of literacy, reading more books, then as
267 a society we are going to have to want to change at a very very fundamental level.
268 And I think, to be fair, many politicians do want to try and make that change. Do we
269 as voters want to make that change? Or are we as voters more interested in paying
270 less tax, having more money in our pockets. You know, if elections are going to be
271 won by politicians who promise a few more pennies in your pocket, then the chances
272 are that social inclusion will not change and that people will not read more books. I
273 think we have to be quite radical and quite political about stating that society has to
274 change. We have to be more equal, we have to reduce inequality, we have to give
275 more opportunities to everybody. You know, that is a political question, which book
276 festivals can engage in, but they cannot on their own change. #00:31:43-5#

277 Researcher: Could you talk a bit about what kind of events you programme that try to
278 get people to come to the festival that would not usually come? Do you have certain
279 strands..? #00:31:58-2#

280 Interviewee: Yes. There are lots of different ways. And there are lots of different
281 audiences that it is worth trying to reach.

282 So the first category is what we like to call gateway events. So this would be with
283 writers who might be well known not for writing but because they have done something
284 else. So a comedian, a musician, an actor, who is well known but who has also
285 written a book and then we can find a way to do an interesting event with them. And
286 they all tend to bring with them people who are already aware of them, fans. This is
287 a gateway.

288 The most famous example I like to use is when we invited Vidal Sassoon, the
289 hairdresser. He is dead now, this is eight years ago. And we invited him and many
290 of the tickets were bought by young women who work in the hairdressing salons in
291 Scotland. And so there was this fantastic smell of hairspray and hair products in our
292 main theatre. And many of the people who came had never been to a festival event
293 before. It was a fantastic event, it was not just somebody talking nonsense on the
294 stage. It was a really engaging, political story about a man who builds a worldwide

295 business and who is an Israeli who had come to Britain, you know, a very interesting
296 story. And many people that said to us afterwards wow! I had never been to a book
297 festival before and I am going to come back because I loved it so much. So this is
298 one thing.

299 But then there are also categories of audience members, so for example if one was
300 trying to bring a younger demographic profile, there are all sorts of writers, spoken
301 word for example, it is just very popular with younger people. So in our book festival
302 program every year we have a whole strand of spoken word events which is called
303 Babble On. Babble on as in babbling. And so for the last five years, Babble On, which
304 is a strand of events, it is not just here and there, one-off, it is every year. People who
305 love spoken word expect it. And over those years we have built some of those writers
306 into international names. (pause) They were not very well known at all five years ago
307 and now they can sell tickets to any book festival anywhere in the world. (pause) So
308 there is that. (pause)

309 And there are so many other ways in which we try to do it. So for example another
310 thing that we are doing is to bring diversity to the programme, we have events where
311 chefs who have written books about cooking. Where they have taster events with the
312 food they have cooked. So there is a kind of afternoon tea and food event with chefs
313 from France, Pakistan. So you can taste some Pakistani food and hear about these
314 chefs, who are hugely successful international success stories as chefs. And they
315 have also written a book. So, it takes creativity, but there are lots of different ways to
316 do it. #00:35:39-9#

317 Researcher: I think last year you had the Migrant Stories strand, are you doing that
318 again this year? #00:35:43-2#

319 Interviewee: Not migrant stories, but there lots of events with refugees and migrants.
320 We do not have a strand this year, but this year for example we have a strand which
321 is called This Woman Can. So this is about women who, in one way or another, have
322 been very successful and have a kind of agency in changing things for the better for
323 women. So sports people, politicians, activists, (pause) not all of them would describe
324 themselves as feminists, but they probably have a kind of feminist urge. How do we
325 get a better gender balance? This is one way in which we can help. #00:36:40-3#

326 Interruption #00:37:17-7#

327 Researcher: What do you think could be the role of literature festivals in a post-Brexit
328 society and maybe also especially of Edinburgh Book Festival because you are in
329 Scotland, so that might be a bit different? #00:37:31-3#

330 Interviewee: (pause) Will they change? Will the role change? I am not sure. I think,
331 like I said I think book festivals play an important role in public democracy. They have

332 been so far and they will continue to do so.

333 For me the most striking thing was the Scottish independence referendum 2014. In
334 which book festivals played a really important part in giving people the chance to
335 think through their ideas about independence. So people who arrived with a very
336 basic idea of nationalism or internationalism and they emerged from the book festival
337 with a much more complicated and nuanced understanding of what independence
338 might be and civic national pride and so on. So the book festivals I think played
339 a really important role in making people think complex thoughts. Against the fact
340 (unclear) twitter and social media which I think can often encourage simplification
341 and oversimplification of ideas. It encourages the kind of outrage or anger, simple
342 thinking. Book festivals encourage very complex thinking. And they will always be
343 really useful for that. #00:39:17-8#

344 Researcher: Do you think, not just in terms of the independence referendum but
345 in general, do you think maybe Edinburgh Book Festival's role is a bit different to
346 for example Cheltenham or Hay, just because you are in a different region of the
347 country? #00:39:37-7#

348 Interviewee: Yeah, I think every festival has its own personality. And Edinburgh's book
349 festival has developed a personality which is really on the basis of what audiences
350 say to us. Which is that they want the spirit of the Scottish Enlightenment to be the
351 foundation of what we do. And as a result of that, Edinburgh has a sense about it of
352 the Enlightenment city. What that means in practice, because nobody knows what
353 the Enlightenment meant, what it means in practice is that if we ask people why do
354 you come to Edinburgh Book Festival, the most common answer we get is "to feel
355 better informed". That is the main reason people want to come to the book festival.
356 So if people want to feel better informed, then I think my responsibility is to not
357 only to bring entertainment, but also to bring intellectually challenging, intellectually
358 stimulating, sometimes intellectually troubling ideas to the festival. I am not sure to
359 what extent Cheltenham, Hay feel about this possibility, but I think it is also somewhat
360 part of their mix. (unclear) But at Edinburgh, for me, it is increasingly what (unclear)
361 #00:41:24-1#

362 Interruption #00:43:04-3#

363 Researcher: Do you have any questions for me? #00:43:06-1#

364 Interviewee: Let me try and think. (pause) I suppose one question for you to think
365 about, if you accept Brexit will happen in some way or other, what mechanism can
366 we put into place to stimulate translation, to stimulate travel by authors, to stimulate
367 partnership between literary festivals. Can we think of some kind of organisation or
368 mechanism or investment, which actually says okay, Brexit happened, but this thing

369 will continue all the good work which allows the relationship between German writers
370 and British writers or French writers and Italian writers. We need to keep that going.
371 So what can you propose as somebody who is thinking hard about this to me, what I
372 can campaign for. Because I have a certain influence in the world of publishing and
373 festivals, but I need help in coming up with a framework which would be inspiring to
374 me. And then I can talk to Uli Schreiber at the Berlin literature festival and to (unclear)
375 at the Étonnant Voyageurs festival and I can say let's do this together. There is this
376 (unclear) project which has come up with this idea which we all need to sign up to
377 and we can raise money for and it will help us be more international. So my challenge
378 to you would be, think of something, don't simply try to analyse the status quo, but
379 actually come up with a recommendation for what we should do in the future. And
380 then your thesis would be really really useful. #00:44:57-6#
381 Researcher: Yes, that is a very interesting thought, thank you.

I4) Interview with Rosalind Green, Essex Book Festival, 30 June 2017

Introduction #00:00:46-0#

1 Researcher: How do you think is Brexit going to impact the work of your organisation?

2 #00:00:54-6#

3 Interviewee: Well, it is very difficult to tell at the moment simply because I think
4 the British Government has been very vague. And so there is no clarity what the
5 position will be. My festival is very keen on developing relationships nationally and
6 internationally. We work really closely for example with the Polish Cultural Institute. I
7 have just been on a trip to Estonia. #00:01:43-8#

8 Interruption #00:02:08-7#

9 Interviewee: At the moment it is very vague and uncertain. It feels like a set-back
10 (unclear) to me, or certainly a new set of challenges in terms of maintaining and
11 developing new relationships. It is not insurmountable but a lot of the work that I do
12 with European partners is very much predicated on good will and networking and
13 shared resources. (Uncertain?) is how I feel. That is the main thing I feel. And (pause)
14 I think it will make me work even harder at existing twinings that we have.

15 So I am a county-wide festival and the only county-wide book festival in the UK.
16 And my festival runs for the whole of March, so it is the only month-long festival. We
17 are a charity but we are based within the University of Essex, the Creative Writing
18 Centre. So again, we are a really unusual book festival. And our ambition is very
19 much to, well, we kind of brand ourselves as reaching the parts other festivals do not
20 reach. And that is not a flipping comment or intent, we work with prisoners, we work
21 in hospitals, we do twinings with Polish writers every year. We have a very strong
22 human rights strand. I am very much developing a translation strand, which obviously
23 again is challenged by Brexit.

24 I mean there is a potential, you know, what is it the Chinese say, that (pause) a crisis
25 can also be an opportunity. You know, personally I was very pro remain and would
26 personally like to see us remain in the EU. That is my personal feeling. I am very sad
27 about the whole situation but if we do, supposing we do actually go out of the EU, I
28 will just double my efforts to maintain links. (unclear) I mean you know, I feel really
29 strongly that this has challenged my identity. I identify as European. (unclear)

30 I mean obviously funding is significant (unclear) wider funding would feed into projects
31 that I work on, you know that is alarming.

32 And they are involved in the University of Essex, it is one of the most diverse
33 campuses in the UK. It is also very concerned about the impact on research. Clearly
34 other EU countries are less likely to knock on a British university door as a partner
35 when the door might be closed for whatever reason. (pause) Overwhelmingly it is

36 uncertainty. (unclear) I have a strong refugee, asylum seeker and migrant dimension
37 in my festival, so again, this impacts on that.

38 Maybe, you know, one thing I would love to see is an increased interest from British
39 people in other languages, other European languages. We are really bad at speaking
40 other languages. We might just have to learn them. You know, listen to you, I can
41 speak very very basic German. We might have to learn languages again. We have
42 very few books in translation compared to other European countries. (unclear) if we
43 want to be this tiny little island, we are going to have to learn new skills to survive.
44 Which could be interesting. (laughs) #00:08:02-2#

45 Researcher: You mentioned funding. Have you received any funding through Creative
46 Europe at some point? #00:08:07-5#

47 Interviewee: I have not, but I know that other partner organisations that I work with
48 that are larger will have had funding. And in that way, just the ecosystem of funding,
49 that funding will have influenced certain projects that I work on. So Essex Book
50 Festival not specifically, but other organisations that I work with that help fund my
51 activity. It will impact on, yes. #00:08:41-9#

52 Researcher: I think we have alluded to it a little bit, can you think of any chances or
53 opportunities for Essex Book Festival arising from Brexit? #00:08:53-7#

54 Interviewee: (pause) I mean I would really like to see it as an opportunity for the festival
55 to increase its focus on translation and communication and building bridges. And I
56 think we have a serious need of building bridges (unclear) after this series of events.
57 And Essex Book Festival is really good at that. We are a very agile organisation,
58 we are very committed to cross-border relationships. In a way, we may be slightly
59 ahead of the game on that than more traditional book festivals. So maybe there is an
60 opportunity there. Certainly for me, I am going to be more proactive at looking it up
61 the existing twinnings. I am going to actually zero in on that. For 2019 that will be the
62 theme. I suspect that will be the key theme of my festival 2019, as a response. So
63 maybe that is good. Maybe that will be a good outcome.

64 Again, you know, it is almost impossible. We do not even know who is going to be
65 living in the country, we do not know what trading partners we will have or what tariffs.
66 We have no idea. And it is very different for one country as opposed to 27. Because
67 we have isolated ourselves so dramatically by this perplexing decision. I mean you
68 know I am kind of intrigued by how you view it. You know, what did you think when
69 we voted out. I cried. #00:11:10-9#

70 Researcher: (Explains) #00:11:55-5#

71 Interviewee: I feel really strongly, it is more than trade agreements, more than
72 freedom of movement, that for me is not the most significant part of it. For me it

73 is the geopolitical stability of Europe. You know, trading agreements, so we make
74 ourselves poorer than that is our fault. We can fix that on ourselves. It is unfortunate,
75 really unfortunate, if we do not have freedom of movement, really sad because I
76 really believe in it. But to challenge the geopolitical stability of Europe (unclear) given
77 the 21st century history of Europe, the early 21st century, I am very alarmed about
78 that.

79 That is why my focus will be very much on building relationships and keeping
80 conversations going and finding other ways to work.

81 And obviously for me, the arts are not just for enjoyment. They are much more. The
82 thing that motivates me is how transformational a lot of the projects that I work on are
83 within the community and across communities.

84 And so I will just you know, redouble my efforts and very much focus on that. So
85 again, maybe that is another positive outcome that it will really make us much more
86 focussed on certain strands.

87 This year I am doing a strand on war and peace to explore the series of peace talks
88 and that is very much to explore the end of WWI in terms of peace. And we will be
89 looking at the Cold War and you know, working with different countries on that. And
90 I suspect that is something I think 2019 as I just said, I think it will be about borders
91 and doors and gates and keys and things like that. (unclear) This will be prioritised.
92 Because I am absolutely dependent on funding, therefore I have to make sure that
93 the public funding that I am given is well used. (unclear) That for me is probably the
94 most important thing. #00:15:24-1#

95 Researcher: Do you think Brexit could also cause a threat to artistic quality?
96 #00:15:37-6#

97 Interviewee: In the UK? (pause) I do not know. I have not thought about it. (pause) I
98 think it could go either way. People are very angry about it. So again, it might actually
99 really stimulate thinking. I mean there is the obvious impact on (unclear) cross-
100 partnerships in the same way that research could be compromised. Yeah, okay, I
101 would say in terms of loss of funding that will have implications and cross-boarder
102 activities. I think in the UK it could stimulate a creative response. But in terms of
103 excellence it could, again it depends how the funding goes, but I suspect the arts are
104 not going to be a priority.

105 And I suspect the UK is going to be significantly poorer. I could be completely wrong.
106 But certainly we will enter a period of significant financial instability. And as such the
107 arts do not have to be funded. So we are struggling to fund the NHS. A book festival
108 is not going to be a priority.

109 So yeah, I think particularly larger projects, I am not so sure about writing. Because

110 it is not so expensive. But film making, you know the (unclear) new opera, stuff like
111 that, I can see how that could definitely impact. In a way, writing is one of the you
112 know, cheapest art forms to create. And often done in isolation. So the partnerships
113 are different. (unclear) Translation and shared platforms, I just think there is going to
114 be a knock-on effect because a lot of things are interconnected with universities and
115 with arts organisations. So we are just in for a very bumpy ride. (Sighs) And most of
116 the arts community obviously wanted to stay in. As did the academic. (laughs) So
117 yeah. But these are creative people and creative people can come up with creative
118 solutions. You know, we just have to be clever and I imagine there are going to be
119 some fantastically innovative ideas. And also we live in a digital age so that could be
120 a quite interesting.

121 How we negotiate digital space as opposed to physical space in terms of maintaining
122 contacts and developing projects. That could be interesting. Trying to be positive
123 here. (laughs) Quite (unclear) talking to you because I have not had some of these
124 thoughts before. (laughs) We have been burying our head in the sand. And we are
125 not there yet we are not out yet. We live in strange times. The era of Donald Trump.
126 #00:19:35-5#

127 Interruption #00:20:18-8#

128 Interviewee: The young generation here, they are called the woken generation. And
129 I think that is where the digital argument could be very interesting. I do not think that
130 they will let go of connections. I think they will demand that space (?) and I think it will
131 be a digital space. Maybe. You know, I am older so I do not understand it enough.
132 That is what I feel.

133 I think, you know one of the really sad things for me is (pause) the universities and
134 the impact on the Erasmus programme. A lot of that stuff really impacts on the arts
135 and translation. I think that could have an effect. A serious effect. You know because
136 I know so many young people who go and study in Berlin.

137 They do their degrees in Berlin. They go to Holland. Lots of my childrens' friends
138 study in Holland. You know, it is a really normal thing to do. And I have taught at
139 the University of Essex and lots of my students were European students. And it is
140 fantastic having European students in your creative writing classes or your language
141 classes because it is a fresh perspective. And they come from a different canon of
142 books. And so it is very exciting and you take that out of the classroom. (unclear) a
143 lot of my best students were German, thinking about it. And you lose that. Because
144 you know, the foreign students are very competitive, they have worked hard. They are
145 motivated. So when they come they are really focused, they know what they want
146 out of it. They are not just there to have a holiday at all. And so to lose that resource

147 I think is really upsetting. #00:22:32-8#

148 Interruption #00:23:00-4#

149 Interviewee: When that goes, I do not know, that really upsets me. Particularly given
150 that we live in a world that is so interconnected and so global. It is different from
151 university in the 80s, it is a very different world now. The notion of being insular
152 seems to be bizarre. (laughs) Aside from everything else. But yes, we will have to see
153 what happens unfortunately. #00:23:38-0#

154 Researcher: After the referendum I think Ed Vaizey called for the arts to play a role
155 in ending the uncertainty and division caused by Brexit. What do you think of that?
156 #00:23:49-5#

157 Interviewee: I think the arts definitely do play a role.

158 I would like to see the funding to enable arts organisations to do it. I think it is (pause)
159 a quite bizarre situation because it was not the arts that were seeking this. Inevitably
160 they will play a role and in fact a lot more money has just gone into diversity. Or
161 certainly the focus in the arts is very much on diversity. As it should be in the current
162 situation. And the arts will step up. But it is just ironic (laughs) because if they had
163 asked their opinion beforehand the arts would have well, you know, they obviously
164 would have said let us stay in.

165 They will do it. The arts will do it. They will do what they can. #00:24:56-8#

166 Researcher: What role do you think literature festivals can play in social inclusion?
167 #00:25:00-5#

168 Interviewee: Oh I think they can play a huge role. My festival very much does. As I
169 have said before a lot of my programming is focused towards inclusion. In the UK,
170 I mean I do not know what it is like in Germany, there is 365 book festivals in the
171 UK. So there is one for every day of the year basically. And they obviously go on for
172 longer than a day on the whole.

173 When I took over the Essex Book Festival three and a half years ago (pause) the
174 average audience member was a 65, white, degree-educated, woman. That was the
175 average audience.

176 So my commitment has been to get an audience that is much more diverse and much
177 younger in the course of a year. And it has been hard work. But I have been able to
178 get the funding to do the work.

179 So I worked with African families and refugees, I am now working on a big Chinese
180 project. I work as I said before I work with prisoners, I work with the Roma community,
181 I work with people with disabilities and I work with a community which is often not
182 thought of in terms of social inclusion and diversity and it is people on low incomes.
183 So I run a lot of events in local libraries that are very cheap or free and in bits of Essex

184 that are very poor. For me it is really important.

185 Not all book festivals (pause) you know, book festivals can be very elite. By their
186 nature they imply that you should be literate. And they are quite intimidating. So I
187 have done everythig to reverse that trend in my festival and we have pulled it of. So
188 I am very very proud.

189 And we work with homeless communities, I'm working with army barracks next year,
190 I am working with the poorest town in the country, in the UK, on a project. #00:27:39-
191 7#

192 Researcher: Can you give me an example, what kind of projects these are, what
193 events come out of them? #00:27:44-9#

194 Interviewee: Okay, well, for example in last year's festival I worked in Chelmsford
195 prison. It is very hard for prisoners, I do not know what it is like in Germany, but there
196 is a huge shortage of staff so lots of prisoners do not even go out of their cells very
197 much. And they have access to go to the library for one hour every two weeks. So not
198 great for rehabilitation. I am working with English PEN and with Chelmsford prison
199 and with Essex County Council and the University of Essex. We ran four creative
200 writing workshops in the prison library with vulnerable prisoners. Some of these
201 prisoners have been in prison for a very long time. And then they had an opportunity
202 to read their work to the prison governor. The prisoners liked the workshop so much
203 that they actually asked if it could be continued. I did not have any more money to do
204 it, but (unclear) volunteered to run free workshops. So she ran four more workshops
205 and at the end of the four workshops, one of the prisoners - this is only one example
206 - but one of the prisoners said it was the first time he had felt free in 20 years, writing
207 his own story. For me that is really transformational.

208 Another thing that was really good last year: I have done a lot of work with the Roma
209 community independently of the book festivals for about the last 15 years. And in this
210 country it is the most hidden community, the hardest community to engage. And also
211 the most marginalised in terms of health, education, housing. And I do not normally
212 do an event in the library that I decided to do one in. It is one of the very deprived
213 areas of Essex. But we did it. And I put a very untypical book festival writer who writes
214 very trashy chick gangster stuff. I have not read any of her books. And she is in the
215 Times Top 10, but no one books her for a book festival. She comes covered in bling
216 and she is a real East-End ex-cabby. And she is amazing! And my only thought when
217 I got to the library, I had never been to this library before and I got there and I was
218 thinking I cannot even find it on my phone. And so I parked in this library in the centre
219 of town and I asked four people in the library where the library was. And neither of
220 them knew where the library was. And then the fifth person said you are in the library

221 car park. So most people did not even know they have got a library there. And then
222 I was thinking well, no one is going to come to this event. So I kind of went into the
223 library a bit despondent thinking well I have got my gangster chick woman coming
224 in and it is going to be empty and kind of disheartening. What happened was tons of
225 people turned up. And I was thinking where (unclear) these people come from. And
226 then because I have worked with the Roma community for a very long time I realised
227 it was actually the Roma community, who live locally, and quite a lot of them. And I
228 was thinking why have they turned up at a book festival event. Literacy is very low in
229 the traveller community. And I was thinking why have they turned up? All the events
230 I have done in the past I almost had to pay the community to turn up. And they paid
231 seven pounds to come to the library. And they were really animated and they were
232 asking loads of questions. And then I realised that what I had actually done was I
233 programmed something that they wanted to come to legitimately.

234 And Kimberly said I have never been invited to any other book festival. No one would
235 ever have me because they are so posh and elitist.

236 And it was one of the best events I have ever been to. Just the questions were
237 different, the engagement and I did evaluation afterwards and none of them had
238 been to a book festival before. So it was really interesting in terms of social inclusion
239 that you have to really think about what people want to go to. You cannot force
240 people to go. If you want a legitimate audience you just have to put on something that
241 they want. And that was a big learning exercise.

242 But I also worked with African families in the UK, an organisation that works with
243 recently arrived African teenagers. So I ran spoken word hip hop workshops for 40
244 African kids. And that was fantastic. So yes, lots of things like that. And we are always
245 asked to do it again and to do more of it next year.

246 But at the same time I will have a really big event in the Tudor palace, an incredibly
247 posh wonderful Tudor building. And it will be the same price as going to the libraries,
248 I do not charge more, but it will be a completely different audience. A highly educated,
249 white, privileged audience will go there.

250 So you know, I am doing my best to include everyone. Because I do not just want
251 to do diversity and then exclude the other people because that serves no function
252 whatsoever.

253 And in fact what is quite interesting I had my brochure with my 90 events in it. And
254 I actually put my prison library event in it. And then I had people go why did you put
255 the prison library event in? No one can go to it apart from the prisoners. Which is true
256 (laughs). It is a closed event. But from my perspective it is important for the people
257 who are in Chelmsford prison to know that they are part of the festival. It is their

258 festival too. And the fact that they cannot go to other events, well, they cannot. And
259 other people cannot come to theirs. But it is all part of the same family of events. That
260 is really important to me. And we are finally getting there.

261 Actually in terms of Brexit, this is a really interesting thing that I did, this was my
262 response to Brexit, okay. After Brexit, hate crimes ballooned in this country. Horrific.
263 There was a Polish guy in Harlow which is a new town and you know, not very well
264 off. And he was murdered. Now, you know, they are saying he was not necessarily
265 murdered because he was Polish, but certainly the Polish community think he was
266 murdered because he was Polish. And my response to that was normally they want an
267 event with someone who has got something to do with the EastEnders or something
268 like that, a TV connection. And I said no, we are not going to do that we are going to
269 do a Meet the Neighbours Day. And they said what is a Meet the Neighbours Day?
270 And I said a Meet the Neighbours Day where we host a series of Polish events in
271 partnership with British events, we invite people in for free Polish cakes. We spend
272 a whole day focussing on celebrating the Polish community in Harlow . And I ended
273 up doing if you look on my website under We are all in the same Boat, I worked
274 with (unclear) and she made this giant community paste up that was 40 foot high
275 (unclear) British story teller who gathered the stories. And we created all of these
276 activities, we had the Polish ambassador there, we had two MPs, the town chaplain,
277 we had all sorts of people involved including members of the homeless community
278 and members of the Muslim community. It was quite an amazing thing. We did it
279 very very quickly. With the Polish Cultural Institute giving us money, the Arts Council,
280 everyone getting behind us. It was a very positive thing, it got on the local TV. It
281 did not really need to get on national TV, it needed to get on local TV because it is
282 the local thing that needed to be addressed. So that was my response to that. I am
283 very proactive. Very quick. (pause) When I first (unclear) I had never done anything
284 (unclear) I had never worked (unclear) communities in Harlow before (unclear) lands
285 his fist on the table (unclear) god I have offended everyone. I have just you know I
286 am someone who is not from here who is coming in, telling them that they are racist
287 and which was not what I was doing but you know what I mean. And he said this is
288 fantastic, finally someone is sticking their head above the parapet. And saying let us
289 do something positive. And from that moment onwards all of the arts community got
290 behind it. And it was really exciting. And it was not even my project by then end of it
291 I just sort of started it. (laughs) And I let it grow. There was a really sweet moment
292 where we had the Polish Saturday School involved. (unclear) Polish communities
293 (unclear) as Polish at the moment because it is quite intimidating. So the Saturday
294 School came and a little boy came and to recite a poem and he came dressed very

295 formally in a suit. He recited the poem from memory obviously in Polish and a group
296 of British kids from very mixed backgrounds sat in a circle around him. He recited a
297 10-minute poem completely from memory in Polish and all of the kids sat round in the
298 circle and none of them messed around or anything, they were just in awe of this boy
299 who was brave enough to do that. They did not understand what he was saying but
300 they knew what he was doing was brave. And I think that that is equally important as
301 a 40 foot mural. That little boy. Because you know there were probably ten children
302 listening and that was probably their first experience of the Polish community. (pause)
303 So yes, that is what I am doing. All of that stuff. And I would not have done it if it was
304 not for Brexit, I would not have done my event. So there is another positive. (laughs)
305 If we are going to be positive. (laughs)

306 It has changed my programming. It has definitely changed my programming, my way
307 of working. It is creating urgency. It is focusing the mind. And we are very open for any
308 ideas that anyone wants to throw at us. Very very up for collaborations. #00:39:37-3#

309 Researcher: I have spoken to quite a few people about this. And they have all said
310 inclusion is very important but it is so difficult and we have done it before and not
311 many people have showed up to the event. What would be your recommendations
312 for book festivals trying to do these kind of events? #00:39:55-9#

313 Interviewee: You have to really know why you are doing it and who your audience is.
314 If you think that you can do an event with Polish authors and get people in Harlow to
315 turn up, you are very misguided. If you do what I did, which was to set it up as a series
316 of twinings. So everything I did in Meet the Neighbours was a twinning.

317 I got one of the top writers in Poland to come and talk about her memoir which was
318 long listed for the International Booker Prize. But I knew that no one would go and
319 see Violeta however much I raved about the book. So I got Sarah Perry who is the
320 hottest writer in the UK at the moment, and she is from Essex, to come and interview
321 her. And I knew that people would be desperate to see Sarah Perry. And then I
322 got a husband and husband crime writing team and I really wanted them because
323 LGBT rights are very challenged in Poland at the moment. And they were over from
324 Warsaw for the London Book Fair. So I invited them and they said yes and I thought
325 well, no one is going to go and see them. So then I got the most famous (unclear)
326 duo to come and interview them about being partners in crime.

327 We gave away free Polish cakes, we had craft workshops for children, I had stilt
328 walkers who were either dressed in traditional Polish clothes or British traditional
329 businessmen bowler hat clothes.

330 Every element of it had an entry point for both communities. You cannot just expect
331 people to turn up. There is no reason why they will go listen to a Hungarian writer.

332 You have to give them the reason for going. And that is what it comes down to in the
333 event that I did for Basildon library where the Roma community turned up. I did not
334 know that there was a connection because I had not read the book, I am ashamed to
335 say. But it has got a strong strand of a gypsy family in it and that is why they came.
336 So it is about making things relevant. If you want to include people you have to really
337 know who they are.

338 (unclear) it is not a tick box. Because everyone means well but there is no point in
339 doing it if no one comes. Serves no function. If anything it is actually a negative. Has
340 a negative impact.

341 So I see it again as conversations. Make a really active conversation between
342 different communities. Mix it up. And entice people, give them food! Always give
343 people food! Give people free food from that country. Make people eat. People like
344 eating. You have to do that.

345 I mean I have worked on diversity festivals for years now. And I am a diversity
346 audience development consultant. That is what I was doing before the book festival.
347 Because I do know how to do this. It is much more simple. It is very simple. You know
348 you just think about what people want. And what their fears are. And you might bring
349 them in in a very simple way by having a traditional dance and then force them to
350 look at something a contemporary installation. And somehow in that contemporary
351 installation (unclear) something very seductive like a fairy story. Again you have to
352 have a creative solution. (unclear) you cannot get audiences to do this. And if you
353 cannot get audiences then do not do it. Let the money go to someone who can.
354 Because it is too important it is so important. It is what I think. #00:44:15-3#

355 Researcher: Thank you. #00:44:20-5#

356 Interviewee: But I am in a quite strong position simply because I do not come from
357 a background in publishing. I am not a literary agent. I come from a background in
358 festivals (unclear) theatre, then moved into cabaret and circus and ended up in books.
359 I have studied English literature and I keep studying it. (unclear) go on another level
360 I did my PhD on Scottish gypsy story telling and how it impacted culturally in terms of
361 people's awareness (unclear). So before I did the book festival I was involved in that.
362 So I have entered the book festival world from a completely different place from most
363 people. My knowledge of publishers is very weak compared to theirs.

364 So my programming is quite different. It is more experimental and all my funding all
365 the funding that I get is generally for diversity and for experimentation. Which is a
366 massive privilege. Because it means I can take risks. I cannot be safe, I can never
367 be safe. I have to take risks. Which obviously excites me. And excites other people.
368 #00:45:53-2#

369 Researcher: Do you think it is harder or easier for literature festivals to put up inclusive
370 events in comparison to for example the performing arts? #00:46:06-8#

371 Interviewee: I do not think it makes any difference. (pause) The main challenge is
372 where you are doing the arts. Where you are doing the work. So for example if you
373 were in Norfolk, which is not very diverse, then you are going to struggle whether
374 you are a book festival or performing arts. We do homegrown diversity. So I think it
375 depends where you are.

376 It may be cheaper to do it but you probably have more community engagement
377 naturally if it is performance arts. So you know but I personally do not think it makes
378 any difference.

379 In a way I suppose language could be an inhibitor. Performance does not have and
380 visual arts certainly do not have in the same way.

381 And given that the UK has such a pathetic amount of translated literature and such
382 low language skills in a way it can be harder if we are going to argue that one. For
383 me that is not very significant. #00:47:25-5#

384 Researcher: What do you think could be the role of literature festivals in a post-Brexit
385 society? #00:47:33-3#

386 Interviewee: To keep the conversations going. So we do not lose contact. To keep the
387 conversations going.

388 And to promote translation. Because I think translation is going to be fundamental
389 to stop isolationism in this country. We have got to get people reading books from
390 other countries. So I think that is really important. Yes. Most important thing. (unclear)
391 And I am sure we will do it. I am sure I will be much better at it than the politicians.
392 #00:48:47-4#

393 Researcher: Thank you. #00:48:59-9#

394 Interviewee: It is because social inclusion is at the heart of everything I do. It is
395 possibly the single most important thing of the Essex Book Festival. I think it is
396 (unclear). It is what gets me up every day.

I5) Interview with the director of a small, Midlands-based literature festival, 7 July 2017

1 Introduction #00:00:58-7#

2 Researcher: I know you said you do not think you can contribute anything Brexit
3 related to my research, but would you mind just quickly explaining why? Because I
4 think this is also a relevant finding for me just to include it. #00:01:10-5#

5 Interviewee: I suppose that my relationship when I am programming the festival is
6 usually with British publishers. And on the whole it is British writers. And that has
7 nothing to do with you know because I choose it that way. It is just that those are the
8 ones that usually (unclear) me. If British publishers are publishing a foreign writer
9 they will be publishing it in their imprint. They will not be publishing it in a foreign
10 imprint. So they would not for example when they have a German writer they would
11 not be publishing it under a German name. It would be a British publisher doing it.
12 And part of the reason why we do that is because often publishers will help pay
13 for travel for example. We pay all our authors who speak and we also if necessary
14 put them up in hotels but we tend to share the cost of the travel with the publisher.
15 Because otherwise it becomes terribly terribly expensive for us to put them on.

16 The occasions that we have used a foreign writer knowingly, if you know what I
17 mean, as opposed to a writer who happens to be a foreign person who has been
18 published in Britain, is when we have worked with people like the British Council. We
19 did a project where they were promoting writers from China and they covered the
20 cost of a writer coming over to the UK to tour at various venues and he came over
21 and talked at (the festival). So that is obviously outside the EU. The British Council
22 have recently done a project with Turkey. We did not use any of their writers but had
23 we done so I think they would have brought them free of charge.

24 We are not buying any - if you call a writer a product - we are not buying any products
25 from outside of Britain. #00:03:13-0#

26 Researcher: Do you think Brexit could cause a threat to artistic quality? #00:03:21-
27 8#

28 Interviewee: (pause) Honest answer, no. Because I think (pause) as I explained
29 before just because of the nature of what we do we tend to be fairly British focused.
30 If I was going to run an event about the European Union or for example we have
31 got (name) coming to talk about America in the autumn, it will almost always be a
32 British writer. If a publisher was offering me an American writer or a French writer or
33 an Italian writer who have written a book I think would be really interesting for our
34 audience then I would not hesitate to ask if we could be included in their tour.

35 Where Brexit might cause a problem is if we then had to apply for visas for them to

36 come over. That probably would not be my problem. It would be the publishers who
37 would deal with that.

38 So if I found that I was not being able to programme things that I really passionately
39 wanted to programme because of things like visa issues then yes, I suppose it will
40 become a problem. So I could not say emphatically it would not become a problem
41 but at the moment it is not. #00:04:41-8#

42 Researcher: And in terms of literature itself, in terms of the content, do you think
43 Brexit could have an effect on that? #00:04:49-3#

44 Interviewee: No. Because we are are very liberal and I think most literary festivals are.
45 We are a very liberal thinking festival. I would not give a platform to a racist. I would
46 give a platform to anyone with a what I think is an inoffensive opinion which would
47 not cause disruption. So I think our artistic integrity is as it ever was. #00:05:20-6#

48 Researcher: After the referendum Ed Vaizey called for the arts to play a role in
49 ending "the uncertainty and division" in society caused by Brexit. What do you think
50 of that? #00:05:31-6#

51 Interviewee: I think it can in terms of giving people a platform to speak. It is really
52 interesting in the UK it seems to be okay to promote the fact that you have voted to
53 remain. People who voted to leave have been quiet in admitting it. And if anything
54 since the vote which ironically was an enormous shock for everybody - you would
55 have thought no one voted to leave by the impact it had - there has not really been
56 and open debate to my knowledge since then. With remainers vs leavers because
57 the government has taken the angle of right, well you voted out so out it will be. And
58 so in point of fact (pause) there perhaps has not been a debate and I suppose the
59 arts in its broader sense could still create that debate and platform that debate. We
60 are in interesting times at the moment (pause) because we have not negotiated how
61 we are going to get out. It is a sort of feeling our way the whole way. So no one is
62 really platforming any discussion about it actually. But also is it the art's place to do
63 that? The arts will reflect public opinion. But as a place of debate for politics I am not
64 sure a literary festival is right for that.

65 You know that really is a sort of political platform isn't it and not a (pause) you know,
66 if someone for example wrote a fascinating novel about it or a short story, absolutely
67 that would be our place. Or you know if an art gallery, for example Grayson Perry has
68 done those wonderful ceramics Remain and Leave. But I think that sort of comment
69 in reflection but it is not our place for debating and (pause) I would not programme a
70 sort of political discussion in that way. I do not need couches around a writer who has
71 written about it or you know. Does that make sense? #00:07:50-1#

72 Researcher: And what do you think what role could literature festivals play in terms

73 of social inclusion? #00:07:55-3#

74 Interviewee: Oh yes that is a very (unclear) point. Do you mean in terms of Brexit or
75 just generally? #00:08:02-6#

76 Researcher: Both. #00:08:04-0#

77 Interviewee: That is a very difficult one because literary festivals, all of us, work very
78 very hard to be inclusive and diverse as well. And it is at the heart of the debate at
79 the moment in the UK because a recent - I do not know if you read about it but the
80 Chalke Valley History Festival were accused of being too white middle class and
81 not programming enough diverse writers. And we all are very very conscious about
82 making sure we programme a really broad reach of writers of all backgrounds, you
83 know BAME or whatever they might be.

84 But I have to say that those writers are thin on the ground. There are not enough
85 BAME writers in this country and also I am not pitched very many. And that is not to
86 say I have not tried. I do not care what colour background anyone is if the subject is
87 right. (pause) So that is diversity.

88 In terms of inclusion it is a difficult one because I think people perceive literary
89 festivals as fairly elite. Which is very (pause) unfair but it is probably the fault of
90 literary festivals. And I think the word literary itself puts people off.

91 And the way to get inclusion is to engage kids. Because if you engage children you
92 have got them potentially for life.

93 I deliver a festival in probably the best known literary town in the world. And there are
94 people who live (here) who do not care about the literary festival. They say no it is not
95 for me talking about snooty writers lalala.

96 If I programme a cookery writer like Mary Berry I will fill the house. And I will fill the
97 house with people who do not normally come. But they come because it is Mary
98 Berry. Now you could argue if you were a puritan you would argue that Mary Berry
99 is not literary. But (laughs) my argument is: she has written a book. We are a literary
100 festival. And I want to be as open to as many people as I possibly can. So I am not
101 going to be too proud about it, I am not going to be too sort of high brow about it.

102 So I think yes literary festivals if they are careful they can be inclusive. And we all
103 should be. We all should be. Our aim is to get people reading so. #00:10:38-1#

104 Researcher: You mentioned children and I have seen on your website that you do a
105 lot of school events and you have a partnership in Africa. Could you maybe just talk
106 a little bit about that? #00:10:52-0#

107 Interviewee: Yes. We have a sort of schools link project with two schools in Nigeria
108 which we do think (unclear). Which I believe was started by the Nike foundation to
109 empower women, girls in Nigeria. Because you know quite often girls are better with

110 their money (laughs) than boys are. So it is to empower them in terms of business
111 and whatever. So what we do is we do (unclear) pen pal thing where kids in two
112 schools in (town) write to the children in Nigeria and the children in Nigeria write
113 to us. They talk about where they live, their families, what they love to eat, what
114 they love to read, what they love to do, their favourite sport. And we just exchange
115 letters. And its has been very very interesting because it makes the children in lovely,
116 middle-class (town) (laughs) realize what other children lives. We do not do it as an
117 exercise in aren't we lucky, it is more (unclear) closer cultural understanding. And we
118 have done it for two years. And I would like to broaden it out if we can. I would like to
119 make it more beneficent in some way. Either through sending books to Nigeria and
120 whatever because one of the schools is in Abuja which is the capital. But one of the
121 schools is up in (unclear), which is Boko Haram area. So women, particularly girls
122 are not educated to the same level as boys and you know. So if we could then that
123 would be great. #00:12:32-0#

124 Researcher: What do you think would have to change for literature to be more
125 socially engaging? #00:12:40-2#

126 Interviewee: I think probably we are going to have to be more digital. And put it into
127 more accessible platforms. I think it is very encouraging that book sales have not
128 dipped as far as people feared they would. (pause) But I suppose like politicians we
129 need to max on the digital platforms and (pause) essentially because ebooks have
130 plateaued now in this country. You know no one is going to sit down with a book
131 unless they are encouraged and whether that encouragement is what is written on
132 the blurb on the back or because they see something online that says it is good. Then
133 (pause) you know that is the way to draw them in. I think publishers in this country
134 have been quite behind the curb actually, been quite slow in engaging people. But
135 they are now I think a little bit more on it.

136 Ironically that audience for a literary festival and you probably know this from
137 Cheltenham - little kids under eleven are wonderful to deliver events to. It is twelve to
138 eightheens or even twelve to thirty are really, really hard to get to come along. I have
139 been trying for ten years to engage that audience.

140 We even did an event a couple of years ago with Terry Pratchett's daughter. She wrote
141 Tomb Raider. So she is a game writer and the idea was we were going to explore
142 story telling through gaming. And we had to cancel it. We did not have enough sells.
143 Now that may say something about our audience, it might say something about the
144 town, other festivals are a bit more edgy and urban, like (unclear) London might have
145 more success but (pause) we have not got it right. And I still do not know how to get
146 that right. #00:14:42-2#

147 Researcher: And what do you think could be the role of literature festivals in a post-
148 Brexit society? #00:14:49-2#

149 Interviewee: mhm (affirmative). Keep people's minds open. And I think you know
150 nearly half of us voted remain and I reckon if we had a referendum tomorrow we
151 would still be in Europe. So I think that that open-mindedness is still there.

152 I think a lot of that vote was knee jerk, it was anti government, it was absolutely based
153 on ignorance and (unclear) facts. So I think we are not as insular as people like us
154 to believe.

155 But I think we just have to keep that debate open. And if anything if we are eventually
156 out we have got to make sure we work so hard to keep Europe in all our arts activities.
157 And I do not believe we will have closed borders and I think we will come to some
158 agreement on movement of people. Whether it is Tories so what. I think if we can
159 ensure that we really battle the obstacles to stop people coming to this country so we
160 can make sure we feature them. #00:15:59-2#

161 Researcher: And what do you think would be a way of including Europe in for example
162 the literature festival? #00:16:04-7#

163 Interviewee: I think we should (pause) just make sure we include foreign writers.
164 Obviously (pause) I am trying to think of who we have had (pause) who was from
165 outside the UK (pause) as I say it will generally be up to publishers I suppose to make
166 sure they are still publishing European writers. Because I would not actively go and
167 seek a writer in France for example. But as I say if HarperCollins were publishing a
168 French writer in this country and if it was about a subject that would work I would
169 happily programme them. So I suppose it is really the publishers who need to answer
170 you that question. Because they are the ones who deliver us the authors. #00:17:02-
171 2#

172 Researcher: Thank you.

I6) Interview with Chris Gribble, Writers Centre Norwich, 7 July 2017

1 Introduction #00:00:40-3#

2 Researcher: So how do you think is Brexit going to impact on the work of your
3 organisation? #00:00:46-7#

4 Interviewee: I think there is going to be three or four areas of impact. Firstly there is
5 going to be in terms of the artistic impact I think it is just going to be an increase in
6 barriers for the movement of artists. That is going to be the first thing.

7 Then I think there is going to be (pause) more barriers to funding and partnership
8 relationships. Then I think that there is going to be a kind of attitudinal problem or
9 some hindrance with regards to policy in the UK and Europe. I think there is going to
10 be a degree of uncertainty and confusion as to who is doing what with whom and why
11 and when. And finally I think that our prestigious reputation will suffer internationally
12 and we will be likely to see fewer partnership requests. So none of it is very good
13 news. #00:01:34-8#

14 Researcher: I have seen on your website that you recently received funding through
15 Creative Europe for a project. #00:01:46-8#

16 Interviewee: That is right, yes. #00:01:46-8#

17 Researcher: Is funding through Creative Europe an important part for you in terms of
18 funding? #00:01:52-8#

19 Interviewee: It is not hugely significant in terms of our regular annual revenue. But
20 it is in terms of key programmes that we are doing. So that is part of our UNESCO
21 Cities of Literature and our Cities of Refuge programme. And our vast majority of
22 partners in those programmes are European. And if there are more barriers towards
23 participating in European funding bids then that just makes life difficult for the future.
24 #00:02:19-0#

25 Researcher: Do you think Brexit might cause a threat to artistic quality? #00:02:23-
26 6#

27 Interviewee: Yes, I just think the restrictions in movements and more complications
28 in movement will hinder some of those exchanges, the willingness of some of our
29 partners to really engage us. Any restriction leads to some sort of diminution in
30 quality or the opportunity for high quality work to emerge. #00:02:46-5#

31 Researcher: And can you also think of any chances or potential opportunities for your
32 organisation that might come from Brexit? #00:02:52-7#

33 Interviewee: (pause) Honestly, no. We already have very good areas, we have
34 partnerships in Japan, and in Southeast Asia and with India. There are not any major
35 areas that suddenly we are going to have acres of spare time to go and investigate.
36 It just does not work like that.

37 There is just an increase of crap basically that is going to come with Brexit which
38 does not bring any positives that I can see for us as an organisation. #00:03:24-0#

39 Researcher: I have seen on your website as well that translation is very important for
40 your work. Do you think Brexit could have an impact on that? #00:03:28-1#

41 Interviewee: I do not think so, no. I think that is just confirms the rather problematic
42 status of English as a dominant global language. And adds to it our seemingly inward
43 looking status post-Brexit just does not help. #00:03:53-5#

44 Researcher: After the EU referendum Ed Vaizey called for the arts to end the
45 "uncertainty and division" in society caused by Brexit. What do you think of that?
46 #00:04:05-1#

47 Interviewee: Well on a personal level he can screw himself quite frankly. I would not
48 trust a word he says.

49 On a kind of professional level of course no, we are not going to do anything that we
50 are told by anybody, that is not what the arts is. It is not our job to heal the wounds of
51 society nor is it our job to cause the wounds. We will do what we want to do and we
52 will carry on exploring the artistic and social value of what we do. But it is certainly
53 not our job to reconcile the country to political decisions. Whatever colour they are.
54 #00:04:36-7#

55 Researcher: And what do you think what role can literature and also literature festivals
56 play in terms of social inclusion? #00:04:43-8#

57 Interviewee: Generically or to do with Brexit in particular? #00:04:48-7#

58 Researcher: Both. #00:04:54-0#

59 Interviewee: We can be a platform for discussion, we can be a platform for exchange
60 and debate. There is not very much interesting political debate in British arts that is
61 not relatively leftwing. And that is a shame, there should be more. We suffer from
62 some appalling kind of elements of group-thinking in the arts in the UK in which
63 diversity is on the one hand applauded but anyone who actually disagrees with the
64 mainstream leftwing arts is immediately trampled on. Which I think is a shame.

65 The arts can do (unclear) for inequality and diversity and social inclusion in lots of
66 ways. I do not think any of it has got anything to do with Brexit. (laughs)

67 I do not think the vote for Brexit has got an enormous amount to do with Brexit
68 either. It has got much more to do with a protest vote against (pause) some sort of
69 perceived political, social and cultural elites. Because the Pro-Brexiters or the major
70 Pro-Brexiters are much more elitist than any of the Remainers. #00:06:04-7#

71 Researcher: I was quite intrigued by the National Centre for Writing that you are
72 establishing next year. Could you tell me more about that? #00:06:12-8#

73 Interviewee: Yeah, we thought for a number of reasons that we wanted to create a

74 centre that gave us a place where we could have debates about literature, creative
75 writing, literary translation that would talk about the art form. Because we thought
76 there was a lack of a national voice for our art form. There is the poetry society and
77 there are various other kind of art form leads, there is the Society of Authors and
78 the Translators Association but nobody that speaks for the art form of literature. We
79 are not publishers and publishers are not the only part of the literature sector and
80 we wanted to kind of build a real and virtual space so we can collaborate with our
81 national partners, think about internationalism, develop collaborative work and not
82 provide the answers to problems facing writers and readers but provide space where
83 those issues can be explored. #00:07:04-0#

84 Researcher: Sounds really interesting and relevant. I also came across this problem
85 in my research that there is no main body representing literature in the UK. #00:07:20-
86 9#

87 Interviewee: Yes, it is really interesting this sort of dilemma that the sector we are in in
88 terms of the arts is very small. We get less than 2% of the Arts Council core funding
89 as a literature sector. That is all of the literature organisations put together. And yet
90 there is a very big and vibrant commercial publishing industry which we sit sort of
91 slightly uncomfortably next to because we are not here just to make profits. We have
92 got a double and triple bottom line in terms of the social and the artistic impact of
93 what we do. So we wanted to provide a space where people who did work in the arts
94 sector come together to talk about some of those issues. So fingers crossed we open
95 next year. (laughs) #00:08:01-8#

96 Researcher: And what do you think could be the role of literature but also literature
97 festivals and other organisations in a post-Brexit society? #00:08:09-9#

98 Interviewee: I think their role will be almost identical to their current role to be honest.
99 Some of them are good, some of them are terrible. Some of them provide really
100 interesting platforms of debate, engagement, conversations. Some of them are just
101 basically best-selling cookery writers sitting in their tent in front of lots of nice middle-
102 class white people. And that will carry on being the same. (pause) It might provide a
103 bit of (unclear) it seems to have motivated some people to think seriously about kind
104 of nationalism, internationalism and our cultural, linguistic and social connections to
105 the continent. So we will see if there is interesting programming that comes out of it.
106 That will be a reaction to not necessarily caused by Brexit (laughs). And also we still
107 do not know actually what Brexit is. Whatever Brexit does mean it does not mean just
108 Brexit. So that is the only thing that we have learned. #00:09:11-6#

109 Researcher: And in general, what has to change for literature to be more socially
110 engaging, to maybe attract a wider audience? #00:09:21-7#

111 Interviewee: I think (pause) our challenge is to understand which audiences we are
112 trying to engage with and why. And to work with those communities and audiences
113 and not on their behalf. There is an opportunity you know literature the art form of
114 writing and reading and literary translation can achieve loads of things but it does
115 not necessarily do any of them directly. Literature does not set out to be social
116 inclusive, it sets out to be literature. If it is social inclusive in the context it is used or
117 the partnership it is done then brilliant. And it can do that very well. But if it is bad
118 literature it is not going to work. So ultimately it needs to be literature or creative
119 writing or reading or literary translation first and foremost. And then contextualised
120 and put into partnerships that enable (unclear) things to happen and not the other
121 way round. #00:10:21-1#

122 Researcher: I know you are a writers centre of course but do you programme events
123 that are trying to be socially inclusive? #00:10:31-4#

124 Interviewee: Yeah, we have done a series of events that have been particularly
125 welcoming for diverse audiences around autism and Asperger's Syndrome. We try
126 and do family programming as well and we try and ensure that we (pause) kind of take
127 recognition of diverse audiences (unclear) BAME, gender, sexuality and economic
128 status in our wider programs. Not every event can achieve every goal but it is clearly
129 written into our artistic policy and our creative strategy that we need to consider those
130 (unclear) when we are programming and when we are making work as well as when
131 we are sharing work. (pause)

132 We do not always do it right of course. Sometimes it works better than others (laughs).
133 Especially if you do not want to fall prey to being really dull (laughs). Which is the
134 worst thing.

135 Researcher: Thank you.

17) Interview with Lyndsey Fineran, Cheltenham Literature Festival, 12 July 2017

Introduction #00:04:19-8#

1 Researcher: So how do you think might Brexit impact the work of Cheltenham
2 Literature Festival? #00:04:26-7#

3 Interviewee: I mean this is of course very speculative but I guess the key things
4 would be difficulties and barriers to bringing international speakers over. Generally a
5 lot more paperwork and visa things involved that would be something I would be a bit
6 nervous about happening. (pause)

7 And then obviously things like funding. I mean, as you know from Cheltenham our
8 funding team sits very separately to the programming team. So my visibility of our
9 funding streams is not comprehensive. For now we are okay, the Arts Council funding
10 is healthy. But I think along with most arts organisations there is reliance on overseas
11 funding and that could be precarious. I do not know the ins and outs but I think that
12 two mains things would be ease of movements of speakers and fundings streams.
13 #00:05:35-1#

14 Researcher: Do you know whether Cheltenham gets any EU funding? #00:05:35-4#

15 Interviewee: I mean (pause) we have had funding from individual embassies before.
16 So we did the Germany strand a couple of years ago and got some funding from the
17 German embassy. So that is individual countries within the EU. I am afraid I would
18 not know enough about the overall funding of Cheltenham Festivals to comment.
19 Obviously we are part of an umbrella organisation so I find it very difficult to speak on
20 behalf of the other festivals. #00:06:15-1#

21 Researcher: And can you think of any potential chances or opportunities arising from
22 Brexit? #00:06:29-3#

23 Interviewee: I think what we are seeing so far in the book trade as a whole and the
24 arts industry is actually a great sense of defiance. It would not come as much of a
25 surprise to you to learn that most arts people voted remain. So if anything I think we
26 are seeing more of an effort to be more international, to have more diversity in the
27 speakers coming in and it is happening in the topics as well. So it has actually gone
28 the other way whereas obviously Brexit is going to detach us I think there is such a
29 will amongst the good arts people to keep the bridges open, to keep communication
30 open. I was just yesterday at a conference organized by Writers Centre Norwich, it
31 was a big international literature conference. And the onus was very much of (pause)
32 starting and funding collaboration between international bodies. So again, it is that
33 sort of defiance really. To keep the channels open.

34 You might want to look at the statistic but I was at the Man Booker International

35 reception about two months ago. And they said a quite astonishing fact about the rise
36 in sales of translated fiction. And I think it is something like a 15% rise or something.
37 For a field literature in book sales that we think of as quite small it is on the rise. And
38 from chatting to people at the conference and from my own (unclear) I think there is a
39 (pause) obviously we have always been very engaged and we all voted remain and
40 we all travel a lot. But I think there was a bit of (unclear) how much translated fiction
41 do you read and how much do you push yourself out of the literary comfort zone.

42 So the overall message is one of defiance and chance to sort of make connections
43 rather than those being severed. I think people are just still a bit pissed off by it so
44 they are sort of doing whatever they can to take things into their hands.

45 But I do know I mean I do not know whether this is Brexit related or not, but I did
46 hear from a couple of people who had their visas sorted for Norwich and then got
47 turned down at the very last minute. Who then approached Cheltenham to say could
48 you help me with visas (unclear). So I do not know the ins and outs, I do not know
49 exactly where they were from and what the issue was but I think there is a general
50 feeling that you know freedom of movement is getting trickier and there is a lot more
51 paperwork. And I think as an arts organisation (pause) it is something that we have a
52 great will to do, to welcome international writers. But it is expensive and there is a lot
53 more work involved. #00:10:04-5#

54 Interruption. #00:10:54-0#

55 I am sure Norwich would have been incredibly thorough and they know how to get
56 international authors over. So if they cannot do it what hope is there a smaller arts
57 organisation with a smaller team who does not have the experience? That is the
58 concern. And you have worked at our office before, we are obviously one of the big
59 festivals but we are still a small team for the output that we curate. You know how
60 stretched we are.

61 So there is that thing if it gets harder to bring an international author over when
62 you could pick somebody from London or nearby for half the costs and half the
63 (unclear) time, my worry is that that would be the temptation. So the general sense
64 is just that it is going to be a lot harder, a lot more paperwork, a lot more time and
65 costs involved and while we will definitely continue to feature international authors I
66 worry that smaller festivals will not have the resources to. And then we all lose out.
67 #00:12:04-1#

68 Researcher: And do you think Brexit might cause a threat to artistic quality? We have
69 talked about it a bit now but maybe in terms of literature itself? #00:12:12-1#

70 Interviewee: (pause) Again, there is a real defiance there. There is a lot of authors
71 who are very vocal about it. Ian McEwan springs to mind. So these are generally

72 people who are well-read, well-travelled, very empathetic, very sensitive to the sort
73 of human experience. They are going to support whichever way they can. We are
74 already seeing remarkable efforts from the writing community. So I do not think it will
75 damage too much.

76 You can have a look at some of the articles in the bookseller about publishers being
77 concerned about changing tax rates and business deals on the rights side of things.
78 Obviously we are not really affected by that because we only get to a book when it is
79 at the very end of the process.

80 For us I think the way it could damage us is that it is just harder to get the authors
81 we love from across the borders. That would be a real shame.

82 But I think there is a real will not to become insular. And I think Brexit if anything has
83 sort of strengthened everyone's resolve. So for the minute I think because we do not
84 know what is happening and the exact nature of how things will play out, we are just
85 sort of standing firm and standing strong and going about our business. And I think
86 we will continue to do that.

87 The good thing about the publishing industry as opposed to lots of other areas of
88 businesses, we are all sort of on the same side. Publishers, festivals, writers, other
89 arts organisations, we all sort of share the same values and the same aims and
90 things we want to achieve. So my hope, my real hope actually, a benefit of Brexit - I
91 never thought I would say that word - is obviously funding is going to be trickier and it
92 is going to be a lot more involved to bring an international author to the UK, so what
93 I think will happen is that we are going to see a bit more collaboration between arts
94 organisations within the UK. So for instance I had some good conversations with
95 Durham Book Festival and Birmingham Literature Festival who are around the same
96 dates as us in October. We could then sort of club together and combine to cover
97 someone's flight and their visa costs. So one of the benefits might see a bit more
98 collaboration between UK based organisations and further afield. #00:15:29-8#

99 Researcher: It is interesting that you mention it because I expected that answer to be
100 given by everyone but you are the first one who has explicitly said it. #00:15:35-9#

101 Interviewee: Oh really? But credit to Norwich and their conference, I do not think
102 (pause) we do have some relationships, we worked with the Southbank, Intelligence²
103 before about splitting flight costs. But that only tends to be one really big author
104 or speaker per year who is coming from Australia or the States where it is quite
105 expensive to fly from. So we had those relationships in the past but it has really
106 only been this year, probably because I have been out and about and searched a
107 bit more (unclear) Norwich conference really facilitated these conversations. It is
108 looking around and thinking well, there are so many book festivals, so many arts

109 organisations around the same time, it is a bit of a no brainer not to collaborate and
110 share costs and make the most of an author we are passionate about. If we are
111 bringing over someone fantastic from Italy or wherever, we want to give them more
112 than one event at the festival. It is bonkers them coming over for an hour essentially,
113 sign a few books and go home. With more collaboration between UK organisations
114 we can really sort of boost things. #00:16:47-2#

115 Researcher: After the referendum Ed Vaizey called for the arts to play a role in ending
116 the "uncertainty and division" in society caused by Brexit. What do you think of that?
117 #00:17:01-3#

118 Interviewee: I certainly agree. I think we have seen some pretty remarkable efforts
119 actually.

120 Some of the things I would point to (pause) it just feels like, particularly this year,
121 (unclear) because it has been a collection of really shit stuff happening, I do not
122 know. The response in the arts to things like the Grenfell Tower tragic, that was just
123 remarkable. I do not know if you saw them auctioning off the name in Phillip Pullman's
124 new novel? And there was a huge basically literary auction from lots of signed books
125 and authors visits up for grabs to help victims of the tragedy. That is obviously not
126 specifically because of Brexit, I think we are seeing a lot more unity and the arts
127 are very much looked to to respond to these things. Like the Manchester bombings,
128 the huge One Love concert made a global impact. (pause) And politically as well,
129 someone like Jeremy Corbyn, he is engaged with the arts unlike any politician the UK
130 has had in a long time. There was just a big poetry event in London last week with
131 Selena Godden sort of having a night of poetry and politics behind Corbyn. Obviously
132 him being at Glastonbury, things like that.

133 And I think as well when we are looking at our festival programme this year, our
134 entire theme is Who do we think we are? So actually prompted by Brexit, this is
135 how the theme came about, basically an examination of what being British means
136 in 2017. As a country we have made this big statement and we have cut ourselves
137 off, so looking at you know the differences between Remainers and Leavers, the
138 relationship between us and the rest of Europe, how do we see ourselves, how are
139 we seen by the rest of the world. So we are really delving into that this year because
140 particularly in my life time it has been the first bigger sort of question that I had to
141 my British identity. And the first real knock to any pride I had. So I think that is very
142 significant. And within the strand we have got a big, punchy current affairs (unclear)
143 which will look at the effect of Brexit on business, all sort of aspects of Brexit in the
144 commercial world. But I think with some of our guest curators, for instance we have
145 Nikesh Shukla who did "The Good Immigrant", he is one of our guest curators this

146 year and one of the key events he is doing is in his strand is looking at (pause) I think
147 the title is "How to be other in Britain today" and a lot of that event is looking at the
148 spike of hate crimes after the Brexit vote. And it is asking what it means to be treated
149 as other in the country #00:21:18-1#

150 Interruption #00:21:31-9#

151 Interviewee: forms like spoken word have been on the rise over the years, that is
152 a remarkable thing I have watched during my time at Cheltenham. Even just a few
153 years ago it was still rare for a poet or a spoken word performer to be invited onto
154 Newsnight or national TV to comment on something. And we are seeing that now,
155 which is amazing. Obviously people like Kate Tempest and Akala have been out
156 there, George the Poet, Anthony Anaxagorou did a lot for Corbyn. It is getting a bit
157 more of a profile, it is being treated with a lot more of respect and I just think there is
158 this incredibly energy at the minute.

159 So although I am really sad about Brexit I am actually really excited about the state of
160 the arts in the country at the minute. And I think weirdly it has been quite a unifying,
161 energising thing. I am still incredibly sad about it and I wish we could turn back the
162 clock from last June. But I think the arts has behaved in a really admirable, dynamic
163 way. And it has been angry in the right way. We have channeled it in a good sense.

164 #00:23:11-2#

165 Researcher: And what do you think what role can literature festivals play in terms of
166 social inclusion? #00:23:17-6#

167 Interviewee: So something we are really passionate about at Cheltenham is ensuring
168 we have something for everybody in the programme. So whatever kind of books you
169 are into, whatever kind of culture you are into, we have something for you. And that
170 could be everything from very highbrow events on Shakespeare down to events
171 celebrating grime or art or spoken word. Or YouTube stars. So we like to say there is
172 something for everybody. There is an access point for everybody in the programme.
173 We are very mindful of things like our pricing that we want to make accessible to
174 people. That we programme certain events on evening and weekends so that people
175 who are working or studying can still join in. There is obviously, as you have seen
176 with something like Lit Crawl, (unclear) seeing what else literature festivals can do
177 that are outside of a tent.

178 Obviously we deliver incredible panels, and readings and lectures but (unclear)
179 literary content can be accessed in a variety of different ways by a variety of different
180 types of people. Not everybody want to spend £10 and sit in a tent and (unclear)
181 somebody talk for an hour. That does not suit everybody, it is quite intimidating to
182 some people.

183 So I think that is why efforts like lit crawl, where it brings literature out of the tents
184 and into public spaces, and it is more performative (unclear) I think that has a really
185 incredible stride and there is a lot of potential there. And I think just appearing like a
186 friendly organisation that people interact with, we have our own twitter feed now so
187 we are having a lot more direct communication with our audiences. We make sure
188 that at the festivals there are spaces where people can hang out, you do not always
189 have to be in an event or in a cafe spending money. There are things you can see in
190 and around the festival for free.

191 There is obviously that incredible family offer that Lorraine Evans is working on. She
192 has completely transformed the programme and there is a big wild (unclear) where
193 kids can play and do activities.

194 I think social inclusion is across the board. It is nurturing our three year old audience
195 members (unclear) our senior citizens. And I am really proud. I think we do have
196 something for everybody. And there is more we can do, absolutely.

197 And there is also we have this incredible outreach programme with the education
198 team. So they do projects with kids in hospitals who cannot get to school, they do the
199 first story series putting incredible published writers in with budding young writers to
200 get them a published book. So that is really thrilling for them.

201 And we are also working on developing a new ambassador scheme. So that would
202 be putting a raft of young people, 18-25, who will work with us for a year #00:27:51-
203 9#

204 Interruption #00:28:05-0#

205 Interviewee: a bunch of young people doing advice on the programme, let us know
206 what they want to see, what they are reading, who they are watching. Because it is
207 impossible for festivals. So that is another effort by us to try and ensure that we are
208 appealing to lots of people and that we are developing and audience for the future.
209 And that we remain relevant and remain an integral part of the cultural scene. So that
210 is really exciting. We are kicking that off in a couple of months time. And they will work
211 with us for a year. And we are making a special effort to recruit a very diverse group.
212 So generally when you advertise these things it is the very super keen people who
213 are at a good university who already engage with the arts who come forward. So we
214 are doing a really big effort on going into less advantaged areas, people who might
215 not usually have the confidence to do something like this. And just create a really
216 welcoming atmosphere and hope that they will join us and be part of it. #00:01:17-7#

217 Researcher: And what do you think could be the role of literature festivals in a post-
218 Brexit society? #00:29:09-6#

219 Interviewee: I think literature festivals are fantastic places (pause), well this is a very

220 basic point, for open conversations. And conversation we have in person as well. It
221 is fantastic how we are also connected via twitter and all the different social media
222 platforms, but if you think how rarely you are actually going to sit down and have a
223 proper conversation or a debate with someone in your day to day life, it is actually
224 quite rare. So I think what literature festivals do is they bring people together in a
225 very basic, sort of physical way. You are in the same room with people who show
226 an interest not necessarily show an opinion but they are interested in the topic. So
227 I think we are great at facilitating conversations, I think we are great at identifying
228 a diverse range of important voices in contemporary society. We are very good at
229 pulling together the top voices of different areas and give them a platform. And I
230 think we are just there to encourage conversation and debate and foster a love of
231 the written word and I think there are obviously a lot of studies being done about how
232 much empathy you develop as a reader. Because you are constantly sampling other
233 people's lives and experiences. So it is very hard to be close minded and xenophobic
234 if you are an avid reader. So I hope we can just kind of foster that love of the written
235 word. We are just putting some good foundations for the next generation.
236 Researcher: Thank you.

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