

**The Advent of the ‘Festivore’: An Exploration of South African  
Audience Attendance in the Performing Arts at the National Arts  
Festival.**

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**RICHARD ROY ANTROBUS**

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# The Advent of the ‘Festivore’: An Exploration of South African Audience Attendance in the Performing Arts at the National Arts Festival.

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## Abstract

In South Africa, the performing arts have contributed to enhancing national identity and distinctiveness despite coming up against weak legislation, policy and infrastructure to support their growth and proliferation (Fredericks, 2005: 9). Coupled with a decline in both government and consumer support and the contradictory disparity between valuing the arts and the funding of the arts, theatre companies can no longer rely on the comfort of external subsidies and financial support. In order to be economically viable and sustainable to ensure their survival, there is an increasing demand for theatre companies to look to novel ways of increasing audience demand for theatre and improving audience attendance.

However, instead of risking artistic integrity and the performance product to satisfy the market, this research suggests that promotion and development of theatre at arts festivals provides a platform to access a wider theatre-going public, which therefore facilitates a change in the market focus toward appreciation of the product (production). It explores leading arguments pertaining to the attendance of arts and cultural events, namely, Peterson and Simkus (1992), later updated by Peterson’s (2005) „omnivore-univore“ argument. The argument purports cultural consumption as binary in nature: either significant and diverse or limited, if not absent altogether. Supported by a number of case-studies, including Chan and Goldthorpe (2005) and Montgomery and Robinson (2008) and Snowball et al. (2009), the investigation challenges Bourdieu’s (1984) theory on cultural distinction as well as the homology and individualisation argument.

In determining the factors that influence cultural taste and consumer behaviour, including motivators and inhibitors of attendance and a predominant emphasis on audience risk and information asymmetry, the research was placed in a local context, providing an overview of the socio-economic theatre environment in South Africa. It investigated the nature, structure and impact of local festivals (as events) in changing audience demand and theatre attendance.

With specific reference to the South African National Arts Festival (NAF) the research notes the effects of Hauptfleisch’s „eventification“ phenomenon on univore attenders and therefore expands the omnivore-univore theory to include a new breed of attender: the “Festivore”. A case study explored the “Festivore” hypothesis through empirical research, surveys and face-to-face qualitative interviews and on-seat questionnaire responses by festival attenders. Personal interviews and communication was also carried out with leading experts in the field. The data was then analysed using *SPSS 13* electronic statistical analysis programme to determine the socio-demographics and the factors that affect theatre attendance of existing, as well as potential target, theatre audiences at the National Arts Festival. The study concluded that South African theatre attenders are generally omnivorous consumers and that, more importantly, there seems to be a shift towards „festivorous“ consumption.

Furthermore, evidence supports the development and proliferation of festivals as a means not only to support and promote the arts in South Africa but, more importantly, to generate new theatre audiences and entrench theatre attendance into South African culture.

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\* \* \*

I acknowledge that all references are accurately recorded and that, unless otherwise stated, all work herein is my own. I certify that this thesis has not been submitted for a degree at any other university.

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**Richard Antrobus**

**PART 1.**

**Identifying the Problem**

**– The Arts Participant**

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## Chapter One: *Introducing... Theatre In Crisis?*

“Art may be said fully to exist, not from the moment of its creation or recreation or the moment that it is sold, but from the time that it is understood by and gives benefit to its participants or audience” (Pick and Anderton, 1996: 17).

Having performed professionally at numerous festivals around South Africa and abroad over the last 6 years, as well working part-time as an administrator for the First Physical Theatre Company, South Africa, I have been direct witness to Pick and Anderton’s (1996: 16) quandary that “an aesthetic contract needs to exist between artist and audience”. I have often wondered what exactly this „contract“ is or, in layman’s terms rather, what the „magic“ is that is formed between artist and audience. What it is that attracts some audiences to theatre while others have no interest in the performing arts<sup>1</sup> whatsoever? More specifically, in creating, performing and marketing shows<sup>2</sup> for a company like the First Physical Theatre Company (also referred to as „First Physical“), which prides itself on being „avant garde“ and experimental, how does one draw, capture and maintain new audiences amongst growing competition and declining government funding? Hence, the research has been motivated by a personal and vested interest in audience attendance for the performing arts. For this reason, I feel it is appropriate to begin the introduction with a background overview of First Physical and its context within the South African theatre industry.

The First Physical Theatre Company, first launched in 1993, started as a project-based platform for undergraduate and postgraduate students to gain experience working and performing on national and international stages. In 2003, First Physical formed a permanent company and enjoyed a number of successful years developing in size and stature (Stevenson, 2005). In March 2006, however, the company was met with an unprecedented cut in subsidy and support from its two main government-based funders, forcing it to dissolve as a permanent company at the end of July that year.

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<sup>1</sup> It is acknowledged that, henceforth, the term, “performing arts” is used quite loosely in this thesis, but, for the purposes and limitations of the research, generally refers to an event with a „live“ performance aspect, including: dance, theatre, and music. This term is also used interchangeably with: “the arts”, “art/theatre”, “theatre or performance” or “show”.

<sup>2</sup> See above.

Since then, the First Physical Theatre Company has been forced to continue on a predominantly „project-to-project“ funding basis (van Niekerk, 2007).

Because First Physical started as a semi-professional company affiliated with an academic institution (Rhodes University), as well as receiving substantial government grants and funding, it has afforded the luxury of placing its emphasis on developing its own artistic statement/product independent of audience appeal or financial success (van Niekerk, 2007). Rather, in its approach to theatre, the First Physical Theatre Company emphasised its primary goal in creating theatre that questions, explores and forges new frontiers in contemporary dance and performance, both physically and thematically, independent of mass consumer demand (Stevenson, 2005). Commensurately, this reflects Colbert's (2001: 14) notion that, in contrast to traditional marketing concepts of meeting the needs of the consumer, with subsidised art the artistic product does not necessarily exist to fulfill a market need. Here, the artistic product exists independently of the market or audience demand. For many arts organisations where this is the case, companies like First Physical need to target consumers who are likely to appreciate the performance (or product). According to Colbert (2001: 15), Evrard describes this reality as “marketing the supply”. Hence, it may be said that the First Physical Theatre Company follows a product-centred marketing approach – targeting people who already enjoy watching dance/physical theatre.

Pick and Anderton (1996) cite the novelist Kingsley Amis (1989), who posits his opinion on the different effects non-subsidised and subsidised<sup>3</sup> art/theatre has on the product created, the target market, and the consumers of that product:

“The way an artist is paid profoundly affects his product. At one extreme he sells what he has already made, at the other he is paid in full before he starts making anything – that is he is commissioned, he is paid in advance. It is this second mode of payment that goes to the recipient of state subsidies. An artist in that position is relieved of the pressure to please the public, the audience, and is free to court the approval of an inner circle of colleagues, critics, and experts to be self-indulgent” (Pick and Anderton, 1996: 19).

Bearing this in mind, personal experience has shown the work produced by First Physical as having smaller, more limited audience appeal, as it is more exclusive in its

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<sup>3</sup> Government, corporate or private donor subsidies/funding.

product supply and is not essentially market focused. In contrast, unsubsidised theatre often produces a product for mass appeal with a greater emphasis on the sale of that product for financial gain. Unsubsidised theatre relies on consumer demand, as box-office takings provide the means of existence for the artist or company. Kotler and Scheff (1997: ix) noted that: “In England, historically generous government subsidies to the performing arts companies are being reduced and companies are seeking to increase their sales and find new sources for contributed support”.

The predicament is not limited to England, however. Popularity of theatre and dance has declined on a global scale, as substitutes and other social, cultural and economic factors reduce consumer demand for the performing arts (Kotler and Scheff, 1997: 4). The last two decades has seen exponential technological advances in automation and communication; creating the means for instant communication and utility without delay or risk. Unlike the performing arts where the risk lies in the notion that the consumer cannot usually test the product beforehand, these products comply with the notion of complete and instant „transparency“. The increase of entertainment substitutes, their availability, accessibility and product „transparency“, are seen to have had a significant negative impact on consumer demand for the performing arts (Hill et al, 1995). Andersson and Andersson (2006: 74) confirm this argument, noting the growing competition for the performing arts “from electronically distributed cultural products such as television and radio programmes, compact discs, DVDs, and...the Internet”. Andersson and Andersson (2006: 74) further highlight increasing concerns as to “whether the process of technological and economic development will lead to the eventual demise of the classical performing arts with its increasing need for subsidies”.

The dilemma is further exacerbated by „Baumol“s Cost Disease“. The economist, William Baumol, formulated an hypothesis which proposed that “the relative price as well as cost of theatres, orchestras and other groups of performers grow exponentially, at a rate that corresponds to the productivity growth in those parts of the economy that can fully use labour-saving new technology” (Baumol and Bowen, 1966, in Andersson and Andersson, 2006: 77).

In other words, the assumption about production technology is that, as far as resources go, the economy as a whole faces only one constraint – the supply of educated labour. Due to the nature of the performing arts industry – being heavily reliant on labour (and educated labour at that) which is not easily substituted by technology – the relative cost of creating an artistic or cultural product increases at the same rate as the productivity growth in the technologically developing part of the economy. Colbert (2001: 145) surmises: “Unlike other sectors, the arts see production costs rise more sharply, since artistic enterprise cannot take advantage in a gain in productivity”.

Since the increase is also at a higher rate than the arts and cultural sector, subsidisation not only becomes necessary, but needs to constantly increase at a higher rate than inflation if the performing arts industry is to stay afloat (Colbert, 2001: 145). However, popular as it still is, this theory has also come under heavy criticism and, in some instances, has even been disproved (Cowen, 1996: 207-214).

Nevertheless, theatre and the performing arts are often heavily reliant on outside sources of funding, namely the public and private sector. It seems surprising then, that there exists a contradictory disparity between valuing the arts and the funding of the arts. Throsby (2001, in Snowball, 2005: 107) argues that in many ways it is culture that underlies economic development and that “strategies to alleviate poverty in the Third World and to promote economic advancement need to have regard for the process of cultural change which may be critical in determining their success or failure”. Snowball and Webb (2008), while examining the value of the South African National Arts Festival (or NAF) in the transition to democracy, affirm the importance of cultural value and the role that arts play in society, citing the objectives of the National Arts Council, which include: fostering “the expression of a national identity and consciousness by means of the arts” as well as providing financial aid to “historically disadvantaged” artists and audiences (Snowball and Willis, 2006: 20). Visser (2005: 159) validates these claims:

“...the value of the arts to society is becoming increasingly important, where the arts must compete with housing, health, education and the like for public funds and corporate sponsorships”.

Moreover, using theories of cultural capital<sup>4</sup>, Snowball and Webb (2008: 1) provide evidence that “an important part of the value of the arts is their ability to provide a forum for debating the goals and values of society and that individualistic utility theory is not always successful in measuring such social value”. Hence, the value of the arts has been clearly recognised not only in providing individual satisfaction (utility) but also as having a positive impact affecting a broader community; where the social and cultural benefits contribute to the development and well-being of a whole country or society.

These socio-cultural influences have had a notable and positive impact on the political situation locally, with the arts playing a pivotal role in the democratization process of South Africa through socio-political expression, international recognition, and protest theatre. The arts have contributed to enhancing national identity and distinctiveness despite coming up against legislation, policy and infrastructure purported to inhibit its growth and proliferation in this country, as noted by Snowball (2005: 107): “The major focus of policy has been on job creation and financial benefits that the arts provide, rather than on their less tangible attributes”.

Snowball and Willis (2006: 20) also highlight the cause of this issue: that in South Africa wealth is still partially divided along racial lines. Hence, for the most part, it is the wealthier European-origin (white) population that arguably benefits from arts sponsorship. For example, in South Africa however, there is little to no tax incentive for the private sector to fund or sponsor the arts, other than corporate social responsibility policies which are spread thinly over a vast range of areas (Fredericks, 2005: 9). „Corporate Social Responsibility“ also becomes increasingly challenging in areas of high unemployment, such as the Eastern Cape, where in the past arts and culture has only received a small fraction of the total Corporate Social Investment (CSI) budget. For example, in 1998 arts and culture received only 2% of the total CSI budget (Fredericks, 2005: 5-6). Contrary to the bleak state of corporate subsidisation of the arts, however, present Director of the South African National Arts Festival, Ismail Mahomed, believes there is in fact much CSI funding available, but that artists are yet to learn how to tap into it effectively:

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<sup>4</sup> These theories of cultural capital are explored in more detail in Chapter 2.

“Corporate support for the arts is growing; it is however the arts community that has not yet learnt how to take advantage of corporate interest in the arts. The arts sector still to a large extent sees the corporate sector as a funder rather than as a buyer of the „marketing footprint“ that is potentially inherent in the arts” (Mahomed, 2009: personal communication).

CSI funding can, nevertheless, remain problematic, especially for new theatre companies whose plays often respond to specific agendas as they are tied to specific funders<sup>5</sup>. However, there is limited space for „instrumentalised“ theatre which runs the risk of simply becoming public propaganda. Artists therefore need to interrogate their own accountability and take responsibility for effective management without relying on government aid.

Nevertheless, Mahomed (2009: personal communication) notes how progressive societies are those which support and fund small groups of innovators (like artists) who shift direction and create change – recognising that to be a progressive society they need to make space for that functioning. More importantly, however, that while subsidies are important and necessary to develop the arts, it is also up to the artists themselves to be critical and to interrogate how they engage with the public. van Graan (2007b: 13) declares:

“A major challenge is the lack of expertise and experience within publicly-funded theatres and other institutions. It is not only the absence of funding that presents a problem, but the lack of expertise and experience which, if available, could use limited resources to catalytic effect”.

With a “lack of expertise and experience”, coupled with a decline in both government and consumer support for the arts and performance industries, theatre companies can no longer rely on the comfort of external funding and financial support. Both Colbert (2001) and Kotler and Scheff (1997: 3) observed that many organisations are facing financial difficulties and are unable to increase their audiences, while some are even faced with decreasing audiences. As a result, there is an increasing demand for theatre companies to look to novel ways of increasing audience demand for theatre and improving audience attendance in order to generate economic viability and sustainability and ensure their survival.

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<sup>5</sup> For example: The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) expect the content of plays produced from their grants to include promotion and encouragement of responsible voting in South Africa’s national and regional democratic elections.

Consequently, more and more frequently, previously subsidised product-orientated theatre companies, like First Physical, are confronted with the antagonistic dilemma as to the degree they should succumb to creating a product for mass consumption and hence sustainability/profit at the expense of relinquishing their artistic expression and integrity. In other words, companies that previously enjoyed artistic freedom to create, experiment and explore new or avant-garde styles, mediums, genres and themes have had to make income a priority. The result is a shift towards theatre or performance with a wider, more popular appeal in order to get “bums on seats” simply to cover costs, let alone generate profit. Marais (2009: personal communication)<sup>6</sup> elaborates that:

“With the demise of company funding, work for artists is so sporadic that it stunts their growth. Artists and audiences need to be exposed to a wide variety of work and genres from classical to cutting edge modern contemporary work. However when you have to survive you are forced to cater for the populist thereby neither developing as an artist to your full potential nor developing your audience by challenging them intellectually”.

Thus, art needs to be supported to allow creativity to flourish without being inhibited by constant financial constraints. Moreover, it is the job of the artist to explore new ideas and take an audience-public to new realms. If artists only catered for current trends of popular culture, a bored audience, temporary trend or fading fad will have nowhere to turn and soon exhaust itself. While trends may simply follow the economic laws of demand and supply, there is the impending danger that theatre, arts and culture itself becomes artistically stagnant and may eventually die altogether.

Instead of risking artistic integrity and the performance product to satisfy the market, however, perhaps a new challenge would be to find a means to work more strongly in changing the market focus towards appreciation of the product (or production). In determining the factors that influence local consumer behaviour, including audience risk and information asymmetry<sup>7</sup>, the research provides insight into the impact of festivals and changes in audience demand for local theatre attendance. Furthermore, a case-study investigates the hypothesis that the promotion and development of theatre at arts festivals provides a platform to access a wider theatre-going public which therefore facilitates a change in the market focus toward appreciation of the product.

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<sup>6</sup> Lynette Marais (South African National Arts Festival Director 1989 – 2008).

<sup>7</sup> “Information Asymmetry”: a term used by Throsby (1994: 5) to describe the gap in information that exists between producers and consumers of a product or service, and discussed in detail in Chapter 3.2.

The objectives of this research are:

1. To explore factors that influence consumer behaviour, motivators of attendance, the dynamics of audience risk and the roles they play in determining audience demand for local theatre.
2. To investigate the change in the South African theatre climate and how information asymmetry affects theatre attendance at the National Arts Festival.
3. To extend Peterson and Simkus (1992) and Peterson's (2005) omnivore-univore argument within a South African context: considering both the „Physical Theatre attender as omnivore“ as well as the „festivore“ hypotheses.

While Part 1. seeks to identify and stratify the audience attender, exploring various existing theories that govern cultural consumption (Chapter 2) and factors that motivate attendance (Chapter 3), Part 2. looks at the context surrounding the arts event itself, localising these theories and noting changes in consumer behaviour for the performing arts, factors that influence audience attendance, and the impact that arts festivals have on audience risk in South Africa. Part 3. puts forward a new hypothesis – investigating the „festivore“ through empirical research, surveys and qualitative interviews and data analysis in order to determine socio-demographics and the factors that affect theatre attendance of existing as well as potential target theatre audiences at the National Arts Festival.

Finally, in determining the factors that influence local consumer behaviour, including audience risk and information asymmetry, Part 4. processes the results in a discussion, summary and conclusion, looking ahead to speculate on the future of theatre in South Africa and provide insight into the wider impact festivals have on changing audience demand for local theatre attendance.

To conclude this introductory chapter then, it is perhaps important to consider that due to the cross-disciplinary nature and combination of drama, arts administration and

socio-economics, the research has taken on a more methodical and scientific approach<sup>8</sup> in terms of content, format and structure, and case-study analysis.

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<sup>8</sup> Structure and method of research was loosely based on numerous research papers and case-studies by leading authorities in the field of research including Colbert (1998, 2001, 2005, 2009) and Snowball (2001, 2006, 2009).

## Chapter Two: *Who Attends Theatre Anyway?*

Despite much research into audience behaviour, decision-making processes and social stratification, there is still debate as to what draws audience members to attend theatre<sup>9</sup>.

### 2.1. Audience Research and Stratification

According to Coring and Levy (2002: 218): “Studies of demand for the performing arts typically take one of two basic approaches: survey studies which seek to characterize the demographics of theatre patrons and econometric studies which seek to quantify demand and income elasticities”. One such example of the latter includes Snowball’s (2008) research into price determinants for student theatre and the impact change in price has on demand for live theatre. A large number of these studies have also focused on identifying the typical patron at live theatre events, using social segmentation and stratification in order to determine a theatre going prototype. For example, Colbert et al. (1998) surveyed 760 audience members in Montreal and found that 61% were women, 54% were university graduates and 45% earned more than \$40 000 per year. Moreover, only 11% were employed in the primary, manufacturing or construction industries (Coring and Levy, 2002: 218). Throsby (1994: 6) supports these findings by citing Baumol and Bowen (1966):

“Empirical studies of demand for the performing arts undertaken over a number of years...identified performing arts audiences as being of significantly higher educational, occupational and income status than the community at large”.

Montgomery and Robinson (2008: 4-6) examined data from a later survey by the Performing Arts Research Coalition in 10 major cities in the U.S. in 2004. The results, obtained from over 8 000 respondents, indicated that arts audiences “have more education and are slightly more female than all the respondents combined” (Montgomery and Robinson, 2008: 7). In a comparatively similar result to Colbert et al.’s findings, Montgomery and Robinson (2008: 8) also note that audiences were

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<sup>9</sup> It is acknowledged that due to a lack of audience attendance theory and research in South Africa, most theories, case-studies and examples are drawn from predominantly Western-European countries, namely: United States, Canada, Australia, United Kingdom and a number of other European countries. Furthermore, these examples are context-specific and are not assumed to be directly transferable to a South African arts and theatre context nor a festival environment.

around 60% (55%-61%) female. Moreover, audiences at the arts events surveyed were more highly represented in the income categories of \$50 000 or more. Income is hence posited to have a positive relationship with performing arts attendance; people with more income will have a higher rate or frequency of attending theatre.

Audience research is not a new phenomenon, however, but gained momentum in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Coring and Levy (2002) note an early paper by Moore (1968), who conducted a sophisticated econometric analysis of theatre attendance concentrating on the effects of income. Moore emphasised two key variables that govern audience attendance – time and money – where change in income does not radically affect change in demand due to the heavy investment of time involved in attending theatre, as cited by Coring and Levy (2002: 219):

“A main finding is a very low income elasticity of demand which [Moore] attributed in part to the time intensiveness of an evening of theatre combined with rising incomes”.

Coring and Levy (2002: 218) believe audience attendance and consumption of the arts involves more complex processing of numerous factors and external influences such as education, status and other stratification variables. They hence refer to a more comprehensive study undertaken by Baumol and Bowen (1966) in which the results from 24 000 responses from throughout the U.S. revealed the following:

“Audience members were far more likely than the overall population to hold professional jobs (about 60% as compared to 13%) and similarly less likely to hold blue collar jobs (about 2% as compared to 60%). Correspondingly, the median audience income was twice that of the urban population. Education levels were also substantially higher as a whole” (Baumol and Bowen, 1966, in Coring and Levy, 2002: 218).

Albeit quite dated, the survey is supported by more recent findings by the National Endowment for the Arts *Survey of Public Participation in the Arts* (1997), as well as Levy-Garboua and Montmarquette (1996), and Schulz and Rose (1998) who, as Coring and Levy (2002: 218) note, all report similar findings.

Throsby (1994), on the other hand, places much emphasis on the price of product as a strong determinant in governing consumer behaviour, though does note an exception for arts audiences as consumers:

“The new consumer theory...suggests that tastes are similar between individuals, with variations in behaviour.... But the arts can be further distinguished in this theory by their being addictive, in the sense that an increase in the individual’s present consumption of the arts will increase her future consumption...the relative consumption of the arts will rise over time, not because of a shift in tastes, but because the shadow price of the arts falls as experience, understanding and other human capital associated with the arts are acquired” (Throsby, 1994: 3).

Here, cultural consumption can be interpreted as “a process leading both to present satisfaction and to the accumulation of knowledge and experiences affecting future consumption” (Throsby, 1994: 3). As discussed in Chapter 3, the process is seen to significantly affect consumer attendance and participation in the performing arts.

## **2.2. The Omnivore-Univore Debate**

Three major viewpoints revolving around consumer culture, tastes and consumption have dominated the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, namely: the Homology, Individualisation and Omnivore-Univore arguments.

### **2.2.1. Homology Argument**

The first, groundbreaking homological view is credited to Bourdieu’s (1984) research and critique of social distinction, judgment and taste – that cultural taste patterns are part of a class struggle for dominance and social markers or signals of class or status (Bourdieu:1984: 2). Chan and Goldthorpe (2005: 194) describe the argument which purports that: “Individuals in higher social strata are those who prefer and predominantly consume „high“ or „elite“ culture, and individuals in lower social strata are those who prefer and predominantly consume „popular“ or „mass“ culture”. Bourdieu (1984: 4-5) distinguishes between a „popular“ aesthetic and a „Kantian“ aesthetic:

“[The „popular“ aesthetic is] based on the affirmation of the continuity between life and art, which implies the subordination of form to function. [Popular taste, therefore], performs a systematic reduction of the things of art to the things of life... „Kantian“ aesthetic...[is a tendency to] bracket off the nature and function of the object...in order to concentrate solely upon the mode of representation, the style, perceived and appreciated by comparison to other styles”.

Throsby (1994) differentiates between popular art, which is immediately accessible, and art which demands an acquired taste – often considered „high art“:

“...the less discriminating nature of demand [e.g. popular art] means that substitutes are more readily available, and hence own-price responsiveness is likely to be greater...[but] where consumption reflects the sort of acquired taste... lower price elasticities might be expected among established consumers, for whom qualitative characteristics of performances are likely to be decisive” (1994: 8).

Within the context of the homological argument, Bourdieu (1984: 169-224) structures his view of cultural consumption and lifestyles by two concepts: *structural homology* and *habitus*. Coulangeon (2005a) cites Gans (1974, 1985) and Levine (1988) to describe Bourdieu’s (1984) concept of structural homology as one in which “the symbolic dimensions of class positions are simultaneously defined by positive feelings and beliefs and by the rejection of the feelings and beliefs of other cultures; [therefore] the sphere of tastes is organized hierarchically in line with the „highbrow/lowbrow“ opposition” (Coulangeon: 2005a: 1-2).

According to Chan and Goldthorpe (2005: 194), Bourdieu (1984) claims that: “the arrogation of „distinction“ in cultural taste, and conversely, processes of „aesthetic distancing“ are actively used by members of dominant social classes as a means of symbolically demonstrating and confirming their superiority”. The view hence sees social stratification (prevailing structure of inequality in society) and cultural stratification as closely correlated. Alderson et al (2007: 193) also refer to the homology argument (Bourdieu, 1984; Gans, 1999) which suggests that “social stratification and cultural consumption overlap where people with higher social status tend to consume “high” or “elite” culture and people with lower status “popular” or “mass” culture. Moreover, that people with higher social status actively reject mass culture as “crude or disreputable”. That is, people of high stature will, for example, only attend ballet or opera and avoid attending, cinema or popular circus, for example, in an attempt to dissociate themselves from „low art“.

However, high culture demands a certain amount of „cultural capital“ which is acquired through, what Bourdieu (1977 in Coulangeon, 2005a: 3) refers to in this context as, „habitus“:

“*Habitus* are cultural structures that exist in people’s bodies and minds and shape a wide variety of their behaviours, beliefs and thoughts... [and] can be understood as those aspects of culture that are anchored in the body or in daily practices of individuals, groups, societies, and nations”.

Since „habitus“ includes schooling, upbringing, family background, etcetera, cultural appreciation itself can become an effective way of excluding the masses and hence an indicator of social superiority (Snowball et al., 2009).

### **2.2.2. Individualisation Argument and Cultural Mobility**

However, over the last two decades new theories of consumer behaviour, tastes and cultural consumption have developed, challenging Bourdieu's (1984) homological argument as being outdated. Coulangeon (2005a: 1) reports: “Both the economic globalization, the growth of mass-culture influence and the education expansion disturb the classical conception of the social differentiation of lifestyles”. This traditional view has since been countered by, for example, the „Individualisation“ argument, which Alderson et al (2007) notes as a “radical alternative to the Homology argument” which has lost its weight to a different type of cultural consumer:

“The image that emerges in this account is that of a contemporary subject who, presented with a highly commercialized, consumer society, a broad and deep aestheticisation of everyday life, and increasingly fluid and flexible possibilities for the development and expression of identity, constructs her lifestyle by drawing, cafeteria-style, from a multitude of offerings, free to combine items in creative and heretofore contradictory ways” (2007: 193-194).

Therefore, the individual consumption is seen to be relatively free from social conditioning and the influence of class and socio-status. Chan and Goldthorpe (2005: 194) contend that in modern, affluent and “highly commercialised societies”, differences in cultural taste and consumption “are rapidly losing any clear grounding in social stratification”. Rather, individuals are increasingly freeing themselves from social conditioning – choosing lifestyles according to unique and distinctive identities and their own patterns of cultural consumption.

Weber (1978: 926-940), Veblen (1953) and Bourdieu (1984) all suggest that “cultural consumption and taste can be seen as symbolic communication and a means of establishing social relationships, networks and status groups.... Furthermore, the distinguishing mechanism of status culture is „cultural exclusion“” (Bryson, 1997: 142).

Emmison (2003: 211) however, takes a different angle toward investigating class relations and explores the idea of „cultural mobility“ as a means through which taste, knowledge and culture motivates consumption within society – defining „cultural mobility“ as the “differential capacity to engage with or consume cultural goods and services across the entire spectrum of cultural life”.

The concept of cultural mobility has its roots in research by Gans (1966, 1974) on taste cultures and their links to social class. The traditionally homological view saw class and culture as „isomorphically“ related (i.e. „highbrow“; or elite cultural activities being the preserve of the upper class and lowbrow/popular culture being enjoyed by the masses). Emmison (2003: 213), however, considers a more individualised approach, understanding the term to “reflect the differential ability among individuals to consume culturally or to participate in divergent cultural fields”, adding: “Cultural mobility is the capacity to navigate between or across cultural realms, a freedom to choose or select one’s position in the cultural landscape”.

Thus, for Emmison (2003: 213), the essence of cultural mobility is “movement and choice”. However, he does diverge from the individualisation approach toward an „omnivore-univore“ argument in that he regards movement to be limited by choice:

“The culturally mobile are more likely to engage with a far greater variety of cultural forms than the culturally sedentary, but what is important to note about their choices is that they are context specific” (2003: 213).

### **2.2.3. Omnivore-Univore Argument**

According to Coulangeon (2005a), the „omnivore/univore“ hypothesis was originally proposed by Di Maggio (1987) and later systematized in a seminal article by Peterson and Simkus (1992) on the musical tastes of contemporary Americans. Coulangeon (2005a: 3) describes the hypothesis as supporting the idea that “the main social distinction today is a matter of cultural diversity rather than one of highbrow or lowbrow culture”. In contrast to Bourdieu (1984) who “shows how people use knowledge about music and art to display social class membership” (Bryson, 1997: 141), Peterson and Simkus (1992: 152-156) also suggest that musical taste serves not only as a status marker but also status boundaries between groups defined by age, gender, race, region, religion, lifestyle, etc., at roughly the same level. Bryson’s (1997) study on musical dislikes in the U.S. confirms that “taste boundaries are

formed around gender, age, racial, ethical, religious and regional identity”, but also adds that these identities are “constructed at lower levels of education more than they are at medium and high levels” (Bryson, 1997: 143-149); that is, group identities (based on social/demographic stratification) are stronger for lower levels of education.

Although the omnivore-univore argument was “initially developed with specific reference to musical consumption” (Peterson and Simkus, 1992: 195), the theory has been investigated in a number of other research studies, demonstrating its application to a variety of fields of entertainment and cultural consumption, including cinema and the performing arts. An example includes a case study of an „Arts in England“ survey by Chan and Goldthorpe (2005) who dispute the homological and individualisation arguments in favour of the omnivore-univore consumption pattern theory of arts attenders. A comparative study by Montgomery and Robinson (2008: 14) concluded that theatre/arts consumers are generally omnivorous cross-culturally and that there is little evidence that arts compete with other activities (e.g. sport) for audiences. Rather, they conclude that individuals who attend sports are in fact more likely to attend arts events as well. The two latter studies both support the omnivore-univore view and provide insight into the hypothesis that audiences are not as significantly divided by taste as by education and income – that the more socially active and upward the individual (high status and education), the greater the propensity for theatre attendance.

#### **2.2.4. Variations of omnivore-univore theory**

Since the omnivore-univore hypothesis has developed a number of variations in different fields relating to cultural consumption, it is worth looking briefly at a few other case-study examples in its development before its investigation and application in a South African context.

According to Snowball et al. (2009: 2), Peterson and Simkus (1992: 252) confront Bourdieu’s (1984) theory of “taste exclusive high brow” (i.e. high status equals exclusive taste) suggesting that “„omnivorousness“ of taste was now becoming the important sign of social status, rather than the lower class „univore“”. Moreover, Coulangeon (2005a: 4) cites Peterson (2004) who describes omnivorousness as the shift “from intellectual snobberism...based on the glorification of the arts and

contempt of popular entertainments...to a cultural capital that appears increasingly as a disposition to appreciate the aesthetic of a wide variety of cultural forms, not only including arts, but also a large range of folk and popular expressions”.

Coulangeon (2005a: 4) also refers to Adorno (1950), Lipset (1960) and Inglehart (1977) to consolidate a number of earlier formulations of the omnivore/univore thesis in terms of “openness to diversity”, stating that “the growing eclecticism of tastes and practices among high status groups can be considered as an extension of the classical correlation between cultural capital, social status and political open-mindedness”. Furthermore, that “the more abundant and diverse the social network is, the more eclectic people’s tastes and cultural references are” (Di Maggio, 1987; Erickson, 1996; Relish, 1997; Warde and Tampubolon, 2002). As people belonging to high-status groups tend to have more diverse social ties, logically, they also tend to be more eclectic than people of lower status” (Coulangeon, 2005a: 5).

Openness to diversity is thus seen as a new and important factor in higher status groups as, rather than exclusivity, it has become a new status marker of social distinction (Coulangeon, 2005a: 13). Although van Eijk (2000: 221) shares a similar view regarding omnivorous consumption amongst higher status groups, Emmison (2003), on the other hand, notes that openness and flexibility are important social resources requiring highly skilled people to be geographically and socially mobile for social networking. Moreover, omnivores represent this type of person (Emmison, 2003: 227).

Peterson (2005: 260) also notes the shift from “highbrow snob” to inclusive omnivore and cites numerous comparative studies from the U.S., Canada and Europe which have helped test the veracity of the shift, including: Coulangeon (2003, 2005b), Erickson (1996), Chan and Goldthorpe (2005), Warde et al. (1999), Bryson 1996), van Eijck (1999, 2000, 2001), Lopez-Sintas and Katz-Gerro (2005), to name a few. The studies invariably found that, not only were high status individuals becoming more omnivorous, but that younger groups of omnivorous high-status people were replacing older cohorts who were more inclined to have “highbrow” orientation (Peterson, 2005: 260). Moreover, reasons for the shift are attributed to omnivorousness being the new status marker. Levine (1988), Peterson and Kern

(1996), and Peterson, (1997) (in Peterson, 2005: 260), all agree that: “omnivorousness as a standard for good taste has come into vogue at a discreet period of time and, if like earlier standards of taste, will gradually spread across geographic boundaries before it atrophies”. Thus, like any trend, omnivorousness has shown to change and develop over time and vary according to context and location.

### **2.2.5. The Development of the omnivore/univore theory**

Since Peterson and Simkus’ (1992) seminal paper, the omnivore-univore theory has expanded from its simple binary position of omnivore versus univore consumer type. A case-study by Alderson et al. (2007) used data collected from the 2002 General Social Survey in the U.S. (Davis et al., 2003) to identify response patterns using latent class cluster analysis (LCA). Their findings rejected the homology and individualisation arguments and showed support for Peterson’s (2004) omnivore-univore theory, noting that they found no evidence for the existence of a „cultural elite“, but rather three classes of people whose probability of consumption rises with the popularity of the products in question; adding that these classes differ in “breadth and intensity of their consumption” (Alderson et al., 2007: 198).

Alderson et al.’s (2007: 198) U.S. study identifies the three groups as follows: the first group, the *Omnivores*, is distinct from the other groups in that they have comparatively high probabilities of consuming a wide range of cultural products from the less popular (high art) to the popular. The second group, termed *Paucivores*, consist of “middling cultural consumers who have neither radically eclectic nor particular tastes, but instead engage in „intermediate“ levels of cultural consumption across a range of activities”, though revealing a clear bias towards popular activities. The third class, labelled *Inactives*, distinguish themselves by having “comparatively low probabilities of engaging in any of the activities under consideration” (Alderson et al., 2007: 198).

From the study, Alderson et al. (2007: 201) succinctly surmise that “social status does indeed play an important role in distinguishing styles of cultural consumption: higher status individuals are more likely to be Paucivores than Inactives, and are especially more likely to be Omnivores than Inactives”. Overall, Alderson et al. (2007: 207) note

that the styles of consumption that emerge from the latent class cluster analysis are more congruent with the omnivore-univore thesis than with alternative arguments.

Although the omnivore-univore argument was “initially developed with specific reference to musical consumption” (Peterson and Simkus, 1992: 195), Chan and Goldthorpe (2005) extend the omnivore-univore debate to include other forms of entertainment such as cinema and the performing arts. They provided subsequent evidence to support their claims by drawing on information regarding respondent’s employment and occupation collected in the Arts in England survey (2004) in order to allocate supporters of the arts by both class and social status as separate forms of stratification. Their findings support the general idea that members of both higher social class and status are more likely to be culturally omnivorous, and members of lower social class and status more likely to be univorous consumers. Furthermore, the level of educational qualification was seen to have an even more significant positive effect than class and status on the chances of being an omnivore rather than a univore (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2005: 205). A study by Montgomery and Robinson, (2008: 11) reports similar findings:

“Audiences for the performing arts increase consistently with more education, especially on theatre audiences, though the study shows that movie attendance also increases with education”.

In support of Throsby’s (1994: 3) aforementioned price variable as a key determinant of audience attendance of the arts, Chan and Goldthorpe (2005: 205) found that: “a highly significant and positive effect on income on theatre and cinema attendance still remains; the higher the individual’s income, the more likely he or she is to be an omnivore rather than a univore”. However, although the three stratification variables – status, education, and income – all had separate marked effects in relation to theatre and cinema attendance, status and education were found to have a stronger influence than income (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2005: 207).

Hence, from the results of their data study, Chan and Goldthorpe (2005: 208) indicate “just two patterns of attendance, and, in turn, two main types of consumer: those, around one-third of the sample, who appear omnivorous in having a relatively high probability of attending theatre performances of all the kinds considered and of going to the cinema; and those, around two-thirds of the sample, who are univorous in being

cinema-goers only...that it is these two types of consumers that are empirically identifiable". This strong evidence therefore calls into question the homology and individualisation arguments. Furthermore, Chan and Goldthorpe (2005: 208) argue that: "when stratification variables were introduced into the analyses the results obtained are generally those that would be expected under the omnivore-univore argument", where higher status, education and income all increase the individual's chance of being an omnivore over a univore. Moreover, the case-study supplies evidence that theatre and cinema attendance is socially stratified, but on omnivore-univore rather than „elite-mass“ lines.

In another approach that supports Chan and Goldthorpe's (2005) claim, Montgomery and Robinson (2008) examine the pattern of audience participation across different types of art and non-arts events. Where leisure activities among general consumers are often seen as in direct competition with each other, acting as substitutes that compete for the consumer's commitment, time, utility or satisfaction, Montgomery and Robinson (2008: 2) seek to test this hypothesis by looking "at the pattern of participation between arts... sports...and popular events".

From a survey conducted by the Performing Arts Research Coalition (PARC) in 2004, which obtained information from 8 000 respondents "regarding attendance at movies, professional and amateur sports, live rock, live comedy, clubs, dance, opera, theatre, and orchestra, as well as on socio-demographic characteristics (including race, gender, income, education, and age)", Montgomery and Robinson (2008: 4) used stratification of socio-demographics as control variables in their analysis. For this, "10 events were grouped into three categories: sports (professional and amateur), popular events (clubs, rock concerts, comedy and movies) and arts (dance, orchestra, opera and theatre)".

According to Montgomery and Robinson (2008: 14), the most notable finding is that "while sports do compete with arts events for attendance shares, by far the largest competitor is movies. In fact movies are the most important competitor with all event types". Furthermore, the case-study reports that "the closest audience crossovers are among the arts and [they] find evidence that under even the most restrictive assumptions art attendance at one type of event is associated with increased

attendance at other types of art events” (Montgomery and Robinson, 2008: 14). This study therefore supports the omnivore-univore debate and provides insight into the hypothesis that audiences are not as significantly divided by taste as by education and income; that the more socially active and upward the individual (high status and education), the greater the propensity for theatre attendance. Individual variables that affect status include gender, age, income, race and marital status<sup>10</sup>.

In sum, both case-studies by Chan and Goldthorpe (2005) and Montgomery and Robinson (2008) show strong evidence for the dominant omnivore-univore argument and its widespread (international) prevalence among arts and theatre attendees.

### **2.3. Consumer Taste versus Consumer Knowledge**

Further investigation into the omnivore-univore hypothesis has distinguished different types of omnivores. For example, in a study on musical tastes, Emmison (2003: 222) distinguishes between omnivores by dividing them into „partial“ types. „Highbrow“ omnivores refer to those individuals “whose three preferred music genres consist of any two highbrow genres and any one of the various lowbrow genres. A „lowbrow“ omnivore, by contrast, is someone whose three favourite music types are a mixture of any two lowbrow genres and any one of the highbrow music types”.

Emmison’s (2003: 223) data, drawn from a study of Australian cultural consumption, notes several other possible partial types of omnivore depending on various combinations of highbrow and middlebrow tastes and various forms of middlebrow and lowbrow hybrids. The study also showed evidence advocating that familiarity and knowledge of a genre or activity is not necessarily associated with participation or liking of that genre or activity. Contrary to Peterson’s (1992; 1996) „omnivorous musical consumer“, however, Emmison (2003: 225) finds fault in that it “suggests an indiscriminate liking of all genres”.

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<sup>10</sup> A limitation of the research is that there is little in-depth investigation into the socio-cultural significance of these variables on audience attendance; especially with regards to race, which is deliberately avoided due to the highly contentious issue in South Africa where class and socio-economic status is still generally seen to fall along racial lines and remains a subject for further research. Needs to fit on one page

Emmison (2003) is one of a number of theorists who contests the omnivore-univore theory which simply distinguishes consumption by „likes“ as a determiner for cultural consumption, and explore, rather, the previously neglected „dislikes“, which are just as important in governing behaviour, tastes, and cultural distinction.

Bryson’s (1996) influential investigation on musical tastes in the U.S. is one example of studies into the dislikes of cultural preference and inequality:

“... contrary to the prediction borne out by Bourdieu’s theory of taste, high status, or more accurately, highly educated Americans do not possess more exclusive taste. More importantly, those who have inclusive tastes, or those who are culturally tolerant, actually dislike items liked by low status people or the less educated” (1996: 884).

Alexander (2003, in Tampubolon, 2008: 244) also reports on Bryson’s (1996) evidence “that higher status people are more omnivorous in their cultural choices, in that they dislike fewer forms. However, the forms they disliked the most were those forms preferred the most by low status people”. In addition, as Tampubolon (2008: 243) concludes from his own study, “high-status people dislike many high-status as well as low status cultures”. This is significant in that it alludes to high status arts attenders becoming less elitist or exclusive in their choices of leisure activities, where preference is not motivated by status or form, but rather by content or quality of the production.

However, Bryson (1996: 885) does find a similarity to Bourdieu (1984) in that people “use cultural taste to reinforce symbolic boundaries between themselves and categories of people they dislike”. Moreover, it provides evidence that “less educated people build a stronger boundary through their expression of strong dislikes of many forms of music. Conversely, highly educated people construct a more fluid and more inclusive boundary around themselves using the symbolic materials of cultural tastes<sup>11</sup>” (Tampubolon, 2008: 245). In other words, Bryson (1996) purports strong links between omnivorousness in musical taste and social tolerance, discussed later within a South African context.

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<sup>11</sup> It should be noted, however, that education (as proxy for status) is often used to measure the “relationship between culture and status” and that “omnivorousness is positively related to education” (Peterson and Simkus, 1992, in Tampubolon, 2008: 245-257).

A Dutch study conducted by van Eijk and Lievens (2008) confirms Bryson's (1996) findings to some extent, arguing that omnivores are more likely to be tolerant and have higher levels of societal integration than univores who tend to feel social isolation in comparison to those with broader cultural tastes. In addition, van Eijk and Lievens (2008) identify different types of omnivores depending on combinations of tastes between highbrow, folk and popular culture.

From this point it may therefore be established that omnivorousness describes a general tendency regarding consumption and is not a prescriptive classification system with set characteristics, but may differ according to context, change in variables, and geographical location. As Peterson (2005: 267) reiterates:

“Comparative research faces a special challenge because the set of indicators that fit well in one country at one time probably will not serve well across countries and over time”.

This affirms Emmison's (2003) study and gives weight to Tampubolon's (2008) argument, which suggests there is no single „type“ of omnivore as implied by, for example, Coulangeon (2005b) and Peterson and Simkus (1992). Furthermore, that univores are generally insignificant in their cultural consumption to the point that Tampubolon (2008: 260) refers to them as “abstainers” – since “[their] defining feature is not primarily strong preference for a limited number of items, but rather, strong dislikes of many items”. Tampubolon's (2008) U.S. study also distinguishes between „popular omnivores“ (those engaging in a variety of „popular“/lowbrow cultural activities (e.g. cinema, stand-up and rock concerts) and „traditional omnivores“ (e.g. opera, ballet and classical music). These two groups of omnivores are largely divided by age rather than education or status.

Tampubolon (2008: 260) states: „Popular omnivores“ dislike items by „traditional“ omnivores and vice versa due to their age difference, which is a prominent structuring axis in cultural tastes.” In sum, not all cultural items are necessarily significant signifiers of status and actually signify alternative axes of stratification. Tampubolon (2008: 255, in Snowball et al., 2009: 3) demonstrates that “there are multiple axes underpinning cultural tastes (like education, income, occupational status and age), and that “univores are defined less by their univorous preferences as by their strong dislikes”. In other words, univores are more likely to exclude some cultural genres

than omnivores. Moreover, evidence of a “cross-brow” mix of cultural preferences or cultural tolerance amongst omnivores reveals them to be generally inclusive and tolerant. This, as Peterson and Simkus (1992) and Bryson (1996; 1997) concur, is notably likely to have a spill-over effect into political or racial tolerance.

Warde et al. (2007: 144), however, take exception to much of the “copious academic research”, which has simply explored “the nature, extent and significance of the omnivore phenomenon”. According to Warde et al (2007: 145), this research “is based almost exclusively on secondary analysis of survey data, which show that higher status sections of the population of the USA and Europe have broader cultural engagements and tastes than the remainder. It is, however, contested whether this is an historical trend and also what precisely are its implications”.

To reiterate omnivore-univore theory then, Peterson and Simkus“ (1992: 252) original view that omnivorousness is an aspect of high status culture is, according to Warde et al (2007: 145), “being redefined as the appreciation of all distinctive leisure activities and creative forms along with the appreciation of the classic fine arts”. Warde et al. (2007: 145) share both Bryson (1996) and Emmison“s (2003) views that „omnivorousness“ is not “liking everything indiscriminately“, but rather “an openness to appreciate everything”. Peterson and Kern (1996: 904) add that this “does not imply an indifference to distinctions”. Consequently, high status or highbrow do not necessarily consume all popular or lowbrow forms, but rather seeks to “appreciate and critique in the light of some knowledge of the genre” (1996: 904).

Warde et al.“s (2007: 146) U.K. study, on the other hand, measures omnivorousness defined as “breadth of cultural involvements, along with three separate dimensions: taste, knowledge and participation”. Rather than using secondary data, the three measures were isolated by volume using qualitative survey response, empirical interviews, and statistical analysis. Evidence suggests that four different types of omnivores exist within the middle class: *The Professional; the Dissident; the Apprentice; and the Unassuming* (Warde et al., 2007: 153-156). While the *Professionals* have marked preferences for both high and popular cultural forms, with a particular knowledge of differences within, as well as across, genres, *Dissidents* showed high levels of participation, knowledge and likes – suggesting “cultural

engagement as both an expression of identity and as an aspect of social politics” (Warde et al., 2007: 153-156). The *Apprentice*, on the other hand, feels that wide participation fulfills a personal need or sense of well-being. Finally, the *Unassuming*, while sharing similarities in class, education and participation as the other types of omnivores, reveal tastes that are firmly grounded within popular or mainstream culture (Warde et al., 2007: 153-156).

Warde et al. (2007: 148-160) were led to draw the following conclusions: That “levels of omnivorousness were highest among those with most education, especially degrees, among those who were white, and among those of middle age”; “that omnivorousness accompanies tolerance”; that there is not one singular cultural type which “might be deemed *the* omnivore”. Furthermore, that “wide participation does not necessarily entail consumption of consecrated and legitimate culture”.

#### **2.4. Voracious Omnivores**

The line of argument into omnivorousness has been up to this point based primarily on the breadth of cultural range, knowledge, taste or participation, but has neglected the temporal dimension in cultural consumption and participation – time. This is highlighted by Sullivan and Katz-Gerro (2007: 123) who introduce the concept of voraciousness as a theoretical variation of omnivorousness; noting the significance of frequency of participation (voracious pattern of consumption) in addition to the omnivorous contents of consumption of various leisure activities:

“The addition of the dimension of cultural participation to that of cultural tastes expands the study of omnivorousness as a phenomenon related not only to the sociology of culture and consumption but also to the sociology of work and time, since the money and time commitment involved in actual leisure participation...entail consideration of money and time management”.

In addition, Sullivan and Katz-Gerro (2007: 124) cite Holt (1997) to support their claims:

“Research on the association between cultural capital and social divisions should rely less on cultural contents and more on consumption practices. This is because the content of objectified cultural capital has become a relatively weak exclusionary mechanism due to increasingly blurred cultural hierarchies in contemporary societies”.

Sullivan and Katz-Gerro (2007: 134) thus argue that “voraciousness and omnivorousness represent two separate but related dimensions of cultural consumption, [...both] associated with high status, in terms of higher levels of education, job status, and cultural capital.... Voraciousness may therefore not be about commitment to many activities but about commitment to not leaving many activities untouched or unpracticed”. This supports Emmison (2003), Warde et al. (2007) and Tampubolon (2008) who all (to varying degrees in their own way) assert omnivorous knowledge as being distinct from omnivorous likes, tastes or cultural participation.

Sullivan and Katz-Gerro (2007: 125) propose that a person’s cultural repertoire plays “a dominant role in structuring strategies for action”:

“It is a repertoire of habits, skills, and styles from which people construct their understanding of the world and how to conduct themselves in it. Similarly, a voracious cultural consumer feels comfortable with switching and constantly making choices between activities, which s/he engages in for brief periods. In terms of orientation to time, this pattern implies a polychromic (multi-tasking) „timestyle“...”.

Therefore, Sullivan and Katz-Gerro’s argument for voracious consumers (2007: 125) purport the notion that, in contemporary society, time is becoming an accentuated scarcity with regards to both working and leisure hours. Sullivan and Katz-Gerro (2007: 125-126) cite Jacobs and Gerson (1998), Gershuny, (2000), and Sullivan and Gershuny (2004), who have all documented “the current and growing association between high (earned) income and time scarcity”. Furthermore, they also draw on Robinson and Godbey (1997) and Gershuny (2000) concluding that: “evidence of the working hours of better-qualified and high-income earners suggest that as qualification levels rise, so do hours of work”. As Southerton (2003, in Sullivan and Katz-Gerro, 2007: 126) reports: “Individuals feel pressured to reduce process time in their public and private lives, and they respond, among other things, by increasingly compressing, fragmenting, and compartmentalizing time”.

In a British study which drew on „time use data“, Sullivan and Katz-Gerro (2007: 125-133) measured the frequency of participation in different leisure activities rather than simply on tastes. Sullivan and Katz-Gerro (2007: 127) deliberately chose „out-of-home“ leisure activities because “they express active consumer behaviours that in

general take both time and money to engage in, and consequently provide a link to both socio-economic and time resources”. Their overall conclusion highlighted the following:

“Individuals with high levels of human, economic, and cultural capital have less time for leisure but still engage in a greater range of out-of-home leisure activities.... The implication is that the higher levels of diversity of participation in out-of-home leisure for those with higher levels of human capital and cultural tastes are independent of the total amount of time spent on these activities” (Sullivan and Katz-Gerro, 2007: 127).

Furthermore, expanding on Coulangeon’s (2005b) notion of „omnivorousness being the new status-marker“, Sullivan and Katz-Gerro (2007: 125-133) provide evidence that it is rather the voraciousness of omnivorousness that lends itself to being conceived as “a new marker of status distinction”, “a cultural boundary, and a sign of cultural exclusion”. Voraciousness as a social distinction marker is perhaps contrary, then, to Veblen’s (1994, in Sullivan and Katz-Gerro, 2007: 133) view that “the lines of demarcation between social classes are in general becoming more vague and temporary, and that voraciousness is actually related to a globalized widening of shared tastes among high status groups”.

## **2.5. Cultural Consumption of the Arts**

Veblen’s (1994) view, to some extent, is supported by Virtanen (2005: 1), who claims that cultural consumption “must compete with many substitutes due to limited availability of time as a consequence of a post-modern consumer society where consumption has become entangled with social life”. The study covered 15 different European countries using Eurobarometer data (2001) and explored the consumption patterns of young Europeans aged 20-35yrs. His findings assert that both education and class are strongly related to consumption patterns and the more education, the more voracious the consumption. Moreover, though higher income was shown to have a positive effect on voraciousness, it had less of an impact than expected (2005: 11). Virtanen (2005) therefore distinguishes income from class – viewing class along with education as being key determiners of voraciousness.

Keeping Sullivan and Katz-Gerro’s (2007) argument in mind, then, one may surmise that omnivorousness or range of consumption is governed more by education, class

and taste than income. Furthermore, it is rather the voraciousness or frequency of this type of omnivorous consumption that determines social distinction.

In conclusion, much evidence has been found for the omnivore-univore theory. In terms of omnivore type, Sullivan and Katz-Gerro (2007: 124) highlight “that younger age, higher education, higher income, and higher occupational status are strongly associated with omnivorous cultural preferences (Warde et al., 1999; van Eijk, 2001; Lopez Sintas and Garcia Alvarez, 2002; Holbrook et al., 2002; Emmison, 2003)”. Omnivore-univore theory, in the context of theatre and performing arts, may therefore be defined (in its expanded form) as the propensity for high status groups (governed largely by level of education) to have a wider range in their cultural consumption, as well as a broader knowledge of cultural activities, not necessarily consumed due to variations in taste, than lower class (low income and education) groups – who are more conservative in their likes and have much stronger dislikes. These omnivores may vary according to age and taste but consume a multitude of out-of home cultural activities (both highbrow as well as lowbrow) opposed to more conservative lowbrow univores or „abstainers“ who generally only consume one type of popular cultural activity, if at all. Factors that inhibit lower educated univores from indulging in omnivorous consumption include the reality that low-income attenders are less likely to take the risk of going to a show they know little about – rather seeking maximum satisfaction at minimal monetary and opportunity cost. These motivating/inhibiting factors are discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

## Chapter Three: *So Why Do People Attend Theatre?*

After establishing audience profiles of the types of people who attend theatre – according to socio-demographic and cultural stratification<sup>12</sup> (race, age, gender, income and education), as well as looking at socio-cultural factors<sup>13</sup> like taste and status – we turn our attention to more individual reasons and personal psychological motivators behind audience attendance.

### 3.1. Motivations for Performance Art/Theatre Attendance

So what are these motivating factors that affect public consumer behaviour and drive the decision-making processes of potential consumers to actively attend theatre and the performing arts? Swanson et al. (2008) raise the importance of the question with regards to marketing the arts in an increasingly competitive industry:

“With an abundance of entertainment options at their disposal and a finite amount of time in which to enjoy them, understanding the motivations driving performing arts attendance is crucial as organizations strive to compete in an increasingly crowded marketplace” (2008: 317).

Swanson et al. (2008: 317) also cite Putnam (2000), adding that “increasing participation for the performing arts is particularly challenging, as there has been growing emphasis on home centered activities”. Apart from practical (time and economic) or physical barriers (access and availability), Swanson et al. (2008: 301) look at motivational factors that drive people to attend arts performances, citing Clay, Snyder, and Stukas (1996) who describe these motivational factors as “individual psychological forces that stimulate and compel people to a behavioural response and provide direction to that response”.

While Swanson et al. (2008: 301) refer to several case studies, including Huisman (2000), Mathur (1996), Seth, Newman and Gross (1991), Steenkamp and Baumgartner (1992) as “abundant evidence that internal motivations play a large role in the consumption of many consumer products”. Their own study (2008: 305-310), which used data obtained from the U.S. Performing Arts Centre, looked at potential

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<sup>12</sup> Due to the cross-disciplinary nature of the research, it is acknowledged that there is some overlap in the definition and parameters of terms used, including: “Individual variables (p 22), “socio-demographic and cultural stratification”, and “socio-cultural factors”.

<sup>13</sup> See above.

factors that may affect attendance behaviour and motivations for attendance of live art performances. These include attendance frequency, time of purchase decisions and demographic segmentation (differences in levels of education, age, income and gender). Analyses of variance (ANOVA) and *t* tests were used to test the motivational differences which were grouped into 6 categories: Aesthetics; Education; Escape; Recreation; Self-esteem enhancement and Social Interaction. While Swanson et al. (2008: 301) refer to the aesthetic value of a performance as: “the beauty and grace found through artistic expression in live performance”, they cite McCarthy and Jinnett (2001: 302) who suggest that some arts attenders are also motivated by a desire to educate themselves about the arts. Attending live performances for escapism, as noted by Johnson and Gaarbarino (2001, in Swanson et al., 2008: 302)), also becomes a part of leisure activities.

Furthermore, Swanson et al. (2008: 301-303) acknowledge Kolb (2002), Sloan (1989) and Wann’s (1995) findings that that most attendance of live performance serves primarily as a recreational activity. They also refer to Tajfel (1982) who suggests that self-esteem enhancement “motivates individuals to attain and maintain a positive social identity” which, as Swanson et al. (2008: 301-303) believe, can be achieved through the associations made of attending live performance: “[Some] arts patrons may [specifically] attend arts events as a social occasion or a chance to spend time with and socialize with others”. Apart from remarking on Kelly and Freisinger (2000) who posit: “Attending a live performance allows the individual to share the experience with others and feel affiliated through social interaction”, Swanson et al. (2008: 303) give weight to their own research by citing Kolb (2002:180): “The social aspects of an arts event can be as important a motivator for attendance as the art form itself”.

Snowball, Jamal and Willis (2009) note that Swanson et al.’s (2008) results posit a number of interesting findings: Firstly, older people were found to be more likely motivated by aesthetics, education, recreation and self esteem. Secondly, higher income earners were notably motivated by aesthetics, education, recreation, self-esteem and social interaction, whereas education gave a mixed result – Higher Education showed prime motivators as being aesthetic, educational, and recreational, while those with lower education were more motivated by escapism. Moreover,

attendance for enhancing self-esteem/social status was also seen as important motivators for those attendees with high or low education, but not significant for intermediate levels of education.

Swanson et al. (2008: 318) note that “age and gender in combination may be useful segmentation variables in conjunction with the motivations of art, education and recreation [for those primarily motivated by escapism]”, and add that other important factors not examined in the study that relate to live art performance include “performance attractiveness” (based on the type of show), “ticket prices, physical surroundings, venue accessibility, seating comfort, and layout” (Swanson et al., 2008: 319).

Other examples of motivations for attendance of live-arts performances include those derived from research into the attitudes of university students towards opera and ballet in Slovakia. From this study, Tajtakova et al. (2005: 1-8) found the following: Firstly, the most important motives of opera and ballet-goers<sup>14</sup> were consistently identified as a desire to experience a „live“ performance (31%), to see a particular piece (23%), interest in the genre in general and go out with friends and family (15%). Secondly, the main barriers perceived by non-attendees were a fear of boredom (32%), lacking knowledge about opera and ballet (22%) and lacking interest in these genres in the people from their surroundings (20%). Thirdly, concerning the expectations related to opera and ballet performances, students prioritized emotions, atmosphere of venue or event, and broadening their own scope in culture and relaxation. Tajtakova et al. (2005: 1-8) concluded that education level is one of the most important factors positively influencing attendance of arts. These findings were also found to be congruent with Colbert (2001), Hill and O’Sullivan (1995), and Kotler and Scheff (1997). Hence, University students are therefore regarded as one of the consumer segments most likely to become regular arts participants. While one cannot assume that Slovakian theatre audiences bear any relation to South African theatre attendances, the study nevertheless provides evidence to support Peterson’s (2005) claims that education is a strong indicator of omnivorous consumption. Moreover, it confirms Throsby (1994) and Nantel’s (2001) view that education and knowledge

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<sup>14</sup> The percentages show combined averages of both ballet and opera.

reduces the associated risk involved in attending theatre. These attendance inhibitors or so-called „risks“ are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.2.

Turning our attention to South Africa then, Jeynes“ (2009) theatre attendance study found that “entertainment”, “art” and “escapism” were listed most often in answering (in one word) what theatre meant to the respondents. Other top responses included “life”, “passion”, “live”, “fun”, “chance”, “world” and “magic” (Jeynes, 2009<sup>15</sup>). Another local study by Snowball et al. (2009: 10) found similar motivating factors that attracted people to the South African National Arts Festival:

“Consumers identified more strongly with entertainment motives, followed by artistic merit. Escapism was next most important, with education and status motives being about equally weighted”.

Similar to Swanson et al. (2008), motivation for attendance varied somewhat with age, education, and job. For example: “Those with lower educational levels were more influenced by educational motives for attendance than those with higher education levels, who tended to care more about artistic quality” (Snowball et al., 2009: 10).

Snowball et al.’s (2009: 10) findings also revealed that, as with attendance, motivation differed according to particular language groups (as proxy for cultural differences):

“People whose home language was of European origin had higher average scores for education, escapism and status motives, while African language groups were more motivated by entertainment”.

Hence, we see that other demographic factors such as age, gender and race work together in conjunction with individual psychological motivators that draw theatre audiences.

### **3.2. Motivation for non-attendance of theatre:**

#### **– Information Asymmetry and Consumer Risk**

Although, as previously mentioned, there are a number of motivational factors that drive potential attenders to consume theatre/performance art, it is equally important to

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<sup>15</sup> See Appendix 7. for Jeynes“ (2009) survey.

note the factors that inhibit non-attenders from participating in the arts/theatre. NOP (1991, in Hill et al., 1995: 34) refer to certain barriers to attendance “shown to be underpinned by a variety of (underlying) beliefs and attitudes towards participation in the arts”. Of these, „Functional Risk“ is a strong determinant of the decision-making process and is said to have the most impact on consumer behaviour, defined by Nantel (2001: 84) as: “the possibility that the product doesn’t meet the consumer’s expectations”. He adds: “The riskier the purchase or use of the product, the greater the consumer’s involvement” (Nantel, 2001: 84). In other words, the less the consumer knows about the product, the more the consumer has to lose in terms of not being satisfied with the purchase. The risk in the arts thus lie in the reality that the consumer (attender) cannot usually test the product (i.e. watch the show) before buying a ticket to see it.

Nantel (2001: 80) explains that understanding consumer behaviour not only includes the act of purchasing the product, but also “the equally important and varied behaviours surrounding the decision”. Moreover, Nantel’s (2001: 80) analysis of consumer behaviour is “based on the assumption that consumers always base their decisions on a certain amount of information”. This „information“ is said to be divided into two types: „Internal“ (awareness based on previous experience) and „External“ (for example, information about the type of product through marketing, advertising, branding, word of mouth, etcetera) (Nantel, 2001). It is this internal and external information that determines “Information Asymmetry”, the term used by Throsby (1994: 5) to describe the gap in information that exists between producers and consumers of a product or service (i.e. the difference in pre-existing knowledge that exists, for example, between a director and actors about a play they are performing and the audience who are attending that show). The degree of information can be seen to play a vital role in decision-making amongst potential theatregoers, as the greater the information asymmetry, the greater the functional risk involved in attendance. For example, a play by Andrew Buckland at the National Arts Festival draws a large audience as people perceive it to be less risky, having a strong idea of the type of show they are getting. A consumer can therefore decrease functional risk by reducing information asymmetry; seeking as much information on the product as possible such

as critical reviews, advertising, friends' opinions and company information such as the name of a director or performer<sup>16</sup>.

Thus, in contrast to many other consumer products, attenders of theatre and the performing arts will place more emphasis on the quality of a production than on the price (Nantel, 2001). Throsby (1994: 7) supports the claim that in theatre and the performing arts:

“The diversity of the product, and the discrimination of consumers in deciding their attendances at particular performances, suggests that the qualitative characteristics of events...are likely to dominate price in determining demand. Furthermore, consumption of the live arts is highly time-intensive, indicating that the price of leisure-time is likely to be more influential in determining demand than the ticket price itself”.

However, price, time as an opportunity cost, and qualitative characteristics of events, only make up variables of one view pertaining to theatre attendance. Hence, there has been much research and investigation relating to status, taste and knowledge, which are all reported to play a decisive role in cultural participation and consumption of the arts.

Other factors playing an important part in motivating theatre attendance include psychological motivators such as peer and familial affirmation instilled from an early age, well documented by Scollen (2008) in her Australian study with the *Talking Theatre* project.

### **3.3. Peer and Psychological Motivators: The *Talking Theatre* Project**

The *Talking Theatre* project (2004-2006) was an audience development initiative implemented in an attempt to build new audiences, both in the short and long term, for fourteen regional performing arts centres (PACs) in Queensland and the Northern Territory in Australia. The project aimed to develop a profile of non-theatre-goers in order to understand their reasons for non-attendance and their reactions to live performances presented to them. Quantitative and qualitative data pertaining to non-theatre-goers and their reception to theatre-going was generated through a series of questionnaires and post-performance discussion groups from non-theatre-going

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<sup>16</sup> This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5 with reference to studies by Willis and Snowball (2009: 181) and van Graan (2007: 2).

volunteers in the region (Scollen, 2008: 4). Interestingly, the sample consisted mostly of “active leisure-seekers who regularly spend time and money on dining out at restaurants (76%), going to the cinema (68%), engaging in family gatherings (61%), and exploring arts and craft markets (57%)” (Scollen, 2008: 5). Since these samples consisted of „active leisure-seekers“, they may be regarded as non-theatre going omnivores, rather than univores or „abstainers“.

Another interesting result was that a large number of those involved in the research were middle-aged (40%), tertiary educated (46%) and medium (38%) to high income earners (14.5%) (Scollen, 2008: 6). This finding however, can be used both to support and refute the common perception that theatergoing is for elites in society: On the one hand, the fact that almost half the sample did consist of elites who were attracted to the idea of becoming theatergoers indicates that perhaps they only have a higher aptitude for engaging with the arts because of their education and financial status (Scollen, 2008: 6). On the other hand, that the study attracted so many well-educated, financially secure non-theatre-going volunteers also suggests that education and high status do not automatically ensure appreciation or taste for the arts (Scollen: 2008: 6). However, if this is the case, then education and status at least facilitate a propensity to do so, as verified by international research. Examples include: McCarthy et al. (2004), Australia Council (2000), and Kotler and Scheff (1997) who all show that “the greater one’s education, the more likely one is to attend the arts” (in Scollen, 2008: 3).

The results of Scollen’s (2008: 1) study indicated a number of key deterrents to audience attendance. While ticket price was the most popular deterrent (50% of the sample) other popular responses included parenting responsibilities, low quality performances and work commitments. These answers, however, were contrary to the participants’ profiles. Instead, they were all marked as being active-leisure seekers, regardless of income, spending time and money on other activities such as dining out, attending cinema, visiting arts and craft markets and social engagement in family gatherings (Scollen, 2008: 7). Upon deeper analysis, it was found that the non-theatregoers (regardless of education and wealth) in the project had one key factor in common: they did not socialise with peers or family who attended theatre and they were not encouraged by them to do so. Thus, it appears that a lack of familial initiation to theatre and an absence of peer recommendation or introduction to theatre

actually suppress their attendance as adults (Scollen, 2008: 6). For Scollen (2008: 1), this confirmed that social interaction and peer recommendation are vital elements in creating a theatergoer.

The popular responses given, therefore become a pretext for a primary underlying reason for non-attendance – fear of the unknown and the “subsequent concern that the experience may be a waste of time and money” (Scollen, 2008: 7). In other words, the risks associated with attendance, including information asymmetry, exacerbate deterring factors such as price and time as reasons or motivation for non-attendance of theatre. What deterred the participants from theatre attendance had more to do with their lack of awareness of what would be involved in attending theatre, their “limited understanding of what the performance would entail, as well as the absence of friends and family interested in coming with them” (Scollen, 2008: 7). Scollen’s (2008) results support Throsby’s (1994) notion that information asymmetry plays an important role in motivating theatre attendance:

“These findings, amongst others, appear to indicate that for many the decision not to attend live performances is due to a lack of awareness stemming from a communication breakdown between the non-engaged and the theatre industry. In turn, this lack of awareness, combined with a lack of peer recommendation leads to a variety of perceived risks deterring attendance” (Throsby, 1994: 10).

Similarly, a 1985 U.S. study (Kotler and Scheff, 1997) in Cleveland, Ohio, found that those who had arts education as children were more likely to attend as adults than those who did not, but only if their friends attended too. This indicates the need for affirmation of one’s actions by “the corresponding actions of those one respects” (Scollen, 2008: 3). Scollen (2008) also cites Littlejohn (1992: 173) to support her argument:

“Whatever meaning a person possesses for a thing is the result of interaction with others about the object being defined. An object has no meaning for a person apart from the interaction with other humans”.

The post performance discussions held by the *Talking Theatre* project confirmed the importance of interaction with others in informing and determining individuals’ perceptions about theatre attendance and about the specific performances themselves. The findings also suggest the dual purpose of social interaction as both “educative and entertaining” (Scollen, 2008: 9). As a result, it could be argued that social interaction

and familial/peer influence may be more integral than wealth and education as factors leading to theatre attendance and cultural engagement.

Scollen's (2008) study, therefore, demonstrated that many non-theatre-goers actually enjoy theatre when the threats or risks associated with attendance are removed. With reference to a festival context, then, the very nature of the festival structure is designed to create this affirmation and enjoyment. Because of the large concentration of festival participants over a short period of time, as well as a concentration of numerous shows within the same *„festival-as-event“*, the availability and accessibility of social interaction, bombardment of media coverage, reviews, festival hype, word of mouth, and comparison to other shows or events, means that a festival promotes, nurtures and supports a theatergoing atmosphere. Festivals provide affirmation to non-attenders who do not have direct support of friends, family or peers, therefore encouraging them to attend.

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## **PART 2.**

### **Identifying the Context**

#### **– The Arts Event**

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## **Chapter Four: *Culture, Theatre and Festivals***

Unlike other forms of cultural entertainment such as viewing an art exhibition, reading a book or watching a documentary film, for example, consumption and production of live performing arts happens simultaneously and depends on the experiences of both the producers and consumers of that event.

The following chapter begins with a brief overview of the nature of interaction that exists between performer and spectator, exploring the characteristics that form the basis of a theatrical event and its role in society. This is followed by contextualizing the theatrical event within South Africa, using a BASA study to identify a local theatregoing prototype. Finally, we investigate the changes in theatre and a movement towards the festivalisation of culture, exploring the structure and characteristics of arts festivals in South Africa and the development of the National Arts Festival over the last few decades.

### **4.1. Theatre within a Cultural Framework**

#### **4.1.1. The Communicative Encounter**

What separates theatre and the performing arts from other artistic forms and genres is undoubtedly the “live” element; where a performer/group delivers a particular performance, presented in real time, directly to a participating spectator or audience, thus establishing a communicative relationship between the two groups. In referring to communicative levels between performer and spectator, Sauter (2007: 17) discards the traditional “sender – message – receiver model” considering theatrical communication as being mutual: “As much as the performer is under the impression of the audience, so the spectators react to the actions on stage”.

However, it is not enough to focus simply on the relationship of the communication between the performer and spectator, but also on “the context in which this communication occurs” (Sauter, 2007: 17) or rather, the event in which the audience-spectator dialogue occurs. Sauter (2007: 18-19) elaborates: “A theatrical event does not happen in a vacuum, but is closely related to such factors as aesthetics, the economy, education, attitudes, status, traditions”.

Sauter (2007: 19) uses four basic aspects to describe the theatrical event: Firstly, *Playing culture*, which “positions the theatrical event in opposition to written culture”, relates the theatrical event to a wide variety of activities and can be seen as a mode of expression through which a society communicates its value system. Sauter (2007: 20) notes theatrical events are simultaneously cultural performances and can therefore be used for subversive purposes. That during a festival the *playing culture* “receives more attention than usual”, as the concentration of activities (i.e. its density) – dependent on the location, duration, and frequency of festival events – directly focuses the playing element itself: “[The] density of a festival carries significance for the spectators’ experience as a heightened state of participation and feelings of *„communitas”*”.

The notion of “*communitas*” can be compared to Scollen’s (2009) findings: that social interaction, familial affirmation and peer recommendation are vital elements not only in creating a theatergoer, as discussed in Chapter 3, but also in promoting festival attendance.

Secondly, Sauter (2007: 20) refers to the *cultural context* of an event: the socio-political environment in which the theatrical event occurs and whether or not there are “specific circumstances which influence festivals as events”. This can lead to group identity and participation which may enhance the experience of the event. Hence, factors that affect cultural context also include demographics of the area, class, ethnic, religious and gender structures (Sauter, 2007: 21). The National Arts Festival, for example, was initiated to celebrate and promote English cultural heritage in South Africa (Snowball and Webb, 2008: 10). Another example includes the Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees (KKNK), a festival founded in 1995 as a platform for Afrikaans playwrights to realise their works as well as retain and encourage Afrikaans language and culture, seen to have come under threat since South Africa’s democratization (Hauptfleisch et al., 2007).

Thirdly, the conditions under which a theatrical event takes place is referred to as *contextual theatricality*, and include the “aesthetic conventions, the divisions of genres, the locations, the organisational traditions, equity rights, legal conditions...” (Sauter, 2007: 21). To elaborate, this would include all structures related to theatrical

production, apart from the actual stage presentation itself. At the South African National Arts Festival (henceforth also referred to as NAF), for example, shows are advertised in the festival programme according to their different genres such as Physical Theatre, Comedy, Dance, Exhibitions, etcetera, where different genres are often allocated to specific show venues.

Finally, *theatrical playing* refers to “the actual encounter between performer and spectator... [and] can best be described as communicative process, through which all the other aspects of the theatrical event concentrate for a time of the performance” (Sauter, 2007: 22). It is this mutual encounter and communicative process that is often desired by the audience attender and hence becomes a motivator to see „live performance“, as discussed in Chapter 3.

The experience of a theatrical event can therefore be expanded to a whole festival where an atmosphere of playing culture is established and which Sauter (2007: 23) believes “invites and stimulates the visitor to look for theatrical experiences even outside conventional venues”. Festival spectators therefore become involved in a communal process that affirms their own identity and increases their sense of belonging to a larger community.

#### **4.1.2. Theatre“s Role in Society**

In terms of identifying the role of the theatre in society, Marais (2009: personal communication) notes a number of socio-cultural benefits as well as the value the arts play in society:

“The arts have a tremendous public value because apart from entertaining and stimulating audiences, the arts promote broad social and economic goals, which help to develop our societies. The arts become the „instrument“ through which artists are able to draw our focus to our consciousness, to our humanity, to our flaws, to our joys, to our fears, our hopes and our aspirations. Through the arts, cultures are preserved and the history of the times recorded”.

Therefore, the „culture“ of a community, social group or national identity, is often defined and encapsulated by the creative art it produces. Theatre and the performing arts may thus be seen as a live reflection or signifier of a particular group“s identity, traditions, political and social ideologies, socio-cultural dogma, beliefs or values. In turn, it also helps to re-assert, re-edify and develop these cultural identities. The view

is supported by Scollen (2008: 3), who affirms that “theatre is commonly understood to play a significant role in the presentation and development of cultures”. Scollen (2008) also cites Turner (in Schechner and Appel, 1990: 1) who posits: “A (theatrical) performance is a declarative of our shared humanity, yet it utters the uniqueness of particular cultures”. Similarly, Shevtsova (1993: ix) is also cited to indicate that theatre “is created out of the behaviours, emotions and values that are invested in the images and symbols appropriate to a particular social group” (Scollen, 2008: 3). Finally, the value of the arts to a society may be epitomised in the words of John Ruskin (in Marais, 2009):

“Great nations write their autobiography in three manuscripts; – the book of their deeds, the book of their words, and the book of their art. No one of these books can be understood unless we read the two others; but of the three, the only quite trustworthy one is the last”.

It may be concluded then, that a dialogue exists between particular or shared social groups, culture and art which affect, reflect and reaffirm each other in each particular context.

Hauptfleisch (1997: 1) also acknowledges the close interface between arts, culture and the society in which it occurs – and the fundamental role it plays in affirming individual, groups and national identities and in providing social well-being – deducing that “there is a relationship of some kind between a performance and the socio-political context in which it occurs”. Bearing the argument in mind, it would therefore seem logical that the arts would play a vital role in maintaining and driving societies forward, promoting cultural diversity and the close integration between theatre/arts attendance as fundamental to the growth and development of a healthy society. Mahomed (2009, personal communication) notes:

“[In South Africa], the politics of funding, arts education and arts access has changed significantly since 1994. Hence, there is a greater population that now has access to experiencing or the making of theatre”.

It seems paradoxical then, that theatre still plays to a fraction of the consumer public. Hence, Hauptfleisch (1997: 3) questions whether or not a breakdown exists in communication between theatre and non-theatre-goers which “prevents both entities from successfully engaging”.

However, contrary to popular thinking, Hauptfleisch (1997: 2) refutes the notion that a single artist or performer “can „reflect“ or represent more than a few selected aspects of life about him or her at any given time, particularly not in a single artefact” (e.g. play, painting or poem). Rather, believing the process far too complex for that, Hauptfleisch (1997: 3) hypothesises that “it is the theatrical system and the sum of artefacts in any given period and given context which may be said to „reflect“ that context, and which, in the longer term, may be able to „influence“ or „change“ that specific context”. Hauptfleisch (1997: 114) elaborates:

“If the theatre as a system of processes and beliefs, is seen to shift its emphases and structures, it tends to signal or denote corresponding changes in society itself.... But theatre cannot, by its very eclectic and communal nature, achieve the latter effect through a single, unaligned and de-contextualised performance. Theatre is, and must inevitably remain, a team event, to which all the players contribute something of value: the author, the performer, the audience – and inevitably the company and its venue. It is the power and celebrity generated by that particular combination of elements which is the driving force behind the true impact of theatre as a socio-political instrument”.

With reference to the festivalisation process, then, it can be proposed that it is not so much a specific play or theatrical event, but rather the culmination of theatrical events at a festival or the *festival-as-event* itself that can, given its established frame of reference, influence or change that specific context.

Returning to consider the general role of theatre within society, Hauptfleisch (1997: 106) drew on a study conducted by the Centre for South African Theatre Research from 1979 – 1982 that highlighted statistics which showed theatre to be “an elitist activity in Westernised society, frequented by about 4-6 % of the population”<sup>17</sup>. Although dated, these findings suggest a maximum number of audience attenders for a live performance event. Kamerman and Martorella (1983: 221) concluded, from a statistical overview of approximately 40 different locations in the U.S., that contrary to efforts to popularise consumption, theatre remained an elitist activity:

“...cultural democratization (if defined as increasing representation of non-elites among visitors to museums and performing arts events) does not seem to be occurring, despite arguments to the contrary, outreach efforts of some arts administrators, and a degree of pressure from those responsible for public funding of the arts...” (in Hauptfleisch, 1997: 107).

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<sup>17</sup> Study series by the Centre for South African Theatre Research, Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), between 1979 and 1982, which looked at theatre attendance and expectations of audiences in South Africa (Hauptfleisch, 1997: 106). See Hauptfleisch (1983, 1987, and 1997).

While theatre houses remain relatively stagnant or dying, these studies reveal that theatre attendance has been viewed to be in „crisis“ for almost three decades. Perhaps, then, this longstanding downward trend is finally over and that the proliferation of festivals gives some indication of a new theatre audience market albeit over short intense periods. Therefore, while theatre may have only reached 4% – 6% of high status univores (or omnivores) all year round, it may be posited that festivals have wider audience appeal and reach far greater numbers in shorter spaces of time.

#### **4.1.3. Defining Theatre as Event In/Outside the Festival Context**

In looking at theatre-as-event in or outside a festival context, Groffman (1975, in Schoenmakers, 2007: 28) differentiated between the recipient (consumer) as „theatergoer“ and as „onlooker“. The theatergoer participates in the reality of the theatrical event, i.e. the act of waiting in a queue, purchasing a ticket, sitting in a specified seat and watching a show. The onlooker or spectator, on the other hand, is actively engaged in the theatrical communication and the fictional world, suspending their belief to become involved in the narrative of the event. Hence, Schoenmakers (2007: 28-30) notes how a festival participant acts as both theatergoer and spectator within a festival context; that there lies a difference in how the same event can be experienced inside or outside a festival structure which may have consequences for creating differences in interpretation, emotional experience, and evaluation of that event. Moreover, it could even be deliberated that, to a certain extent, festival goers suspend their belief for the whole festival-as-event, as opposed to simply for the duration of the individual shows (Schoenmakers, 2007: 28-30).

Interpretation of a single event may be affected by information or perspective supplied by the festival organizers. Moreover, festival participants are forced to make comparisons between the events that would not have occurred outside a festival structure, as Schoenmakers (2007: 33) elaborates:

“There is more agreement between the spectators about the interpretation (and also evaluation) of a performance within rather than outside a festival structure, because the presentation of the performance as a sign of „something“, and the dramaturgy of the context, are focusing the interpretation and evaluation of the different spectators”.

A performance presented within a festival structure may become part of a *flow* experience of the festival participants. Schoenmakers (2007: 33), drawing on Csikszentmihalyi (1990), explains the concept of flow as an indication “that a subject is undergoing the (positive) experience of wholeness”. In this instance, the intensity of the *flow* is dependent on variables on both the side of the participants and the festival itself. According to Schoenmakers (2007) then, both the degree to which festival activities are interwoven and connected in time, and the extent to which the spectator or participant is involved in the different festival activities, the more intense the flow experience.

The NAF in Grahamstown provides a case example, with approximately 400 live events over a fixed time period of 10 consecutive days. This dense programme of activities over a short space of time facilitates and fuels the flow experience, or what may be referred to as the “festival buzz”. This excitement is intensified by the NAF marketing slogan: “10 DAYS OF AMAZING”, which attests to the greatness of the individual festival activities that contribute equally to an overarching amazing emotional experience. The temporal nature of live events thus drives a fear of loss if not witnessed directly by the festival consumer.

In terms of emotional experience, the concept of excitation transfer, used by American psychologist, Zillmann (1972, 1974), describes “the process in which the arousal level accompanying an emotional experience is transferred to [other] emotional experiences, even when there is no causal or thematic connection between the two emotional experiences” (in Schoenmakers, 2007: 35). In other words, the emotional experiences invoked by a theatrical event or activity within a festival structure are transferred to the emotional experience of the next event. Consequently, the festival becomes exciting as a whole. Furthermore, Getz (2008, in van Zyl, 2009: 131) notes that “events are never the same; one has to enjoy the experience fully; and, once missed, the opportunity is lost”. Therefore, to “enjoy the experience fully”, festival goers will try see and do as much as possible in the limited time available.

The NAF slogan seeks to create the impression that people need to make an effort to attend and that they will surely lose out if they don’t fully experience all there is to offer over the 10-day period. With this foreboding threat at the back of many festival

attenders' minds", the flow and "buzz" of the temporary experience generates excitement and promotes a consumer consumption frenzy that includes voracious consumption of univores and omnivores alike – hence, the emergence of the festivoire hypothesis, which this chapter later explores.

Affiliation is another emotional experience that differs within a festival structure. Described as the process whereby humans have a desire or need for emotional contact with one another, Schoenmakers (2007: 35) posits that theatrical events are able to fulfill the need for affiliation since, more than the other arts, theatre involves both a physical and emotional contact and interaction between people rather than just with the medium itself. As Schoenmakers (2007: 35) suggests: "The more spectators are involved in the different activities of a festival, the more their need for affiliation will be gratified". In some cases spectators are also shown, not only to involve themselves with the different festival activities, but also with the festival as event itself. This affiliation is manifested by showing their loyalty to the festival with repeat visits, returning each year as „festinos“<sup>18</sup> to relive the shared festival experience<sup>19</sup>.

Schoenmakers (2007) also differentiates how participants evaluate the performances of theatrical events that exist within a festival context, claiming that the more engaged the spectators are in the festival marketing the more these participants will show agreement in their evaluation. Moreover, that "the more the festival is experienced as a whole, the more this total experience will be evaluated (including the affiliation possibilities of the social contacts)" (Schoenmakers, 2007: 36). In other words, the more involvement and exposure festinos have to the NAF marketing of "10 DAYS OF AMAZ!NG", the more likely festinos will experience a similar sense of "AMAZEMENT". Hence, the more shows or events festinos see, the more they can positively affiliate themselves with the festival.

Schoenmakers (2007) hence postulates that theatrical performances differ inside and outside a festival structure:

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<sup>18</sup> The term, "festino", was coined by the Brandfords in the SA English Dictionary Unit, Rhodes University, was nurtured by the Snowball and Antrobus" (2006) study, and is similarly used in this research to refer to an (ardent) festival attender or consumer.

<sup>19</sup> A 2009 NAF study (see Chapter 6) revealed that, from a sample of 227 responses, festivalgoers had, on average, frequented the NAF over 9 times.

“[These differences are] very much dependent on the questions: (a) whether the festival is a condensed one; and (b) to what degree a participant is involved in the different activities of a festival. The higher the density of the theatrical and other events, the more chance there is of evoking a flow experience and fulfilling the affiliation needs of the participants” (Schoenmakers, 2007: 36).

Therefore, it may be posited that the more condensed the Festival and more flow experienced by the festival goers, the more likely the festival will incite (though not necessarily dictate) voracious omnivorousness among consumers. The focus now turns to theatre attendance in a South African context.

## **4.2. Theatre in South Africa**

### **4.2.1. BASA Study**

Business and Arts South Africa (BASA) compared audience attendance at eleven cultural events or activities in relation to race, and found that:

“out of 11 arts events such as movies, traditional dance, festivals, contemporary dance, ballet, theatre, museums, crafts, literature, exhibitions and opera, festivals and theatre feature in the top four for black people (after movies and traditional dance), for whites too (after movies and craft) and the top 5 for Coloureds/Indians (after movies, traditional dancing and museums)” (PANSA, 2005: 84).

These results<sup>20</sup> reveal the popularity of theatre and festival events in South Africa, though average attendance of those who go are shown to be significantly lower (3 times per year) than that of film (7.5 times per year), reflecting the global trend discussed by Chan and Goldthorpe (2005) and Montgomery and Robinson (2008) on theatre and cinema, hence lying congruent with the univore-omnivore debate. In research conducted in KwaZulu Natal in 2003, Caroline Smart Services concluded that “at present, the average theatergoer would attend a performance only once per month” (PANSA, 2005: 84), or nearly four times the average indicated above. In response, the Performing Arts Network of South Africa (PANSA) (2005), conducted further research at theatres around South Africa, including: Johannesburg (Market Theatre, Wits Theatre and Civic Theatre), Durban (Catalina Theatre, Hilton Arts Festival, Kwasuka Theatre) and Cape Town (Baxter, Theatre, ARTSCAPE, Postbox Theatre, and Intimate Theatre). PANSA’s results indicate that on average, audiences who go to the theatre, do so on average 8 times per year in Johannesburg and Durban,

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<sup>20</sup> See Appendix 2. Table 1.

and on average of 10 times per year in Cape Town (PANSAs, 2005: 84). Though income and education levels are not specified in the PANSAs study, a review of the *South Africa Survey 2008/2009* (Macfarlane, 2009) reveals that average household income is highest in Cape Town (Western Cape at R135 000/annum), which is congruent with the highest rate in theatre attendance (10 times per year). Durban (KZN) and Johannesburg (Gauteng), with lower average attendance, also show lower average household incomes of R58 551 and R111 079 per annum respectively. Though it does not explain why Johannesburg, with higher average income than Durban, is equal in attendance at 8 times per year, education levels (proportion passed with endorsement) are shown to be higher in Gauteng (12.0%) than KwaZulu-Natal (10.2%) (Macfarlane, 2009: 270-424). Thus, it is evident that income and education levels are likely factors contributing to the differences between the cities' average attendances.

The BASA research also reveals that 46-53% of the different groups never go (to theatre), and 21% go twice or more times a year (PANSAs, 2005: 84). This reveals that while the majority of people are non-attenders of theatre and the arts, a significant proportion of those who do attend do so more than twice a year and up to 12 times per year as previously stated.

This evidence lends support to Montgomery and Robinson's (2008) view that a „doer is a doer“ – that theatre/arts consumers are generally omnivorous cross-culturally – but also extends the argument further to that of omnivore versus virtual non-consumer. Moreover, in South Africa, more people attend festivals than theatre. But before exploring festivals further, it is important to contextualise theatre in South Africa.

#### **4.2.2. Changes in South African Theatre**

In a more general observation pertaining to South African theatre, Hauptfleisch, (2007: 22-23) lists changes over the last decade or so<sup>21</sup>, including:

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<sup>21</sup> See Appendix 3.

“...the increasingly important roles played by the 30 or more annual arts festivals in setting up the calendar, shape and rhythms of the new „theatrical season“, as well as the particular forms of theatre emerging after 1990...A key impact here has been the rise of the one-hour „full-length play“ and the „instant theatre“ notion (i.e. anyone can submit an idea and be accepted)... The gain is numerous new and creative theatre makers, the loss is (a) cultural memory (no old plays being done) and (b) few slow brewed, gradually developed theatrical works of major substance being written/created and produced”.

Hauptfleisch, (2006), notes that as far as audiences and the public are concerned, the festivals appear to have stimulated a revival of three old South African traditions, namely: *Market-day gatherings, commemorative day celebrations, and touring theatre companies.*

Market-day gatherings in towns and cities were events where people went regularly to enjoy themselves while attending to business, shopping and interacting with friends, neighbours, etcetera. This has been replaced in more urban environments by supermarkets, pre-packaged foods, and 24-hr shopping. With reference to the former, the “new festivals offer the same kind of regular festive setting for people to mingle, meet friends, be entertained and barter, buy and sell goods”(Hauptfleisch, 2006: 183). Surveys found that some people attend festivals without going to any shows but rather go simply to visit friends, shop at the craft markets or enjoy the nightlife (Snowball and Antrobus, 2006: 22).

The origins of celebratory occasions derive from a variation of religious, agricultural, historical, political and mythical sources and have developed and changed over years. Hauptfleisch (2006: 184) reports some of these rituals often being “linked to the history of a particular culture or region...then there were the created festivals and celebratory occasions devised by cultural groups, nationalist movements, and the government of the time (cf. Republic day...Soweto day, Freedom Day). Finally, there are the occasions that have to do with specific activities such as sport...”. However, Hauptfleisch (2006: 184) reiterates that with the turbulent change in the socio-political structure and demographics of the country between 1989 and 1994, these patterns have altered significantly, making many of the above redundant or politically sensitive – that “the new festivals have thus slowly become part of a new tapestry of celebration, serving similar purposes”.

Finally, Hauptfleisch (2006: 184) also comments on the return of touring theatre companies:

“Today, virtually all the companies tour, but it is a new kind of touring in that they visit only the festival towns and venues. However, this has brought into being an additional and most interesting new kind of touring, that of the audiences themselves. *They* now travel to the towns and venues for a festive outing with friends, in search of cultural enrichment, tourism, or simply a party. In other words, the marketplace audience has met the touring company half way”.

Hence, the proliferation of arts festivals in small towns becomes viable, where both the artists and audiences meet to create and implement the so-called „aesthetic contract“ mentioned in chapter 1.

### 4.3. Festivals

#### 4.3.1. The Festivalisation of Culture in South Africa

According to Bowdin et al. (2006, in van Zyl, 2008: 133), “arts festivals are currently one of the fastest-growing sectors of tourism”. Kaptein (1996, in Hauptfleisch, 2007: 39) agrees, arguing that today culture has become festivalised the world over – where plays, performances and other arts effectively use festivals as a platform to premier new work to a wider public:

“Festivals are not only where the work is; it is where the artistic output of the actor, director, choreographer, etc. is *eventified*. It is where the everyday *life event* (performing a play, a concerto, a dance, exhibiting a painting, a sculpture, an installation) is turned into a significant *Cultural Event*, framed and made meaningful by the presence of an audience and reviewers who will respond to the celebrated event. Festivals thus become a means of retaining the event in the cultural memory of the particular society”.

Another function festivals fulfil in society is what Hauptfleisch (2007: 39) refers to as “the latent „eventness“” of a festival itself as an entity. That is, “the festival as a cultural event which in its own way eventifies elements and issues of the particular society in which it is taking place”. Hence, Hauptfleisch (2007: 39-40) argues that festivals may be regarded as theatrical events or performances in their own right instead of merely as a vehicle to host a series of specific cultural events. Rather, it is these cultural events, celebrating particular ideologies or ideas, that festivals frame collectively in a theatrical way.

Since virtually no society can be considered completely homogenous with a set system of societal processes and beliefs, so too no festival can stand as a single complete system of social and political processes, structures and beliefs, but rather as a multicultural complexity of sub-systems (Hauptfleisch, 2007:42). With this in mind, Schoenmakers (2007) and Hauptfleisch (2007) introduce the idea of festivals existing as a poly-system.

#### **4.3.2. Structural Characteristics of Festivals**

Schoenmakers (2007: 28) characterises a festival as a single event consisting of multiple events; in other words, a „meta-event“. These single theatrical events are “organized and presented within the bigger structure of the festival according to thematic...discipline or genre-based...or other principles” (Schoenmakers, 2007: 28). Another essential characteristic of festivals is the limited time and place connected with the festival or festival period (Schoenmakers, 2007: 30). Therefore, festivals need a background or context in which to occur so that they “can be distinguished from other, more regular activities, which are considered to be „normal“” (Schoenmakers, 2007: 31). For example, the Spier Contemporary Art festival is an exhibition and showcase of contemporary art, theatre, and dance in South Africa and is set against the backdrop of the Spier wine estate in Stellenbosch. This context foregrounds the festival activities and therefore attracts special attention from the public. Colbert et al. (2005: 2) corroborate, stating that: “because the characteristics of each festival are distinct, the festivals themselves become a very special type of product for consumers”.

Therefore, despite many common characteristics, Colbert et al. (2005: 2) purport that each festival develops its own unique personality that distinguishes itself both from other festivals and also its products (e.g. merchandise, food stalls, shows) from that of other permanent stores/ retail/entertainment outlets (e.g. Edgars, Wimpy, Market Theatre). Hence, a festival will base its products more on advertising, souvenirs, and expectations than on regular visits (in the case of stores) or usage (in the case of brands). Unlike brands and stores, festivals are public celebrations around overall themes like cinema, music, nature or food (Getz, 1990, in Colbert et al., 2005: 2). Colbert et al. (2005: 2) also note their „consumption“ is thus mainly social in that “it is usually realised in communion with many other consumers who share the same

interests”. Furthermore, these social experiences take place outside consumers’ normal environment and are seen as highly hedonistic (Bourdieu, De Coster and Paradis, 2001, in Colbert et al., 2005: 2).

### 4.3.3. Hauptfleisch’s Festival Model

Hauptfleisch (2007: 42-43) puts forward the notion that festivals are multi-faceted social, cultural and economic poly-systems, by suggesting a model which outlines “a variety of dynamic forces impinging upon it, driving it, shaping the particular (or individual) events, and ultimately vying for supremacy and „ownership“ of the festival as a whole”:

“While there may be a *conceptual* unity to the [festival] event as a whole (it has a specific name, takes place in one place, at a specific time, has one programme, and a very general marketing focus on a particular issue, culture, form of expression, etc.), yet within that frame it is more likely to be a *poly-system of linked sub-festivals*, each with its own aims, objectives, supporters, processes and impact – in other words an uneasy composite of (potentially) competing activities”.

The model<sup>22</sup> reveals the difficulty and complexity of seeing a festival as a single event or eventifying process. Hauptfleisch (2007: 44-45) identifies three qualities which play important parts in the festivalisation process: Firstly, though the forces (or sub-systems) may not carry equal weight, they all play a role, no festival being able to exist without the cooperation between them. Secondly, the various power-relationships that exist between these forces in the festival shape and determine the nature of that particular event. Finally, due to the nature of festivals being firmly rooted in local identity, the “nature of the particular *festival as event* is [seen as] unique”. Hauptfleisch (2007: 45) explains the cause: “The fact is of course that a festival – in order to truly be a festive event – must ultimately be true to its basic nature”.

The argument is supported by Sauter (2007: 45) who posits that the primary origins of the festival lie in the existence of a playing culture (as previously discussed in Chapter 4.1), and that the nature of a playing culture will determine (or at least significantly affect) the nature of each individual festival, as well as the way it develops and is run. With this festival structure in place, then, those involved in or attending a festival

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<sup>22</sup> See Appendix 4.

would have their own individual and distinctive range of motivations, since they each come from distinctive sub-systems and systems within the larger poly-system of the particular society (Sauter, 2007: 42). Mahomed (2009: personal communication) provides an example of this where, due to the current structures of many arts festivals in South Africa, the playing culture is mostly fostered in the „fringe“ programmes:

“Festivals are also directed by Committees rather by the artistic vision of a Festival Director. As a result, the fringes have become the more inspirational and exciting breeding ground for creativity while the Main continues to tread along on established patterns that cater to a small percentage of die hard audiences and die hard artists. The Fringe on the other hand is growing in leaps and bounds in terms of creativity and audience support is increasingly become the new „Main“.”

In contrast to Mahomed’s view that the main caters “to a small percentages of die hard audiences...” however, NAF 2009 statistics<sup>23</sup> show that while there were indeed less than half the number of tickets (42 978) sold for shows on the Main compared to the Fringe (90 917), only 184 productions were selected for the Main programme in contrast to 289 shows listed for the Fringe (Marais, 2009: personal communication).

Although motivations have been discussed at length with reference to social stratification, demographic segmentation, class distinction, status, taste, education and psychological drivers and decision-making processes – including Swanson’s motivational factors – a festival will combine these elements along with other marketing strategies in drawing an audience to a festival as an event in itself. “Arts festivals have strong drawing power and can attract large numbers of local and non-locals in the festival audiences” (van Zyl, 2008: 131).

This combination is known in marketing terms as „positioning“. Kotler (2000, 2003) defines „positioning“ as:

“the act of designing the organisation’s offering and image to occupy a distinctive place in the minds of people in the target market... where its main components involve the segmentation decision, image, selection of product’s (festival’s) feature to emphasise differentiation and branding” (in van Zyl, 2008: 129).

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<sup>23</sup> See Appendix 9.2.2. for NAF 2009 statistical overview.

To reiterate the example, the NAF uses “10 DAYS OF AMAZ!NG” as a slogan to market the whole festival as a single event or brand, which the public (as consumers) buy into by attending the festival.

Van Zyl’s (2008) aforementioned “components” also comprise of socio-psychological motivators (push factors) and festival drawing-power attributes (pull factors). Push factors deal with the individual’s own reasons to attend and refer to the socio-psychological benefits offered by the festival’s attractions and people (Goosens, 2000, in van Zyl, 2008: 132). This includes the aforementioned intrinsic motives such as feelings of affirmation, escape from personal/social pressures, family togetherness, event novelty, socialization/bonding, self-esteem, community pride, and other motivators previously discussed in Chapter 2. In economic terms, push factors are closely related to the demand-side, as they help in understanding decision-making processes.

Pull factors, on the other hand, are generally viewed from the supply-side and refer to external motivations such as entertainment (performances, music and arts), refreshments (food and beverages), information and marketing, transport (accessibility to venues) and ticket price of entertainment offered at the festival (van Zyl, 2008: 129). According to Hughes (2000), these motivational factors form a festival’s “drawing power of attractiveness” (in van Zyl, 2008: 132). That is, it is the combination of both the socio-psychological demand and the designed and tailor-made structure (supply) provided that motivates audiences to attend festivals as events, as well as the events within the festival itself.

Although festivals can be seen to be eventified into a unified entity, a festival, as Even-Zohar (1979 in Hauptfleisch, 2007: 92) posits, “is more often than not an uneasy composite of (potentially) competing activities”. However, it is the poly-systemic nature of festivals which Hauptfleisch believes has a profound impact on South African culture and that theatre is the crucial factor in the festivalisation process.

#### 4.3.4. The Development of Festivals in South Africa

According to Hauptfleisch, (2006a: 182), artists in post-1970 South African theatre began to “hybridize various forms of performance, combining „African“, „European“, „American“, „Eastern“, and other styles to create the distinctive South African theatre and performance forms which emerged in the last two decades of the twentieth century”. However, under an Apartheid system of government, theatre was often used for social and political means, such as Protest Theatre and the Black Consciousness theatre movement:

“In South Africa the arts have often been mobilized for socio-political ends, most notably as tools (weapons) in the battle against Apartheid... [where] the *eventifying* power of the performing arts was *consciously* employed to shift perceptions, highlight injustices and confront realities” (Hauptfleisch, 2007: 79).

The 90s saw the end of Apartheid and a new democratic government come into power bringing about radical social change. Since then, the arts have once again been invoked in a new „cultural struggle“ in an attempt to construct a new national identity. Hauptfleisch (2007: 79) describes how “not only the theatrical event, but the theatrical system as a whole is becoming increasingly important as a means of re-interpreting the past, coming to grips with the present and shaping the future”.

However, the end of Apartheid also meant an accepted welcome back into the international market, society and hence cultural and artistic freedom and eclecticism. It is perhaps no coincidence then, that the new search for an artistic/theatre identity and proliferation of festivals in South Africa over the last two decades has paralleled the global trend of festivalisation. Hauptfleisch (2006a: 182) verifies this, commenting that theatre in South Africa was simultaneously going through a “period of syncretisation and discovery [which] happened to coincide with a time of gradual rediscovery, reintroduction, and/or expansion of the role of the arts festival internationally, and thus with a re-evaluation and rediscovery of festivals as important cultural drivers”. Mahomed (2009) agrees: “Festivals continue to be the life-blood for many independent companies. An increasing large number of festivals are springing up in various parts of the country”.

Evidence that gives weight to this claim includes Visser (2005: 165), who found that at least 211 annual festivals take place in South Africa. Interestingly, he also notes that there does not necessarily appear to be a link between the population size of the province and the number of festivals staged:

“One of the most striking findings of this investigation is that although the larger urban centres dominate in terms of sheer number of festivals, the most important among them...take place in non-metropolitan areas” (2005: 165).

Examples of high profile South African festivals in non-metropolitan areas include the National Arts Festival (Grahamstown), Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees (Oudtshoorn), Aardklop (Potchestroom) and Hilton Festival (Hilton, Pietermaritzburg).

Hauptfleisch (2006a:182) explains the practical reasons behind this proliferation of festivals as: “...manifold and complex, but the collapse of the old, focused, and wealthy state-funded theatre subsidy system, the disappearance of the need for anti-apartheid theatre, and the rise of a predominantly freelance theatre industry have been important”.

Consequently, festivals like the NAF have become the new cultural hubs where theatre and arts attendance are concentrated over a brief and intense time period, thus giving rise to voracious omnivore consumption. Therefore, we return to the omnivore debate – placing it in a festival context in order to explore the voracious festive consumer hypothesis.

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## **PART 3.**

### **Identifying a Solution**

#### **– The „Festivore“**

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## Chapter Five: *The ‘Festivore’ Hypothesis*

In shifting focus toward searching for solutions, the research returns to the omnivore-univore argument, applying it to a South African context – exploring the National Arts Festival as a means to expand the hypothesis to consider a new breed of arts audience: the omnivore as a „festival-as-event“ consumer or, more simply put, the „festivore“.

### 5.1. The Event

#### 5.1.1. Eventifying the Festival

Apart from Hauptfleisch (1997, 2001, 2006, 2007) and Schoenmakers (2007), van Graan (2007a: 1) also notes a shift towards festivals as the primary locale for theatrical/cultural/arts events:

“The last thirteen years have seen a dramatic rise in festivals around the country...a few more multi-disciplinary in nature than many, a number promoting –consciously or by history – one language in particular, and more than one claiming to be „national“. Some are driven by local tourism needs, others by artistic imperatives while a few are unashamedly commercial in their intent”.

Brazen examples of festivals that are “unashamedly commercial in their intent” include many of the food and wine festivals in and around South Africa such as the Knysna Oyster Festival, Castle Lager East Cape Biltong Festival, Ficksburg Cherry Festival, *Le Franschhoek Cap Classique* and Champagne Festival, and GoodLife Fine Brandy Festival, to name a few.

Hauptfleisch (2006a: 192) responds on the premise that contemporary South African festivals are based on the idea of art for the people, that festivals are for everybody, whatever age, sex, language, ethnicity, value systems, social and educational status, and theatrical and cultural traditions.

Therefore, both Hauptfleisch and van Graan note a current trend in South African theatre which shows attenders to be generally omnivorous consumers. Moreover, there seems to be huge shift towards „festivorous“ consumption: “Festivals have become a prominent, if not dominating, feature in South African theatre over the last two decades” (Hauptfleisch, 2006a: 182). Hauptfleisch (2001: 2) comments:

“Whatever the reasons for it, the fact that South African theatre today is *dominated* by festivals to such an extent that Stephanie Niewoudt (*Die Burger*, 20 October 2001) can justifiably claim that arts and culture festivals may actually have come to represent the „theatrical season“ in South Africa.... [That] the festivals ARE where plays, performances and other arts events are effectively launched and displayed for the public today...”.

Thus, in context, Hauptfleisch (2001: 2) sees South African festivals as single cultural events, rather than an eclectic grouping defined by location and time, which in its own way “*eventifies* elements and issues of South African society”. This means that theatrical performances at the festivals too can become eventified and embedded in the cultural memory of particular societies, and hence may affect consumer or audience behaviour in different ways (Hauptfleisch, 2006b). As van Graan (2007a: 2) succinctly puts it: “Festivals do not exist in a vacuum, but are shaped by broader and changing economic, political, cultural and social pressures and phenomena, and festivals in turn impact on the arts and society in general”. Hauptfleisch (2001: 2) extrapolates, theorising that festivals are not simply where the work is, but rather where the everyday *life event* (the artistic product, e.g. performing a play, dance, exhibiting art) is transformed into (what he refers to as) a *Cultural Event*. This is given significance by the presence of an audience or consumer who are witness to the event and who thus become the medium responsible for “retaining that event in the cultural memory of a particular society”. By this reasoning, the notion of *eventification* implies that not only is the play/performance/festival turned into an event of socio-cultural, socio-political and even socio-economic significance, but also that festivals may be regarded as “performances as theatrical events in their own right” (Hauptfleisch, 2001: 2). This may be illustrated by a colloquial example of a typical question and response with regards to attending the NAF:

“Hey! How did you enjoy the National Arts Festival?”  
 “Ag, ja-no, it was AMAZ!NG, hey?!”.

Note how all the individual shows attended/witnessed are entrenched within the “eventness” of the festival thus creating an overall common emotional response.

### **5. 1.2. The Boom and Gloom of the “Festival Play”**

Since the individual theatre show becomes deeply embedded in the festival-as-event, Hauptfleisch (2001) raises a counterargument for supporting festivals as a means to increase theatre attendance. Is there such a thing as a „festival play“? And if so, can it

exist outside a festival context? These questions arise from factors that discourage theatre from its affiliation with and dependence on festivals. Firstly, personal experience has shown that due to the lack of a clear and transparent funding structure of subsidies and government and corporate support for the arts, as well as a general lack of funding, both festivals and individually financed theatre/dance/art companies only receive funding or sponsorship close to the event. Mahomed (2009, personal communication) agrees: “[There] is little will on the part of government to proactively address the flawed administration of arts funding agencies”.

In alliance with this view, van Graan (2007b: 12) also reports:

“Funding is available, but it is allocated on an ad hoc basis creating insecurity, and rendering professional theatre companies unsustainable. Leadership, governance and administrative challenges at bodies like the National Arts Council and the lottery impact adversely on the lives of arts practitioners”.

Consequently, either shows are rushed and put together quickly as funds come through at short notice, or else rehearsed by the performers for a limited time period due to other individual work commitments. Since there is no afforded luxury of subsidised time or income for a long creative rehearsal process, the quality of the show suffers as a result.

Secondly, the tight structure of the festival programming schedule, with shows falling on the hour, has subsequently resulted in the development of the „one-hour festival play“. While a show longer than an hour proves to be a waste of time for the voracious attender who has many shows to see in the limited festival period, there is an exponentially increasing demand on quality versus ticket price of anything shorter than 60 minutes. This time specification can also have a negative effect on the creative demands and hence quality of a show.

Mahomed (2009: personal communication) also dismisses the argument that festivals are detrimental to growing theatre audiences, claiming that people are exposed to the arts where they may not have been outside a festival context. For some, watching a show at a festival is their exposure to theatre (Mahomed, 2009: personal communication). What makes a festival different from a theatrical season is that, while a season consists of a few shows over an extended period of time, a festival

provides a concentration of events in a short space and time. It creates a capsule or bubble in which audiences can immerse themselves in a world where everyone is doing the same thing – wake up, have breakfast, buy the festival “Cue” review, go to a multiplicity of shows and then congregate to socialise and discuss, criticise, compare and review the shows. It becomes a treasure hunt to see who can find the hidden gem, which is equally as enjoyable as consolidating which play was the most atrocious of the lot.

Unlike conventional theatre, which is often viewed by the general public as an elitist or an upmarket event in a formal setting or theatre establishment with predefined conventions of behaviour, a festival is a make-shift event which provides shows in make-shift venues. Thus, predefined behavioural attitudes and conventions surrounding theatre also relax and become „make-shift“ as it were. It allows a space where people can drop inhibitions, a space where risk is lowered so that even univores feel comfortable in attending theatre.

In lieu of the deduction that audiences generally prefer to remain in their comfort zones, van Graan (2007a: 2) presents evidence of recent research conducted at all the major festivals which indicates that: “the premium works desired by audiences are those with well-known actors, created by well-known writers and directed by well-known directors”, i.e. well-known performing arts brands. Willis and Snowball (2009) also found this in a conjoint analysis carried out at the NAF 2008. They concluded that shows that had professional and semi-professional casts and established directors (as an indication of quality) were more likely chosen by festival attenders (Willis and Snowball, 2009: 181). Moreover, Willis and Snowball (2009: 182) found that festinos were also “willing to pay considerably more for shows with less risk (professional or semi-professional actors)”; thus reiterating Nantel’s (2001) emphasis on the importance of functional risk as a major determinant in audience attendance.

Another case that highlights the possibility of festivals having a detrimental effect on the arts includes Mahomed’s (2009) argument that, in their current situation, festivals are not optimising their full potential in adding value to society:

“It is the lack of co-ordination, co-production and even just basic dialogue that minimizes the value that the increasingly large festival circuit can have for the arts sector. Currently, all the festivals in the country are positioned as showcase platforms for theatre rather than as a market place for international producers to find good South African theatre”.

Marais (2009) notes that unless there is a radical change to the funding policies and education system, theatre in South Africa will remain in the same current state: struggling for corporate, government and social support for the arts.

van Graan (2007b: 14) agrees:

“There is a desperate need to mentor new writers, to train a new generation of directors, to provide opportunities for young actors to learn from older actors. There is also a need to create contemporary works that deal with the breadth of the South African experience”.

Mahomed (2009: personal communication), however, does present evidence that the performing arts in South Africa are indeed growing and shifting their structural policies, and how some theatre companies have developed new and creative marketing strategies to overcome the odds<sup>24</sup>. He cites the *Cape Edge Collective* as one example of how a greater number of artists are finding creative ways to share administrative, marketing and human resources in the management of the companies:

“At a creative level, a greater number of artists are beginning to work outside of constraining and restrictive frame-works of „purists“ genres – visual artists are collaborating with dancers who are collaborating with theatre practitioners who are collaborating with film-makers. Hence, newer art-forms are resonating incredibly successfully with a new generation of audiences”.

This collaborative shift can be attributed to embracing new marketing tools, social media and similar networks (e.g. Facebook), which have enabled artists to take their work more directly into public arenas. Hence, audience expansion is being developed and nurtured in a significantly new way.

Ultimately, Mahomed (2009: personal communication) stands firm in promoting festivals:

“Festivals which commission work provide the comfort and the guarantee of funding, technical support, marketing, etc., which frees the theatre practitioner to concentrate on the making of the theatre production and hence; this inevitably means that the quality of work will be in most cases even better”.

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<sup>24</sup> See Appendix 10. Question 1. for full detailed response.

Van Graan<sup>25</sup> (2007b: 13) also notes the financial benefits of producing theatre at festivals, where the concentration of large audiences in one space over a limited time period means that “productions are sometimes able to earn as much in a ten-day period as they would during a normal theatre season”. Van Graan (2007b: 13) also adds:

“While they play host to a range of art forms, festivals generally spend nearly half or more of their budgets on theatre.... Festivals are thus the key catalysts, producers and marketers of new South African theatre”.

Furthermore, the aforementioned “concentration of large audiences” does not imply these festinos are necessarily ardent theatre-goers. In lieu of the fact that many festivals (in South Africa, at least) occur in rural towns, festival audiences are drawn from a much wider catchment area than a city theatre audience as many spectators come from across the country; from farms and small towns as well as cities. Hauptfleisch (2001: 5) suggests that: “the festival appears to be a total experience for many [festival-goers and that] they have widely ranging but specific expectations of the programme and the setting”.

Other research by van Graan (2007a: 2) shows that “the primary markets for literature in our country are white women aged 45 and above, and this is generally true for Festival audiences too...” However, van Graan (2007a: 2) adds:

“changing the colour of the programme of arts products does not necessarily translate into changing the demographics of the audience. A host of factors – geography (location of the Festival in one of the poorest provinces), timing (the festival takes place during the coldest season), and other leisure options (particularly for the growing black middle classes) – militate against overnight changes in the audience demographics”.

Instead, van Graan (2007b: 10) emphasises the need to use festivals as:

“a vehicle for transforming the mindsets and paradigms of its audience by offering it access to works, discourse, artists and experiences that challenge it, and help it to change perspectives in more progressive directions where necessary”.

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<sup>25</sup> Mike van Graan has served in leadership capacities in various cultural non-government organisations and most recently as the General Secretary of the Performing Arts Network of South African (PANSA). He is also an award-winning columnist and playwright (van Graan, 2009).

## 5.2. A Popularity Contest?

The question still at large remains: What makes attending theatre at festivals more popular than attending theatre at formal theatre establishments? Moreover, why do festivals turn univores into omnivores and omnivores into intense cultural consumers or „festivores“? Van Graan (2007a: 1) addresses this by listing reasons as to why there is less risk or opportunity cost involved in attendance and cultural consumption at festivals:

“[Festivals] are popular with audiences because they are the shopping mall equivalent of the arts. Audiences have access to an incredible range of artistic experiences „under one roof“.... They can generally do this within walking distance – or short drive – from one venue to another. There is access to a range of restaurants.... It is generally safe, even at night, and festivals provide a unique form of social engagement for friends and family from different parts of the country”.

Hauptfleisch (2001: 6) supports the claim on the popularity of theatre attendance at festivals, making similar reference to the „bazaar“ element, or as he states:

“...the partying element and the socialising aspect [which] seem to dominate at all festivals...Then there are those who apparently come for an annual fix – attending everything in „shop-till-you-drop“ mode, taking it in a kind of wholesale fashion, attending as much as possible in the week they are there – possibly to last them the rest of the year”.

With festivals, the attraction seems to lie in the hype and intense cultural blast, where the risk of boredom and disappointment is countered by the oversupply of choice. Here, even different theatre shows compete for audiences, not to mention other leisure-activity substitutes on offer.

Consequently, many festival-goers would not necessarily attend theatre outside of the festival, either due to a lack of access to shows, lack of interest outside a festival context or restricted by geographical location. Regardless, these theatergoers may therefore be seen as univores as they visit the festival as a (single) event. Although they might go to many shows and behave like omnivores within a festival context, they are generally non-attenders of the arts. However, due to the nature of the occasion, univores and omnivores alike are attracted to a festival and voraciously attend a wide variety of shows/activities under the new classification: “Festivore”.

### 5.3. Voracious/Festivorous Consumption

The ramifications of an anecdotal observation by Hauptfleisch (2007: 89) support the notion of voracious festivoire consumer hysteria as a rather prominent feature of the Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees (KKNK):

“We were surrounded by people for whom this is their once-a-year cultural high, who somehow seem to squeeze in five or more performances a day. You recognize them immediately, sitting on the edges of their seats at shows, a programme clutched in their hand, their watches frequently consulted, sprinting to the door as the lights go down, heading for the next performance, then standing there already planning their next show and their route there. There is a slightly manic light in their eyes as they scuttle down the road”.

Van Graan, (2007a: 1) makes the rationale for voracious consumption seem simple in his comparison of conventional everyday theatres, museums and galleries, which he describes as:

“[traditionally] boring unattractive spaces, with restaurants that serve mediocre food, programming that offers little variety, and surly, unwelcoming service, with little atmospheric warmth. Then, they also need to be fitted into busy work and domestic schedules in urban areas plagued with the debilitating challenges of crime and poor public transport”.

This speculation is given weight by the Caroline Smart research (PANSA, 2005) into audience attendance at theatres. In response to the question “What prevents you from attending theatre shows more regularly?” respondents said Prices (44%), Safety (27%), Transport (15%) and other (28%) (PANSA, 2005: 94). Similarly, BASA found that conventional ticket prices were major deterrents. Most people – more than 75% for all groups – believe that arts events are expensive. For the average price of a theatre ticket at most city theatres, one could see a movie and have an inexpensive meal (PANSA, 2005: 95). It comes as no surprise, then, that festivals seem a more attractive option, with a variety of choices on offer – all in close proximity and in a relatively safe environment – at lower (often subsidised) ticket prices.

Consequently, as van Graan (2007a: 1) accounts, there are some that argue that “festivals are detrimental to the growth of the arts as audiences go to festivals instead of theatres or galleries throughout the year, that they consume huge amounts of public and private sponsorship over short, intense periods...”. This is verified, to some extent, from a study by the Performing Arts Network of South Africa (PANSA), which showed that theatre comprises a large portion of major festivals and also

consumes large proportions of these festivals' budgets. In addition, the private sector plays a significant role in supporting these festivals, mostly due to access of major consumer markets. In other words, unlike individual theatre companies as previously mentioned, corporate companies such as ABSA, FNB, and Standard Bank prefer to sponsor festivals as they reach a wider range of the consumer public than the 5% of those who attend theatre<sup>26</sup>. Moreover, they also benefit from more publicity surrounding the whole event. Despite this support, however, box office revenue is still one of the main sources of income at these festivals (PANSA, 2005: 61).

Opposing the supposition that festivals are detrimental to the arts, and congruent with Hauptfleisch and van Graan's previous statements on festivals, PANSA (2005) also reports that some festivals attract more people in 7-10 days that most theatres attract over a year. Furthermore, that many festivals (especially the Afrikaans Festivals) encourage the pursuit of excellence and innovation on a competitive basis with significant prizes for productions. This ensures that the quality of the festival plays do not suffer as a result of constraints on time or funding, as mentioned earlier. Moreover, despite being subsidised by the government and the National Arts Council<sup>27</sup>, festivals provide a substantial boost for the local economy albeit over a short period<sup>28</sup>.

In short, festivals in South Africa have become an influential cultural force that provide the space, locale and time for consumption of theatre and the arts, attracting both omnivorous consumers – who meticulously individualise and specify what they consume or attend – and even univorous consumers, whose annual „cultural fix“ is the festival as the *eventified* performance itself. Despite heavy criticisms that festivals are detrimental to the development of the arts – that they perpetuate a popular, commercial „theatre-as-bazaar“ attitude among both theatre practitioners, audiences and „festivores“ all vying for „whatever they can get“ – Hauptfleisch (2006a: 182) maintains that “the festival has nevertheless always been an extremely important element in the processes of making theatre, as well as a distinctive cultural event in society at large”.

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<sup>26</sup> Taken from Hauptfleisch (1997: 106).

<sup>27</sup> See Appendix 3, Table 2. for festival funding breakdown.

<sup>28</sup> A study by Antrobus and Snowball (2003) revealed that the 2001 NAF injected around R33 million into the local economy (PANSA 2005: 13).

## Chapter Six: *Context of Research*

### 6.1. The National Arts Festival (NAF)

Perhaps the most significant of all the festivals in South Africa is notably the NAF in Grahamstown – referred to by Hauptfleisch (2007: 83) as “the grandparent of modern South African festivals”.

Currently running into its 35<sup>th</sup> year and modelled on the Edinburgh Festival, the NAF consists of a sponsored Main programme and an open Fringe programme. These shows consist of a wide eclectic variety of both „high cultural forms“ including: dance (ballet), traditional Western theatre, art exhibitions and classical music, as well as more popular cultural forms such as street theatre, films, jazz, contemporary theatre, music and stand-up comedy (Snowball, et al., 2009: 5-6).

Founded in 1974, the NAF takes place in Grahamstown, Eastern Cape over a 10 day period in June/July. According to Hauptfleisch (2007: 83), the NAF was primarily intended to serve the *1820 Settlers' Foundation*’s original aim: “to celebrate, (re)establish, empower and maintain the cultural heritage of English-speaking South Africans in the face of the triple threat of *Americanisation, Afrikanerisation and Africanisation*”. Although this has gradually expanded to include other South African and international performers and “cultural forms” (Snowball, et al., 2009: 5), Hauptfleisch (2007: 83) affirms that cultural imperative has been immensely powerful in keeping the festival unique and distinctive, and has been largely responsible for determining the shape and content of the festival over the years. Marais (2009: personal communication) comments that:

“Festivals are for everyone and yes (sic) over the past 10 years a wider range from young to old of all races are attending. It has been gratifying to see the increase in young people (16 to 30) that attend”.

Snowball et al. (2009) also indicate that while “festival audiences have slowly become more diverse in racial/ethnic terms”, people who attend shows still represent higher education and income sectors in comparison to general society. Despite this, Snowball (2005 in Snowball et al., 2009: 6) assures that the NAF still has a significant economic impact on Grahamstown, which was estimated at about R40 million in

2006, and which “has also been shown to provide significant non-market benefits to the poorer, largely black, local population”.

Because of its infused socio-cultural and political context, much research has gone into the economic impact of the festival<sup>29</sup>. However, up to now, there has been little to no empirical research into the application of omnivore theory in South Africa. That said, a recent enquiry into „omnivorousness“ by Snowball et al. (2009) has proved to be an excellent source from which to compare studies and corroborate results. Hence, a brief overview of Snowball et al.’s (2009) study, findings and omnivore definition has provided a firm basis from which to explore the voracious omnivore and, moreover the festivore hypothesis.

## **6.2. Snowball et al.’s 2008 National Arts Festival Omnivore Study**

Snowball et al. (2009: 13) “investigated the omnivore/univore thesis in the context of the 2008 South African National Arts Festival, using data from attendees at live theatre productions collected via 500 face-to-face interviews and self-completion questionnaires”.

For their study, Snowball et al. (2009) used three categories to represent omnivores: modern omnivores, traditional omnivores, and cultural omnivores. While modern omnivores were seen as those who attended a variety of contemporary (popular) cultural forms such as movies, film, or comedy, traditional omnivores were classed as those who preferred a more „elitist“ (traditionally high status) range, including classical music, dance or fine art. Cultural omnivores however, being a combination of the two former categories, consisted of those who attended a certain number of both popular and traditional genres (Snowball et al., 2009: 9)<sup>30</sup>.

## **6.3. The „Physical Theatre–Omnivore“ and „Festivore“ Hypotheses**

Apart from looking at the total sample to determine the socio-economic demographics of festinos through social stratification and audience segmentation, the research study (henceforth referred to as the „festivore study“) also explored general theatre

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<sup>29</sup> A number of Economic impact studies on the NAF include those by Snowball and Antrobus (2002; 2006).

<sup>30</sup> See Appendix 8. Table A for Snowball et al.’s (2009) omnivore categorization of sample.

attendance at specific shows, marketing influences, information source and level of information regarding the shows<sup>31</sup>.

More specifically, the festivoire study investigated the omnivorous festino. Taking into account prior omnivore theory and research, including Peterson (1992, 1997, 2005) Emmison (2003), Warde et al. (2007) and Tampubolon (2008), to name a few, this study looks at omnivores in a South African context – more specifically in a festival context. The National Arts Festival was chosen as the site for the study; the primary reason being that it is the biggest arts and cultural festival in South Africa and has world renowned status. Also, being a local festival made the NAF more accessible for interviews and survey distribution. Moreover, within the festivoire study, the „Physical Theatre-as-omnivore“ hypothesis was simultaneously investigated with the omnivore analysis.

## **6.4. Data Collection and Method**

### **6.4.1. Interviews**

For the festivoire study (2009), personal interviews were conducted with leading experts on festivals in South Africa, Lynette Marais and Ismail Mahomed<sup>32</sup>. The purpose of the interviews was to provide an overview of the changing landscape of South African theatre post-1994, the rise in arts festivals, the eventification phenomenon (Hauptfleisch, 2006a; 2006b), and the change in attitudes/consumer behaviour towards theatre attendance in order to interrogate the omnivore-univore theory.

In order to determine socio-demographics and the factors that affect theatre attendance of existing as well as potential target theatre audiences, a qualitative survey was conducted through interviews and the distribution of questionnaires at the National Arts Festival 2009.

A total of 84 face-to-face interviews were conducted with festinos in and around the festival. The method of research complies with the consensus that direct interviews

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<sup>31</sup> For this study, keeping in mind information asymmetry and risk (Chapter 1), the latter two may be seen to serve as proxy for information that motivates audience attendance.

<sup>32</sup> Past and present Directors of the South African National Arts Festival respectively. (why did you take their names away?)

are more reliable, more likely to be fully completed, and decrease the possibility of ambiguous responses (Snowball and Antrobus, 2006: 8). Firstly, based on the method of a previous NAF survey by Snowball and Antrobus (2006), two researchers<sup>33</sup> were trained before conducting the surveys through a briefing, familiarisation and discussion of the contents of the survey. Secondly, they were given counsel on how to approach respondents, interpret responses and handle the interview situation. Moreover, they also conducted pilot interviews. The pilot interview responses were then moderated and issues arising from the interview process and questions were discussed before continuing the survey. Similarly, the progress was also monitored for the duration of the interview process. Popular festival locations and market places were chosen for the interviews, which included the 1820 Settlers Monument, the Village Green, High Street/Church Square, and the „Old“ Village Green, as displayed in Table 1:

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<sup>33</sup> Two final year Rhodes University undergraduates were recruited to conduct the interview surveys. These researchers were selected on merit of their interpersonal skills and receptive, outgoing personalities.

## Types of Interview and Location:

Table 1<sup>34</sup>.

Type of interview	Genre	Show/ Location	Number	Percentage
<b>Face-to-face Interviews</b>	n/a	High Street/ Old Village Green	10	12%
	n/a	Village Green	26	31%
	n/a	St. Andrew's Hall / Village Green	11	13%
	n/a	Steve Biko Art Expo (Rhodes)	6	7%
	n/a	Town	4	5%
	n/a	Village Green/ Prince Alfred Street	14	17%
	Ballet	Monument	13	15%
<b>Total Face-to face</b>			<b>84</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>On-Seat Questionnaires</b>	Comedy	<i>Eish!</i>	26	13%
	Drama	<i>Every Day, Every Year, I'm Walking and Swimming Lesson</i>	22	11%
	Physical Theatre	<i>Stilted</i>	54	27%
	Classical Dance (Ballet)	<i>La Sylphide</i>	79	34%
	Contemporary Dance	<i>Carmen</i>	21	9%
	Unknown	Monument Box (Ballet?)	6	3%
	Unknown	Miscellaneous (Posted responses)	23	10%
<b>Total On-Seat</b>			<b>231</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Total</b>			<b>315</b>	<b>100%</b>

Finally, the audience prototype established from the research questionnaires and empirical interviews was compared to other studies, including that identified by Baumol and Bowen (1966, in Throsby, 1994), Snowball and Antrobus (2006), and Jeynes (2009).

#### 6.4.2. Sampling

On-seat questionnaires<sup>35</sup> for self-completion were administered at selected types of theatre shows over the duration of the festival lasting 10 consecutive days. The shows were selected according to performance genres identified by the festival information

<sup>34</sup> Comedy (*Eish*) 26 responses over two shows (4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> July); Drama (*Every Day, Every Year, I'm Walking and Swimming Lesson*) 6 responses over two shows (5<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> July) + 16 responses over two shows (4<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> July) = Total of 22 responses; Physical Theatre (*Stilted*) 54 responses over four shows (2<sup>nd</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> July); Classical Dance (Ballet – *La Sylphide*) 79 responses over two shows (4<sup>th</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> July); Contemporary Dance (*Carmen*) 21 responses over two shows (4<sup>th</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> July).

<sup>35</sup> See Appendix 5.

and booking programme<sup>36</sup>. Moreover, the events covered specifically targeted theatre and dance productions, since these two categories made up approximately 75% of the live performance events (of approximately 400 events in total at the 2009 NAF), while events under the broad genre of music made up the majority of the rest of the total live shows on offer.

The theatre and dance productions selected included at least one show from each of the following genres: Comedy, Drama, Physical Theatre, Classical dance, and Contemporary dance. While the theatre productions were randomly selected from the Fringe, the two dance genres: Classical (Ballet) and Contemporary Dance (Carmen) were selected from the Main Festival Programme<sup>37</sup>.

#### **6.4.3. Questionnaire Design**

In terms of design, both the personal interviews and on-seat questionnaires asked respondents a variety of questions relating to audience demographics, culture, and status, motivations for attendance and types of shows attended. While demographic segmentation included isolating variables such as age, sex, race (using language as proxy), and geographical location, additional variables like education, type of work (status) and income were attained for cultural stratification, as outlined in figure 1.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> It is important to note that the specific theatre productions at the festival were categorised by the theatre producers themselves under a list of genres selected by the National Arts Festival organisers, including: Comedy, Music-Theatre, Stand-up Comedy, Street Theatre, Drama, Puppetry, Readings, Performance, Poetry, Classical/ Choral/ A Capella Music, Jazz, Contemporary Music, Ballet, Contemporary Dance, Exhibition and Film.

<sup>37</sup> Choosing shows from both the Main programme and Fringe programme was seen as having negligible impact on the responses elicited from the questionnaire and the results of the research study.

<sup>38</sup> Refer to Appendix 5. for full questionnaire.

Figure 1.

<b>Survey Questions</b>	
<b>(Social Stratification)</b>	
1.	Kind of festival attender?
2.	Are you involved professionally or semi-professionally in theatre?
<b>(Information regarding theatre attendance)</b>	
3.	How many performances/shows do you intend seeing at the Festival? Ticketed performances/shows Free performances (e.g. Street theatre/concert) Exhibitions: arts and culture; other?
4.	How many times have you attended the festival before?
5.	How many shows do you intend on seeing this festival under the genre "Physical Theatre"?
6.	What made you choose to come to this show?
7.1.	What level of information did you have about this specific production? before buying tickets?
7.2.	Where did you get your information from?
<b>(Omnivore Classification)</b>	
8.	What other kinds of shows are you attending this festival?
9.	Any other comments you would like to make about this Festival?
<b>(Demographic Segmentation)</b>	
10.	Please specify your gender?
11.	Please indicate your age group?
12.	Please indicate your level of Education (social stratification)?
13.	Home Language (proxy for racial/cultural segmentation)?
14.	Where do you live (town/country)? (Geographic Segmentation)
<b>(Social stratification)</b>	
15.1	Source of income/type of work?
15.2	State your Household Income Bracket (Net)?
16.	Please indicate how many days and nights you intend to stay in Grahamstown.
<b>(Motivation for festival attendance)</b>	
17.	What is your primary motivation/s for attending the Festival?

The variables used to ascertain a general audience prototype, were analysed in two ways: comparison to other audience research data, and, more significantly, in relation to questions in the survey regarding theatre attendance. These questions made up the crux of the research pertaining to omnivore-univore characteristics, testing frequency (voraciousness), types of shows (taste), audience risk (information asymmetry) and test the festivore hypothesis. The demographic segmentation and social stratification was used along with the data from the empirical interviews to examine local

consumer demographics and audience demand in developing a local audience prototype.

Unlike Snowball et al.'s (2009) modern, traditional and cultural omnivore types, the 2009 study explored the festivo hypothesis that festivals facilitate and promote omnivorous consumption – even from those non-attenders who may normally be classed as univores. For this reason, as well as due to the nature of the survey questionnaire and interview design, a simpler method was chosen to identify omnivore (festivo) attenders. The interviews and on-seat questionnaires asked respondents to indicate what other types of shows (apart from Physical Theatre) they were planning to attend at the festival. Since the list of options was taken from the official festival programme, it was unproblematic to separate and categorise shows according to medium (type), style or genre. Festival omnivores were thus classed as any festivo who attended at least one show from three or more of the five artistic mediums of display or performance categories: Theatre; Dance; Music, Exhibition and Film. For the purpose of the study, an example of a festival omnivore would include someone who watched a theatre comedy, attended a jazz concert, and saw a documentary film over the festival period, as highlighted (bold) in Table 2:

## NAF Show Categories (2009)

Table 2.

Type of show:	Genre:
<b>Theatre</b>	<b>Comedy</b>
	Music theatre
	Stand-up
	Street theatre
	Drama
	Puppetry
	Readings
	Performance poetry
<b>Music</b>	Classical/ Choral/A Capella music
	<b>Jazz</b>
	Contemporary music
<b>Dance</b>	Ballet
	Contemporary dance
	Other
<b>Visual Art</b>	Exhibition
	Other
<b>Film</b>	Mainstream
	Independent Film
	<b>Documentary</b>
	Other

Despite the simple method of omnivore distinction, it proved to be a valid system of classification, isolating 74% of the total sample as omnivores while the rest were considered to be univores. In contrast, only 8% of Snowball et al.'s (2009) respondents were classed as univores, while omnivores were divided into traditional (59%), modern (41%) and cultural (62%) of the total sample. Moreover, the results pertaining to the socio-demographics of the total sample bear a strong similarity to previous NAF studies in terms of geographic locale, age, gender, and language<sup>39</sup>, which therefore supports the validity of the classification method and legitimacy of the NAF 2009 results.

While looking at the omnivore in a festival context, a parallel analysis also considers the Physical Theatre attender in testing a marketing hypothesis that people who attend physical theatre shows are omnivorous consumers. This is based on the premise that, since Physical Theatre is a largely experimental, somewhat indistinct category<sup>40</sup> of

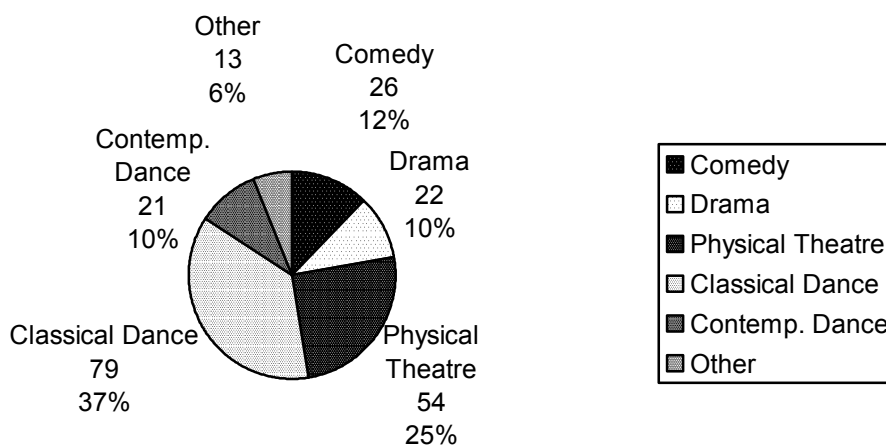
<sup>39</sup> See Appendix 8. Table C. for comparative statistics.

<sup>40</sup> Although the category „Physical Theatre“ is based on that outlined by the NAF festival programme, it can include elements of other genres including dance, theatre and mime.

theatre, ranging from dance-theatre to mime to physical comedy to contemporary performance, there is likely to be a considerable amount of asymmetry present. This creates a „high risk“, therefore decreasing the chance that those less familiar with the genre will attend. It is thus assumed that Physical Theatre audiences at least have some knowledge or previous experience of the style and content for the risk to be low enough to be motivated to attend these types of shows. More simply put, if audiences know what to expect from a National Arts Festival-specific Physical Theatre show or, at least, are willing to risk attending a show they know little about, then they are much more likely to attend other shows from clearer and more easily identifiable genres; for example, classical orchestral music or ballet. Hence, the study investigates whether or not Physical Theatre attenders are more likely to be omnivores than univores in a festival context.

A total of 231 audience members responded to the on-seat questionnaires from the various genres and shows listed in figure 2. below:

**Figure 2: NAF 2009 Respondents/Performance Genre:**



From the above data, it should be noted that the Ballet had a seating capacity of 900 people per show, as opposed to the other theatre and dance shows selected, which were in venues that seated significantly fewer audience members (between 100 – 300 people). Therefore, statistically, there was a greater chance of audience response from the ballet than from the other events selected, as clearly illustrated above.

#### **6.4.4. Sampling Bias**

In order to provide an accurate investigation of results, statistical significance, frequencies, cross-tabulations, means and correlations of data were processed and tabulated using *SPSS 13* electronic statistical analysis programme. However, in consideration for the method of research, accuracy of findings and results were not without fault.

Firstly, sampling bias may have been introduced due to the omnivore classification system. Although it clearly measured variation in taste according to specific genres, the measure of frequency of attendance was less explicit, though still indicated a higher average number of shows attended by omnivores than univores. Furthermore, due to the classification of omnivorousness at the NAF, festivo consumption was context specific, drawing mostly from well-educated, literate festivo attenders who were more financially secure and willing to spend on leisure activities. Thus, general South African consumption patterns and rate of theatre attendance was left, to a certain degree, to speculation.

Secondly, a valid response sample needed to be attained to accurately observe consumption and behaviour patterns. Commensurate with an appropriate standard of credibility for sociological research, the study used Orme (1998: 9, in van Zyl, 2008: 135) as its benchmark minimum:

“...for investigational work and developing hypotheses about a market, between 30 and 60 respondents may do... to obtain statistically significant results in CA studies”.

In order to reduce interviewer bias, a quota system<sup>41</sup> was introduced to target 100 people of specific groups according to race, gender and age groups in an attempt to achieve realistic data that reflected an eclectic range of festivos. Rather than drawing the quota from national demographic statistics in an attempt to fully represent the general South African population, however, these interviewee profiles were based on the prototype which emerged from a study by Snowball and Antrobus (2006) in which the demographical profile described the average festivo as 60% female, 64% English speaking, 69% white and 31% under the age of 25 years old.

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<sup>41</sup> See Appendix 6.

#### **6.4.5. Limitations of Research**

Although the NAF 2009 study at 84 respondents fell short of its target of 100 face-to-face interviews with theatre attenders at various events or locations (84 volunteers), it exceeded its target of 200 on-seat questionnaires from 6 selected NAF shows (14 performances) with a return of 231 completed questionnaires, thus totalling 315 responses.

Because the study was calculated at 100 interviews from selected numbers of race, gender and age categories, the 84 individual responses did not match the exact quota and therefore the socio-demographic model did not entirely replicate that of the Snowball and Antrobus (2006) study. Nevertheless, a substantial range of responses from different gender, race and age groups were nevertheless achieved. Where appropriate, results were compared to previous studies by Snowball et al. (2002; 2006; 2009) on the NAF.

Due to differences in research methods and survey questionnaire, as well as variation in omnivore classification, the results were not always directly comparable, but provide interesting insight into socio-economic and demographic trends, taste and consumption patterns and theatre attendance. However, since most of the data was collected via on-seat questionnaires, responses came from people actually attending theatre rather than simply “expressions of interest” which are more likely found in direct interviews. This accords with Peterson (2005) and Snowball et al.’s (2009) validity theory and thus the data collected should present legitimate results.

In addition, the research acknowledges that one of the Physical Theatre shows researched, “Stilted”, although classified as such by the festival programme has several characteristics associated with comedy which make it more attractive as a show to more populist audiences. Consequently the show may have been perceived as less “risky” than other more abstract or avant-garde shows within the same Physical Theatre genre.

Finally, due to the limitations and constraints of the research, other theatre or performance genres were not explored in terms of social-demographic stratification, audience attendance patterns, as potential indicators of omnivore behavioural and

consumptions patterns. However, these genres or show types should nevertheless remain under consideration for further investigation and research.

In conclusion, having discussed the context of research, instruments and methods used in the research, as well as bias and the limitations posed, the following chapter presents the findings and results of the NAF 2009 festivore study.

## Chapter Seven: *Findings and Results*

This chapter illustrates some of the demographic variables and stratification, festival show attendance, marketing factors, and motivations of attendance, which were attained from the results of the festivore study, while simultaneously exploring the „Physical Theatre attender as omnivore“ and Omnivore hypotheses at the NAF 2009.

### 7.1. Demographic variables:

#### Type of Festival Attender<sup>42</sup>

The data from the survey indicates that of 315 respondents, 60% were visitors, 27% were local Grahamstown residents, while 9% were actively involved in the festival itself as visiting artists, performers, technicians or crew members.

#### Theatre Involvement

Of the total sample (315), 23% (73 people) expressed that they were involved professionally or semi-professionally in the theatre industry<sup>43</sup>, though not actively involved in the festival in that capacity.

#### Show Attendance<sup>44</sup>

Table 1.4: Gender Averages and Types of Attendance

Gender		No. of Physical Theatre shows	Previous festival attendance	Number of Paid Shows	Number of Free Shows
Female	Mean	4.05	9.68	9.19	2.60
	Number	156	144	182	92
Male	Mean	4.54	8.39	9.17	3.02
	Number	76	83	98	58
Total	Mean	4.21	9.21	9.18	2.76
	Number	232	227	280	150

For most respondents, the average number of previous festivals attended was 9.21. Moreover, they indicated that they would see an average of 9.18 ticketed shows during the festival period as well as an average of 2.76 free shows each.

<sup>42</sup> Appendix 8. Table 1.1

<sup>43</sup> Appendix 8. Table 1.2

<sup>44</sup> Appendix 8. Table 1.2 - Table 1.4

## Gender<sup>45</sup>

### \* Physical Theatre Shows

Of the 74% of respondents who attended Physical Theatre, on average 4.2 shows each were patronised over their stay. In terms of gender discrepancies, the study revealed that many more women (65.9%) than men (34.1%) attend Physical Theatre (as expected based on previous studies showing dance attendance demographics). Despite this, those women who do attend watch a lower number (4.05) of Physical Theatre shows compared to male Physical Theatre attenders who see an average of 4.54 Physical Theatre shows each.

**Table 2.1: Gender**

Gender		Non-Physical Theatre attender	Physical Theatre attender	Univore	Omnivore	Total
<b>Female</b>	Count	47	145	42	143	185
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore	57%	66%	55%	67%	64%
<b>Male</b>	Count	35	75	34	71	105
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore	43%	34%	45%	33%	36%
<b>Total</b>	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore	82	220	76	214	290
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

### \* Omnivore

Table 2.1 indicates that two-thirds (67%) of omnivores (defined as those who attended three or more shows from each type of show) were shown to be female compared to the total sample (64%). Conversely, univores, who made up just over a third of the total sample (36%) were more likely to be men at 45%. It also reveals that, from the total number of omnivores sampled, women were twice as likely to be festival omnivores than men, thus supporting Snowball et al.'s (2008) findings that festival omnivores are more likely to be female.

<sup>45</sup> Appendix 8. Table 1.4

## Age Group<sup>46</sup>

### \* Physical Theatre Attendance

In Table 2.2, no significant differences were found between Physical Theatre attenders and the total sample in relation to age. In other words, Physical Theatre audiences are very much like the total sample in terms of age groups. An interesting observation nevertheless is that the highest proportion of Physical Theatre attenders (26%) were between the age range of 18 – 24 years old (likely students). The noticeable drop in representation from group C (25 -30 years) is explored in more detail later.

**Table 2.2: Age Group.**

<b>Age Group</b> (%within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore Attendance)	<b>Physical Theatre</b> %	<b>Univores</b> %	<b>Omnivores</b> %	<b>Total sample</b> %
<b>A</b> (Below 18)	7	13	7	8
<b>B</b> (18 – 24)	26	30	22	25
<b>C</b> (25 – 30)	10	9	10	9
<b>D</b> (31 – 44)	21	18	20	21
<b>E</b> (45 – 59)	20	18	22	20
<b>F</b> (60+)	16	12	19	17
<b>Total %</b>	100	100	100	100
Count	83	77	221	227

### \* Omnivore Attenders

Although statistically significant<sup>47</sup>, Table 2.2 appears to show no great variation between the age groups ranging from 18 to 60+ (B – F) from both the omnivore and total sample groups. Though slightly lower than the total sample (24%), omnivores seem to be most prevalent at 22% in both the 18 – 24 (B) category and 45 – 59 age group (E).

In terms of age groups, 30% of univores were between the ages of 18 – 24 years compared to 22% and 24% from the omnivores and total sample respectively, while

<sup>46</sup> In comparison to theatre attenders, an email survey (see Appendix 7.) on theatre attendance in South Africa by Jeynes (2009) found that, out of 5413 individual responses, 34% of attendees fell in the 25-35 year age group while 30% of theatre attenders were between the ages of 36 – 45 years. Though these results show a higher average percentage for the ages 25-45 years, the validity of the research (email survey) is limited due to its bias toward those with internet access.

<sup>47</sup> See Appendix 8. Table 2.2 for Directional and Symmetric Measures of Significance.

the percentage of omnivores is shown to be much higher (19%) than univores (12%) and slightly higher than the total sample (17%) in the category of those above the age of 60 years. It is interesting that all three categories drop in representation to around 10% in the 25 – 35 year age category. This may be explained by a general drop in attendance for individuals who perhaps have less disposable income for leisure spending or else have other priorities or leisure preferences than attending theatre. Speculated reasons for this drop might be explained by the specific age group where, after completing a tertiary education, young emerging professionals rather concentrate on their careers – having greater financial, work and social commitments in terms of becoming independent and financially secure; with new assets and expenses to pay off like cars, houses, bonds, loans, or even getting married and starting a family – which ultimately inhibit festival attendance.

Omnivores however, are shown to be well represented in all age-group categories – around 20% – with little variation in attendance as age increases (bar the „Below 18“ age group and the aforementioned 25 – 35 year age anomaly). Moreover, countering Snowball et al.’s (2009: 13) study, which describes omnivores as mostly being between the ages of 26 and 45, these results show omnivores to be slightly older than general festinos<sup>48</sup>.

### **Level of Education**

#### **\*Physical Theatre Attendance**

Theatre attendance from the total sample was generally seen to rise with education level, being highest at tertiary education where attenders have 1 degree or more. In the category of “more than 1 degree” there is a significant difference, with a higher percentage of Physical Theatre attenders (37%) having more than 1 degree than the total sample (34%) and univores (23%). This is in line with Sullivan and Katz-Gerro (2007), Warde et al. (1999), van Eijk (2001), and Emmison (2003), to name a few, who purport that education promotes or at least facilitates omnivorous consumption. Moreover, it supports the hypothesis that Physical Theatre attenders are more likely to be educated and hence more likely to be omnivores than univores.

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<sup>48</sup> It is noted however, that these results may have been affected by sampling bias in the personal interviews, which made up 27% of the total sample.

Table 2.3: Level of Education

Level of Education (within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore attendance)	Percentage of education level of those who attend physical theatre (%)	Univore %	Omnivore %	Total sample %
Uncompleted High School	8	15	7	9
Completed High School	15	28	12	17
Completed High School, Learnership/ apprenticeship	5	8	4	5
Diploma	12	7	13	12
1 Degree	23	19	24	23
>1 Degree	37	23	39	34
<b>Total %</b>	100	100	100	100
<b>Count</b>	223	74	217	80

#### \* Omnivore

Table 2.3 clearly demonstrates Throsby (1994: 6), Chan and Goldthorpe (2005: 205) and Montgomery and Robinson's (2008: 11) claims that attendance generally rises with the level of education. For those in the sample who had only completed High School, univores were shown to be at their highest at 28% with a huge distinction from 12% of omnivores and 17% of the total sample in the same category. Thus, univores are much more likely to be less educated than omnivores. Omnivores with more than one degree, on the other hand, were at their highest representation at 39%, significantly higher than univores (23%) and total sample (34%) in the same category. Overall, 76% of omnivores had some form of tertiary education (Diploma or Degree/s) compared to 49% of univores and 69% of the total sample.

Since the cross-tabulation between omnivores and level of education was shown as highly statistically significant (at 1% level)<sup>49</sup>, these results provide strong confirmation of the omnivore hypothesis that education is positively related to omnivorousness. Furthermore, given that the data also indicates a large majority (69%) of the total respondents having some form of tertiary education and considering the low average levels of tertiary education in South Africa<sup>50</sup>, it is clear that the festival is patronised by more educated higher status attenders. Moreover, these educated attenders are mostly expected to be white, as StatsSA (1996) reports:

<sup>49</sup> See Appendix 8. Table 2.4 for details on correlations, directional and symmetric measures.

<sup>50</sup> For example, only 1% of South African youths aged 35 years had qualifications higher than matric while nationally those with similar qualifications made up 4% of the total population (StatsSA, 1996: 31).

“White youth [aged 14 – 34yrs], however...portray a picture totally different to that of other population groups, particularly Africans: 15% of white youth aged 21 years have post-matric qualifications. This proportion doubles to 30% amongst those aged 24 years. At 35 years, three in every ten white youths reported having post-matric qualifications” (StatsSA, 1996: 30).

In contrast, amongst Africans, “the proportion of youth with such qualifications remains comparatively small throughout”, only reaching 5% for those aged 35 years (StatsSA, 1996: 30).

### **Home language (as proxy for racial group)**

Although only just over 8% of the South African population speak English at home (StatsSA, 2001) festivals in general were shown to be predominantly frequented by English speakers (69%), which is expected (to some extent) since NAF was originally promoted as an English festival. Apart from English speakers, 10% spoke Afrikaans, 8% isiXhosa and 5% spoke another African Language while 3% of the sample was foreign (not including foreign English speakers). As noted earlier, these figures, compared in Table C., lie congruent with previous studies by Snowball et al. (2006; 2009) and can thus be used as a reliable representative sample of festival (NAF) audiences.

**Table C<sup>51</sup> (abridged): Language**

<b>Language</b>	<b>% 2004</b>	<b>% 2006</b>	<b>% 2008</b>	<b>% 2009</b>
Afrikaans	12	11	11	10
English	66	65	71	70
Xhosa	9	11	6.5	7.5
Other	13	13	11.5	12.4

### **\* Physical Theatre**

Although the cross-tabulation of Physical Theatre attenders to language groups (see Table 2.11) was not statistically significant, showing little to no difference between English, Afrikaans, other African and foreign language speakers from the total sample, it is nevertheless interesting to note that Physical Theatre attenders are less likely to be isiXhosa speaking than the total sample (6% vs. 8%).

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<sup>51</sup> Appendix 8. Table C

Table 2.4<sup>52</sup>: Home Language

Home Language	Percentage of home language groups of Physical Theatre attenders	Univore attenders (%)	Omnivore attenders (%)	Total sample (%)
<b>Afrikaans</b>	10	15	9	10
<b>English</b>	69	57	75	69
<b>English Bilingual</b>	7	4	6	6
<b>Foreign</b>	4	4	3	3
<b>isiXhosa</b>	6	16	5	8
<b>Other African</b>	4	5	4	5
<b>Total</b>	100	100	100	100

#### \* Omnivore

Omnivores are (significantly) more likely than the total sample to be English speakers (75%) compared to univores (57%) and the total sample (69%). All other language groups were under-represented in the omnivore category compared to the general sample. Univores were also much more likely to speak isiXhosa (16%) or Afrikaans (15%) than omnivores (5%; 9%) and the total sample (8%; 10%). Hence these results support Snowball's (1999: 13) findings that omnivores were predominantly European-origin language speakers.

#### Household Income (Net)

The highest representation of festino attenders at shows, as predicted by omnivore theory, came from the highest income category. However, in a contrast to the 27% of those who earned a net household income of more than R30 000 per month in 2006 (Snowball and Antrobus, 2006: 12-16), the 2009 study shows an increase to 41%<sup>53</sup>. This increase however can be explained by a few factors, including sampling bias: With more on-seat questionnaires (ticket shows) in relation to personal interviews in the 2009 study, a higher income group responded as a result. Other factors may include a general growth in wealth of the public/economy, as well as increase in salaries to keep up with rising inflation over the three year period between the 2006 and 2009 studies.

<sup>52</sup> See Appendix 8. Table 2.4 for more detailed analysis.

<sup>53</sup> Appendix 8. Table C.

Table 2.5: Household Income Bracket (Net)

Household Income Bracket (Net per month)	Percentage of income groups of Physical Theatre attenders	% of Univore attenders	% of Omnivore attenders	% of Total sample
Less than R1000	4	9	4	4
R1001 – R5000	7	17	4	7
R5001 – R10 000	10	13	12	12
R10 001 – R15 000	16	6	16	15
R15 001 – R20 000	9	13	7	9
R20 001 – R25 000	9	13	8	9
R25 001 – R30 000	4	0	5	4
R30 001 – R35 000	7	13	5	7
+R35000	35	17	40	34
<b>Total (%)</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

#### \* Physical Theatre Attendance

In Table 2.5 below, Physical Theatre attenders show no real difference in attendance compared to the total sample in terms of rising income brackets (i.e. not statistically significant). Nevertheless, it is interesting to see a rise in both physical theatre attenders (16%) and total sample (15%) at the R10 000 – R15 000 income category, but then drops again until the +R35 000 household income bracket – where both physical theatre attenders and total sample jump to 35% and 34% respectively.

It may be speculated that the first spike describe attenders at entry level jobs who are still independent (more likely to also fall in the 18 – 24 year age group). The second spike, on the other hand, supports the omnivore hypothesis that higher income consumers are more likely to be omnivorous and attend both physical theatre and other types of shows in general. It could also be speculated that these individual consumers are likely to be married (with children), hence the higher household income, and who may also be motivated by other variables such as increased spending on leisure, communal or family orientated activities.

#### \* Omnivore

Looking at theatre attenders in relation to their household income, omnivores had greater financial security, with a (statistically) significantly higher percentage of omnivore households earning more than R35 000 per month (40%) compared to

univores (17%) and the total sample at 34% in the same income range. The percentage of omnivores, univores and total sample in this category are also all higher than the other income categories – indicating that the festival is generally frequented and enjoyed by those of higher financial status and income with perhaps more recreational expenditure than those of lower income groups. These results are congruent with Snowball et al’s (2009: 13) omnivore findings in supporting the idea that NAF omnivores are high income (and status) members of society and, contrary to Bourdieu (1984), are not necessarily bound to „high“ culture consumption.

## 7.2. Festival Show Attendance:

### \* Physical Theatre Average Attendance

Upon analysing sample means from the data on Physical Theatre attendance in comparison to general attendance from the (total) sample of question specific responses, some differences were found:

**Table 3.2: Number of Types of Shows and Previous Festival Attendance**

Physical Theatre Attenders		Number of Ticketed shows	Number of Free shows	Number of Exhibitions arts & culture	Previous festival attendance	Number of Physical Theatre shows
<b>Non-Physical Theatre Attenders</b>	Mean	7.66	2.45	3.38	10.93	–
	Number	70	38	29	45	–
<b>Physical Theatre Attenders</b>	Mean	9.76	2.85	4.40	8.53	4.25
	Number	223	117	140	192	225
<b>Total</b>	Mean	9.26	2.75	4.22	8.98	4.26
	Number	293	155	169	237	243

Firstly, while Physical Theatre attenders watched a mean of 4.25 shows each in the Physical Theatre category, they also paid to see 9.76 shows of various sorts altogether, higher than the average respondent from the total sample that saw 9.26 shows each over the festival period. The average number of free shows, arts and cultural exhibitions and other shows were also slightly higher for Physical Theatre attenders than the total response means, except for the average number of previous festival frequented. Moreover, since a third of Physical Theatre attenders were under the age of 25 years, it comes as no surprise that there is a lower average attendance rate (8.5) compared to the total response mean of 9 previous festivals each.

Table 3.4:

Omnivore Attendance		No. of shows Paid	No. of shows Free	No. of Exhibitions: arts & culture	Previous festival attendance	No. of "Physical Theatre" shows
<b>Univores</b>	Mean	5.53	2.78	2.71	7.86	3.75
	Number	73	37	21	58	56
<b>Omnivores</b>	Mean	10.64	2.75	4.51	9.36	4.46
	Number	215	114	145	170	184
<b>Total</b>	Mean	9.35	2.76	4.28	8.98	4.30
	Number	288	151	166	228	240

#### \* Omnivore Average Attendance

Statistically significant differences were found for ticketed shows and exhibitions with regards to omnivore consumption:

Out of the 91% of total respondents who paid to watch 9.4 shows each at the festival, omnivores paid to see a higher mean of 10.6 shows, while just under half (48%) the total who claimed to see free shows watched roughly 2.8 free shows each. These so-called „free“ performances include street theatre performances sponsored by the NAF. This can be compared to univores, whose mean indicated they only watched half the number of paid shows (5.53) each, while the number of free shows remained almost the same. This sustains Chan and Goldthorpe's (2005) findings and reiterates Montgomery and Robinson's (2008) notion that a „doer is a doer“ – that it may be assumed that univores will perhaps watch shows, if free and available, but are not as motivated and willing to actively seek out shows and pay for them as are cultural omnivores. Moreover, it promotes the voracious omnivore hypothesis that omnivores who do attend shows will do so at a higher frequency of attendance.

A similar observation is repeated with the number of arts and cultural exhibitions attended: Over half the sample of festinos (53%) indicated their attendance of 4.28 art or cultural exhibitions, with omnivores at a slightly higher 4.51 shows. This can be compared to an average of 2.7 exhibitions each among univore attenders. Moreover, a majority of festinos (76%) attended 4.3 Physical Theatre shows each; omnivores attending a slightly higher mean of 4.46 while the univores watched a lower rate of 3.75 shows.

It is also interesting that omnivores have a higher previous attendance average (9.36)

compared to the total sample of respondents (8.98) and univores (7.86). From this one could presume that omnivores are therefore at a minor advantage in terms of having slightly more previous knowledge and experience of the festival and what kinds of shows to expect. This supports the idea of information asymmetry and audience risk being a key motivating variable in consumption and attendance of the performing arts.

### **7.3. Marketing Results:**

From the survey, 232 festinos (74%) responded to the question of what marketing influence motivated them to attend the show in question<sup>54</sup>. Out of this group, „previous experience“ was marked as having the highest sway at 34%, while the festival programme and friends and family influenced 28% and 26% of the group respectively. Other notable influences (see Table 4.1) included those who claimed they were followers of the genre and also those who heard about the show through „word of mouth“ – both at around 19% of the group. Posters and advertisements scored dismally at 4%, while, surprisingly contrary to Throsby’s (1994) theory on theatre demand, ticket price had a relatively low influence – affecting only 3% of the sample group. Since ticket prices are heavily subsidised on the main programme by the NAF, fringe shows (often seen as being of lower quality than the main) therefore come under increased pressure to keep their ticket prices at a similar competitive rate. In contrast, ticket prices that are too low may lead the audience to believe that the show is of poorer quality and standard compared to the others. These factors all combine to keep ticket prices at a level (for the consumer at least) that is often far cheaper than theatre ticket prices outside a festival context. This data thus maintains the notion referred to by van Graan (2007a) and Hauptfleisch (2007) in Chapter 4, that a large attraction to the festival includes the many theatre goers who swarm in to get their „cultural fix“ at discounted cost. However, if festinos are indeed looking to save both money and, more importantly it seems, the opportunity cost of total time spent engaged in leisure activities, then, taking into account the cost of accommodation and travel, they would have to consider attending the festival as „vacation“ as well as theatre attendance.

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<sup>54</sup> A list of shows attended by respondents is specified in the Chapter 6. Table 1. In Table 1, Chapter 6

### \* Physical Theatre

Secondly, the survey also tested whether those who attended Physical Theatre were motivated to attend theatre by different marketing influences compared to non-Physical Theatre attenders and the rest of the sample<sup>55</sup>. The results found significant distinctions for those groups influenced by the „festival programme“, „friends/family“, and „random selection“. While the Festival programme influenced 31% of omnivores, only 18% of non-Physical Theatre attenders (and 28% of the total sample) indicated this as a marketing motivator.

Conversely, 36% of non-Physical Theatre attenders marked „friends/family“ as key motivators for show attendance, compared to 26% of the total sample and an even lower 24% for Physical Theatre consumers. Non-Physical Theatre attenders thus show a greater propensity to necessitate peer affirmation, and are more likely to be univorous than Physical Theatre attenders. The other significant difference that confirms the notion of non-Physical Theatre goers being more univorous and passive is seen by the 7% that claimed to have picked the show through random selection, while only 0.5% of Physical Theatre attenders and less than 2% of the total sample chose this option.

Interpreting the results, it may be concluded that Physical Theatre attenders have more prior knowledge of the types of shows they attend than non-Physical Theatre attenders. This is confirmed by the data, in Table 4.1, which exhibits that the greatest marketing influence on both Physical Theatre attenders and total attenders to be „previous experience“ (35% and 34% respectively). Since the former group are more likely to consist of omnivores, these eclectic leisure seekers will either have previous experience of some kind or an idea of what to expect of the show in terms of style and content. If this is not the case, these Physical Theatre attending omnivores will deliberately lower their own risk by reducing the information asymmetry of a show by analysing the festival programme.

Non-Physical Theatre attenders on the other hand, if univorous, will be less likely to have prior knowledge or understanding of what to expect – unless, as 20% claimed,

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<sup>55</sup> See Appendix 8. Table 2.5

they are „followers of this genre“. Finding the festival programme overwhelming with so much on offer and having less experience in distinguishing quality, style and content than Physical Theatre and total sample attenders, non-Physical Theatre attenders resort to random selection. This method of experimental selection could have both negative and positive spin-offs in terms of repelling or attracting potentially new audiences to different types of genres, shows or theatre in general.

**Table 4.1: Marketing Influence**

<b>Marketing Influence</b> (% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore Attenders)	<b>Physical Theatre Non- Attenders</b>	<b>Physical Theatre Attenders</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Univores</b>	<b>Omnivores</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Festival Programme</b>	18	17	32	29	31	28
<b>Advertisement</b>	5	6	3	4	4	4
<b>Poster</b>	2	20	3	4	5	4
<b>Friends/Family</b>	36	25	27	26	24	26
<b>Review</b>	9	4	7	6	5	6
<b>Word of Mouth</b>	18	17	19	19	19	19
<b>Recommended</b>	14	8	15	13	13	13
<b>Ticket Price</b>	2	0	4	3	3	3
<b>Previous Experience</b>	30	25	36	34	35	34
<b>Follower of this Genre</b>	21	15	20	19	19	19
<b>Random Selection</b>	7	0	2	2	1	2
<b>Other</b>	14	14	14	14	13	13
<b>Total No. of Respondents:</b>	176	151	182	173	172	171
<b>Total:</b> % within Physical Theatre / Omnivore Attenders	100	100	100	100	100	100
% of Total	19	81	23	77	100	100
<b>Total Responses :</b>	44	188	52	177	22	232

#### \* Omnivore

The NAF „festival programme“ and „posters“ were two marketing influences found to have statistically significant variations between omnivores and the total sample. Notably, posters did not influence omnivores as much as univores, though as a marketing strategy it was reported as „low“ for both, which means posters are effective only in catching few extra audience members compared to, for example, „word of mouth“ or „previous experience“.

These two differences attest to omnivores being active leisure seekers and univores more passive and more reliant on information being given to, presented or flashed in front of them. Although both posters and advertisements generally have the least amount of information regarding the content of the show, these marketing mediums are the most accessible to non-specialists and those with less previous festival experience where the appeal is more attributed to the visual stimulus provided. This contrasts to omnivores where literary or verbal mediums (such as the festival programme or word of mouth) have more of an appeal, as it provides more information about the show in question and lowers information asymmetry and risk of attending theatre.

Univores, nevertheless, also decrease information asymmetry and risk of attending theatre, where their main motivators or sources of information were friends and family (25%), previous experience (25%), word of mouth 17.3%, festival programme (17.3%), and followers of the genre (15.4%) – also considered previous experience. This highlights univores' reliance on peer review and affirmation with regard to theatre attendance as well as maintaining Throsby (1994) and Nantel's (2001) notion of audience risk and information asymmetry.

While the highest percentage of omnivores (36.2%) obtained their information (used here as proxy for motivation for attendance) from „previous experience“, the highest significant difference included 32% of omnivores being influenced by the festival programme compared to 25 % of univores. Other large sources of information for the omnivore were: friends/family at 27% (versus univores at 25%), followers of the genre – which is really same thing as previous experience – at 20% (univore 19%), and word of mouth at 19% (17% univores).

These results have a few implications for theatre marketers. Firstly, Physical Theatre attenders prefer to acquire their information through literary content, such as programmes and reviews. Direct and personal methods of marketing are also very important, for both Physical Theatre attenders and especially general omnivores, and include inciting word of mouth and utilising other social network mediums like Facebook.

### **Level of information regarding the shows**

In order to investigate the importance of providing the audience with information and to determine the need to reduce functional risk and audience asymmetry, the festivore study (See Appendix 5) asked on-seat questionnaire respondents to rate the level of information they had acquired regarding the show prior to performance. The four-point scale ranged from: “A Lot” to “Something” to “Very Little” to “Nothing” at all.

#### **\*Physical Theatre Attenders**

In relation to how much information attenders had about a show prior to performance, no statistically significant differences were found in the cross-tabulation analysis between Physical Theatre attenders and the total sample group. Most Physical Theatre attenders knew something about the show they attended prior to its performance (41% and 40% respectively), which is shown to be higher than non-Physical Theatre attenders (34%). Though not very significant, one could speculate that this reveals Physical Theatre attenders as better informed than non-Physical Theatre attenders; and thus gives weight to the hypothesis that Physical Theatre attenders are more likely to be omnivore than univore theatre attenders.

Fewer non-attenders of Physical Theatre also indicated they knew very little of the show prior to attendance (23%) than Physical Theatre attenders (highest at 37%). Reasons for this may be due to non-Physical Theatre audiences tending to be less experimental and adventurous, choosing more clear-cut, „safer“ genres, and hence having more knowledge of the show prior to performance. In comparison, Physical Theatre is a relatively broad genre encompassing dance-theatre, physical comedy and contemporary performance. Therefore Physical Theatre attenders may have less information regarding the specific show, but still a general idea of what to expect. This is supported by the low percentage of Physical Theatre attenders (8.5%) who indicated they knew „Nothing“ about the show compared to a much higher 25% of non-Physical Theatre attenders.

**Table 4.2: Level of Information Regarding the Shows**

Level of information regarding the shows (% within Physical Theatre)		Non-Attendees	Physical Theatre Attendees	Total	Univores	Omnivores	Total
<b>Information</b>	<b>A Lot</b>	18	14	15	14	15	14
	<b>Something</b>	34	41	40	31	42	40
	<b>Very Little</b>	23	37	34	39	33	35
	<b>Nothing</b>	25	9	12	17	10	11
<b>Total : (Count: number)</b>		(44)	(189)	(233)	(52)	(177)	(229)
% within Physical Theatre/ omnivore		100	100	100	100	100	100
% of Total		19	81	100	22	77	100

### \* Omnivore Attendees

Despite not being statistically significant in comparison to the total sample, a higher percentage of omnivores (42%) knew „Something“ about the show they were attending than univores (31%), while more univores revealed they knew „Very Little“ (39%) compared to omnivores (33%). This again confirms Throsby’s (1994) notion that a decrease in information asymmetry lowers the risk of attending a new show and increases the propensity of omnivorous consumption.

## Information Source

### \* Physical Theatre Attendees

Although there were no significant differences between Physical Theatre attendees and the rest of the sample<sup>56</sup>, the top three sources of information included the Festival Programme, Friends/ Family and Word of Mouth. One remarkable outcome from this table reveals that the only higher percentage (24%) non-Physical Theatre attendees have over Physical Theatre attendees in terms of where they acquire knowledge about a show is „Word of Mouth“. This supports Scollen’s (2008) aforementioned „Peer-affirmation-theatre-attendance hypothesis“ in Chapter 3.

<sup>56</sup> Appendix 8. Table 2.7.

Table 4.3: Information Source

Information Source (% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore Attenders)	Non- Physical Theatre attenders	Physical Theatre attenders	Total	Univore Attenders	Omnivore Attenders	Total
<b>Festival Programme</b>	62	68	67	53	71	67
<b>Advertisement</b>	2	6	5	10	4	5
<b>Poster</b>	5	9	8	14	7	8
<b>Friends/ Family</b>	17	26	24	33	22	24
<b>Word of Mouth</b>	10	11	10	16	22	21
<b>Total</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100

### \* Omnivore Attenders

Significant differences between omnivores and univores respectively, in terms of where the two groups get their show information from, include: Festival Programme (71% vs. 53%), Advertisement (4% vs. 10%) and Poster (7% vs. 14%). Where more omnivores actively seek out information in the festival programme with regards to content specific information such as the performers/people involved in the production, univores are more passive, being rather presented with or attracted to the entertainment aspect portrayed by the visual stimulus/media of an advertisement or poster. Interestingly, more univores (33%) acquire information of a show from friends and family than omnivores (22%). This sustains Scollen's (2008) hypothesis of the importance of familial affirmation in relation to theatre attendance. Omnivores, on the other hand, are already likely to be motivated theatre consumers and therefore do not need as much information or affirmation from friends or family.

### Attendance at Other Types of Shows

In the survey conducted, audiences were asked what types of shows they had attended or were planning to attend over the festival period which, for purposes of the study, were divided according to styles or genres categorised by the NAF in the official festival programme.

In terms of shows attended (or planned attendance), 69% of respondents watched comedy, followed by Drama at 67%. Close behind with 66% came Arts and Craft Exhibitions. Other types of shows that featured quite a high percentage rate included Ballet and Contemporary Dance (45%), Music Theatre (44%), Jazz (42%) and Contemporary Music (e.g. Rock) at 40%. It is interesting to note in the study that the

ballet (traditionally regarded as elitist and frequented by high status omnivores or univores) was attended by the same number of those who watched contemporary dance (more popular appeal), and shall be discussed later in the analysis.

**Table 5.1<sup>57</sup>: Types of Show (Genre)**

Type of show: (Genre) * (planned attendance)	% of Physical Theatre	% of Univore	% of Omnivore	% of Total
<b>Theatre:</b> Comedy	71	58	73	69
Music Theatre	47	23	51	44
Stand-up	34	25	33	31
Street Theatre	33	20	34	31
Drama	70	44	75	67
Puppetry	12	8	10	9
Readings	4	0	4	3
Performance poetry	9	5	9	8
<b>Music:</b> Classical/ Choral/A Capella Music	39	6	48	37
Jazz	41	20	50	42
Contemporary Music	42	20	47	40
<b>Dance:</b> Ballet	45	20	54	45
Contemporary Dance	50	18	55	45
Other	9	0	10	7
<b>Visual Art:</b> Exhibition	69	21	82	66
Other	4	0	4	3
<b>Film:</b> Mainstream	8	1	11	9
Independent Film	15	0	20	15
Documentary	6	0	9	6
Other	2	0	3	2

#### \* Physical Theatre Attendance

Physical Theatre attenders were also (significantly) more likely to attend Drama (70%), Music theatre (47%), Contemporary Dance (50%), „Other“ types of dance (9%) and Exhibitions (69%) than the total sample.

#### \* Omnivore

Omnivores were significantly more likely to attend all types of shows listed than univores. Some respective comparative examples include: Music theatre (51%: 23%), Drama (75%: 44%), all types of Music (Classical 48%: 6%, Jazz 50%: 20%, and Contemporary 47%: 20%), Dance, (Ballet 54%: 20%, Contemporary 55%: 18%), Exhibitions (82%: 21%) and Independent Films (20%: 0%).

<sup>57</sup> Appendix 8. Table 2.8.

## Ballet Attendance

### \* Omnivore

An important observation made from the data is that traditionally high status shows, for example, the Ballet, are consumed by a wide range of festival attenders, though it is acknowledged that most show attenders at festivals represent a higher socio-economic sector that are shown to be more educated than an average sample of the general population.

**Table 5.2: Ballet Attenders**

Ballet Attenders			Univores	Omnivores	Total
<b>Ballet Attenders</b>	<b>Non-attender</b>	Count	64	103	167
		% within Ballet attenders	38%	62%	100%
	<b>Attender</b>	Count	16	119	135
		% within Ballet attenders	12%	88%	100%
<b>Total</b>		Count	80	222	302
		% within Ballet attenders	27%	74%	100%

Nevertheless, a notable discovery remains: Appendix 8. Table 5.2 shows a probability of 1 (highly significant) that only 12% of those who attended ballet were shown to be univores while 88% were characterised as omnivores. This is contrary to the belief that ballet is elitist and mostly attended by high status univores. These findings also confirm Mahomed's (2009) view that festivals provide a platform for both elitist and popular art:

“The two can co-exist. They always have. They both have their own grouping of artists, audiences, media interest groups and funding supporters. We need to find ways in which we allow theatres and festivals to create a space for both kinds of theatre”.

Mahomed (2009: personal communication) confirmed the results by revealing that tickets for the Ballet were the first to sell out, while Huisman (2009: 7) reported that: “various shows – including Afropop outfit Freshlyground’s two gigs... sold out days before the festival kicked off”, as well as a few films that were seen to play a big role at the 2009 NAF (Huisman, 2009). Thus, there was a high consumer demand and consumption of contemporary art, such as pop music, but also of traditionally elitist dance, such as the Ballet. Moreover, there was even a high demand for film attendance (usually associated with univore consumption). Thus, festivores are seen to cover a wide spectrum of entertainment over a wide age range as well.

#### 7.4. Primary Motivation for Festival Attendance (PMA)

Finally, similar to previous NAF studies, survey and interview respondents were asked to identify their primary motivation for attending the festival in 2009.

Hence, compatible with Swanson et al. (2008)'s theory on theatre attendance, Snowball et al.'s (2009) study note the importance of individual motivating factors as equally important as socio-demographic variables in determining attendance. With regards to the NAF 2009 Festivore study, participants generally indicated that theatre (66%), music (44%) and dance (42%) were the top three draw cards.

#### \* Physical Theatre Attenders

Physical Theatre attenders were mostly drawn by Theatre (72%) and Dance (49%), which were significantly higher than non-Physical Theatre attenders (51% and 23% respectively). Though there was no other significant difference between Physical Theatre and the rest of the sample, it may be noted that Physical Theatre attenders were generally drawn to the festival by the different performances and shows on offer, whereas non-Physical Theatre attenders show a higher percentage of other motivators including: business, performer/exhibitor (which may also be considered „business“) or the festival night-life.

**Table 6.1: Primary Motivation for Festival Attendance**

Primary Motivation for Attendance (within Physical Theatre / Omnivore attenders)	Non- attenders (%)	Physical theatre attenders (%)	Univores (%)	Omnivores (%)	Total (%)
<b>Business</b>	5	4	9	3	4
<b>Market</b>	21	23	24	21	22
<b>Night-life</b>	16	13	15	14	14
<b>Exhibitions</b>	21	26	13	30	25
<b>Theatre</b>	51	72	49	75	66
<b>Dance</b>	23	49	20	49	42
<b>Music</b>	39	45	27	50	44
<b>Performer / Exhibitor</b>	16	15	24	12	15
<b>Other</b>	16	17	16	17	17
<b>Total:</b> % within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore Attenders	100	100	100	100	100
Count	-	-	49	179	228

### \* Omnivore

Similarly, as observed in Table 6.1<sup>58</sup>, the top three PMA's for omnivores also included Theatre (75%), Dance (49%) and Music (50%). Moreover, these three performing arts genres were also the most significant in distinguishing omnivores from both univores and the total sample of attenders – where Theatre, Dance and Music only motivated 68%, 42% and 44% of the total sample and an even lower 49%, 20% and 27% of univores to attend the festival.

While 30% of omnivores were also attracted to the festival by the various art exhibitions on offer (compared to 13% of univores), univores, in contrast, were more drawn to the festival by business opportunities (9%), almost four times that of omnivores (2.5%) – whose primary festival aim consisted of attending shows rather than other motivating factors. Apart from business opportunities, a higher percentage of univores (24%) were themselves performers or exhibitors, compared to 12% of omnivores. Though the latter seems paradoxical, where it would make sense that arts exhibitors or performers would rather be classed as omnivores rather than univores, the results make sense if one considers the bias caused by the study's classification of omnivores. As previously noted, omnivores were distinguished from univores by both the number and variety of types of shows attended. Consequently, for those who go to the festival to perform shows or exhibit and sell art, "10 Days of AMAZ!NG" becomes "10 Days of EXHAUST!NG". Since the festival spans a short period time and faced with much competition, there is often little time (if any) for these industry professionals to attend shows at leisure. Thus, in this study, there is a great chance that these performer/exhibitors were classed as univores regardless of their general omnivorousness outside the festival. However, since this study explored the omnivore in a festival context, this classification of univore may nevertheless suffice.

### Physical Theatre \* Omnivore

According to the results of the festival survey study, the cross tabulation in table 7.1 reveals that 77% of the omnivore sample attended a Physical Theatre type show at the festival, compared to only 23% of univores. This gives weight to the hypothesis that Physical Theatre attenders are more likely than non-Physical Theatre attenders to be

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<sup>58</sup> See Appendix 8. Table 3.12 for detailed cross-tabulation of results.

omnivores than univores.

**Table 7.1: Physical Theatre and Omnivore Attenders**

Physical Theatre Attenders			Univore	Omnivore	Total
Physical Theatre Attenders	<b>Non-attenders</b>	Count	24	38	62
		% within Physical Theatre attenders	<b>39</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>100</b>
	<b>Attenders</b>	Count	56	184	240
		% within Physical Theatre attenders	<b>23</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Total</b>		Count	80	222	302
		% within Physical Theatre attenders	<b>27</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>100</b>

\* \* \*

In sum, the study was shown to provide convincing evidence to support the notion that festivals facilitate omnivore consumption. Contrary to previous studies, the festival omnivore covers a wide age range, though similar to Snowball et al.'s (2009) omnivores in that they are predominantly female and have tertiary education and upper socio-economic status. Moreover, omnivorous consumption showed a positive relationship to the level of education and also, like Snowball et al.'s (2009: 13) findings, "did *not* show Bourdieu-like „high“ and popular culture consumption patterns”.

Furthermore, Snowball et al.'s (2009: 14) study found that univores (with narrower cultural tastes) tended towards traditional art forms and thus came closest to Bourdieu's (1984) „high culture“ consumers. On the other hand, the festivore study found that those who attend Physical Theatre (often classed as „avant garde“ theatre) were more likely to be omnivorous in taste<sup>59</sup>. Moreover, contrary to the belief that Ballet is elitist and mostly attended by high-status univores, 88% of those respondents who attended Ballet at the NAF 2009 were classified as omnivores.

<sup>59</sup> Physical Theatre attenders were also more likely to reduce their risk by using the festival programme to lower information asymmetry compared to non-physical theatre and general attenders who relied more on peer affirmation and word of mouth.

In terms of marketing techniques to draw new audiences, then, evidence from the festivore study has shown that, for example, posters are only effective in providing quick information for those in the know (Mahomed, 2009: personal communication). These include those who are familiar with the company, genre, style or content of the production. However, unless at least one of these things is familiar, neither the univore nor omnivore will be likely to consume. That said, the univore is still more likely to use a poster as their only source of information, whereas an omnivore will seek out more information after seeing the poster. Hence, for new or unknown theatre companies, there is little use for posters at a festival in an over-saturated market of publicity, as it becomes increasingly difficult for the public to absorb and distinguish information in a sensory overload of visual and media hype. The arts company must therefore rely on new and other marketing strategies to attract audiences, such as branding, word of mouth and social utility networks. For theatre companies to survive and attract and maintain new clientele, they need to adapt to a changing audience dynamic; as Mahomed (2009: personal communication) states: “The arts are no longer impersonal”. Moreover, the festivore study revealed that previous experience, followers of the genre, and word of mouth are the biggest influences for attending the performing arts.

Hence, theatre companies need to adapt to technological change and take full advantage of the access these advances have set up to reach and target a consumer-hungry youth market. In addition, companies need to use more personal social networking facilities such as Facebook, Blogs, and „Twitter“ to market an eager electronic-media literate audience. Theatre attendance is no longer an event, but a lifestyle and social networking opportunity as well. This social networking opportunity is seen to be as equally important for the artists as for the audience; and which is facilitated by the festival event. Mahomed (2009: personal communication) notes:

“Festivals grow the arts and the skills of practitioners when festivals position themselves to create opportunities for „artists“ lounges“ where artists can peer review their own work. In most South African festivals, there is a strong dependence on media reviews to appraise the work. While this is necessary, it should not negate the need for peer review and peer support of work as well”.

Therefore, it may be concluded that the more direct and personal the information source, the more credible it is. Moreover, the lower the information asymmetry

between artist and audience, the lower the risk for potential audiences to attend. Consequently, when audience risk is lowered beyond a certain level, psychological and other motivating factors are then able to have more influence on attenders (e.g. entertainment, escapism, etcetera).

Finally, the festivore study found that it is in fact the performing arts (theatre, dance, music) that attract the largest number of festinos rather than other festival activities such as the market or nightlife. By proxy then, the proliferation of arts festivals in South Africa indicates a healthy and growing consumer demand for theatre, rather than declining audience support. Clear evidence<sup>60</sup> (see Appendix 9.) of growing theatre audiences at the NAF 2006-2009 also gives weight to this argument.

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<sup>60</sup> For example, 6 338 more tickets were sold on the Main while 15 770 more tickets were sold on the Fringe at the NAF 2009 compared to 2006.

**PART 4.**

**Looking Ahead**

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## **Chapter Eight:** *Discussion, Summary and Conclusion*

[Theatre in South Africa] still has a long way to go and until it becomes part of our culture (generally) we need to keep working at developing it (Marais, 2009: personal communication).

In the face of a national (and global) trend in declining government and audience support for the arts in South Africa, previously subsidised theatre companies can no longer rely on financial assistance or government grants for continued existence. If theatre companies are to attain greater financial stability, they need to pay close attention to their market to retain current support, as well as further explore targeting a customer-centred approach, building new and wider audience-bases to ensure their survival and longevity.

Through an overview of audience attendance theory, the research has looked at variable socio-demographic factors that influence audience demand and consumption of theatre and the arts such as age, gender, race, income and (most significantly) education (Throsby, 1994). Secondly information asymmetry and risk (Nantel, 2001) was seen to have a profound effect on decision-making processes, while other important psychological motivators (and inhibitors) included entertainment, escapism and the „live“ effect (Swanson, 2008) as well as, more notably, peer or familial affirmation Scollen (2008). Along with research studies by Peterson (2005), Emmison (2003) and Warde et al. (2007), to name a few, the research has also explored leading arguments governing cultural tastes and consumption of the arts, where individual variables that affect status include gender, age and income. Much evidence provided credibility for the omnivore-univore debate and offered insight into the hypothesis that audiences are not as significantly divided by taste as by education and (and to a lesser extent, income), and that the more socially active and upward the individual (high status and education), the greater that individual’s propensity to attend a wider variety of shows.

Studies, including Chan and Goldthorpe (2005), and Montgomery and Robinson (2008), were found, not only to dispel the homological and individualisation arguments, but also to sustain the omnivore-univore argument’s binary categorisation

of „consumer versus non-consumer“ of the arts. Furthermore, they provided confirmation to support the omnivore hypothesis, aptly summarised by Kopczyński and Hagar (2003: 7, in Montgomery and Robinson, 2008: 3) who succinctly report that:

“Frequent performing arts attenders are also the most frequent attenders of other leisure activities, including sporting events, movies, festivals, museums, and popular concerts. Attenders are generally more involved with these activities than non-attenders of performing arts events. Rather than an „arts“ vs. „other activities“ distinction the findings suggest that people generally are either involved in community activities (be it attendance of performing arts events or not) or they are not”.

In applying the omnivore-univore argument to a South African context, where theatre is closely associated with a festival circuit that is seen to represent and dictate the country’s „theatrical season“, developing trends are brought to light. A notable example of one such trend is Hauptfleisch’s (2006) *Eventification* phenomenon, which argues that, at a festival, a particular theatre event can lose its individuality to form part of the consumers’ overall experience of that particular festival.

The global trend of festivalisation has coincidentally paralleled South Africa’s social and political post-apartheid upheaval, which has called for a total revamp of an arts and cultural identity. Furthermore, the nature of these festivals has created a new type of omnivorous consumer, which in turn calls for the development of an alternate hypothesis regarding theatre attendance: the „festivore“. That is: a festival patron who consumes the festival as a total event, which includes various art and theatre forms and cultural goods.

A „festivore“ case-study investigated theatre consumption and behavioural patterns of attenders at the NAF 2009 through distribution of surveys, on-seat-questionnaires and direct interviews. The results, congruent with Snowball et al. (2009), revealed a significant presence of omnivores<sup>61</sup> at the festival, and hence gives weight to the festivore hypothesis: that omnivorous, activity-seeking non-theatre-goers are partial to „festivorous“ consumption. That is, while their initial motivation to attend a festival may include viewing exhibitions, arts and crafts, going to the market or visiting

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<sup>61</sup> These omnivores were found to be generally high income, education and status though so not conform to Bourdieu’s (1984) pattern of high culture consumption, but were shown to attend a variety of shows from popular to traditionally (Western) elitist theatre, such as the ballet.

friends/family, they are also likely to attend theatre and other live performances. Moreover, that due to the seductive theatre-going atmosphere induced by a reduction in information asymmetry and availability of social engagement, affirmation through the media and peer support through word of mouth, there is also a tendency toward voracious festivo consumption.

Furthermore, it may be proposed that festivoes are distinct from general omnivoes, as these (festivo) consumers may only attend theatre during the isolated festival event, whereas ordinarily these consumers may exist outside a festival as univo consumers or even non-consumers. In order to prove the „festivo“ hypothesis fully, however, a more detailed comparative analysis between general omnivoes and „festivoes“ needs to be thoroughly investigated. Due to limitations of the research, this premise remains speculative, but nevertheless an interesting observation open to future research in South Africa and abroad.

Therefore, it may be surmised that festivals provide or facilitate festivo consumption, which has the potential to transform univoes into omnivoes after the festival event. Furthermore, that „festivoousness“ seems to be in vogue and the new medium of cultural consumption. Thus, artists and theatre companies need to shift and adapt their marketing strategies and functioning to keep up with a changing audience dynamic and demand for culture and the arts.

In addition, the NAF 2009 festivo study also carried out a parallel investigation of the „Physical Theatre attender as omnivo“ hypothesis; that is, those who attend Physical Theatre are more likely to be omnivoous in taste. The reason for the latter study was motivated by the rationale that the genre of Physical Theatre generally incorporates devised and created work, rather than drawing from traditional (Western) literary texts. Consequently, the works produced under the genre are less bound by content and style and draw from an eclectic mix of social and cultural elements and hence take on a local flavour with omnivoous appeal.

Physical Theatre attenders are more likely to be omnivoous and are therefore open to a wider diversity of cultural products. Snowball et al. (2009: 14) reveal the value of developing omnivoous patterns of cultural consumption in South Africa, citing

research by van Eijk and Livens (2008), which showed “that cultural omnivores are likely to be more open and tolerant of other people and cultures and are less likely to feel socially isolated and disconnected”.

Hence, a case can be made in support of „avant garde“, experimental and Physical Theatre, which needs to be recognised, valued and hence subsidised by government and private funders and the like in order to help educate and develop new omnivore-type audiences. Once established, this new audience can then, in turn, facilitate the development of a unique South African theatre identity that transcends cultural, race and language boundaries, and appeals to a wider range of tastes.

Despite the odds against theatre and the performing arts, with declining government support, the proliferation of festivals has provided a new means to support and even promote theatre in South Africa, reaching a newer audience that has extended from a small, loyal theatre-going exclusive to a vast, eclectic festivoorous public. If one wants to find a cultural democratization of theatre and the arts in South Africa, then, one should not look at the old theatre establishments of the past (white theatres – white elephants?), but rather look to festivals as a new and dynamic way theatre is being democratized and brought to the people – to the festivores.

Moreover, for theatre to grow and continue to thrive, the right balance needs to be found between retaining the integrity of the artist and the integrity of the work produced while at the same time respecting the audience involved. This becomes problematic in a country battling to alleviate poverty and illiteracy, with limited funding for the arts and one which still seems to be in the midst of re-establishing a unique cultural identity. Although the proliferation of festivals is providing theatre practitioners with new platforms to showcase their works and reach a wider audience, Mahomed (2009: personal communication) isolates how festivals themselves can inhibit artists from finding the aforementioned „balance“:

“South African festivals are also outdated in their programming strategies. Far too much emphasis is placed on work that is packaged in narrowly focused genres rather than meeting the challenges of artists who work in genres that blur the divides”.

One international example of a theatre company which has achieved this balance perfectly and subsequently taken the world by storm is undoubtedly *Cirque du Soleil*, a Canadian-based ensemble that combines circus, spectacle, and popular culture within a theatrical context or narrative that simultaneously blurs theatrical boundaries while exploring the „avant garde“. With *Cirque du Soleil* providing an international benchmark of success, reaching a similar level artistic expertise proves difficult in a country like South Africa, where sporadic and inconsistent government funding means much time goes into education (as a means to justify government support), fund-raising and scraping together just enough to keep going, let alone compete on an professional and international level. Perhaps an avenue for future research lies in the question how to replicate the enormous success of companies like this in South Africa without access to the same kind of government support and funding as *Cirque du Soleil* receive in Canada? After all, access to sustainable funding is seen to be fundamental in building up a generation of highly specified skills, discipline and training. Although Mahomed (2009: personal communication) reports that government support for the arts is better now than what it had been prior to 1994, he also admits: “It is, however, not perfect!”

Other areas detrimental to the theatre practitioner include poor management, ad hoc government funding and problematic CSI sponsorship. Unlike many skeptics, Mahomed (2009: personal communication) has a very positive outlook on the state of theatre in South Africa for the next two decades or so, commenting: “It will still be alive and thriving. However, the management, the administration and the marketing of the arts will become a lot more sophisticated”.

Evidence to support this claim includes a record number of ticket sales<sup>62</sup> at the 2009 NAF despite the global economic recession (Huisman, 2009: 7). With growing festival attenders comes a growing theatre audience<sup>63</sup>, which inevitably has a spill-over effect on general theatre attendance outside the festival context.

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<sup>62</sup> Compared to the previous year’s record of R355 000, the NAF 2009 ticket sales topped R413 000. See Appendix 11.

<sup>63</sup> See Appendix 9.2.2. for NAF ticket sales 2006-2009.

While Mahomed (2009: personal communication) also purports to South Africa having its own unique festival identity, he does admit that it “is not yet very progressive”, adding that:

“It requires transformation in terms of its artistic vision, administration, commissioning processes and repositioning in terms of how a new generation of artists create work and function as artists”.

Furthermore, if the shift toward both omnivorousness and festiveness is, as Levine (1988), Peterson and Kern (1996), and Peterson, (1997) agree, simply a trend “that has come into vogue at a discreet period of time” (Peterson 2005: 261) – indicating (high) status and temporarily setting the standard for good taste, then there is indeed the threat that, as with all trends, omnivorousness will eventually atrophy.

So then, it is now more vital than ever that arts administrators, marketers and performers need to take advantage of the festiveness fad, adapt to a new audience dynamic, shift their artistic and administrative vision and function and adjust their marketing tactics. They need to educate these new festive theatre attenders, and build a strong rapport and „aesthetic contract“ between artist and audience that will remain long after the omnivore and festiveness trend has passed. This can ensure that theatre attendance becomes entrenched in South Africa’s culture and passed down through familial and peer affirmation where the only risk involved in going to the theatre is not being able to find a parking space before the show. But perhaps that is a different matter for another investigation.

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# Appendix 1.

## News Article: "Festival Breaks New Records"

Thursday, July 9 | 2009 The Times 7

NEWS

# Festival breaks new records

### Grahamstown proves a real curtain-raiser

BY RIMMO HUISMAN

THE global economic crisis has not dented South African beauty, who are turning up at the Grahamstown Arts Festival in Grahamstown to record numbers.

Festival chief executive officer Steve Lantieri — who used social networking website Facebook to launch the event — says the festival is a success for the region.

The festival is a success for the region, says Lantieri, who says the festival is a success for the region.

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PHOTO: Thabo Komo, 2009 Standard Bank Young Artist for Cinema and a Member of the National Arts Festival in Grahamstown. Komo studies classical music in Johannesburg. In 2009 he won the classical instrument award. Photo: DAVIDA JOO

the 2009 festival. Grahamstown's 10th anniversary is being celebrated with a festival in July. It is the first time the festival has been held in Grahamstown since 1999.

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## Appendix 2.

Research conducted by Business and Arts South Africa (BASA) in 2004 showed the following frequency of attendance among different race groups of various cultural events (PANSA, 2005: 82)

**Table 1. Theatre audiences, marketing and publicity**

<b>Film</b>			
	<b>Blacks</b>	<b>Whites</b>	<b>Coloureds/Indians</b>
Average times per year (all)	5.1	7.2	5.7
Average for those who go	7	8.4	7.1
<b>Exhibitions</b>			
	<b>Blacks</b>	<b>Whites</b>	<b>Coloureds/Indians</b>
Average times per year (all)	1.1	1.2	1.4
Average for those who go	2.9	2.9	3.1
<b>Contemporary Dance</b>			
	<b>Blacks</b>	<b>Whites</b>	<b>Coloureds/Indians</b>
Average times per year (all)	1.3	1.2	1.3
Average for those who go	3.1	3.2	3.5
<b>Arts Festivals (including music, jazz, multidisciplinary events)</b>			
	<b>Blacks</b>	<b>Whites</b>	<b>Coloureds/Indians</b>
Average times per year (all)	2	1.8	1.5
Average for those who go	3.5	3.1	2.7
<b>Theatre</b>			
	<b>Blacks</b>	<b>Whites</b>	<b>Coloureds/Indians</b>
Average times per year (all)	1.5	1.6	1.4
Average for those who go	3.2	2.9	2.8

(PANSA, 2005: 82)

**Table 2. Comparison of major SA festivals featuring theatre, 2004/5**

<b>Item</b>	<b>Aardklop</b>	<b>Hilton</b>	<b>KKNK</b>	<b>NAF</b>
<b>Events</b>				
Number (2004/5)	145	66	240	500
% of events: theatre	50%	90%	64%	45%
Budget % for theatre	40%	50%	45%	Varies
<b>Budget (2004)</b>	R10m-R15m	R750 000	R15m+	R15.8m
<b>Sources of funding (%):</b>				
Gov.	0	0	2.5.	30
Private Sector	27	20	27.6.	26.5
Lottery	13	0	2.1	22
Box office	40	80	47.4	19
Other	20	0	16	6
Theatre shows	100	50	160	230

(PANSA, 2005: 59)

## Appendix 3.

### Changes in South African Theatre

According to Hauptfleisch (2007), the most obvious of the changes over the past ten years appear to have been:

(1) A shift from serious political playwriting to lighter entertainment, where 2000-2003 saw a return of some far more serious work from the rejuvenated Fugard, Reza De Wet, Deon Opperman, Charles Fourie, Jane Taylor, Breyten Breytenbach, John Kani, and others.

(2) A shift to multi-faceted musical-style performance pieces, notably too the return of international theatre because of the suspension of the cultural boycott (from local productions to joint international productions). Also, cabarets, revues, and nostalgic musical presentations (celebrating music and musicians from the 1950's, 1960's and 1970's).

(3) The rise of contemporary dance and physical theatre (in the broadest sense), as dynamic and independent forms, with companies like JazzArt, Magnet Theatre, The First Physical Theatre Company, The Physical Joint being prominent, and featuring names such as Gary Gordon, Jenny Reznik, Mark Fleischman, Jay Pather, Samantha Pienaar, Andrew Buckland, Bheki Mkwane, and many others.

(4) The increasing popularity of the cabaret, revue, stand-up, particularly at the various festivals.

(5) The replacement of the formal theatre companies by economically sized independent ad hoc ensembles. The proliferation (and rate of disappearance or transformation) of these ensembles.

(6) The exploitation of theatre-skills for commercial purposes (e.g. live advertising and industrial theatre), has become a life-line, and even a source of great wealth, for many practitioners.

(7) The return of the touring company last seen in the 1930's and 1940's...has been brought about by an enormous growth of community theatre and schools theatre activities, as well as the expanded festival circuit.

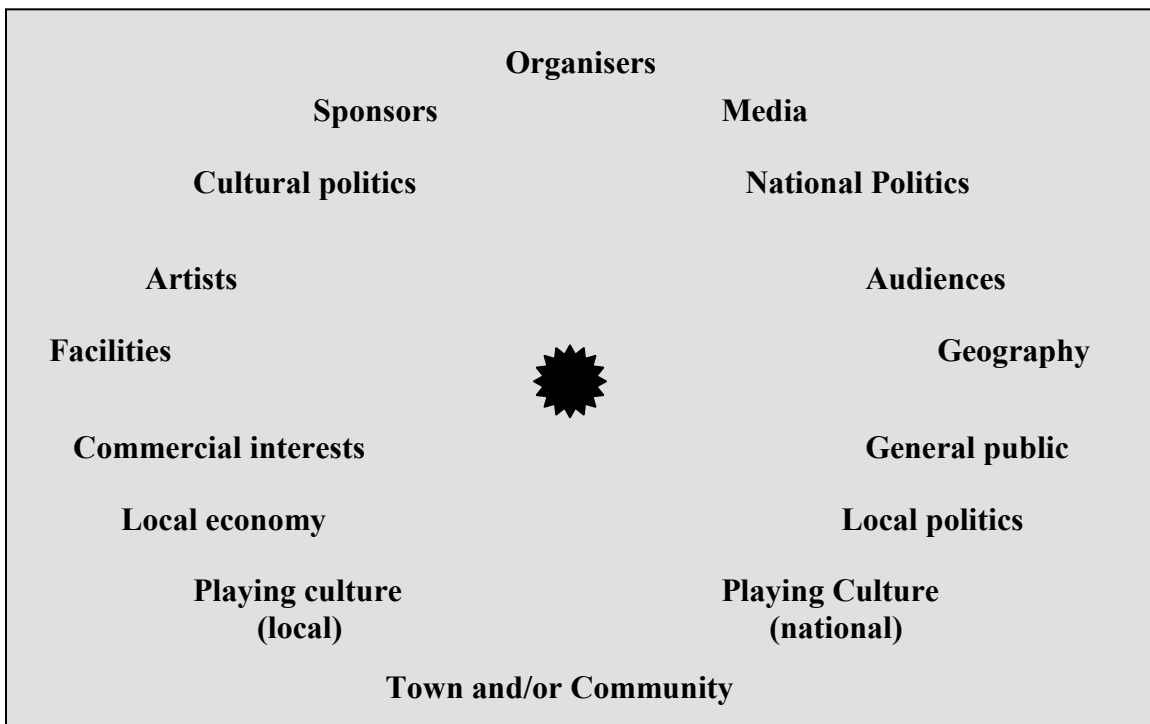
(8) The utilization of self-created work instead of published texts, which started under apartheid conditions as a means of giving a voice to the masses, has become a way of survival in a time when...performing rights of international plays are "impossible to afford". The advantage has been focus on local issues.

(9) The increasingly important roles played by the 30 or more annual arts festivals in setting up the calendar, shape and rhythms of the new "theatrical season", as well as the

particular forms of theatre emerging after 1990...A key impact here has been the rise of the one-hour “full-length play” and the “instant theatre” notion (i.e. anyone can submit an idea and be accepted...The gain is numerous new and creative theatre makers, the loss is (a) cultural memory (no old plays being done) and (b) few slow brewed, gradually developed theatrical works of major substance being written/created and produced (Hauptfleisch, 2007: 22-23).

## Appendix 4.

**Figure 1: The parameters of a cultural/arts festival**



Factors contributing to the specificity of each cultural event/arts festival.

(Hauptfleisch, 2007: 43).



**5. How many shows do you intend on seeing this festival under the genre "Physical Theatre"?**

- Physical comedy \_\_\_\_\_  Dance-theatre\_\_\_\_\_
- Contemporary Performance \_\_\_\_\_

**6. What made you choose to come to this show?**

- Festival Programme  Advertisement  Poster  Friends/family
- Review  Word of Mouth  Recommended
- Ticket Price  Previous experience  Follower of this genre
- Random selection  Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

**7.1. What level of information did you have about this specific production before buying tickets?**

- A Lot  Something  Very Little  Nothing

**7.2. Where did you get your information from:**

- Festival Programme  Advertisement  Poster  Friends/family
- Review  Word of Mouth  Other (pls specify) \_\_\_\_\_

**8. What other kinds of shows are you attending this festival?**

**Theatre:**  Comedy  Music Theatre  Stand-up  Street theatre  
 Drama  Puppetry  Readings  
 Performance Poetry

**Music:**  Classical Music/Choral/A Capella Music  Jazz\_\_\_\_\_

Contemporary Music (e.g. Rock/Pop concerts)

**P.T.O.**

**Dance:**  Ballet  Contemporary Dance  Other (please specify)\_\_\_\_\_

**Visual Art:**  Exhibition  Other (please specify)\_\_\_\_\_

**Film:**  Mainstream  Independent Film  Documentary  Other (specify)\_\_\_\_\_

**9. Any other comments you would like to make about this Festival?**

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**10. Please specify your gender:**

- Male  Female

**11. Please indicate your age group:**

- Below 18     18 -24     25 - 30     31 - 44     45 - 59     60+

**12. Please indicate your level of Education**

- Uncompleted High School     Completed High School  
 Completed High School and Learnership/apprenticeship     Diploma  
 1 Degree     > 1 Degree     Other (pls specify) \_\_\_\_\_

**13. Home Language:**

- Afrikaans     English     isiXhosa     Other (pls specify) \_\_\_\_\_

**14. Where do you live (town/country)? \_\_\_\_\_****15.1 Source of income/type of work: specify \_\_\_\_\_****15.2 State your Household Income Bracket (Net):**

- Less than R1000     R1001 to 5000     R5001 to R10000  
 R10 001 to R15 000     R15 001 to R20 000     R20 001 to 25 000  
 R25 001 to R30 000     R30 001 to R35 000     + R35 000

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**VISITORS ONLY (excluding Grahamstown residents):****16. Please indicate how many days and nights you intend to stay in Grahamstown.      No. of days \_\_\_\_\_ No. of nights \_\_\_\_\_****17. What is your primary motivation/s for attending the Festival?(Rank top 3)**

- Business     Market     Nightlife     Exhibitions  
 Theatre     Dance     Music     Performer/exhibitor  
 Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

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**FOR ALL FESTIVAL GOERS:****18. If you would like to be added to the First Physical Company Mailing list, please detach yellow slip from questionnaire and fill in your name and email address on the back. Then post it separately in the questionnaire box provided.**

Your answers to this questionnaire will remain strictly confidential. Thank you.

## Appendix 6.

### Proposed Festival Research Interview Quota:

<b>Consumer Research Interview Quota</b> (Based on 2006 study)														
<b>Black Women</b>														
Young (18 – 35)	1	2	3	4										
Middle (35 – 59)	1	2	3	5	6	7	8							
Old (65+)	1													
<b>Black Men</b>														
Young (18 – 35)	1	2												
Middle (35 – 59)	1	2	3	4	5									
Old (65+)	1													
<b>White Women</b>														
Young (18 – 35)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
Middle (35 – 59)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25			
Old (65+)	1	2	3											
<b>White Men</b>														
Young (18 – 35)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9					
Middle (35 – 59)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	15	16	17											
Old (65+)	1	2												
<b>Coloured/Asian Women</b>														
Young	1	2												
Middle	1	2	3	4										
Old														
<b>Coloured/Asian Men</b>														
Young	1													
Middle	1	2												
Old	1													

(Snowball, 2006)

## Appendix 7.

### Jeynes (2009) Online Email Survey Questionnaire:

Welcome to the "do you go to the theatre" survey. I am wanting to get a clearer picture of who goes to the theatre in South Africa, and why, or why not. This information is anonymous, the survey is quick, and I would REALLY appreciate you taking the time to complete it.

Thanks so much  
Karen Jeynes  
karenjeynes.iblog.com  
karenjeynes@telkomsa.net

#### 1. How old are you?

#### 2. Where do you live? (suburb/city)

#### 3. What do you do to socialise/relax? (choose as many as you like!)

- Reading magazines
- Facebook
- MySpace
- Websites
- Sports Clubs
- Gyms
- Movies
- Reading Books
- Watching Television
- Going to clubs
- Going to live music performances

- Going to the theatre
- Smaller parties with friends
- Other (please specify)

**4. What sort of transport do you use?**

**5. When are your ideal times for leisure activities?**

**6. How often do you watch theatre/dance?**

**7. What attracts you to the theatre?**

- What attracts you to the theatre? Newspaper advertising
- Street Posters
- Radio advertising
- Online advertising
- Facebook/MySpace
- Email
- Word of Mouth
- Reviews
- Knowing Someone involved in the production
- Other (please specify)

**8. What is your relationship to the Performing Arts Industry?**

**9. What does theatre mean to you? (in five words!)**

**10. So finally - any comments?**

Thanks so much for your time.

\* \* \*

## **Jeynes (2009) Online Email Survey Results:**

<http://karenjeynes.wordpress.com/2009/07/20/the-survey-that-just-kept-on-growing/>

July 20, 2009, 5:40 pm

In January of this year, out of a personal desire to know more about who was going to the theatre, who wasn't going to the theatre, and how people felt about the theatre, I launched an "audience survey". I sent out a questionnaire to friends, family and colleagues. The response was overwhelming – between January and May a total of 5413 people responded. Because of this monumental response the feedback has taken a little longer than expected – but I give it to you now, at long last! Although my survey was small and not very scientific, I believe there are many lessons to be learned from it, and I hope to conduct more and deeper surveys in the future.

### **So who responded?**

The majority of respondents (34.2%) were in the 25 to 35 age category, and another 30% in the 35 to 45 age category. This is a heartening figure for those doom mongers who think theatre audiences are dying out! The vast majority were urban– but it's important to note that those living outside of Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg expressed their deep desire to go to the theatre more – if only there was something for them to see. A number of people commented that they timed trips to Cape Town or Johannesburg to coincide with specific productions they wanted to see. Because of the network of people I sent the initial survey out to, and because I work in the industry myself, it's not surprising that 26% of respondents work in the performing arts industry. 20% described themselves as huge fans, and a staggering 40% said they wanted to know more about the industry and see more. I am happy to say that only 2 respondents said they had no interest in the industry. (I'm only surprised they took the time to complete the survey!)

### **How's our marketing doing?**

I now have statistics to back up what I have long suspected: 80% of people surveyed said that they go to productions because of good word of mouth. The best marketing tool available to us is the audience themselves. Reviews influenced 45% of people, and email, newspaper adverts and street posters all came in at around 30%. I was quite surprised to find street posters still having that much influence on people. Facebook, online advertising and radio all came in at around 20%.

So, what else are our audiences doing with their spare time – how else can we reach them? 83% of them are reading books, which made me wonder to what extent theatre is being advertised in bookshops and how we could better develop those relationships. Small parties with friends, television and movies scored highly (around 60%), as well as live music performances, Facebook and the gym (around 50%). The gym, everybody – how much theatre advertising are we doing at the gym?

And of course, theatre audiences go to the theatre. Sounds obvious I know, but with 32% of people saying they go to the theatre more than once a month and 30% going 4 – 6 times a year, it's pretty obvious that theatre is a habit people get into. We need to be sure we are maximising the marketing of other theatre productions at these events.

### **And...what else can we do better?**

I can tell you that those comments made for a lot of interesting reading! I can tell you that about the same number of people hate Shakespeare as love him. About 1000 people wanted more comedy, about 1000 people wanted less. It's encouraging to see the diversity of taste amongst respondents.

A large number of people – about 1600 comments – wanted to see shows starting earlier, at around 7pm, as well as more matinees on Saturday and Sunday afternoons. Cost was a factor that came up often. "I would go more if it was less expensive", "as a student I can't afford theatre as often as I'd like", "there's so much amazing work but because of the cost I have to choose one show a month". The comments acknowledged that the costs involved in producing theatre forced ticket prices up, but this did provide a huge stumbling block to people's attendance.

Another comment that came up over and over again...3421 times in fact...was that people would come more often if they knew what was on – especially fringe and independent productions. There seems to be a lack of overall, concerted marketing – people are marketing on an individual level, but not in a unified manner. This goes back to my point above that "theatre audiences go to the theatre".

### **And what does theatre mean to our audiences?**

The ten words that came out most often: life, entertainment, passion, live, fun, chance, world, art, escape, magic.

(Jeynes, 2009)

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## Appendix 8.

### Snowball et al.'s (2009) 2008 NAF Study:

**Table A: Omnivore-univore categorisation of sample**

Category	Definition	Percentage of sample (number = 501)
<b>Modern Omnivore</b>	Attended at least 2 of: movies, popular music, comedy	59 (296)
<b>Traditional Omnivore</b>	Attended at least 3 of: classical music, musicals, art, dance	41 (207)
<b>Cultural Omnivore</b>	Attended at least 4 of: movies, popular music, comedy, classical music, musicals, art, dance	62 (309)
<b>Univores</b>	Attended only one kind of show, or only two of traditional category	8 (40)

**Table B: Parentage in each age category classed as modern and traditional omnivores \* 2009 Festivore-Omnivores**

Age	Modern omnivore	Traditional omnivore	Festivore-omnivore
<b>18-25</b>	61.5	37.5	A (<18-24) 22.2
<b>26-35</b>	71.4	38.5	C (25 – 30) 10
<b>36-45</b>	57.1	46.4	D (31 – 44) 20.4
<b>46-60</b>	42.5	47.5	E (45 – 59) 21.7
<b>60+</b>	55.3	44.7	F (60+) 19

**Table C: Comparative NAF Studies**

NAF (%)	2004	2006	2008	2009
<b>Festivo Locational origins</b>				
South Africans	90	89	94	
Local residents	17	7.5		
Foreigners	10	11	6	
<b>Sex</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2009</b>
Males	45	41	42	36
Females	55	59	58	64

<b>Language</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2009</b>
Afrikaans	12	11	11	10
English	66	65	71	70
Xhosa	9	11	6.5	7.5
Other	13	13	11.5	12.4
<b>Age Groups</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2006</b>		<b>2009</b>
Up to 25	32	31	-	<b>A (&lt;18-24)</b> 33
26-35	16	15	-	<b>C (25 – 30)</b> 9.4
36-50	27	30	-	<b>D (31 – 44)</b> 21
51-64	20	15	-	<b>E (45 – 59)</b> 20
65+	5	9	-	<b>F (60+)</b> 17
<b>Household income/month (Net Rands)</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2006</b>		<b>2009</b>
<1000	-	3.5	-	4.5
1001 – 3000	-	4	-	33
3001 – 6000	-	7	-	-
6001 – 12 000	-	17	-	-
12 001 – 15 000	-	14.5	-	-
15 001 – 20 000	-	11.5	-	9
20 001 – 25 000	-	6.5	-	9
25 001 – 30 000	-	9	-	4
>30 000	-	27	-	41
<b>Festino Locational origins</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2006</b>		<b>2009</b>
Country of permanent residence				
South Africa	90	89	-	
Foreign	10	11	-	6
South Africa's home province	<b>2004</b>	<b>2006</b>		<b>2009</b>
Grahamstown	17	7.5	-	22
Other Eastern Cape	32	34	-	26
Gauteng	20	24	-	17
Western Cape	17	18	-	20
KwaZulu-Natal	8	9	-	7
Free State	2	3	-	0
Northern Cape	2	1	-	1
Mpumalanga	1	1	-	.3
Other	1	2	-	0

(Snowball and Antrobus, 2006: 12-16; Snowball et al. 2009: 8)

# NAF 2009 Study Survey Results

## Demographic variables:

### Type of Attender

Table 1.1

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid <b>Local resident</b>	86	27.3	27.3	27.3
<b>Visitor</b>	189	60.0	60.0	87.3
<b>Visiting artist/ technician/ crew</b>	27	8.6	8.6	95.9
<b>Visiting business</b>	3	1.0	1.0	96.8
<b>Other</b>	10	3.2	3.2	100.0
<b>Total</b>	315	100.0	100.0	

### Theatre Involvement

Table 1.2

Theatre Involvement	Frequency	Percent %
Semi/professional involvement in theatre	73	23.2
No involvement in theatre	242	76.8
Total	315	100.0%

### Show Attendance

Table 1.3

* Male and Female Attenders	Cases					
	Included		Excluded		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Number of Physical Theatre shows *	232	73.7	83	26.3	315	100
Previous festival attendance *	227	72.1	88	27.9	315	100
Number of shows Paid *	280	88.9	35	11.1	315	100
Number of shows Free *	150	47.6	165	52.4	315	100

### Gender Averages

Table 1.4

Gender		No. of Physical Theatre shows	Previous festival attendance	Number of Paid Shows	Number of Free Shows
<b>Female</b>	Mean	4.05	9.68	9.19	2.60
	N	156	144	182	92
	Std. Deviation	3.717	9.211	7.064	1.933
<b>Male</b>	Mean	4.54	8.39	9.17	3.02
	N	76	83	98	58
	Std. Deviation	4.241	7.624	6.357	2.496
<b>Total</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>4.21</b>	<b>9.21</b>	<b>9.18</b>	<b>2.76</b>
	N	232	227	280	150
	Std. Deviation	3.894	8.669	6.813	2.170

### Gender \* Physical Theatre Attender \* Omnivore

Table 2.1

Gender		Non-Physical Theatre attender	Physical Theatre attender	Total	Univore	Omnivore	Total
<b>Gender: Female</b>	Count	47	145	192	42	143	185
	% within Physical Theatre / Omnivore	57.3	65.9	63.6	55.3	66.8	63.8
<b>Male</b>	Count	35	75	110	34	71	105
	% within Physical Theatre / Omnivore	42.7	34.1	36.4	44.7	33.2	36.2
<b>Total</b>	% within Physical Theatre / Omnivore	82	220	302	76	214	290
	% within Physical Theatre / Omnivore	100	100	100	100	100	100

### Directional Measures

			Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Somers' d	Symmetric	-.105	.060	-1.754	.079
		Gender Dependent	-.116	.065	-1.754	.079
		Omnivore Dependent	-.097	.055	-1.754	.079

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.



**Table 2.2 (b)**

Age Group * Omnivore	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
	298	94.6%	17	5.4%	315	100.0%

**Directional Measures**

Physical Theatre			Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Somers' d	Symmetric	-.014	.049	-.285	.776
		Age Group Dependent	-.021	.075	-.285	.776
		VAR00002 Dependent	-.010	.036	-.285	.776

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Symmetric Measures**

Physical Theatre			Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Interval by Interval	Pearson's R		-.015	.059	-.265	.791(c)
Ordinal by Ordinal	Spearman Correlation		-.017	.059	-.293	.770(c)
N of Valid Cases			310			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c Based on normal approximation.

**Directional Measures**

Omnivores			Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Somers' d	Symmetric	.114	.048	2.368	.018
		Age Group Dependent	.178	.074	2.368	.018
		Omnivore Dependent	.084	.035	2.368	.018

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Symmetric Measures**

Omnivores			Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Interval by Interval	Pearson's R		.138	.058	2.405	.017(c)
Ordinal by Ordinal	Spearman Correlation		.137	.057	2.384	.018(c)
N of Valid Cases			298			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c Based on normal approximation.

## Level of Education \*Physical Theatre Attendance

Table 2.3 (a)

Level of Education * Physical Theatre Attendees	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
	303	96.2	12	3.8	315	100

Table 2.3 (b)

Level of Education * Omnivore Attendees	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
	291	92.4	24	7.6	315	100

Table 2.3: Level of Education

Level of Education		Non-Attendance	Physical Theatre attendance	Total	Univore	Omnivore	Total
Uncompleted High School	Count	10	10	18	11	16	27
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore attendance	12.5	12.5	8.1	14.9	7.4	9.3
Completed High School	Count	17	17	34	21	27	48
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore attendance	21.3	21.3	15.2	28.4	12.4	16.5
Completed High School and Learnership/ Apprenticeship	Count	3	3	12	6	9	15
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore attendance	3.8	3.8	5.4	8.1	4.1	5.2
Diploma	Count	10	10	26	5	29	34
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore attendance	12.5	12.5	11.7	6.8	13.4	11.7
1 Degree	Count	18	18	51	14	52	66
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore attendance	22.5	22.5	22.9	18.9	24.0	22.7
> 1 Degree	Count	22	22	82	17	84	101
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore attendance	27.5	27.5	36.8	23.0	38.7	34.7
Total	Count	80	223	80	74	217	291
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore attendance	100	100	100	100	100	100

**Directional Measures**

			Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Somers' d	Symmetric	.090	.049	1.845	.065
		Level of Education Dependent	.135	.073	1.845	.065
		VAR00002 Dependent	.068	.037	1.845	.065

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Symmetric Measures**

			Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Interval by Interval	Pearson's R		.107	.059	1.862	.064(c)
Ordinal by Ordinal	Spearman Correlation		.107	.058	1.860	.064(c)
N of Valid Cases			303			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c Based on normal approximation.

**Directional Measures**

			Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Somers' d	Symmetric	.182	.049	3.620	.000
		Level of Education Dependent	.278	.075	3.620	.000
		OMNIVORE Dependent	.136	.037	3.620	.000

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Symmetric Measures**

			Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Interval by Interval	Pearson's R		.235	.060	4.106	.000(c)
Ordinal by Ordinal	Spearman Correlation		.216	.058	3.765	.000(c)
N of Valid Cases			291			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c Based on normal approximation.

## Home language \* Physical Theatre \* Omnivore

Table 2.4 (a)

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Home language * Physical Theatre Attendance	308	97.8	7	2.2	315	100.0

Table 2.4 (b)

Home language * Omnivore	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
	296	94.0	19	6.0	315	100.0

Table 2.4: Home Language

Home language		Non-Attendance	Physical Theatre Attendance	Total	Univore	Omnivore	Total
<b>English</b>	Count	56	56	156	43	164	207
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore Attendance	67.5	67.5	69.3	56.6	74.5	69.9
<b>English Bilingual</b>	Count	2	2	15	3	13	16
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore Attendance	2.4	2.4	6.7	3.9	5.9	5.4
<b>Afrikaans</b>	Count	10	10	22	11	19	30
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore Attendance	12.0	12.0	9.8	14.5	8.6	10.1
<b>isiXhosa</b>	Count	10	10	13	12	10	22
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore Attendance	12.0	12.0	5.8	15.8	4.5	7.4
<b>Other African</b>	Count	4	4	10	4	8	12
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore Attendance	4.8	4.8	4.4	5.3	3.6	4.1
<b>Foreign</b>	Count	1	1	9	3	6	9
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore Attendance	1.2	1.2	4.0	3.9	2.7	3.0
<b>Total</b>	Count	83	225	83	76	220	296
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore Attendance	100	100	100	100	100	100

**Directional Measures**

Physical Theatre			Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Somers' d	Symmetric	-.022	.054	-.412	.680
		Home language Dependent	-.025	.062	-.412	.680
		Physical Theatre Attender Dependent	-.020	.048	-.412	.680

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Symmetric Measures**

Physical Theatre			Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Interval by Interval	Pearson's R		-.021	.056	-.364	.716(c)
Ordinal by Ordinal	Spearman Correlation		-.024	.058	-.416	.677(c)
N of Valid Cases			308			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c Based on normal approximation.

**Directional Measures**

Omnivore Attendance			Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Somers' d	Symmetric	-.171	.058	-2.892	.004
		Home language Dependent	-.195	.066	-2.892	.004
		OMNIVORE Dependent	-.152	.052	-2.892	.004

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Symmetric Measures**

Omnivore Attendance			Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Interval by Interval	Pearson's R		-.177	.062	-3.089	.002(c)
Ordinal by Ordinal	Spearman Correlation		-.182	.062	-3.180	.002(c)
N of Valid Cases			296			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c Based on normal approximation.

## Household Income Bracket Net \* Physical Theatre Attenders \* Omnivore

Table 2.5 (a)

Household Income Bracket Net * Physical Theatre Attendance	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
	227	72.1%	88	27.9%	315	100.0%

Table 2.5: Household Income Bracket (Net)

Household Income Bracket (Net)		Non-Attendance	Physical Theatre Attendance	Total	Univore	Omnivore	Total
<b>Less than R1000</b>	Count	3	3	7	4	6	10
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore Attendance	5.0	5.0	4.2	8.5	3.5	4.6
<b>R1000 – R5000</b>	Count	4	4	12	8	7	15
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore Attendance	6.7	6.7	7.2	17.0	4.1	6.8
<b>R5001 R10000</b>	Count	11	11	16	6	20	26
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore Attendance	18.3	18.3	9.6	12.8	11.6	11.9
<b>R10001 – R15000</b>	Count	6	6	27	3	28	31
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore Attendance	10.0	10.0	16.2	6.4	16.3	14.2
<b>R15001 – R20000</b>	Count	5	5	15	6	12	18
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore Attendance	8.3	8.3	9.0	12.8	7.0	8.2
<b>R20001 – R25000</b>	Count	5	5	15	6	13	19
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore Attendance	8.3	8.3	9.0	12.8	7.6	8.7
<b>R25001 – R30000</b>	Count	3	3	6	0	9	9
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore Attendance	5.0	5.0	3.6	0	5.2	4.1
<b>R30001 – R35000</b>	Count	4	4	11	6	9	15
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore Attendance	6.7	6.7	6.6	12.8	5.2	6.8
<b>+R35000</b>	Count	19	19	58	8	68	76
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore Attendance	31.7	31.7	34.7	17.0	39.5	34.7
<b>Total</b>	Count	60	167	60	47	172	219
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore Attendance	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 2.5 (b)

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Household Income Bracket Net * OMNIVORE	219	69.5%	96	30.5%	315	100.0%

**Directional Measures**

Physical Theatre Attender			Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Somers' d	Symmetric	.034	.055	.623	.533
		Household Income Bracket Net Dependent	.054	.086	.623	.533
		Physical Theatre attender Dependent	.025	.041	.623	.533

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Symmetric Measures**

Physical Theatre Attender			Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Interval by Interval	Pearson's R		.037	.067	.559	.577(c)
Ordinal by Ordinal	Spearman Correlation		.042	.067	.629	.530(c)
N of Valid Cases			227			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c Based on normal approximation.

**Directional Measures**

Omnivore attender			Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Somers' d	Symmetric	.158	.053	2.916	.004
		Household Income Bracket Net Dependent	.271	.089	2.916	.004
		Omnivore Dependent	.112	.038	2.916	.004

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis

**Symmetric Measures**

Omnivore attender			Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Interval by Interval	Pearson's R		.187	.067	2.809	.005(c)
Ordinal by Ordinal	Spearman Correlation		.197	.066	2.967	.003(c)
N of Valid Cases			219			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c Based on normal approximation

## Festivore Show Attendance:

### Crosstabs \* Physical Theatre \* Omnivores

Table 3.1: Crosstabulation between Physical Theatre attenders and omnivore attenders

* Physical Theatre	Cases					
	Attenders		Non-Attenders		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Number of shows Paid	293	93.0	22	7.0	315	100
Number of shows Free	155	49.2	160	50.8	315	100
Number of Exhibitions arts & culture	169	53.7	146	46.3	315	100
Number of Other Shows	17	5.4	298	94.6	315	100
Previous festival attendance	237	75.2	78	24.8	315	100
Number of Physical Theatre shows	243	77.1	72	22.9	315	100

Table 3.2: Physical Theatre-goers attendance behaviour.

Physical Theatre		Number of shows Paid	Number of shows Free	Number of Exhibitions arts & culture	Number of Other Shows	Previous festival attendance	Number of Physical Theatre shows
Non-Physical Theatre Attenders	Mean	7.66	2.45	3.38	2.20	10.93	4.33
	N	70	38	29	5	45	18
	Std. Deviation	5.870	2.101	2.770	1.643	8.807	4.911
	Median	6.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	10.00	3.00
Physical Theatre Attenders	Mean	9.76	2.85	4.40	2.50	8.53	4.25
	N	223	117	140	12	192	225
	Std. Deviation	7.088	2.155	2.828	1.931	8.462	3.832
	Median	8.00	2.00	4.00	2.00	5.00	3.00
Total	Mean	9.26	2.75	4.22	2.41	8.98	4.26
	N	293	155	169	17	237	243
	Std. Deviation	6.866	2.142	2.836	1.805	8.562	3.910
	Median	8.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	3.00

Table 3.3: Shows Attended

Shows Attended	Cases					
	Included		Excluded		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Number of shows Paid * OMNIVORE	288	91.4	27	8.6	315	100
Number of shows Free * OMNIVORE	151	47.9	164	52.1	315	100
Number of Exhibitions: arts & culture * OMNIVORE	166	52.7	149	47.3	315	100
Number of Other * OMNIVORE	15	4.8	300	95.2	315	100
Previous festival attendance * OMNIVORE	228	72.4	87	27.6	315	100
Number of "Physical Theatre" shows * OMNIVORE	240	76.2	75	23.8	315	100
Physical comedy * OMNIVORE	146	46.3	169	53.7	315	100
Dance-theatre * OMNIVORE	174	55.2	141	44.8	315	100
Contemporary performance * OMNIVORE	104	33.0	211	67.0	315	100

Table 3.4

OTS * OMNIVORE	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
	302	95.9	13	4.1	315	100

Omnivore Attendance		No. of shows Paid	No. of shows Free	No. of Exhibitions: arts & culture	No. of Other shows	Previous festival attendance	No. of "Physical Theatre" shows
Univores	Mean	5.53	2.78	2.71		7.86	3.75
	N	73	37	21		58	56
	Std. Deviation	4.038	2.299	1.765		6.544	4.037
Omnivores	Mean	10.64	2.75	4.51	2.60	9.36	4.46
	N	215	114	145	15	170	184
	Std. Deviation	7.153	2.102	2.885	1.844	9.224	3.876
Total	Mean	9.35	2.76	4.28	2.60	8.98	4.30
	N	288	151	166	15	228	240
	Std. Deviation	6.870	2.144	2.828	1.844	8.633	3.918

## Marketing („pull factors“) Results:

Table 4.1 (a)

Marketing Influence * Physical Theatre	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
	232	73.7	83	26.3	315	100

Table 4.1 (b)

Marketing Influence * Omnivore	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
	229	72.7	86	27.3	315	100

Table 4.1: Marketing Influence

Marketing Influence		Non-Attendees	Physical Theatre Attendees	Total	Univores	Omnivores	Total
<b>Festival Programme</b>	Count	8	9	57	66	58	66
	% within MI	12.1	13.6	86.4	100.0	87.9	100.0
	% within Physical Theatre / Omnivore Attendees	18.2	17.3	32.2	28.8	30.9	28.4
	% of Total	3.4	3.9	24.9	28.8	25.0	28.4
<b>Advertisement</b>	Count	2	3	6	9	7	9
	% within MI	22.2	33.3	66.7	100.0	77.8	100.0
	% within Physical Theatre / Omnivore Attendees	4.5	5.8	3.4	3.9	3.7	3.9
	% of Total	.9	1.3	2.6	3.9	3.0	3.9
<b>Poster</b>	Count	1	5	5	10	9	10
	% within MI	10.0	50.0	50.0	100.0	90.0	100.0
	% within Physical Theatre / Omnivore Attendees	2.3	9.6	2.8	4.4	4.8	4.3
	% of Total	.4	2.2	2.2	4.4	3.9	4.3
<b>Friends/ Family</b>	Count	16	13	47	60	45	61
	% within MI	26.2	21.7	78.3	100	73.8	100.0
	% within Physical Theatre / Omnivore Attendees	36.4	25.0	26.6	26.2	23.9	26.3
	% of Total	6.9	5.7	20.5	26.2	19.4	26.3
<b>Review</b>	Count	4	2	12	14	10	14
	% within MI	28.6	14.3	85.7	100.0	71.4	100.0
	% within Physical Theatre / Omnivore Attendees	9.1	3.8	6.8	6.1	5.3	6.0
	% of Total	1.7	.9	5.2	6.1	4.3	6.0

<b>Word of Mouth</b>	Count	8	9	34	43	35	43
	% within MI	18.6	20.9	79.1	100.0	81.4	100.0
	% within Physical Theatre / Omnivore Attenders	18.2	17.3	19.2	18.8	18.6	18.5
	% of Total	3.4	3.9	14.8	18.8	15.1	18.5
<b>Recommended</b>	Count	6	4	26	30	24	30
	% within MI	20.0	13.3	86.7	100.0	80.0	100.0
	% within Physical Theatre / Omnivore Attenders	13.6	7.7	14.7	13.1	12.8	12.9
	% of Total	2.6	1.7	11.4	13.1	10.3	12.9
<b>Ticket Price</b>	Count	1	0	7	7	6	7
	% within MI	14.3	.0	100.0	100.0	85.7	100.0
	% within Physical Theatre / Omnivore Attenders	2.3	.0	4.0	3.1	3.2	3.0
	% of Total	.4	.0	3.1	3.1	2.6	3.0
<b>Previous Experience</b>	Count	13	13	64	77	65	78
	% within MI	16.7	16.9	83.1	100.0	83.3	100.0
	% within Physical Theatre / Omnivore Attenders	29.5	25.0	36.2	33.6	34.6	33.6
	% of Total	5.6	5.7	27.9	33.6	28.0	33.6
<b>Follower of this genre</b>	Count	9	8	35	43	35	44
	% within MI	20.5	18.6	81.4	100.0	79.5	100.0
	% within Physical Theatre / Omnivore Attenders	20.5	15.4	19.8	18.8	18.6	19.0
	% of Total	3.9	3.5	15.3	18.8	15.1	19.0
<b>Random Selection</b>	Count	3	0	4	4	1	4
	% within MI	75.0	.0	100.0	100.0	25.0	100.0
	% within Physical Theatre / Omnivore Attenders	6.8	.0	2.3	1.7	.5	1.7
	% of Total	1.3	.0	1.7	1.7	.4	1.7
<b>Other</b>	Count	6	7	24	31	25	31
	% within MI	19.4	22.6	77.4	100.0	80.6	100.0
	% within Physical Theatre / Omnivore Attenders	13.6	13.5	13.6	13.5	13.3	13.4
	% of Total	2.6	3.1	10.5	13.5	10.8	13.4
<b>Total</b>	Count	44	188	52	177	229	232
	% within MI	19.0	81.0	22.7	77.3	100.0	100.0
	% within Physical Theatre / Omnivore Attenders	100	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	% of Total	19.0	81.0	22.7	77.3	100.0	100.0

## Level of Information Regarding the Shows

### \* Physical Theatre Attenders \*Omnivores

Table 4.2

Level of information re show * Physical Theatre	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
	233	74.0	82	26.0	315	100.0

Table 4.2: Level of Information Regarding the Shows

Level of information regarding the shows			Non-Attenders	Physical Theatre Attenders	Total	Univores	Omnivores	Total
<b>Information A Lot</b>	Count		8	26	34	7	26	33
	% within Level of information regarding the show		23.5	76.5	100	21.2	78.8	100
	% within Physical Theatre		18.2	13.8	14.6	13.5	14.7	14.4
	% of Total		3.4	11.2	14.6	3.1	11.4	14.4
<b>Something</b>	Count		15	77	92	16	75	91
	% within Level of information regarding the show		16.3	83.7	100	17.6	82.4	100
	% within Physical Theatre		34.1	40.7	39.5	30.8	42.4	39.7
	% of Total		6.4	33.0	39.5	7.0	32.8	39.7
<b>Very Little</b>	Count		10	70	80	20	59	79
	% within Level of information regarding the show		12.5	87.5	100	25.3	74.7	100
	% within Physical Theatre		22.7	37.0	34.3	38.5	33.3	34.5
	% of Total		4.3	30.0	34.3	8.7	25.8	34.5
<b>Nothing</b>	Count		11	16	27	9	17	26
	% within Level of information regarding the show		40.7	59.3	100	34.6	65.4	100
	% within Physical Theatre		25.0	8.5	11.6	17.3	9.6	11.4
	% of Total		4.7	6.9	11.6	3.9	7.4	11.4
<b>Total</b>	Count		44	189	233	52	177	229
	% within Level of information regarding the show		18.9	81.1	100	22.7	77.3	100
	% within Physical Theatre		100	100	100	100	100	100
	% of Total		18.9	81.1	100	22.7	77.3	100

**Directional Measures**

			Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Somers' d	Symmetric	-.093	.060	-1.537	.124
		Level of information re show Dependent	-.137	.088	-1.537	.124
		Omnivore Dependent	-.070	.045	-1.537	.124

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Information Source \* Physical Theatre Attenders \* Omnivores****Table 4.3 (a)**

Information Source * Physical Theatre	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
	230	73.0	85	27.0	315	100.0

**Table 4.3 (b)**

Information Source * Omnivore	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
	228	72.4	87	27.6	315	100.0

Table 4.3: Information Source

Information Source		Non-Phys Theatre attenders	Phys Theatre attenders	Total	Univore Attenders	Omnivore Attenders	Total
<b>Festival Programme</b>	Count	26	128	154	26	127	153
	% within Information Source	16.9	83.1	100	17.0	83.0	100
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore Attenders	61.9	68.1	67.0	53.1	70.9	67.1
	% of Total	11.3	55.7	67.0	11.4	55.7	67.1
<b>Advertisement</b>	Count	1	11	12	5	7	12
	% within Information Source	8.3	91.7	100	41.7	58.3	100
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore Attenders	2.4	5.9	5.2	10.2	3.9	5.3
	% of Total	.4	4.8	5.2	2.2	3.1	5.3
<b>Poster</b>	Count	2	17	19	7	12	19
	% within Information Source	10.5	89.5	100	36.8	63.2	100
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore Attenders	4.8	9.0	8.3	14.3	6.7	8.3
	% of Total	.9	7.4	8.3	3.1	5.3	8.3
<b>Friends/ Family</b>	Count	7	49	56	16	39	55
	% within Information Source	12.5	87.5	100	29.1	70.9	100
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore Attenders	16.7	26.1	24.3	32.7	21.8	24.1
	% of Total	3.0	21.3	24.3	7.0	17.1	24.1
<b>Word of Mouth</b>	Count	4	20	24	8	39	47
	% within Information Source	16.7	83.3	100	17.0	83.0	100
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore Attenders	9.5	10.6	10.4	16.3	21.8	20.6
	% of Total	1.7	8.7	10.4	3.5	17.1	20.6
<b>Total</b>	Count				49	179	228
	% within Information Source				21.5	78.5	100
	% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore Attenders				100	100	100
	% of Total				21.5	78.5	100

## Other Types of Shows \* Physical Theatre Attendance

Table 5.1 (a)

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Other Types of Show * Physical Theatre Attender	302	95.9	13	4.1%	315	100.0

Table 5.1 (b)

Other Types of Show * Omnivore	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
	302	95.9	13	4.1	315	100.0

Table 5.1: Other Types of Shows Attended

Other Types of Shows Attended (% within Physical Theatre/ Omnivore attendance)	Non- Attendance %	Physical Theatre Attendance %	Total %	% of Univore who also attended this show type	% of Omnivore who also attended this show type	% of Total sample who attended this show type
<b>Theatre:</b> Comedy	62.7	70.9	70.9	57.5	73.0	68.9
Music-Theatre	33.3	47.1	47.1	22.5	51.4	43.7
Stand-up Comedy	24.0	33.5	33.5	25.0	33.3	31.1
Street Theatre	24.0	32.6	32.6	20.0	34.2	30.5
Drama	58.7	69.6	69.6	43.8	75.2	66.9
Puppetry	2.7	11.5	11.5	7.5	9.9	9.3
Readings	1.3	3.5	3.5	0	4.1	3.0
Performance Poetry	4.0	9.3	9.3	5.0	9.0	7.9
<b>Music:</b> Classical/ Choral/ A Capella Music	30.7	38.8	38.8	6.3	47.7	36.8
Jazz	44.0	41.4	41.4	20	50.0	42.1
Contemporary Music	33.3	41.9	41.9	20	46.8	39.7
<b>Dance:</b> Ballet	42.7	45.4	45.4	20	53.6	44.7
Contemporary Dance	28.0	50.2	50.2	17.5	54.5	44.7
Other	2.7	8.8	8.8	0	9.9	7.3
<b>Visual Art:</b> Exhibition	57.3	68.7	68.7	21.3	82.0	65.9
Other	1.3	3.5	3.5	0	4.1	3.0
<b>Film:</b> Mainstream	9.3	8.4	8.4	1.3	11.3	8.6
Independent Film	14.7	14.5	14.5	0	19.8	14.6
Documentary	8.0	5.7	5.7	0	8.6	6.3
Other	2.7	1.8	1.8	0	2.7	2.0
<b>Total:</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100

## Ballet \* Omnivore Crosstabulation

Table 5.2 (a)

Ballet * Omnivore	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
	302	95.6	14	4.4	316	100.0

Table 2.5

Ballet Attenders			Univores	Omnivores	Total
Ballet Attenders	Non-attender	Count	64	103	167
		% within Ballet attenders	38.3	61.7	100
		% within OMNIVORE	80.0	46.4	55.3
	Attender	Count	16	119	135
		% within Ballet attenders	11.9	88.1	100
		% within OMNIVORE	20.0	53.6	44.7
Total	Count	80	222	302	
	% within Ballet attenders	26.5	73.5	100	
	% within OMNIVORE	100	100	100	

## Symmetric Measures

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Interval by Interval	Pearson's R	.298	.050	5.412	.000(c)
Ordinal by Ordinal	Spearman Correlation	.298	.050	5.412	.000(c)
N of Valid Cases		302			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c Based on normal approximation.

## Primary Motivation for Festival Attendance:

### \* Physical Theatre Attenders \* Omnivore Attenders

Table 6.1 (a)

Primary Motivation for Attendance * Physical Theatre	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
	223	70.8%	92	29.2%	315	100.0%

Table 6.1 (b)

Primary Motivation for Attendance * Omnivore	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
	217	68.9%	98	31.1%	315	100.0%

Table 6.1: Primary Motivation for Festival Attendance

Primary Motivation for Attendance		Non-attenders	Physical theatre attenders	Total	Univores	Omnivores	Total
<b>Business</b>	Count	3	6	9	5	4	9
	% within PMA	33.3	66.7	100	55.6	44.4	100
	% within Physical Theatre / Omnivore attenders	5.3	3.6	4.0	9.1	2.5	4.1
	% of Total	1.3	2.7	4.0	2.3	1.8	4.1
<b>Market</b>	Count	12	38	50	13	34	47
	% within PMA	24.0	76.0	100	27.7	72.3	100
	% within Physical Theatre / Omnivore attenders	21.1	22.9	22.4	23.6	21.0	21.7
	% of Total	5.4	17.0	22.4	6.0	15.7	21.7
<b>Night-life</b>	Count	9	21	30	8	22	30
	% within PMA	30.0	70.0	100	26.7	73.3	100
	% within Physical Theatre / Omnivore attenders	15.8	12.7	13.5	14.5	13.6	13.8
	% of Total	4.0	9.4	13.5	3.7	10.1	13.8
<b>Exhibitions</b>	Count	12	43	55	7	48	55
	% within PMA	21.8	78.2	100	12.7	87.3	100
	% within Physical Theatre / Omnivore attenders	21.1	25.9	24.7	12.7	29.6	25.3
	% of Total	5.4	19.3	24.7	3.2	22.1	25.3

<b>Theatre</b>	Count	29	119	148	27	121	148
	% within PMA	19.6	80.4	100	18.2	81.8	100
	% within Physical Theatre / Omnivore attenders	50.9	71.7	66.4	49.1	74.7	68.2
	% of Total	13.0	53.4	66.4	12.4	55.8	68.2
<b>Dance</b>	Count	13	81	94	11	80	91
	% within PMA	13.8	86.2	100	12.1	87.9	100
	% within Physical Theatre / Omnivore attenders	22.8	48.8	42.2	20.0	49.4	41.9
	% of Total	5.8	36.3	42.2	5.1	36.9	41.9
<b>Music</b>	Count	22	75	97	15	81	96
	% within PMA	22.7	77.3	100	15.6	84.4	100
	% within Physical Theatre / Omnivore attenders	38.6	45.2	43.5	27.3	50.0	44.2
	% of Total	9.9	33.6	43.5	6.9	37.3	44.2
<b>Performer / Exhibitor</b>	Count	9	25	34	13	20	33
	% within PMA	26.5	73.5	100	39.4	60.6	100
	% within Physical Theatre / Omnivore attenders	15.8	15.2	15.3	23.6	12.4	15.3
	% of Total	4.1	11.3	15.3	6.0	9.3	15.3
<b>Other</b>	Count	9	28	37	9	27	36
	% within PMA	24.3	75.7	100	25.0	75.0	100
	% within Physical Theatre / Omnivore attenders	15.8	17.0	16.7	16.4	16.8	16.7
	% of Total	4.1	12.6	16.7	4.2	12.5	16.7
<b>Total</b>	Count	57	166	223	25.5	74.5	-
	% within PMA	25.6	74.4	100	100	100	100
	% within Physical Theatre / Omnivore attenders	100	100	100	25.5	74.5	100
	% of Total	25.6	74.4	100	25.5	74.5	100

## Physical Theatre \* Omnivore Crosstabulation

Table 7.1

	Valid		Cases Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Physical Theatre Attendance * OMNIVORE	302	95.6	14	4.4	316	100.0

Table 7.1

Physical Theatre Attenders			Univore	Omnivore	Total
Physical Theatre Attenders	Non-attenders	Count	24	38	62
		% within Physical Theatre attenders	38.7	61.3	100.0
		% within OMNIVORE	30.0	17.1	20.5
	Attenders	Count	56	184	240
		% within Physical Theatre attenders	23.3	76.7	100.0
		% within OMNIVORE	70.0	82.9	79.5
Total	Count	80	222	302	
	% within Physical Theatre attenders	26.5	73.5	100.0	
	% within OMNIVORE	100.0	100.0	100.0	

## Symmetric Measures

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Interval by Interval	Pearson's R	.141	.062	2.462	.014(c)
Ordinal by Ordinal	Spearman Correlation	.141	.062	2.462	.014(c)
N of Valid Cases		302			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c Based on normal approximation.

\* \* \*

## Appendix 9.

### *Opinion Questions:*

#### **9.1. Electronic interview with NAF Director, Ismail Mahomed. (17th November 2009)**

**1) Where/what is the state of theatre in SA? (in terms of development, audience attendance, funding, government and corporate support?)**

Theatre in South Africa continues to be vibrant despite the many challenges of funding. An increasing large number of independent companies are finding creative ways to share administrative, marketing and human resources in the management of the companies. A core inspiration for this model is derived from the successfully run Cape Edge Collective. At a creative level, a greater number of artists are beginning to work outside of constraining and restrictive frameworks of “purists” genres --- visual artists are collaborating with dancers who are collaborating with theatre practitioners who are collaborating with film-makers. Hence, newer art-forms are resonating incredibly successfully with a new generation of audiences. Social media and similar networks enable the artists to take their work more directly into public arenas and hence audience development is being nurtured in a significantly new way. In Johannesburg, the collaboration between SANCTA (South African National Community Theatre Association) and professional actors from the now defunct Actors Centre is a good indication that the previously egotistic divide between professional, amateur and community is being put aside; and that the sectors are working together and depending on each other to grow the theatre industry. Government support for the arts now is better than what it has been prior to 1994. It is however not perfect! And there is little will on the part of government to proactively address the flawed administration of arts funding agencies. Corporate support for the arts is growing --- it is however the arts community that has not yet learnt how to take advantage of corporate interest in the arts. The arts sector still to a large extent sees the corporate sector as a funder rather than as a buyer of the “marketing footprint” that is potentially inherent in the arts.

**2) How have festivals changed over the last 15 years in SA (Post 94)?**

Festivals continue to be the life-blood for many independent companies. An increasing large number of festivals are springing up in various parts of the country. However, it is the lack of co-ordination, co-production and even just basic dialogue that minimizes the value that the increasingly large festival circuit can have for the arts sector. Currently, all the festivals in the country are positioned as showcase platforms for theatre rather than as a market place for international producers to find good South African theatre. South African festivals are also outdated in their programming strategies. Far too much emphasis is placed on work that is packaged in narrowly focused genres rather than meeting

the challenges of artists who work in genres that blur the divides. Festivals are also directed by Committees rather by the artistic vision of a Festival Director. As a result, the fringes have become the more inspirational and exciting breeding ground for creativity while the Main continues to tread along on established patterns that cater to a small percentage of die hard audiences and die hard artists. The Fringe on the other hand is which is growing in leaps and bounds in terms of creativity and audience support is increasingly become the new “Main”.

**3) Do festivals have a positive or negative impact on general theatre attendance? Why?**

Multi-arts festivals grow audiences for theatre. Multi-arts festivals create an energy and a buzz of excitement that makes the arts attractive.

**4) What impact do festivals have on the quality of plays produced? (e.g. impact of the „1hr festival play“).**

In most festivals the fringe is an open access platform without any selection. Yet it is in this landscape that one finds the best gems. Festivals grow the arts and the skills of practitioners when festivals position themselves to create opportunities for “artists lounges” where artists can peer review their own work. In most South African festivals, there is a strong dependence on media reviews to appraise the work. While this is necessary, it should not negate the need for peer review and peer support of work as well. Festivals which commission work provide the comfort and the guarantee of funding, technical support, marketing, etc which frees the theatre practitioner to concentrate on the making of the theatre production and hence; this inevitably means that the quality of work will be in most cases even better.

**5) What is your view on the trend or speculation that there is a strong movement away from traditional “elitist” theatre towards more popular theatre?**

The two can co-exist. They always have. They both have their own grouping of artists, audiences, media interest groups and funding supporters. We need to find ways in which we allow theatres and festivals to create a space for both kinds of theatre.

**6) Would you agree with the opinion that devised/created theatre (as opposed to working from set text) is becoming more popular?**

Some of it can be attributed to the politics of literacy and the politics of the economy. Just how expensive are books / texts? How accessible are texts? Just how much do we pay for royalties? It is quite interesting that a significant number of theatre-makers in South Africa still have a low level of access to literacy training.

**7) Would you say the general (South African) public is more or less cultured than in the past, participating in a wider range of cultural activities such as attending performing arts events?**

The politics of funding, arts education and arts access has changed significantly since 1994. Hence, there is a greater population that now has access to experiencing or the making of theatre.

**8) Are festivals for elite/high culture or for the masses? Have there been significant changes?**

That depends entirely on the artistic vision of festivals and the marketing strategies of festivals.

**9) Where do you see theatre in SA in the next 15 years?**

It will still be alive and thriving. However, the management, the administration and the marketing of the arts will become a lot more sophisticated.

**10) a. Would you say SA has its own unique theatre identity?**

Yes. South African theatre does have its own aesthetic vocabulary. However, this does not insulate the work. In fact, it makes the work even more accessible to diverse audiences.

**b. Would you say SA has its own unique festival identity?**

Yes, one that is not yet very progressive! It requires transformation in terms of its artistic vision, administration, commissioning processes and repositioning in terms of how a new generation of artists create work and function as artists.

\* \* \*

### **9.2.1. Electronic interview with Lynette Marais. (NAF Director 1989-2008) (17th November 2009)**

- 1) **a. Why is it important for gov./corporate funders to subsidise the theatre and the arts (especially those which have less of an appeal than more popular theatre/entertainment), rather than leave it to market forces of demand and supply?**

The arts have a tremendous public value because apart from entertaining and stimulating audiences, the arts promote broad social and economic goals, which help to develop our societies. The arts become the “instrument” through which artists are able to draw our focus to our consciousness, to our humanity, to our flaws, to our joys, to our fears, our hopes and our aspirations. Through the arts, cultures are preserved and the history of the times recorded.

John Ruskin said – „Great nations write their autobiography in three manuscripts; – the book of their deeds, the book of their words, and the book of their art. No one of these books can be understood unless we read the two others; but of the three, the only quite trustworthy one is the last.“

- b. What is the cultural significance/impact of theatre on SA society?**

(The above also answers this question)

- 2) **Where/what is the state of theatre in SA? (in terms of development, audience attendance, funding, government and corporate support?)**

It is not good – the same amount of money which in the apartheid years served ± 10-million now has to be spread across 24-million. With the demise of company funding, work for artists is so sporadic that it stunts their growth. Artists and audiences need to be exposed to a wide variety of work and genres from classical to cutting edge modern contemporary work. However when you have to survive you are forced to cater for the populist thereby neither developing as an artist to your full potential nor developing your audience by challenging them intellectually.

- 3) **How have festivals changed over the last 15 years in SA (Post 94)?**

They have certainly become more inclusive simply by the fact that both artists and audiences have gradually begun to have the courage to venture into a world that was mostly barred to them. It is not an overnight happening as confidence and a feeling of being wanted and accepted takes time to sink into the psyche.

- 4) **Do festivals have a positive or negative impact on general theatre attendance? Why?**

Positive. They grow audiences as people are exposed to a vast range of different work and at festivals people are more inclined to be adventurous thereby discovering enjoyment and challenges from art forms or kinds of work that they have not experienced before.

**5) What impact do festivals have on the quality of plays produced? (e.g. impact of the so-called „1hr festival play“)**

From a one hour many a play has developed into a longer more fully developed piece. Audiences of today for various reasons have changed and like shorter work as compared to the old three acts. Modern living has changed the concentration span of your average person.

**6) What is your view on the trend or speculation that there is a strong movement away from traditional “elitist” theatre towards more popular theatre?**

Well there is not much classical theatre (I presume that this is what you mean by “elitist”) as thought-provoking theatre is not necessarily elitist. I don’t think any form of the arts is “elitist” it is just that the general population cannot always afford expensive productions. But then on the other hand take the figures of the attendance for “The Lion King” (popular theatre) and this disproves the argument. Really what I want to say is if you keep feeding marshmallows and rarely serve good Belgium chocolate how will you develop the taste for what is really good (not elitist)!

**7) Would you agree with the opinion that devised/created theatre (as opposed to working from set text) is becoming more popular?**

Not necessarily more popular but cheaper to mount and create within limitations!

**8) Would you say the general (South African) public is more or less cultured than in the past, participating in a wider range of cultural activities such as attending performing arts events?**

It still has a long way to go and until it becomes part of our culture (generally) we need to keep working at developing it.

**9) Are festivals for elite/high culture or for the masses? Have there been significant changes?**

Festivals are for everyone and yes over the past 10 years a wider range from young to old of all races are attending. It has been gratifying to see the increase in young people (16 to 30) that attend.

**10) Where do you see theatre in SA in the next 15 years?**

Unless there is a radically change to the funding policies and education system not much different to what it is now!

**11) a. Would you say SA has its own unique theatre identity?**

I think SA is in the process of creating this in some genres but this is more in content and style as opposed to presenting basically work of excellence which can be found anywhere in the world. (As can sloppy work!)

**b. Would you say SA has its own unique festival identity?**

No I would not! I like to think that individual festivals are developing their own identity. I would hate to think that we all just become a reflection of each other!

### 9.2.2. Festival Statistics: (Marais, 2009)

Number of tickets sold										
	Main	% Change	Fringe	% Change	Combined attendance	% change	Free show attendance	% change	TOTAL ATTENDANCE	% change
2004									131 900	
2005									139 100	5.18%
2006	36 638		75 147		111 785		29 175		140 960	1.32%
2007	40 758	10.11%	72 991	-2.95%	113 749	1.73%	29 654	1.62%	143 403	1.70%
2008	39 533	-3.10%	78 041	6.47%	117 574	3.29%	30 000	1.15%	147 574	2.83%
2009	42 978	8.02%	90 917	14.16%	133 895	12.19%	36 150	17.01%	170 045	13.21%

Rand value of tickets sold						
	Main	% Change	Fringe	% Change	Combined value	% change
2006	948 574		2 512 543		3 461 117	
2007	1 138 754	16.70%	2 778 658	9.58%	3 917 412	11.65%
2008	1 300 330	12.43%	2 842 152	2.23%	4 142 482	5.43%
2009	1 528 925	14.95%	3 293 348	13.70%	4 822 274	14.10%

Average price of tickets				
	Main	Fringe	Both	% change
2008	R 35.28	R 39.72	R 38.61	
2009	R 38.29	R 40.00	R 38.97	0.92%

Fringe Productions				
	2008	2007	2008	2008
Productions	251	235	363	289
Exhibitions	38	35		45
Splittfest	11	12		12
Films	38	23		20
Wordfest	40	36		48
Sundowners	10	9		10

Fringe Performances				
	2008	2007	2008	2008
Productions	1 539	1 389	1 657	1 822
Exhibitions	38	35		
Splittfest	11	12		
Films	38	23		
Wordfest	40	36		
Sundowners	10	9		

Main Productions				
	2006	2007	2008	2009
Productions			176	184
Exhibitions				8

Main Performances				
	2006	2007	2008	2009
Performances			389	388

**Tickets sales timeline:**

	Main		Fringe	
	2018	2019	2018	2019
Total ticket VALUE	1 507 656	1 505 560	3 073 731	3 245 349
% sold before TEST	57.4%	69.5%	24.6%	43.7%
% sold during TEST	39.2%	34.5%	50.4%	46.3%

**TOP GROSSING SHOWS ON THE FRINGE**

Position	Title	Genre
1	A Midsummer Night's Raiders	Comedy
2	Monkey Nuts	Comedy
3	David Newton - Politically incorrect	Comedy
4	David Newton - Laugh	Comedy
5	Beauty and the B.E.E.	Comedy
6	Learner husband	Comedy
7	Dr. Zler's Miraculous Hypnosis	Comedy
8	Dekaf	Comedy
9	Mark Sampson Feels Funny	Comedy
10	Live & Kicking	Comedy
11	Colled	Physical Theatre
12	Butlers And Bots	Comedy
13	Pictures of You	Theatre
14	Rumpsteak	Theatre
15	Every Year Every Day I am Making	Physical Theatre
16	The Strange Case of Hester Clark	Comedy
17	Kontroll	Comedy
18	Cape Dance Company	Dance
19	Bafana Republic 3: Penalty Shoot	Comedy
20	Wat van Vuur is Rob van Wou	Comedy
21	Tokoloshe Come Again (Tokoloshe)	Comedy
22	Cape Academy Of Performing Arts	Dance
23	The Zoo Story	Theatre
24	Isabel	Theatre
25	Live at Cuervo: Patrofonos	Music

**TOP GROSSING SHOWS ON THE MAIN**

Position	Title	Genre
1	La Sylphide	Ballet
2	Miner in Ice	Comedy
3	Freshground	Jazz
4	Simphiwe Dana	Jazz
5	Carriet	Dance
6	The Paradoxes	Music
7	Jesse Clegg	Music
8	Busi Mhonye in Concert	Music
9	Awsome Big Band	Jazz
10	Gala Concert	Music
11	Touch My Blood	Theatre
12	Standard Bank Young Artists Cua	Jazz
13	Do you know Billie Holiday	Theatre
14	I am my own Wife	Theatre
15	The Famished Road	Theatre
16	Symphony Concert	Music
17	Jago's Last Dance	Theatre
18	Keliven Naidoo + The Lights	Jazz
19	Zehra	Dance
20	Threads	Dance
21	Body of Evidence	Dance
22	WIT	Theatre
23	W's Flyer	Dance
24	Blood Diamonds	Performance Art
25	Standard Bank Young Artist Edo	Jazz

**MAIN PRODUCTIONS 100% SOLD OUT**

Title	Genre
A Spanish Celebration	Music
Arctic Circle Fireworks	Jazz
Blood Diamonds	Performance Art
Busi Mhonye in Concert	Music
First Love	Theatre
Freshground	Jazz
Gala Concert	Music
Jesse Clegg	Music
Miner in Ice	Comedy
Living Well Through the Crisis: B	Think/Fest
Saints Sinners and Rascals	Walking Tour
School Youth Jazz Bands IV	Jazz
Setlist: Sessions and Collaborat	Walking Tour
Simphiwe Dana	Jazz
Standard Bank Young Artists 25	Art Walkabout
Stoney Homes & Old School The	Walking Tour
The Paradoxes	Music
Umtsho	Art/Walkabout
WIT	Theatre

## Appendix 10.

### ***Personal communication with NAF Director, Ismail Mahomed (17<sup>th</sup> November 2009).***

Apart from evidence provided by both the festivore case-study and prior research, an informal discussion was held with National Arts Festival Director, Ismail Mahomed, on theatre, attendance, and festivals. His views and opinions were found to confirm and support many of the research hypotheses explored in this research, as well as opened up discussion for further investigation. Some of the key points are revealed below regarding the subsidisation of the arts, marketing strategies, the current necessity for arts festivals and the development of a theatre-going public:

Firstly, Mahomed (2009) notes that progressive societies are those which support and fund small groups of innovators (like artists) that shift direction and create change – that they recognise that to be a progressive society they need to make space for that functioning. More importantly, however, that while subsidising the arts are important and necessary to grow the arts, it is also up to the artists themselves to be critical and to interrogate how they engage with the public.

Contrary to that mentioned in the introduction, Mahomed (2009) believes there is in fact much CSI funding available, but that artists are yet to learn how to tap into it effectively. New companies or plays often respond to specific agenda as they are tied to specific funders. However, there is limited space for „instrumentalised“ theatre which runs the risk of simply becoming public propaganda.

Artists therefore need to interrogate their own accountability and take responsibility for effective management and stop relying on the government to spoon-feed them. That artists need to get out of the mentality that they *deserve* funding and rather interrogate *why* they should receive support from the tax-payers pockets. How is their art serving to create a better society?

Secondly, in terms of marketing techniques to draw new audiences, evidence from the festivore study has shown that, for example, posters are only effective in providing quick information for those in the know (Mahomed, 2009), i.e. those who are familiar with the company, genre, style or content of the production. However, unless at least one of these things are familiar, both the univore and omnivore will not likely consume. That said, the univore is more likely to use a poster as their only source of information whereas an omnivore will seek out more information after seeing the poster.

For new or unknown theatre companies, there is little use for posters at a festival in an over-saturated market of media and publicity, as it becomes increasingly difficult for the public to absorb and distinguish information in a sensory overload of visual and media hype. The company must therefore rely on new and other marketing strategies to attract

audiences such as branding, word of mouth and social utility networks. For theatre companies to survive and attract and maintain new clientele, they need to adapt to a changing audience dynamic; as Mahomed (2009) states: “The arts are no longer impersonal”.

Furthermore, theatre companies need to adapt to technological advances and take full advantage of the access these advances have set up to reach and target a consumer-hungry youth market. Hence, companies need to use more personal social networking facilities such as Facebook, blogs, twitter to market an eager information-literate audience. Theatre attendance is no longer an event but a life-style and social networking opportunity as well.

This research is commensurate with Mahomed (2009), who stresses that theatre is no longer about the product but about putting the audience at the centre. I.e. it should be viewed no longer as having a product-centred but rather a market-centred focus. Furthermore, that for theatre to be successful and continue to thrive, the right balance needs to be found between retaining the integrity the artist and the integrity of the work produced while at the same time respecting the audience involved.

Thirdly, Mahomed (2009) counters the argument that the “festival play” is bad for the theatre industry, as people are exposed to the arts where they may not have been outside a festival context. For many, watching a show at a festival is their first exposure to theatre. What makes a festival different from a theatrical season is that, while a season consists of a few shows over an extended period of time, a festival provides a concentration of events in a concentrate space and time. It creates a capsule or bubble in which audiences can immerse themselves in a world where everyone is doing the same thing – Wake up, have breakfast, buy the festival “Cue” review, go to a multiplicity of shows and then congregate to socialise and discuss, criticise, compare and review the shows. It becomes a treasure hunt to see who can find the hidden gem, which is equally as enjoyable as consolidating which play was the most atrocious of the lot.

Unlike conventional theatre which is often viewed by the general as an elitist or an upmarket event in a formal setting or theatre establishment with predefined conventions of behaviour, a festival is a make-shift event which provides shows in make-shift venues. Thus, predefined behavioural attitudes and conventions surrounding theatre also relax and become „make-shift“ as it were. It allows a space where people can drop inhibitions, a space where risk is lowered so that even univores feel comfortable in attending theatre.

As a result, many of these attenders are seen to become true festinos – returning year after year for their annual cultural „fix“. Moreover, Mahomed (2009) shows support for the festivore hypothesis in his affirmation that the energy and buzz a festival creates surrounding a theatrical event can also evoke an excitement and a desire to look beyond the festival for that same utility. Thus, after the festival is over, people may continue to attend theatre to try and achieve that same satisfaction.