Mapping Cultural Dispersal



Edinburgh Festivals

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Summary

In spring and summer 2021, during the second year in which Edinburgh's festivals' programmes were impacted by restrictions in place during the global Covid-19 pandemic, the Culture and Communities Mapping Project conducted research on the role of festivals in Edinburgh communities outside the city centre. We conducted online interviews with managers of six community organisations in Edinburgh that had been identified through our previous research and by the festivals as 'community hubs' and which had had varying degrees of engagement with the festivals in the past. The project also conducted mapping workshops – both online and in-person – with community participants from each of the hubs, reaching 71 participants.

Through this research we found that the Edinburgh festivals are loved and celebrated by communities around Edinburgh. Workshop participants are invested in festival activities and positive about how the festivals could build stronger, more connected relationships with communities and the cultural hubs that serve them. Participants also described that these relations are currently constrained by barriers to access that are made up of complex and interlinked economic, geographical, structural, and socio-cultural factors. Some participants felt that the festivals do not actively communicate with their neighbourhood. Despite challenges and barriers to access, workshop participants were enthusiastic about dispersing festival activities across the city and bringing events into their communities. Participants particularly celebrated their neighbourhoods' open green spaces and suggested family-focused events held in local outdoor areas.

The report makes three recommendations. The first is to communicate and actively promote, through community hubs, core festival programmes to neighbourhoods in areas of lower ticket buying, in addition to community engagement work. This would embed a relationship with the festivals into communities, encouraging both attendance at the festivals through promotion by community hubs and, by extension, cultivating literacy around the festivals. The second recommendation is to continue to explore and develop strategies – with support from policymakers, funders and stakeholders and colleagues from within festival organisations – for dispersing festival events and activities outside the city centre. This work would test the idea that incorporating programming with communities will strengthen connections and encourage movement around the city for inhabitants and visitors. The third recommendation is to disperse festivals' programmes more widely by having a greater proportion of them take place in Edinburgh's many green spaces located across the city.



Introduction



Workshop at The Ripple, May 2021, Photo: Melisa Miranda Correa

About the project

The Culture and Communities Mapping
Project uses open data and participatory
mapping to understand cultural spaces and
communities in the city. The project
supports research and policy on arts equity
and access in Edinburgh; it also helps us
advance our understanding of the city's
vibrant arts and culture while making
cultural data more open and accessible to a
broad, non-specialist public.

Edinburgh Festivals are committed to a long-term vision for the Festival City to 2030. They have supported this project as part of an exploration of communities' experiences in attending and working with

the festivals and to make the case for programmes to become more geographically distributed and accessible to communities across the city.

In spring and summer 2021, during the second year in which festivals' programmes were impacted by restrictions in place during the global Covid-19 pandemic, the Culture and Communities Mapping Project conducted online interviews with managers of six community organisations in Edinburgh that had been identified through our previous research and by the festivals as 'community hubs' and which had had varying degrees of engagement with the festivals in the past.



The project conducted mapping workshops – both online and in-person because of easing restrictions around face-to-face meetings during the pandemic – with community participants from each of the hubs (see Table 1) reaching 71 participants. Participants were also asked to complete

optional questionnaires to provide demographic information, which showed that 72% of participants identified as women and that most were around 40 years of age or older.

Community hub	Participants
Goodtrees Neighbourhood Centre	10
granton:hub	16
North Edinburgh Arts Centre	11
Oxgangs Neighbourhood Centre	11
The Ripple	13
WHALE Arts	10

Table 1: Community hubs reached and number of participants

About the community hubs

During online interviews, hub managers were asked to describe their communities, the demographics of the people they work with and the neighbourhood more generally. Their responses to these questions are briefly summarised below.

Goodtrees Neighbourhood Centre
Goodtrees works with children, young
people, and families in South East
Edinburgh, and area of high deprivation
(according to the Scottish Index of Multiple
Deprivation [SIMD]¹) and temporary
accommodation. The Centre focuses its
work on developing strong partnerships
both within and beyond the local

community, including with Edinburgh's festivals.



Workshop at The Ripple, May 2021, Photo: Melisa Miranda Correa

granton:hub

Our interview noted the range of economic situations in the Granton community, from more affluent areas to more deprived parts of the city. The organisation works most often with families with young children,

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¹ https://simd.scot



with older people, and with teenagers, although this group can be hard to engage with. Our interviewee reported strong links with local heritage in the community and a wide interest in the arts.

North Edinburgh Arts

The centre works with families, older people, people with addiction issues and people of colour in Muirhouse and Pilton. The constitution of the organisation states that activities for local community benefits are of prime importance in its work, and there are wide ranging partnerships in the arts and with festivals already in place.

Oxgangs Neighbourhood Centre

The centre operates on a model that includes both venue hire and its own programming, with a focus on working with families in Oxgangs and South Edinburgh. The local neighbourhood is one of low income, low employment, and low life expectancy.

The Ripple

People that engage with the project are most often older people, families with young children and youth groups. Restalrig, Lochend and Craigentinny, the areas which the centre primarily serves, was described as a multicultural community, with the centre itself being busy and a central resource for the community.

WHALE Arts

WHALE is the main cultural space in Wester Hailes and works with young people, adults, and older people, and noted that different forms of engagement are preferred across these demographics. The community was reported to be strongly connected to a sense of 'Wester Hailean' identity.

About Edinburgh festivals' community engagement work

Edinburgh Festivals have stated their commitment to taking account of the Scottish Government's three ambitions in the Culture Strategy for Scotland: of strengthening culture as a positive force for society; transforming cultural, social, economic, and environmental prosperity and wellbeing through culture; and making empowerment of people through culture as part of every community.²

The Platforms for Creative Excellence (PlaCE) programme, a five-year funding partnership between City of Edinburgh Council, the Scottish Government, and the Edinburgh Festivals, began in 2018 and included 'Citizen Engagement' as one of its three workstreams, with this strand incorporating funding for community partnerships, school collaborations and skills development for young people³.

By 2019/20, the festivals had developed partnerships with 133 community and third

² https://www.edinburghfestivalcity.com/about/vision

³ https://www.edinburghfestivalcity.com/assets/000/004/426/PLACE_-_media_release_final_original.pdf?1555931671



sector organisations and 129 schools across the city through the PlaCE programme, growing the total number of engagements by festivals with community groups from 65 in the baseline year 2018/19 to 212.4 The funding has enabled the festivals to pilot

new approaches and programmes in community engagement, which have continued through the COVID-19 pandemic. Festivals in receipt of funding through the PlaCE programme were:

Festival	Festival dates in 2021
Edinburgh Science Festival	Moved to 26 June-11 July 2021, but
	returning to regular April dates in 2022
Edinburgh International Children's	26 May-6 June
Festival	
Edinburgh Jazz and Blues Festival	16–25 July
Edinburgh Art Festival	29 July–29 August
Edinburgh Festival Fringe	6–30 August
Edinburgh International Festival	7–29 August
Edinburgh International Book Festival	14–30 August
Edinburgh International Film Festival	18–25 August
Scottish International Storytelling	15–31 October
Festival	
Edinburgh's Hogmanay	Online only on 31 December

Table 2: Festivals in receipt of PlaCE funding 2021 dates

Edinburgh's festivals take multiple and tailored approaches to engagement with communities, in several cases supported by funding such as the PlaCE programme noted above, with some beginning to work in specific communities over multiple years of programming. Some may initially approach communities with creative learning and participatory work to understand community interests, then work towards developing a ticket buying relationship with the core festival programme. Others, as noted by the Edinburgh International Book Festival in this

project's Art in and Out of Lockdown report from 2020⁵, develop activities within communities relevant to their interests without ticket buying as a goal.

Methodology

As part of a series of workshops exploring valued places and cultural spaces in participants' communities and across the city, we provided participants with an overview of information about Edinburgh's festivals and asked them to use these along with their personal experiences and

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https://www.creativescotland.com/__data/assets/pdf_file/0009/86409/Platforms_for_Creative_Excellence_Programme_Evaluation_Report.pdf (page 17)

⁵ https://www.edinburghculturalmap.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/Art-in-and-out-lockdown.pdf (page 14)



reflections to respond to five semistructured prompts and questions.

We asked:

- 1. Have you ever attended any festival shows and events? If so, which ones?
- 2. If you could create a festival show or event for your neighbourhood, what would it be like and what would it be about?
- 3. Where in your neighbourhood or in the city would the event you create take place?
- 4. When festivals and cultural organisations offer 'community engagement' work and programmes, what do you understand these to be and what do they mean to you?
- 5. If you could design community engagement activities for you neighbourhood, what would these be like?

Findings

Appreciation of the festivals

"I love Edinburgh when the festival's on and I love going uptown" granton:hub

Participants at each of the hubs stated that the festivals bring a positive "atmosphere" (Oxgangs, The Ripple), "buzz" (Oxgangs) and "vibe" (North Edinburgh Arts) to the city. The range of activities and positive experiences for children and families were also mentioned widely, as was the acknowledgement of the festivals as

attractive to tourists and the resulting economic benefit to the city.

Several participants (Goodtrees, granton:hub, The Ripple) told stories and shared fond memories of the festivals from growing up in Edinburgh, and community hubs also reported positive experiences and engagement from their local communities through partnerships with the festivals (Goodtrees, North Edinburgh Arts, Oxgangs, The Ripple).

"I've always liked the festivals because it did draw you into the centre. It gave you a reason to go into the centre to mingle, to socialise with other people or meet up with people." North Edinburgh Arts



Workshop at North Edinburgh Arts, May 2021, Photo: Melisa Miranda Correa

City-scale challenges raised about the festivals

Participants at some hubs felt that the festivals have become too commercial (granton:hub, North Edinburgh Arts, The Ripple) and that the focus of festival activity is on attracting tourists (granton:hub,



Oxgangs, The Ripple) at the expense of attempts to attract local people to attend.

Related concerns included issues around short-term lets and Airbnb properties (granton:hub, The Ripple); the use of public space – the Meadows, for example – for commercial venue spaces (North Edinburgh Arts) and worries about the nature of employment practices and volunteering opportunities, including low pay and long working hours (also North Edinburgh Arts).

Crowds, congestion, and a sense of claustrophobia in the city centre during busy periods were also mentioned at each of the six hubs, and many participants noted the link between these frustrations and the strain on transport, infrastructure, and access to the city centre at these times.

Barriers to access

Participants told us that the two primary barriers to access were financial costs and a sense of not belonging. This finding opens up complex questions around festivals' relationships with Edinburgh's communities.

As we might expect, the cost of festival tickets was a barrier to access that was mentioned across all six of the community hubs we spoke with. However, most participants, particularly those with families and on lower incomes, also noted the associated costs of the experience of attending the festivals – travel and food, particularly – as barriers to access.

"If they can get their structure right and their pricing structure right it should hopefully become much more accessible to local people because there's so many local people [who] feel totally excluded from it." granton:hub

An overarching challenge mentioned in some workshops was what we are terming 'research fatigue': the sense that similar conversations to this had been conducted several times in the past and that nothing had changed as a result (granton:hub), coupled with a desire to know that communities' views would be fed back to the festivals and that their comments would be taken on board (Oxgangs, The Ripple).

In addition to these more practical challenges and barriers, a sentiment that came through strongly at each of the hubs was the link between perceived barriers to access and a sense of belonging at the festivals, with participants at each hub putting forward the idea that they felt that the festivals are not 'for' them.

"I'm not getting anything from the Edinburgh festival... not that I should, I'm not entitled to it, but it would be a nice thing, you know?" The Ripple

Participants from each of the communities we spoke to reported a sense of not belonging at the festivals, that the festivals do not always feel that they are 'for' Edinburgh's communities, with some participants stating that they feel the festivals are not inclusive or accessible.



A few participants spoke very directly to a sense of not belonging, telling us that people in Edinburgh feel that "they're displaced, they're shoved aside" (granton:hub) or that communities in the south of Edinburgh feel "completely ignored, not a single venue nearby" (Oxgangs).



Workshop with Goodtrees Neighbourhood Centre, May 2021, Photo: Melisa Miranda Correa

The desire for proximity of festivals and cultural activities above points to an awareness, acknowledged by participants at other hubs too, that a sense of not belonging is in part a reflection of Edinburgh's fragmented geographies. The satellite nature of the communities the project engaged with contributes to a feeling of isolation and 'othering' from the festivals whose public-facing and ticketed programmes have, as reflected in the Festivals and Communities map⁶, been concentrated in the city centre, at least before the COVID-19 pandemic.

"I don't feel I belong in the city centre, there you go. That is just where the festivals are." North Edinburgh Arts While it seems likely and logical that removing barriers to access, particularly cost, might increase attendance, and as a result promote a sense of belonging, our findings suggest a more complex situation around navigating barriers to access. By removing a logistical barrier, economic in this case, that prevents access from being possible, the social and cultural barriers to access are not only removed but may even be exacerbated.

One participant at North Edinburgh Arts noted the impact on perceived value of events that comes from making them free to access:

"... because it's free, it's got no value to them [the community]".

In devaluing the ticket price, festivals could be signalling that the event itself has less value to and for them, thus reinforcing a sense of othering rather than removing it.

Communicating with communities

"They [the local community] haven't had the chance to grow and develop to appreciate the festivals, so they just feel like it's not for them because it's not with them." The Ripple

The perceived 'othering' of communities could also suggest a lack of communication between festivals and communities, and our workshops support this finding. Some

⁶ https://www.edinburghculturalmap.org/research/festivals-communities-map/



participants, particularly at The Ripple in Restalrig and Lochend, were direct in their statements that the festivals do not actively communicate with people in their neighbourhood.

Other participants stated that they felt they lacked knowledge and experience of the festivals (Goodtrees), and some, including hub managers (Oxgangs, The Ripple), reflected on the perceived inaccessibility of "high culture" in their communities, and the belief that these experiences required that knowledge and experience. A communications strategy that actively engages with communities regarding festival programmes and considers specific access issues and the diverse interests within communities might help to close that gap.

Awareness of existing free ticket schemes for communities was high and several participants had used them. However, participants were not generally aware of, or did not tell us about, the differences between these offers. The Edinburgh Festival Fringe Society's Fringe Days Out scheme, for example, takes the form of vouchers which allow community hubs or their communities to choose shows from the Fringe programme, whereas other offers may be for tickets for specific performances of specific shows. In addition, as noted above, both workshop participants and hub managers told us that free tickets were not always enough to encourage people to attend the festivals, pointing to the complexity of barriers to

access noted already. In addition, these managers told us that the work for community hubs in organising and facilitating these festival experiences is extensive, and that they do not always feel that the festivals recognise this labour (WHALE Arts, North Edinburgh Arts).

At granton:hub, one participant suggested that festivals could offer publicity and marketing support – either financial, or in kind through skills and resources – for community hubs to promote the festivals as part of their communications strategies. They felt that this would embed a relationship with the festivals into communities, encouraging both attendance at the festivals through promotion by community hubs and, by extension, cultivating literacy around the festivals.



Workshop with Goodtrees Neighbourhood Centre, May 2021, Photo: Melisa Miranda Correa

Cultural dispersal

"We had people come from America and everything... Just to find us!" Oxgangs

Despite challenges and barriers to access, workshop participants were positive about the festivals and particularly enthusiastic regarding the idea of dispersing activities



across the city and bringing festival events into their neighbourhoods. Participants at Oxgangs Neighbourhood Centre, which had hosted a PlaCE fund-subsidised Jazz Festival event in 2019, noted that this had been attended by both the local community and festival attendees who might otherwise have spent most of their time in the city centre, and were proud to have welcomed tourists to their neighbourhood. This was not a free event, but one that engaged both the local community through Oxgangs Neighbourhood Centre's network and audiences out with that community together.

As noted in the introduction to this report, Edinburgh festivals are committed to widening the programming of their activities across the city, with geographical dispersal potentially taking place while retaining a hub of events in the city centre. This commitment was made before the pandemic, but our research has found that there is significant support amongst participants for dispersing cultural activities across the city and within communities, even more so in the context of allowing cultural activities to take place safely as we begin to emerge from COVID-19 restrictions.

"...[the festivals are] bringing in business and people from outside and it's not the main target or plan that engaging or enhancing or empowering the local cultures." granton:hub

One participant (quoted above) described the idea of venue dispersal as a means of celebrating the diverse voices that make up local communities and cultures. Many more across the six hubs felt that festivals' support for telling local stories within communities would be both attractive to audiences - including tourists who might explore more of the city through a broader distribution of events - and would encourage investment from communities in both participation and attendance. This approach to dispersing and supporting activities might go some way towards addressing both the cultural and logistical barriers linked to Edinburgh's geographies that have been introduced above.

More practically, geographical dispersal has the potential to alleviate the pressure around some of the logistical barriers to access which workshop participants felt were important in their relationship with the city centre during the festivals: around transport, crowds, and congestion.

"I would like the idea of them doing branching out and doing things that they would have in places like this, like local community hubs. People can just go... Not even free, just where you buy tickets but you're somewhere you're comfortable"

The Ripple



Ideas for events by, with and for communities

We asked participants to tell us what they would do if they could programme a festival event for their community. At the start of this report, we noted the powerful sense of identity that some of the communities we talked to feel for their neighbourhoods, and this was borne out in stories of deep connections with local heritage and valued spaces, as well as in enthusiasm for multicultural events that reflect multicultural communities, such as internationally themed food or music events.



Workshop at The Ripple, May 2021, Photo: Melisa Miranda Correa

Participants also told us that communities are most likely to support one another if they are invested in the programme, and this might take the form of organising, producing, performing, or promoting an event, as well as attending. Without exception participants celebrated access to multiple and extensive open spaces within walking distance of the community hub, and family-focused events held in local outdoor

spaces were frequently put forward.
Suggestions included music, comedy,
dance, food and drink. Several participants
spoke fondly of local 'gala days' and the city
centre Fringe Sunday event held previously
and suggested their return. In addition, one
participant in Wester Hailes suggested
establishing what they termed an "arts
corridor" of permanent public artworks on
walkways throughout the area.

Without exception, participants at each of the community hubs talked about ideas for outdoor events in green spaces both around the city and in their immediate locality, with each neighbourhood reporting multiple suitable green spaces in their area. These spaces were already felt to be flexible and accessible and therefore suitable for a range of activities that would engage diverse community audiences.

There were also specific suggestions for increasing accessibility from among those participants who had attended the festivals before, including the promotion of community hubs as rehearsal spaces for festival performers, with access to attend rehearsals available for local audiences (The Ripple). One participant at North Edinburgh Arts suggested relocating, duplicating, or outsourcing the Fringe half-price hut to communities further away from the city centre to offer the chance to access this offer without having to travel to see what is available that day.





Workshop at granton:hub, May 2021, Photo: Melisa Miranda Correa

Conclusion

Our research clearly shows the festivals to be loved and celebrated by communities around Edinburgh. Workshop participants were invested in festival activities and positive about how the festivals could build stronger, more connected relationships with communities and the cultural hubs that serve them, relations that are currently constrained by barriers to access that are made up of complex and interlinked economic, geographical, structural, and socio-cultural factors.

We also found evidence that communities often feel excluded from the festivals' ticketed offer. Barriers to access to the festivals have complex origins and reducing

or removing one barrier is not always enough to lower others. Latest research has found that audience diversification continues to be a challenge in the UK, requiring "new forms of practice" that are sensitive to audience needs (Glow et al. 2021, p.133).⁷ In this context, Edinburgh's festivals continue to test strategies and financial models to achieve equitable access, including digital access and new payment models such as 'pay-what-you-can' flexible ticket pricing, which both the Book Festival and the Children's Festival offered for online events in 2021.⁸

Even so, many participants reported a sense of not belonging at the festivals. This finding is illustrated by an example at North

⁷ Glow, H., Kershaw, A. and Reason, M. (2021) 'Leading or avoiding change: the problem of audience diversification for arts organisations', International journal of cultural policy: CP, 27(1), pp. 130-148.

⁸ The latest research on ticketing is not definitive on the question of whether online content removes access barriers. For example, research by The Audience Agency, (https://www.theaudienceagency.org/evidence/digital) which looked at digital arts engagement during the pandemic drawing on audience data and surveys and the research team's experience, found that audiences who are most likely to engage with digital arts are also those who are most likely to attend events in person. This finding reinforces the complexity of tackling barriers to accessing culture in any form, digital or in-person.



Edinburgh Arts, where a participant said that encouraging participation by making tickets free could have the opposite effect, signalling the free event to be of less value and therefore contributing to and reinforcing, rather than removing, barriers and a sense of othering. Our findings suggest that the distinction that seems to exist between festivals' core programmes, often ticketed, and community engagement has the potential to ignore these complexities and reinforce barriers through pigeonholing communities as unlikely audiences. Participants in this study were found to feel excluded in part because of a perceived lack of communications and marketing to them in their neighbourhoods.

Another innovative approach is the PlaCEfunded 2019 Jazz Festival event at Oxgangs Neighbourhood Centre mentioned above. The value of the Jazz Festival event to a diverse range of festival audiences as expressed by our participants in Oxgangs makes the case for models that allow for shared experiences of festival's core programming in communities outside the city centre - perhaps driven by public or donor investment - in contrast to existing models which more often rely on city centre-based income generation through commercially viable ticketed events to support separate community engagement activity.

The Festivals and Communities Map, which we created in collaboration with Festivals Edinburgh and the Edinburgh Festival Fringe Society, offers another tool which may

make it possible to test the feasibility of developing income generating business and organisational models that allow the festivals to diversify and disperse audience development and engagement, and through which strategies that support equitable, flexible, and sustainable festival programming across the city and in communities may be devised. For instance, what we call 'liminal spaces' - those which show low engagement and higher potential barriers to access bordering areas with more engagement and ticket purchases recorded - might be areas in which to test the feasibility of models of dispersal through further research and festival programming.

Based on the responses of workshop participants and the sense of not belonging at the festivals they reported, we put forward three recommendations.

The first is to communicate and actively promote, through community hubs, core festival programmes in addition to community engagement work. As noted in the section above on communicating with communities, in addition to community engagement activities, we have found that there is interest in finding out more about the festivals' public programmes within communities. Further research might consider in more depth what it means to talk about a strategy of 'community engagement' by the festivals. Alternative strategies and approaches might focus on communications and marketing that is planned and delivered with community



audiences in mind. This would allow the exploration of the extent to which the distinction in programming which is made between a central ticketed offer and community engagement is in fact a false dichotomy; and one which could be replaced with a balance between promoting the festival as a whole and supporting programming in and with communities.

The second recommendation, which would by its nature take the festivals into communities, is to continue to explore and develop strategies - with support from policymakers, funders and stakeholders and colleagues from within festival organisations - for dispersing festival events and activities. Dispersing events as part of the festivals' ticketed offer, rather than solely as or alongside targeted engagement, might help to reduce the sense of 'othering' reported by workshop participants and replace it with a feeling of reciprocity and inclusivity between festivals and communities, where communities experience festival events and activities on their own terms without the sense that they are being siphoned away from the 'core' ticketed offer.

This work would test the idea put forward here that incorporating programming with communities and hubs will strengthen connections and encourage movement around the city for all its inhabitants and visitors. The Festivals and Communities Map that forms part of this project is a strategy both for measuring what has happened in community engagement work,

but also for revealing insights into where future work might take place. The map offers one tool through which to explore funding and business models that support programming in, by, with and for Edinburgh's communities. In particular, the map can note the existence of these liminal spaces of low engagement which exist between areas of high frequency ticket purchases, and it could be used to explore new models to test whether there is sufficient demand in certain locations to support financially sustainable events in those areas.

The third recommendation, again connected to our other recommendations, is to include in the approach to dispersal programmes taking place in Edinburgh's many green spaces, which were highlighted and celebrated by participants at each of the hubs we spoke to. This programming could include events but also permanent public artworks, for example an "arts corridor" walking route suggested by a participant at WHALE Arts.

The findings in this report have come out of analysis of the content of participants' responses to questions about the festivals and through observation of cultural mapping activities exploring valued spaces around community hubs and across the city. We acknowledge the limitations of the study: that we spoke with only 71 participants and that they were from a narrower demographic group than is represented in the populations of the communities involved; and that



participation was mixed across digital and online spaces. However, we would also highlight the value of both the responses and perceptions our participants shared and of collecting and synthesising communities' perceptions of the festivals to encourage communication and collaboration between the festivals and diverse audiences across Edinburgh.

We hope this report contributes new perspectives on the relationship between festivals and Edinburgh's communities and, alongside the data presented in the Festivals and Communities Map, suggests the strategies that might support the festivals' continuing commitment to an equitable and sustainable future.

Credits

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