Shifting membership in arts-tourism networks: an exploration of the Australian Festival of Chamber Music

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper to explore membership structures of an Australian chamber music network. A longitudinal approach is taken in order to explore changes in membership and their impact on network outcomes. The paper begins by reviewing the literature on networks and goes on to describe the Australian Festival of Chamber Music. This festival takes place in a city that is far removed from the centre of the arts world, yet it has succeeded in attracting and retaining a large audience. Through a case study, it is demonstrated that a non-profit arts organisation is using tourism networks to host special events and in an attempt to solve economic problems. The authors propose a typology consisting of two main types of networks: a core, value-creation, vertical network and a peripheral, value-enhancing, horizontal network. Conclusions are drawn about the potential of arts-tourism networks to support, and hinder, the achievement of organisational objectives. The author concludes that arts-tourism networks are valuable but they are not the panacea that public policy makers would like us to believe.

Key words: network typology, arts-tourism networks, arts festivals

Introduction

This paper is organised as follows. First, the literature on network theory is examined and its relevance to chamber music is outlined. Then the research objectives and research methods are outlined and data findings presented. Finally, the author explores their implications for researchers and policy makers.

Theoretical framework: the network perspective

Network research is directed at understanding network structures, typology and processes, and their impact on organisational performance (Baker, 1992; Grandori and Soda; 1995; Hakansson & Snehota, 1995; Möller et al, 2005; Montanari and Mizzau, 2007). Networks are non hierarchical forms of organisation which evolve as interconnections of individuals engaged in reciprocal, preferential, mutually supportive actions (Burt, 1992; Powell, 1990). The term "network" is an abstract notion referring to all kinds of relationships that develop between the organisation, its suppliers, customers, competitors and other entities (Alba, 1982; Araujo and Easton, 1996). These relationships may be economic, social or professional in nature (Gulati, Nohria and Zaheer, 2000). Jarillo (1988), who wrote specifically about for-profit organizations, noted that networks arise when organisations are linked by geographical proximity, participation in the production of product or service and similar interests or activities. Authors stipulate various criteria for inter-organizational networks such as trust, reciprocity, flexibility, autonomy, interdependence and risk (Ebers, 1997; Jarillo, 1988; Powell, 1990). A number of researchers have focused on network ties under the presumption that network ties are beneficial in terms of status enhancement and career development (Burt, 1992; Giuffre, 1999; Granovetter, 1973).

The tourism literature has shown that network participation enables small firms to create value by leveraging combined knowledge and resources, reducing risk, increasing innovation and leading to sustainable competitive advantage (Sundbo et al., 2006; Novelli et al., 2006, Tinsley and Lynch, 2007). Likewise, the importance of network participation for cultural industries is well recognised (Scott, 2000; Kong, 2005). Explanations for inter-organisational cooperation include the need to secure public funding; geographic proximity; securing access to complementary resources (such as people, venues and an audience); improving quality and innovation (Bagdadli, 2003). The benefits of network participation include box-office success (Delmestri et al., 2005) and global expansion (Zuckerman et al., 2003). The desire for legitimacy (Suchman, 1995; DiMaggio, 1992), defined as the need to conform to prevailing norms and expectations of external constituents, is another reason for network entry. Network legitimacy attracts network resources and leads to network persistence. Organisations that possess relational assets are able to offset weaknesses in terms of financial resources, economies of scale and infrastructure (Montanari and Mizzau, 2007).

While there is a substantial amount of work published on networking, analysis of network typology is rare in the context of arts and culture. Scholars are aware that networks in the cultural sector have different purposes and come under different guises (Bagdadli, 2003; Möller et al, 2005; McCarthy and Torres, 2005). A useful typology has been proposed by Bagdadli (2003), based on a study of museums and theatres. She classifies networks as vertical or horizontal. The vertical type of network is motivated by the survival needs of its member organizations and it enables members to obtain cost advantages. For instance, in Italy it is common for a central unit to design a seasonal program which is distributed to regional theatre venues. For those who participate in the network, administrative and production costs are reduced. The horizontal type is created mainly as a competitive strategy and is characterized by a high degree of connectivity, sociability, informal relationships, frequent exchanges among members, variety in terms of organisational size and set-up and a strong inclination to share ideas, values and projects. For instance, innovation is exemplified by the use of cultural sites such as castles to host performances.

The network perspective: its relevance to chamber music

Chamber music falls under the category of cultural goods, which are defined by Hirsch (1972, p. 641) as "non-material goods directed at a public of consumers for whom they generally serve an aesthetic or expressive, rather than a clearly utilitarian function". Several authors argue that the music industry represents a fruitful arena in which to study the network form of governance, since it is characterised by environmental uncertainty, human asset specificity, frequent interaction and task complexity (Montanari and Mizzau, 2007; Peterson and Berger, 1971; Kretschmer, Klimis and Choi, 1999).

Chamber music festivals have to deal with environmental uncertainty. Cultural goods are both artistic and economic products (Caves, 2002). On the one hand, actors in cultural industries are evaluated on the basis of artistic quality but on the other hand economic efficiency and effectiveness also determine success (Caves, 2002; Power and Scott, 2004).

The concept of 'human asset specificity' is relevant in the context of chamber music. Professional musicians tend to be highly trained and committed to their craft. According to Caves (2000), musicians need to come together to rehearse and perform, and excellence in the performance of symphonic and chamber music requires long-lived coalitions of players. Frequency of exchange is linked to human asset specificity since it enables learning to take place through continued interaction among participants in the network (Montanari and Mizzau, 2007). The sector is characterised by the 'superstar phenomenon' (Rosen, 1981) which leads to large sales differentials between artists who are successful and those who are not (Cox, Felton and Chung, 1995). Music is considered a 'credence good' (as defined by Darby and Karni, 1973) which makes the evaluation of quality inherently difficult. As a result, gatekeepers[1] such as art critics and artistic directors are required to evaluate and legitimise artistic work and they rely heavily on social networks to fulfil this role (Rangan, 2000). An

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[1] The term "gatekeeper" has been attributed to Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955.

arts organisation relies intrinsically on the ability to source artists, both emerging and well known, and develop a high calibre festival programme (McCarthy and Torres, 2005). For artists, the association with a particular artistic director or arts organisation, is often critical and may confer status on the artist or the work that suggests "arrival" or "acceptance" (Butler, 2000). The cultivation of inter-personal networks is crucial in the pursuit of artistic excellence, peer recognition and career advancement (Giuffre, 1999).

Task complexity means that many different inputs are needed to complete a service (Montanari and Mizzau, 2007) and it is characteristic of festival programming. Today, there is great emphasis on event management skills. In order to host a festival, basic factors of production are required such as venues, capital and a flexible labour supply, i.e., volunteers. Networks that channel mainly tangible goods are designated production networks (Pfohl and Buse, 2000). Creativity is a major part of the festival production process. In the context of tourism, there is great emphasis in the exploitation of a certain theme, or 'theming' (Bryman, 2003). The chosen theme must be presented in such a way as to create an experience or, rather something that changes people in a certain way so that they are no longer the same after having tried it. Any experience will be remembered over time. For instance, Gibson and Connell (2003, p. 29) note that music in the outdoors contributes to 'primitivist fantasies of tranquillity, timelessness and human interaction with nature.' Networks that channel intangible resources can be designated as 'experience networks' (Moscardo et al., 2008). Scholars (Van Zyl and Botha, 2004; Matheson, 2005) provide evidence that music is particularly effective at encouraging people to socialise and develop bonds. Music is perhaps the most directly social of all of the performing arts. Music is inherently multi-sensory and creates stronger emotional reaction than other forms of entertainment (Curtis, 2003; Jacobson, Meduff and Monroe, 2007). According to Paleo and Wijnberg (2006) music events are always unique and unpredictable and offer audience members close proximity to the performers which creates a sense of vividness.

In summary, there seems to be several explanations for network participation in the cultural sector: the need to grabble with environmental or economic uncertainty, develop human assets, cope with task complexity and offer an experience to audience participants. The literature shows that there are many motives for network-building and different benefits accrue to different types of networks.

Public policy support for arts-tourism networks

Considering the central role of public funding in the cultural sector, networks are likely to develop in response to the regulatory environment or as prerequisite for government funding (Bagdali, 2003). Australian policy makers see networks across the 'for-profit' and 'not-for profit' spectrum as a potential solution to a financial problem. The problems faced by the arts are well documented: rising inflation, uncertainty over government funding for the arts and a greying audience base (Baumol and Bowen, 1966; Hill et al., 1996; Klaic, 1998; Glynn, 2000).

Cultural policy in Australia is partly grounded in the idea of economic rationalization: the view that the arts deliver an economic return which justifies government subsidy of the arts. This thinking is evident in various policy documents, such the Creative Queensland Report (2003)[2] and the Queensland Tourism Strategy (2006).[3] Cultural policy plays a decisive role in shaping the environment of the non-profit arts (Lee, 2005). As the state withdraws from arts subsidy, market factors play a crucial role in determining strategy (Bennett, 1996; Quinn, 1998). For instance, an organisation that embraces market values is more likely to attract prestigious board members from the business world (DiMaggio, 1992). The intersection between arts and tourism provides an opportunity for those who produce arts events to extend their reach in terms of audience and to use tourism as a way to support and develop regional arts (Paleo and Wijnberg, 2004; Mackellar, 2006). According to Hall and Weiler (1992), special-interest tourists seek to participate in experiences related to a particular hobby or recreational interest. The arts are increasingly being linked to nature-based

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[2] Arts Queensland (2003) *Creative Queensland,* Brisbane: Queensland Government.
[3] *Queensland Tourism Strategy: A 10-Year Vision for Sustainable Tourism*, November (2006).

tourism as part of a branding and destination marketing strategy (Department for Environment and Heritage and South Australia Tourism Commission, 2004). It has been claimed that activities based around music can enhance or rejuvenate a destination brand, add to tourism market share and shape the development of infrastructure to support tourism in general (Gibson and Davidson, 2004, Mason, 2004, Nurse, 2004).

Traditionally, arts organisations have been producer-led (arts-centred) rather than customer-driven (Lampel et al., 2000). Critics of Australia's cultural policy argue that what is primary – the production of culture – becomes secondary when utilitarian motives (such as the need to make profit) intervene. Arts festivals purport to represent the interests of artists and the cultural mores of a local community, but the development of regional arts is increasingly predicated on tourism. The costs associated with inter-organizational collaboration are well documented (Alter and Hage, 1993). Network outcomes can be both positive and negative, for instance, networks foster trust and collaboration, but at same time networks foster competition, and run the risk of destroying reputations and employment prospects (Antcliff et al., 2007). Shifting membership is a real problem in networks, where members come and go, and it leads to confusion, continual negotiation and, ultimately, inertia (Huxham and Vangen, 2000). The authors of these studies conclude that network activity is more complex and more dynamic than existing research implies.

Rationale for study

Arts-tourism networks are on the rise which is not surprising given the sheer ubiquity of travel in modern life and the economic clout of the tourism industry. It is imperative that more information is gained on types of networks that are being developed, reasons for their formation and network outcomes. This is particularly important given that policy makers adopt an over simplified view of networks and see them as a panacea for the economic problems experienced by the arts. Membership is not static (Huxham et al., 2000) and this poses a real threat to the effectiveness and efficiency of the network. Arts festivals are planned and delivered with limited resources and in a short space of time, therefore shifting membership presents a challenge for festivals managers. The discourse about networks has been dominated by a static analysis and the assumption of relative stability in relationships (Ebers, 1999; Staber, 2008). Sydow (2009: 202) notes that 'the lack of dynamic theories is one reason why much network research to date remains of little relevance to the practice of network management'. More specific investigation is needed to explore who is involved in networks and how membership changes over time.

Research objectives and research design

Studies on network dynamics in the arts-tourism field are difficult to find. The present study has two key objectives. The first is to determine the types of networks that are constructed in an arts-tourism context and the reasons for their emergence; the second objective is to explore the dynamics of membership and the impact of changing membership on network outcomes. Understanding how networks evolve is essential for practitioners. This type of knowledge is valuable since it could be used to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of existing networks.

Quantitative studies of social networks are very common; tools and methodologies that provide mathematical and visual evidence of network structures are often used. The aim of this study was not to map all relationships in a network, rather the concern of the authors was with exploring how individuals navigate different types of networks – why are they constructed, how does membership change over time and what is their value? Therefore, a qualitative, case-based approach was adopted. The case study methodology has been used before in studies of networks (Bagdadli, 2003; Pavlovich, 2003). Longitudinal case studies are far less common but have been used in the financial services industry. There have been calls for more in-depth studies of a longitudinal nature which would allow for more descriptive-analytical research (Sydow, 2009). Consequently, the author was influenced by the Warwick contextualist framework, which involves the use of a longitudinal, case-based, inductive approach (Pettigrew, 1989; 1992).

A total of 6 key informants were identified such as the current and former general manager of the AFCM, the general manager of Dance North (a collaborating arts organisation) and senior personnel in Tourism Queensland, Arts Queensland and Events Queensland. The AFCM was first contacted in June 2006 and interviews with the AFCM and other network participants were held in 2008. The most recent interview was held in 2009. The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner and focused on 'why' chamber music operates within a network and 'how' it evolved over time. The interviews lasted between 30 and 60 minutes. Interviews place an emphasis on the interviewees' own perspective and are flexible enough to allow changes to be made to the interview schedule should new issues emerge (Bryman, 2001). Regarding data analysis, within-case analysis was carried out along the lines recommended by Eisenhardt (1989) and other experienced case-based researchers (Yin, 1994; Miles and Huberman, 1994). Interview data was supplemented with participant observation (festival attendance), tourist brochures, guides and policy documents. The study uses multiple sources of evidence, which characteristics of the case study approach (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 1994). As regards limitations, this paper is based on one case study, therefore it impossible to generalise from this study (Yin, 1994). Pettigrew (1989, p.1) argues for case study diversity, stating that as '…it makes sense to choose cases such as extreme situations and polar types in which the process of interest is transparently observable'. The lack of cross-case analysis is, perhaps, a weakness of this study, although some writers make a strong argument in favour of the single case study (Mintzberg, 1989). There is scope to study similar and dissimilar cases in the future.

The findings are presented below. First, the author describes the case study; she identifies two types of networks and discusses their functions, membership changes and outcomes. Then the author writes about the implications of this study for the literature and offers conclusions and recommendations for future research.

The Australian Festival of Chamber Music

Twenty years ago, North Queensland was one of the outposts as far as chamber music was concerned. Today, an internationally renowned chamber music festival, the largest in the Southern Hemisphere, takes place in Townsville, North Queensland. The Australian Festival of Chamber Music (www.afch.com.au) attracts over 11,000 chamber music enthusiasts and is worth an estimated $4 million to the local economy. The AFCM was founded in 1990 by Theodore Kuckar in response to a deeply felt need for access to the arts in Townsville. His vision was to develop Townsville's cultural identity both nationally and internationally. One of the biggest challenges was the entrance of the festival onto the international music stage. In most cases, it is not a simply a question of earning money but of prestige and recognition. In the early years, the Artistic Director drew predominantly on his personal networks in order to establish the festival. This type of network is termed a 'core, value-creation, vertical network', shown in Figure 1. Over the years, the network changed quite substantially. New members were attracted and another type of network with different benefits emerged, and it is designated a 'peripheral, value-enhancing, horizontal network', shown in Figure 2. The term 'vertical' refers to links with artists, the suppliers of creative labour, and the term 'horizontal' refers to links with service providers such as hotels and restaurants that are involved in hosting special events. Table 1 outlines the characteristics of the network typology.

Core, value-creation, vertical network

This type of network is highly centralised, as artistic activities are controlled mainly by the Artistic Director. Key participants include educational bodies, sponsors, guest artists, emerging artists and other arts organisations. Motivations for entry into the network include mentoring, artistic direction, education, career enhancement, the building of reputation and creative capital. The scope of the network is international but it is a specialised type of network as key participants are drawn from the arts. It is a producer-led (art-centred) type of network.

The network has added value to the festival program in several ways. An educational program, the 'Winterschool', is an important component of the festival. Its purpose is to nurture emerging talent. The school caters for both the pre-professional artists and local high school students who use the festival as a foundation to pursue music as a profession. It has also helped the festival's fund-raising activities. From the perspective of sponsors who are philanthropically motivated, it presents an opportunity to foster a positive company image and give something back to the local community. The festival normally includes contemporary performances from a local art organisation (Dance North) along with discussions on music with festival artists (Up Close-and-Personal).   The interview data suggested that a joint production, dance and chamber music, generated value for both parties in terms of joint promotion. Issues such as copyright ownership and autonomy of artistic direction have to be considered, but Dance North retained copyright of the performance and the AFCM simply promoted it.

The interview data revealed some limitations associated with expanding membership of the network. Chamber music tends to bound by tradition and there are certain rules of engagement which curtails innovation, such as the hosting of hybrid music events (discussed below). Another limitation is that international guest artists are tied to a schedule and it is not easy to move festival dates. It is not a flexible network.

Peripheral, value-enhancing, horizontal network

The second type of network is designated a 'peripheral, value-enhancing, horizontal network'. Tourism is an important economic sector in North Queensland. Visitors are attracted to the state's climate, its unique marine resources notably the Great Barrier Reef along with rainforest, mountains, beaches and its many adventure and nature-based activities. Consequently, the board of the AFCM invested time and energy into cultivating local networks so that the festival program would appeal to interstate visitors, locals and people drawn to festival primarily for social or hedonic reasons.

The 'Chefs in the North' event is designed to highlight Australian produce and wines, and the menu is prepared by leading chefs from Australasia and Townsville. Accompanied by chamber music, it is a good example of engagement with the local business community. Developing a shared audience was the main motivation for entry into the network. The audience for the arts, generally, older and affluent members of the population, tend to be quite interested in food and wine.

The board recognised that the audience for chamber music is generally well educated and interested in environmental issues, so a series of seminars on the environment (Reef Talks) was initiated. Since Townsville is based in the tropics, the board had access to expert opinion on climate change. The themed event, music and the environment, was sponsored by state organisations such as the Great Barrier Reef Authority and the Australian Institute of Marine Science.

An 'Outback Tour' was launched and it served to bring music to isolated communities, as well as appealing to interstate visitors and sponsors. The tour combines transport, food, accommodation and sightseeing; an unusual feature of this tour is a chamber music performance in a local mine. Xstrata, a major mining company and MacAir, a regional airline carrier (now defunct), are sponsors of the Outback Tour. From the perspective of the AFCM, it introduces new audiences to chamber music. Network participation has facilitated access to complementary resources, notably a shared venue and a shared audience. The festival program also includes a trip to an island with a sunset concert on the beach. The outdoor venue lends a distinctive atmosphere to performances. The AFCM succeeded in attracting funds from Events Queensland (QEC, 2007) under the Significant Regional Events Scheme (SRES)[4] which were used to appoint a national publicist. While no direct empirical evidence is available, there is consensus among different stakeholders that the AFCM has contributed positively

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[4] http://www.queenslandevents.com.au/links/

to the destination image of the region, by adding an element of sophistication to the host region's image.

Key participants include local restaurants, hotels, employers (mining and marine science sectors), sponsors, tour operators and a local ferry. Motivations for entry into the network include audience-sharing and the building of financial and social capital. The scope of the network is mainly local, it is a diverse type of network and participants are drawn from business and tourism, outside of the arts world. It is a consumer-driven type of network. This type of network is less centralised as non-artistic activities are relegated to others, depending on each partner's competence and field of expertise. As a small organisation, the AFCM does not have the skills or resources to assume control of all activities, such as reservations, catering management, etc.

The data revealed some problems or tensions associated with network development, namely, compromise with regard to the artistic program due to the unsophisticated nature of audience or venue limitations. There is also the risk of undermining the reputation of the festival and alienating their core audience who are deeply conservative as regards chamber music preferences. The decision to host events in unconventional spaces carries risk, such as potential damage to musical instruments (e.g., salt water) and bad weather; other considerations include the escalation of production costs; the availability of artists; suitability of repertoire; acoustics, arranging transport for artists and audience; degree of interest in the event and willingness of audience members to pay increased prices. Another drawback is dependence on the tourism market and vulnerability to economic recession. This network is proving to be a fragile one. Grappling with commercial concerns is stressful and illustrated in the turnover of senior management staff in recent years. The AFCM is bracing itself for losses given the economic downturn and collapse of an important sponsor, the regional airline, MacAir. In 2009, Townsville succeeded in attracting the V8 car rally and the AFCM was forced to reschedule its festival in order to avoid a clash with this event.

Discussion

This paper proposes that arts-tourism networks create different kinds of value for participants, categorised as vertical and horizontal. The concept of 'value creation' comes from Porter's (1985) work on the value chain. The term 'vertical' and 'horizontal' refers to network actors and whether they come from a vertical direction, from the supply-side and demand-side, or whether they exist on the same level, such as the manufacturing level. Cravens, Piercy and Shipp (1996) also note that network models comprise vertical and horizontal relationships. The survival of the network profiled here seems to hinge on the strength and extent of relationships amongst network participants. This confirms previous work by Montanari and Mizzau (2007). Amongst the benefits of network participation are: innovative festival programming; imparting a distinctive, local and social character to the festival experience; new audience development; heightened awareness of contribution of the arts to a community; promotional opportunities for sponsors; improved standards of practice; propagation of fund-raising skills; regional branding or destination image. One type of network helps maintains the cultural mission of an arts organisation, i.e., by improving standards of practise and attracting emerging and expert musicians. Another type helps develop new audiences by promoting innovation and exchange of resources amongst diverse organisations.

The finding that network participation benefits members is in line with the work of other scholars (Bagdadli, 2003; Delmestri et al., 2005). Networks develop in response to economic efficiency (Bagdadli, 2003). One type is useful for 'getting by' (Putnam, 2000) in an economic sense and the other for 'getting ahead' (Putnam, 2000) in the arts world. The motives for network-building outlined in this study reflect the analysis of other scholars (Sundbo et al., 2006; Novelli et al., 2006, Tinsley and Lynch, 2007). Bagdadli (2003), in her research on cultural networks in Italy, observed that networks are deployed in response to government pressure and the cultural policy environment can stimulate or hinder cooperation. This study supports the work of Burt (2000) who states that 'better connected people enjoy higher returns' (Burt, 2000: 347); thus the implication for other arts

organisations is that links with the other organisations tend to result in more contacts, more ideas and box office success. Reasons for entering networks echo the work of Jarillo (1988) who wrote about geographical proximity and similar interests or activities.

A number of researchers have focused on the dark side of networks, in particular, Huxham and Vangen (2000), who propose that the impact of shifting membership on network outcomes has been overlooked. This study found that the addition of new members to the network, a new event, was disruptive to existing network members. Expenditure patterns of visitors are strongly associated with the type of event and the particular target market attracted by the event. Research shows that car/motor and sporting events are more uniform in injected expenditure and are more likely to have greater economic impacts than art/cultural events (Dwyer et al., 2000). Townsville Council expects the V8 Super Car event to be a high yield event. While this event does not compete directly with the AFCM, there was some concern that their audience would be repelled by the congestion and commotion of a major car rally. The experience of the events network in Townsville is not wholly positive, with some groups left feeling disenfranchised and unhappy with the city's events strategy. This suggests that there needs to be a far more holistic approach to network (event) management and greater involvement of locals in events strategy.

The challenges associated with network expansion include the stress involved in dealing with new members and confronting commercial issues, copyright protection, alienation of core audience and competition for network resources. Consequently, the AFCM is struggling to negotiate new challenges. Changes in management, such as new policy makers in Arts Queensland or new managers in collaborating firms, did not disrupt the network. The AFCM had the tendency to reproduce ideas and themed events and the festival program was not easily upset by membership changes. The event and its program persisted even though individual actors came and went. In the literature, there has been much debate about the organization of creative industries. Researchers have identified the existence of latent networks and permanent organizations in the cultural sector (Belussi and Sedita, 2008). Even though cultural networks appear temporary, ephemeral and project-driven, the networks are, in fact, characterized by stability and longevity of contacts. The network is not reducible to individuals – actors move on, but networks survive. Writers on networks note that networks used to host one event are often valuable beyond the event. Network participation facilitates creativity and helps actors repackage ideas or recombine old ideas into new ones (Staber, 2008). The term 'strategic net' captures the value in network participation: the possibilities for learning and 'knowledge spillovers' (Möller at al., 2005). Moller notes (2005, p. 1281) that being able to manage one relationship well is a necessary learning step towards being able to work in a network of complex relationships.

Conclusion

The analysis of network dynamics has not been fully addressed in the arts sector. This research fills a gap in the literature by providing an insight into arts-tourism networks. In the paper, the network perspective is explored, with the focus on motives for network participation, network typology, membership structures and network outcomes. The main aims of the research are to outline different types of networks and explore whether change in membership structures supports, or hinders, the achievement of network objectives. The study suggests that the benefits of network participation outweigh the risks.

Local government often receives requests to provide funding to support events and festivals, because of their alleged positive impacts on a destination (Dwyer et al., 2000). There is a risk that policy makers underestimate the conflicts and challenges associated with network development, in other words, broadening the network of events, attracting new events. Therefore, the dynamic aspect of networks requires further consideration. More in-depth research, covering a time horizon of several years, is needed in order to validate the insights gained from this case study. This knowledge is critical given that cultural policy in Australia is grounded in the idea of economic rationalization and policy makers are keen to promote linkages between not-for-profit and for-profit entities.
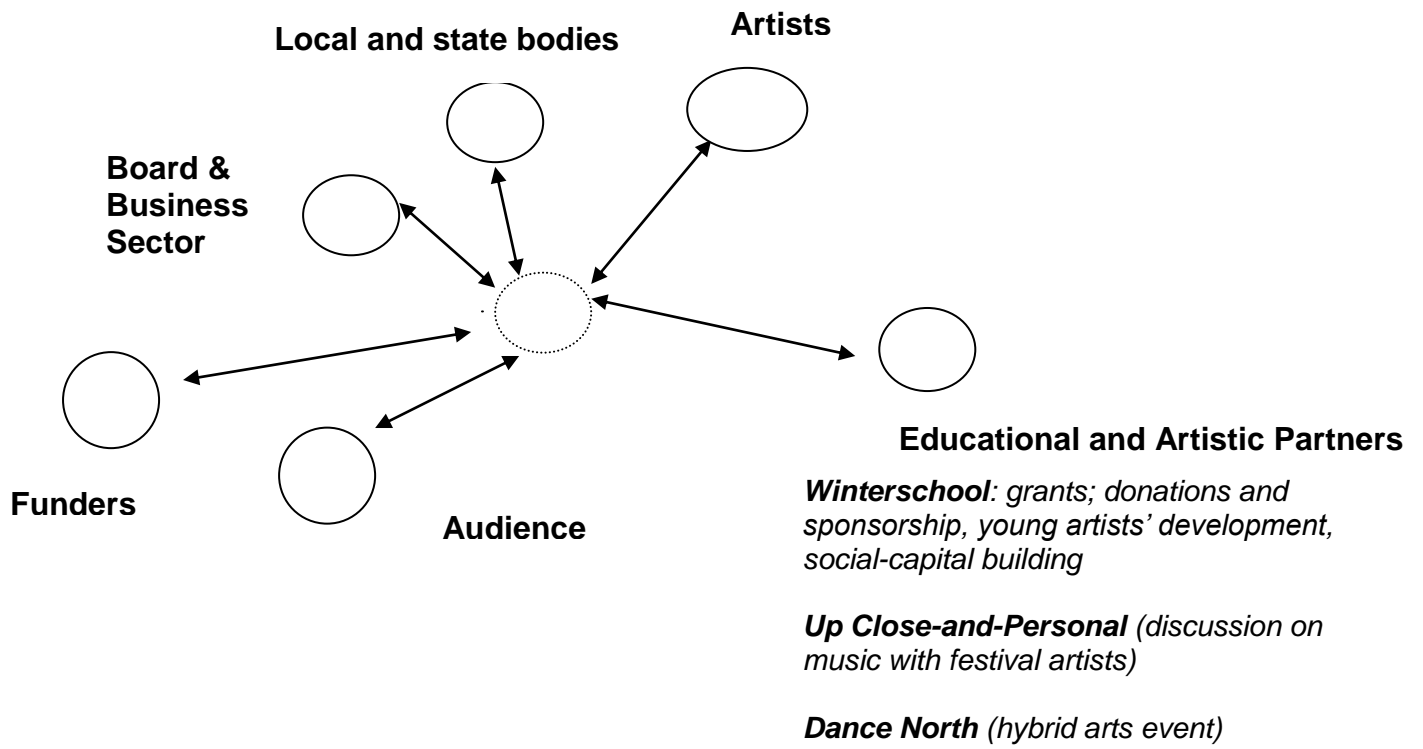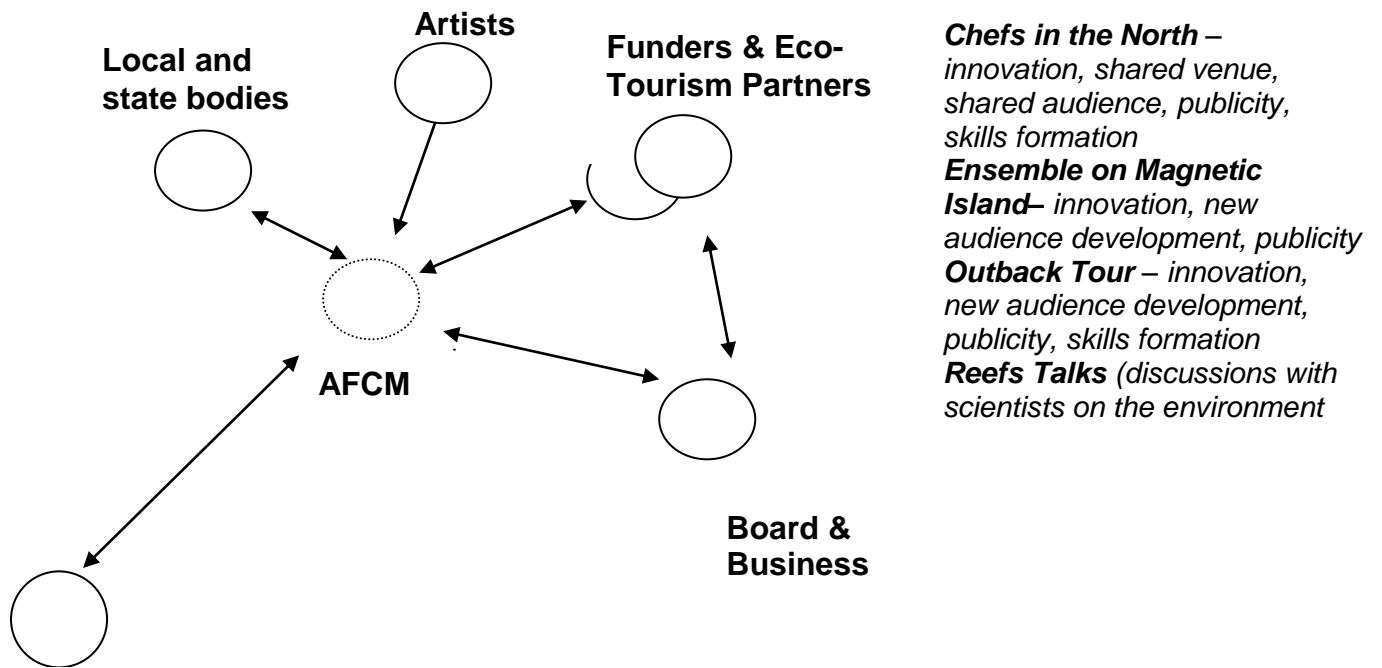
Figure 1: Core, value-creation, vertical network

Local and state bodies

Artists

Board & Business Sector

Funders

Audience

Educational and Artistic Partners

Winterschool: grants; donations and sponsorship, young artists' development, social-capital building

Up Close-and-Personal (discussion on music with festival artists)

Dance North (hybrid arts event)

Figure 2: Peripheral, value-enhancing, horizontal network

Local and state bodies

Artists

Funders & Eco-Tourism Partners

AFCM

Board & Business

Chefs in the North – *innovation, shared venue, shared audience, publicity, skills formation*
Ensemble on Magnetic Island – *innovation, new audience development, publicity*
Outback Tour – *innovation, new audience development, publicity, skills formation*
Reefs Talks *(discussions with scientists on the environment*

Educational and Artistic Partners

Winterschool: *grants; donations and sponsorship, young artists' development, social-capital building*

Up Close-and-Personal *(discussion on music with festival artists)*

Dance North *(hybrid arts event)*

Table 1: Network Typology: Characteristics

Network Typology/ Characteristics	Core, value-creating, vertical network	Peripheral, value-enhancing, horizontal network
Centralisation	Highly centralised.	Control is dispersed, depends on each partner's competence and input.
Key actors	Artistic director, guest artists, emerging artist, arts organisations, Educational bodies.	Hotels, restaurants, tour operators, ferry, eco-tourism, marine scientists.
Motivations for entry into network	Artistic direction, education, mentoring, career enhancement, national and international reputation.	Complementary activity; audience-sharing; maximise audience numbers; extend visitation and enrich visitor experiences; distinctive, local and social character to festival program; develop a multi-venue festival with free activities; increase awareness of contribution of the arts to the community; provide promotional opportunities for local business.
Capital	Creative capital	Financial capital and social capital
Focus	Producer-led (art-centred).	Consumer-driven, people are drawn to event primarily for social and hedonic reasons.
Drawbacks, conflicts	Artists not available locally, artists are tied to a schedule, not easy to move festival dates. Bound by tradition, rules of engagement. Inflexible.	Compromise with regard to artistic program due to unsophisticated nature of audience or venue. Economic recession Fragile.
Scope	International; specialised.	Local; varied in terms of organisational type and size.

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